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# Remarks

UPON A

## NEW TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE,

&c. &c.

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### CHAP. I.

*Necessity of a new translation urged at various periods. First proposed under the usurpation of Cromwell. Dr. Gell. Anonymous "Essay for a new translation." Pilkington's Remarks. Bishop Lowth. Archbishop Secker. Dr. Durell. Lowth's Isaiah. Dr. White Dr. Blayney. Archbishop Newcome. Mr. Wintle. Dr. Kennicott. Dr Geddes. Archbishop Newcome's "Historical view." Bishop Horsley. Mr. S. Greenaway.*

OUR authorized Translation of the Bible has been generally esteemed an able and accurate version, as well in other nations as in our own. Writers however of no mean rank in the literary world have represented it as replete with defects; a representation, of which ignorance and malevolence has not failed to take full advantage. But granting, what however I by no means admit, the validity of the objections brought against it; yet as the defects imputed to it consist of supposed inaccuracies, altogether unimportant in their tendency, affecting neither faith nor morals, and as the very writers, who have impeached it, at the same time have acknowledged its general excellencies, I must confess that I do not see the ex-

pediency, much less the necessity, of the measure proposed.

Splendid names and plausible authorities have, I am aware, considerable weight in every decision; too often indeed obtaining an undue preponderance. But in a cause of no little importance to the interests of true religion, and sober criticism, these surely can only weigh, as the dust upon the balance, when unsupported by solid argument and conclusive reasoning.

I proceed to take a brief view of what has been advanced in hostility to the old, and in recommendation of a new, version at various periods.

Half a century had not elapsed from the first appearance of our present translation, before something like public dissatisfaction with it began to be expressed. This happened during the usurpation of Cromwell. Johnson in his "Historical account of the English translations" gives the following detail of what passed on the occasion alluded to. "At a grand committee for religion in a pretended parliament, summoned by *Oliver Cromwell*, *Anno* 1656, it was ordered, that a sub-committee should advise with Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castle, Mr. Clerk, Mr. Poulk, Dr. Cudworth, and such others as they thought proper, to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinion therein to the committee; and that it should be more particularly recommended to Bulstrode Whitelock, one of the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury, to take care of that affair. The committee met frequently at Whitelock's house, where the learned men in the oriental languages attended, made many observations upon this subject, and pretended to discover *some mistakes in the last English translation, which yet they allowed was the best extant*. They took a great deal of pains in this business, which yet came to nothing by the dissolution of the parliament."\*

About the same period, viz. in 1659, appeared a work under the following title ; “ An Essay toward the amendment of the last English translation of the Bible, or a proof, by many instances, that the last translation of the Bible into English may be improved. The first part on the Pentateuch or five books of Moses. By *Robert Gell*, D.D., Minister of the parish of St. Mary Alder-bury, London.” This long work, consisting of 805 folio pages, is rather of a theological, than of a philological description ; and is digested into twenty prolix Sermons. Thinking that what he terms “ the skeleton of mere criticisms ” would be useful to the learned only, and wishing to serve his generation as well as to condescend to the capacity of the meanest understanding, the author himself remarks, “ I have clothed that skeleton of criticisms with such *moral explications and applications* as I thought needful to the use of edifying.”\*

But a more appropriate, and not the least powerful, appeal to public judgement in favour of a new version was made in a tract, published in 1702, under the title of, “ An Essay for a new translation of the Bible ; wherein is shewn from reason and the authority of the best commentators, interpreters, and critics, that there is *a necessity for a new translation*. By H. R., a Minister of the Church of England.” The professed object of this essay is “ to remove all the cavils and exceptions of Atheists, Deists, and others against the Scriptures, and to shew, that what they think ridiculous, is only said by the translators.”† In the pursuit of this object the author displays much reading, but little judgment, and more zeal for religious opinion, than for rigid criticism. He unreservedly censures not only our authorized version, but all others, which by adhering too strictly to the letter, do not sufficiently explain what he conceives to be the sense of the original ; particularly in the translation of oriental meta-

\* Preface.

† Preface.

phor and phraseology. Thus he remarks, “when the original speaks of *God’s hand*, it should be translated *God’s power*; his *eyes* his *care* and *providence*; his *mouth*, his *order* or *commandments*; his *bowels*, his *most tender compassions*; &c.”\* And again, when it is said “*there is none that doeth good*,”† because he presumes, that the Psalmist by the expression *none* could only mean the *generality*, he proposes to insert the word *almost*, so as to read “*there is almost none that doeth good*.”‡ Because also libertines, as he apprehends, “imagine that God looks with indifference on the sons of men, when they read the words of Balaam, which the versions render, *He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel* ;§ and because others think that God overlooks and winks at the sins of his own people, that is to be sure in their conceit, themselves and those of their sect and party; and because the most pious and judicious are puzzled what to make of them;” he proposes by a construction, which he asserts, that the words will bear, to read the passage thus, “*He does not approve afflictions or outrages against the posterity of Jacob, nor of vexation or trouble against the posterity of Israel*; that is, he does not approve that they should be afflicted or vexed.”§

This writer is persuaded that an endeavour to give a more exact translation of the Bible than any which had hitherto appeared” would be acceptable; adding, “and indeed it were to be wished, that those who are in power, did employ men of true learning and solid piety, free from bigotry, and blind zeal, in so noble and necessary a work.”|| And in order to evince the necessity of such an undertaking he charges the existing versions, particularly our own, with following the letter rather than the sense of the original, with making Scripture occasionally

\* Page 18.

† Ps. xiv. 1.

‡ Page 29.

§ Numb. xxiii. 21.

§ Page 156.

|| Page 42.

contradict itself; with confounding persons, animals, countries, and actions; with erroneously expressing coins, weights, and measures; with misunderstanding ambiguous expressions; and lastly with furnishing hardened sinners with excuses, and libertines and atheists with subjects for jesting. In what mode and upon what principles he proposes to have a new translation conducted, the preceding short specimens of his intended improvements may in some measure point out. By the adoption of any conjectural meanings which the words of the text, or, when they fail, which the sense of the context, *will bear*, his proposal goes to the formation of a theological version, which may obviate the scoffs of infidelity, silence controversy, and preclude scepticism. What critic can approve of such a project?

After the publication of this Essay, which passed through two editions, nothing but collateral and incidental notices seem to have been taken of the subject under consideration, until about the middle of the last century, when public attention was attracted to the laborious undertaking of Kennicot. In the year 1759 appeared a tract under the following title; “Remarks upon several passages of Scripture: rectifying some errors in the printed Hebrew text; pointing out several mistakes in the versions; and shewing the benefit and expediency of a more correct and intelligible translation of the Bible. By Matthew Pilkington, LL. B.” This tract is properly divided into two distinct parts. The first part is employed in attempting to prove, “that the present Masoretic copy of the Old Testament is, in many places, different from the original Hebrew text: and that the variations are frequently capable of being discovered, in such a manner, as to give us an opportunity of restoring it to its primitive purity.” The object of the second part is to show, “that many of the improprieties, obscurities, and inconsistencies, which occur to an attentive reader of any of the ver-

sions, are occasioned by the translators misunderstanding the true import of the Hebrew words and phrases." In this second part, which relates to the subject more immediately before me, the first part being wholly taken up with critical conjectures upon the Hebrew text, the author endeavours to convict our English translators of various inaccuracies, in order to point out "the benefit and expediency of a more correct and intelligible translation of the Bible." "For," he remarks, "if the English translators have not rightly understood the force of the Hebrew expressions; or if they have implicitly followed any of the ancient versions, as thinking they had given the true sense of the original, when they really had not done so; the translation must be so far imperfect, as not to convey to the reader the exact idea of what the sacred writer intended."\*

With this view he examines in minute detail, and rejects, the translation of various words and phrases; but almost always upon visionary principles of criticism. His amendments likewise seem to be seldom of importance in themselves, and never to affect either faith or morals. Some indeed of his remarks, he himself observes, were not inserted in pursuance of his general design, "as they neither point out any errors in the Hebrew text, nor shew any occasion for altering our translation of it."† And when he applies himself expressly to undermine the credit of the authorized version, I do not perceive either vigour or success in his efforts. What shall we say to the following instances? Because the word רוח signifies *wind*, as well as *spirit*, he finds fault with our translators for thus rendering Gen. i. 2; "The *Spirit of God* moved upon the face of the waters." The whole verse he would thus amend; "The earth was chaotic, and uninformed; and darkness was upon the face of the abyss; and a most violent wind blew upon the surface of the water."‡ So

\* Page 77.

† Page 113.

‡ Page 161.

also in Psalm cxli. 7, instead of the words, “ Our bones are scattered *at the grave’s mouth* ” he would read, “ Our bones are scattered *by the order of Saul* ;” adding this remark ; “ The letters **שׂאול** are the same both in the *appellative* and the *proper name*. And as it hath been already made apparent, that too strict an adherence to the points may obscure the sense of a passage ; so should a new version be ordered to be undertaken, the translators would consider themselves as more at liberty to examine the *propriety* of them, than the former composers of the modern versions have done.”\*

Upon such singular charges of error it is scarcely worth while perhaps to dwell. I shall nevertheless subjoin one more, in which the vaulting ambition of his criticism completely overleaps itself. He contends, that **יומים** and **מים**, which he correctly enough terms the *dual and plural* of the word **יום**, although he contrives to confuse them together, signify sometimes *the space of two days*, and sometimes *a week*. This word, for he makes only one of both, in Numbers xi. 19, and in Exod. xvi. 29, is rightly translated, he says, “ *two days* ;” and then he assigns the following ground for his assertion ; “ we may observe, that the dual or plural of some numerals are used in the same manner. *It is well known to every Hebrew reader עשר* signifies *ten*, so **עשרים** signifies twice ten, or twenty ; and that as **אלף** signifies one thousand, so **אלפים**, unless it be particularly limited by some other numeral, signifies *two thousand*.”† But he is likewise of opinion, that it signifies a *week*, as in Numbers ix. 22, where instead of “ whether it were *two days* or a month,” as our translators render the passage, he would read, “ whether it was a *week* or a month.” According however to his preceding rule, which he only states instantly to forget, as the word is not here “ *particularly limited by some other numeral*, “ it must necessarily mean *two days*,

\* Page 158.

† Page 122.

and cannot possibly mean *seven*, or any other *particular number* of days. But in truth the whole remark is formed by the mere wantonness of conjecture. And what is more, even the infalible rule itself, which he states to be “well known to every Hebrew reader, viz. “that as אֶלֶף signifies *one thousand*, so אֶלְפִים, unless it be particularly limited by some other numeral, signifies *two thousand*,” possesses neither basis nor solidity, but crumbles at the slightest touch. For had he only referred to the second Commandment, as given in Exodus xx. 6, he must have immediately discovered, that אֶלְפִים, *unlimited by any other numeral*, may signify *thousands* indefinitely, as well as *two thousand* definitely; for it will scarcely, I apprehend, be argued, that God declared himself disposed only to “shew mercy upon אֶלְפִים *two thousand* of them that love him, and keep his commandments.” How easily is all this incurrancy and confusion remedied by the points, which distinguish אֶלְפִים *two thousand* from אֶלְפִים *thousands*.

I do not however mean to insinuate, that all Pilkington’s remarks are equally futile—some are more plausibly, and others more ably, supported; but I know of none, which make good any important charge of ignorance or inaccuracy against our translators.

At this period writers of rank, learning, and talent seemed to unite in expressing an earnest wish for a new version. In the year 1758 Dr. Lowth, before his merited exaltation to the mitre, preached a Visitation Sermon at Durham, which contained the following passage; “To confirm and illustrate the holy Scriptures, to evince their truth, to show their consistency, to explain their meaning, to make them more generally known and studied, more easily and perfectly understood by all, to remove the difficulties, that discourage the honest endeavours of the unlearned, and provoke the malicious cavils of the half-learned; this is the most worthy object that can engage our atten-

tion ; the most important end, to which our labours in the search of truth can be directed. And here I cannot but mention, that nothing would more effectually conduce to this end than the exhibiting of the holy Scriptures themselves to the people *in a more advantageous and just light, by an accurate revisal of our vulgar translation by public authority. This hath often been represented, and I hope will not always be represented in vain.*”

The strong and public recommendation of the measure by so elegant a scholar as Lowth, made perhaps a considerable impression upon the mind of Archbishop Secker, who seems indeed to have been before sufficiently disposed to the undertaking. However that might have been, it is certain, that the Archbishop had intended to address the Convocation at its opening in the year 1761 upon this very topic, as appears by a Latin speech published at the end of his Charges, although never spoken. In that speech occurs the following passage ; *Verum, utut de his statuatur, novam saltem scripturæ versionem desiderari plurimis videtur : nempe ut populus Christianus ea luce fruatur, quæ, favente Numine, oraculis divinis per continuas virorum doctorum vigilias affulsit, hisce 150 annis proxime elapsis, ante quos confecta est Anglica Versio. Et quis refragetur honestissimæ petitioni ? Sed ad hoc opus post conquisitum undique omnigenæ eruditionis apparatus demum accedendum est ; atque in eo versandum summa religione, cautela, industria, cura porro inter multos amicissime conspirantes, per longum tempus dispertita. Prodeunt quotidie certatim interpretes ; sed fere proletarii, vel quorum supervacanea diligentia incertiores multo sumus quam dudum. Reviviscit linguæ sanctæ perquam necessaria cognitio : sed justas vires nondum acquisivit, et somniis suis se oblectant quidam ejus cultores. Expectandum ideo, si aliquid opera dignum facere volumus, donec hi aut resipuerint, aut erroris manifesti sint, donec deferbuerit novorum sensuum eruendorum æstus, et hæc pene dixit*

*rim rabies emendandi, qua impelluntur, ut mendis imprudenter referciunt codicem sacrum prohi nec ineruditi; donec denique exitum aliquem habeat laudandum apprime institutum conferendi inter se, et cum primœvis interpretationibus veteris Testamenti libros Hebraice scriptos.*

From this extract it appears, that although the Archbishop deemed a new version highly desirable, yet he prudently recommended a postponement of the undertaking, until *the dreams of verbal theory, and the rage of textual emendation*, had gone by.

The project notwithstanding was still fondly cherished. Dr. Durell in the preface of his “Critical remarks on Job, Proverbs, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles,” published in 1772, alludes to the subject in strong language. The chief excellency, he says, of the present version, “consists in being a closer translation, than any which had preceded; in using the properest language for popular use, without affectation of sublimity, nor yet liable to the charge of vulgarity of expression.\* \* But notwithstanding these concessions in its favour, it certainly does not exhibit, in many places, the sense of the text so exactly as the version of 1599; and mistakes it besides in an infinite number of instances. Frequently it expresses not the proper subject of the sentence; and adheres at other times so closely to the letter, as to translate idioms. It arbitrarily gives new senses to words; omits or supplies them without necessity; these last are indeed distinguished by another character; but very unfavourable inferences, either to the genuineness of the text, or to the nature of the Hebrew, must thence be drawn by a reader acquainted with that language. It is deficient with respect to the short explanatory notes in the margin, which abound in the last mentioned version. The words are at times so disposed as to create an hyperbaton, or are not sufficiently varied. And, to sum up all, it has this fault in common with the other,

that it may justly be questioned, whether any possible sense can by fair interpretation be deduced from the words in not a few places.”\*

The charges thus adduced against our established version appear I must confess at first sight rather formidable, and in support of them references are made to certain passages in the book of Job ; but they melt into air upon a closer examination. The tendency indeed of the whole is altogether *unimportant*. As a specimen however it will be sufficient to quote the three proofs alleged in support of that charge against it, in which the accuser says, that “ frequently it expresses not *the proper subject of the sentence.*” His first proof is thus worded : Job iv. 5, “ *but now it is come upon thee* כִּי עָתָה תָּבוֹא אֵלֶיךָ. “ There being no subject to the verb in the Hebrew, the LXX supply here πόνος, and the Vulgate *plaga* ; and I think it would be better, if, in imitation of them, we were to add in another character the word *misfortune* or *affliction* instead of the pronoun *it* to which there are no traces of an antecedent in the text.”† But our translators in rendering the verb תָּבוֹא “ *it is come*” were right, and the critic wrong in his substitution of the Nominative case *misfortune* or *affliction*. There is a rule in Syntax, which Schröder thus expresses : “ Usum neutralem in tertia persona singulari, tam masculina quam *fæminina*, recipere possunt verba intransitiva et passiva. Is locum habet \* \* in verbis, quæ se referunt non ad *certum et definitum* nomen, sed *ad rem, vel actionem, in sermone expressam*, pronomine, quod ad eam pertinet, vel addito vel omisso. Such then is the general rule ; and it is remarkable, that among other examples the grammarian illustrates this rule by *the very passage under discussion*. His reference is, תָּנַע עָדַיךָ תָּבוֹא אֵלַיךָ *venit ad te*, and תָּנַע עָדַיךָ *pertingit usque ad te* ; scilicet, he adds, *hoc ipsum, quod*

\* Pages vi, vii.

† Page 5.

*alii ante te perpassi erant.*\* It seems then that the grammatical inaccuracy is here altogether on the side of the critic.

Durell's second proof is the following: "Job viii. 18. *If he destroy him,* (אם יבלענו) Rather with our old version, *If any destroy him*: for God is at too great a distance to suppose that *he* is the antecedent."† The reason assigned to prove that the word *God* cannot be what is termed the antecedent, seems of little validity; for that word occurs in the 13th verse, which runs thus; "*So are the paths of all that forget God, and the hypocrite's hope shall perish: whose hope, &c.;*" and so on to the verse in question, with which all the intervening verses are in evident connexion. Nor is the remoteness of the antecedent term at all unusual; as in Genesis xli. 13, "*me he restored to my office, and him he hanged,*" where the nominative pronoun *he* evidently does not refer to *Joseph*, to whom the two preceding verses allude, but to *Pharaoh* who is not mentioned after the *tenth* verse, the account of *Joseph* intervening.

The third proof is thus expressed: "Job xv. 26. *He runneth upon him, even on his neck;* (ירוץ אליו בצואר) In our present version it is not clear whether *God* or the *wicked man* is here the aggressor; from the construction the latter might seem most probable: but from reason it must be the former. I would therefore with our old version, supply, *Therefore God.*"† To prove the charge adduced of mistaking the proper subject of the sentence, it should have been clear, what is stated to be not clear, that our translation erroneously represented *the wicked man* as the aggressor. But if it be doubtful to what person the pronoun *he* refers in the English version, so also is it equally doubtful in the original. Indeed this intermixture of allusions to different persons by the use of the same pro-

\* Institut. Ling. Heb. p. 361.

† Page 16.

noun in the same verse is too common in Hebrew to attract particular notice. A remarkable instance of it occurs 2 Samuel xi 13. "And when David had called *him* [Uriah,] *he* [Uriah] did eat and drink before *him* [David;] and *he* [David] made *him* [Uriah] drunk: and at even *he* [Uriah] went out to lie on his bed, &c." The substitution of the word *God* for the pronoun *he* would, I admit, give a more determinate sense, but it would be substituting that, which is not to be found in the Hebrew text; such a liberty might indeed suit a free paraphrase, but it would scarcely be tolerated in a literal translation.

Were these however, and even all the charges brought against our present version, fully established, the stability of religious opinion would not be in the slightest degree affected by them. For supposing the long wished for undertaking to be accomplished, and the many emendations which have been proposed, to be embodied in a new translation, Durell remarks, "The minds of the people cannot hereby be *unsettled*. *All* the leading arguments of religion will remain *undisturbed*; neither will the ground of their faith or practice be *ever so remotely affected*."\* Nevertheless hoping that the "very desirable period may not be *far distant*, when the great Council of these realms shall think it expedient to delegate the important charge of a new translation to men of approved learning and judgment, I have thought it," he says, "my duty to lay before the public some part of the materials, which have lain by me for a considerable time. My motive for so doing is, that they may be duly weighed *in the interval*, in order that if they meet with approbation *they may be serviceable on that occasion*; and that *others* blessed with greater abilities and advantages may hereby be induced *to pursue the same course*."†

But the distinguished Scholars, whose own feelings

\* Preface, page 7.

† Preface, page 1.

were interested, and who laboured to interest those of the public, in this favorite project, were not contented with a bare recommendation of it. They now began individually to attempt new translations of detached books of Scripture; not I apprehend with a view of thus superseding our established version of those books, but rather perhaps to exhibit the superiority of modern knowledge, and of modern criticism. Bishop Lowth himself, now advanced to the see of London, led the way by publishing in 1778 a new translation of *Isaiah*, which he denominated “an attempt to set *in a just light* the writings of the most sublime and elegant of the prophets of the Old Testament,”\* and which he was probably induced to undertake as affording an ample field for the display of poetical taste, and of critical conjecture. Nor did he forget again to notice, what he had long before suggested, *the necessity* of a new version under the sanction of public authority.

Alluding to some manuscript criticisms of Archbishop Secker upon the Bible, deposited in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, he remarks, “These valuable remains of that great and good man will be of infinite service, whenever *that necessary work*, a new translation, or a revision of the present translation, of the holy Scriptures, for the use of our Church, shall be undertaken.” † Again he observes, “whenever it shall be thought proper to set forth the holy Scriptures, for the public use of our Church, to better advantage, than as they appear in the present English translation, *the expediency of which grows every day more and more evident*, a revision or correction of that translation may perhaps be more advisable, than to attempt an entirely new one. For as to the style and language it admits of but little improvement; but *in respect of the sense and accuracy of interpretation*, improvements of which it is capable *are great and*

\* Dedication to the King.

† Preface, page 61, Ed. 1793.

*numberless.*”\* The design of his own version of Isaiah was, he states, “not only to give *an exact and faithful* representation of the words and of the sense of the prophet, by adhering *closely* to the letter of the text, and treading *as nearly as may be* in his footsteps; but moreover to imitate the air and manner of the author.”† Nevertheless he remarks, “much of our vulgar translation is retained in it. For as the style of that translation is not only *excellent in itself, but has taken possession of our ear, and of our taste*, to have endeavoured to vary from it, with no other design than that of giving something new instead of it, would have been to disgust the reader, and to represent the sense of the prophet in a more unfavourable manner.”‡ And when it does deviate, still, he adds, it “will perhaps be found to be in general *as close to the text, and as literal*, as our English version.”§

In the following year the Laudian Professor of Arabic|| published a Sermon, which had been preached before the University of Oxford, under the following title; “A revisal of the English translation of the Old Testament recommended.” The great argument advanced by the Professor, in favour of the revisal, which he recommends, is derived from the improved state of biblical criticism in modern times contrasted with that, which existed at the period, when our present version was compiled. At that time, he observes, “the MS. copies of the Old Testament had not been consulted; the ancient Masoretic text was in general followed without scruple. \* \* The collateral dialects of the original tongues had been but moderately cultivated, and were but imperfectly understood. \* \* Ancient versions have since been published, which were not before extant, at least in a public form, to Europe in general.”¶ Hence therefore he argues, that possessing more

\* Preface, page 63. † Preface, page 1. ‡ Ibid. page 63. § Ibid.

|| J. White, M. A., afterwards D. D., and regius Professor of Hebrew.

¶ Page 11.

ample stores of critical information than our forefathers, we ought to employ them in the improvement of our national version. Not that this version labours under material deficiencies ; for it contains, as he admits, “ nothing but what is pure in its representation of Scriptural doctrine ; nothing but what is animated in its expressions of devout affection ; *general fidelity to its original* being hardly more its characteristic, than sublimity in itself. The English language acquired new dignity by it ; and has hardly acquired additional purity since : it is still considered as the standard of our tongue. If a new version should ever be attempted, the same turn of expression will doubtless be employed ; for it is a style consecrated not more by custom, than by its own native propriety.”\*

The Plan adopted by Bishop Lowth in his translation of Isaiah was soon followed by Mr. Blayney, (afterwards D. D. and Regius Professor of Hebrew,) who in the year 1784 published a new version of Jeremiah. In his preliminary discourse the learned author strongly urges the expediency of a new translation of the whole Bible ; hoping that the time is not far distant, when the task of bringing forward Kennicot’s collations “ will not be left in the hands of a few well intentioned individuals, but will be undertaken on a more extensive plan by a select assembly of the most learned and judicious divines, *commissioned by public authority*, to examine into the state of the Hebrew text, *to restore it as nearly as possible to its primitive purity*, and *to prepare from it a new translation* of the Scriptures in our own language for the public service.”†

Archbishop Newcome, then Bishop of Waterford, trod in the same path ; and published new versions of the Minor Prophets, and of Ezekiel. The former came out in 1785, the latter in 1788. And in 1792, Mr. Wintle

\* Page 9,

† Page ix.

completed, what was wanting in the list of prophetic writings, by publishing a new translation of Daniel.

In the mean time the literary world had to lament the death of Dr. Kennicott, who did not live long after editing his laborious collations. The latter part however of his life was employed in writing and preparing for the press, "Remarks on select passages in the Old Testament," which in 1787 ultimately became a posthumous publication. These remarks appear to have been composed with a view of assisting in the favourite project of the day, whenever it should be executed ; and the introduction to them, written by the author himself, pleads the *necessity* of the undertaking.

At the same time, that these eminent scholars, and divines of the Church of England were employed in translating the prophetic books of Scripture, Dr. Geddes, a clergyman of the Church of Rome, was projecting a new version of the whole Bible, and in 1786 published his "*Prospectus* of a new translation of the Holy Bible, from corrected texts of the originals, compared with the ancient versions." In this prospectus he assumes "as a position generally agreed upon, that a new translation of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament, is still wanted."\* Although he imputes faults and defects, as others had done before him, to our authorized version, yet he speaks of it with the greatest candour and liberality. He observes, "The highest eulogiums have been made on it both by our own writers and by foreigners ; and indeed if *accuracy, fidelity, and the strictest attention to the letter of the text*, be supposed to constitute the qualities of an excellent version, *this of all versions must in general be accounted most excellent. Every sentence, every word, every syllable, every letter, and point, seem to have been weighed with the nicest exactitude*, and expressed, either in the

\* Page 2.

text or margin, with the greatest precision. Pagninus himself is hardly more literal; and it was well remarked by Robertson, above an hundred years ago, that it may serve for a lexicon of the Hebrew language, as well as for a translation.”\*

Archbishop Newcome mentions and quotes another pamphlet, which was published in 1787, under the title of “Reasons for revising by authority our present version, &c.” This I have never seen. From the extracts given, it appears to contain answers to certain popular objections to the proposed measure.

But Archbishop Newcome himself gives the fullest account, and suggests the strongest arguments in favour of the undertaking, in a tract called, “An Historical View of the English Biblical translations; the expediency of revising by authority our present Translation: and the means of executing such a revision.” This, as its title imports, contains not only a detail of all which has been done in the way of English translation, and of all which has been written upon the necessity of a new version; but also gives such rules as are best calculated in the authors judgment to render that version most perfect.

To the list of distinguished writers, arguing the propriety, and exhibiting in their own productions specimens, of an improved translation, must be added Bishop Horsley, who, with equal confidence in his critical emendations, but with less extravagance of critical principle, published a new translation of Hosea.

Perhaps too I should notice Mr. S. Greenaway, the author of a version, with a paraphrase, of Ecclesiastes. In this quaint production of talent, piety, and eccentricity, the principal part of which is expanded into a multifarious assemblage of “notes and reflections” unconnected and unarranged, that singular writer bitterly inveighs against

the attempts of Houbigant, Lowth, Kennicot, Blayney, &c., for introducing alterations of the text by critical conjecture alone. I shall simply quote his general remark upon Blayney. After having severely censured “the *petulant, conceited, presumptuous, and absurd* Houbigant,” he thus proceeds; “But turn we, reader, to an author of a different character, *Mr. Blayney*; to whom we are obliged for a learned, judicious, and pious commentary on Jeremiah.” But he is touched with the distemper of conjectural insanity, and in his fits gives us the most frightful views of *corruptions* in the sacred text. See in his index the article of, *Corrections Hebrew text by MSS.* 272; *Corrections Hebrew text by ancient versions only* 30; *Corrections Hebrew text by conjecture* 66; in all 368. What an alarming number! Tell it not in Gath! Publish it not in the streets of Askelon! But it is only when viewed at a distance” (an assertion, which he subsequently endeavours to prove by a long and minute examination of them) “that they seem formidable. On a nearer view they are as harmless as the shadowy monsters, which appeared to oppose Æneas in his way to the Stygian lake.

———tenues sine corpore vitæ,  
 ———cava sub imagine formæ”\*

\* Page 297.

## CHAP. II.

*Mr. Bellamy's New Translation. Object of it. His Incompetency. Proved from Genesis XIX. His Novel Translation of Ver. 5, 25, 32. Singular Disquisition on the word קום. Ignorance in supposing the existence of a preterpluperfect tense in Hebrew.*

IN the preceding chapter I have given a short account of the writers upon the subject under consideration, who flourished in the last century. And here perhaps I might terminate the enquiry. But at the commencement of the present century one of so peculiar a character has appeared in the catalogue of biblical translators, that it would be as improper to overlook, as it is mortifying to notice him. I allude to *Mr. J. Bellamy*, who, supported by a liberal subscription, has recently undertaken to give a new translation of the Bible from the Hebrew alone. His object is, as he himself states, “to stem the torrent of infidelity, by enabling those, who have not studied the Hebrew language, to silence the objections, which have so long been, and still continue to be, advanced against the divine truth.”\* Unlike however his predecessors in this arduous enterprize, he strenuously maintains the *absolute integrity* of the Hebrew text; and deems not only the Masoretical vowels, but even the Masoretical accentuation, of which nevertheless he seems to have a very superficial knowledge, undoubtedly original. In contempt likewise of every other interpretation given to that text by the most ancient, as well as by more modern translators, he blazons forth his own

\* Classical Journal, No. XXXVI. p. 225.

as the only correct and faithful one : as alone conveying the genuine sense of the Hebrew in all its pristine purity.

He has already published the book of *Genesis* with an introduction and copious notes, in the former of which he asserts that the present text “ is as perfect as the autograph of Moses ;” \* and not only that *word* for *word* and *letter* for *letter*, but that “ *vowel* for *vowel* and *accent* for *accent*” has always been accurately copied from an authentic standard ; “ and that the words of Christ have been hitherto verified, where he says, *that not one iota, or one tittle shall pass from the law, until all be fulfilled.*” † And if indeed there be any point, upon which he more particularly prides himself, it is his attention to the minutiae of vowels and accents. Yet is it impossible to read a page of his translation without perceiving, that he wants himself to be informed upon subjects, on which he undertakes to inform others.

As the public appear to attach considerable importance to this vain undertaking, and as the latest production usually excites the greatest attention, I shall examine it more minutely, than I should have otherwise thought necessary ; confining however my remarks, that I may not be too prolix, to a part of the nineteenth chapter only ; a chapter which exhibits a specimen of perverted and illiterate interpretation seldom paralleled. In the fifth verse. instead of the words, “ that we may *know* them,” Mr. Bellamy substitutes, “ for we will *detect* them ;” because “ the word **נָדָעָה** which is rendered *know*, is translated variously, by which any thing *is made known* ; as *know, conscious, understand, direct, detect, &c.* Prov. x 9 ; *he that perverteth his ways, shall be known* (detected.) Psal. lxxvii. 19 ; *thy footsteps are not known* (detected.) It refers to the mission, on which these two messengers came, in order to put an end to idolatry ; but who were

\* Introduction, p. ix, xlii.

Ibid. p. xxiii.

assailed by the enthusiastic idolaters of Sodom, who did not say as is said in the vulgar version, *that we may know them, but we will detect them.*" I must confess that this ingenious argument to prove *knowledge* and *detection* (to say nothing of *knowledge* and *direction*) one and the same thing appears not to me very satisfactory, or even intelligible. we may be said, for example, to *know* a pious and good man, but we cannot without absurdity be said to *detect* him. Granting however the words to be perfectly synonymous, what shall we obtain by it ! A clear sense in the passage ? Certainly not ; since we are required to proceed a step farther, and admit, what we are told in the note, but what we should have never suspected from the text, that the words *we will detect them* signify *we will put them to death* ; for in immediate continuation of the former remark it is added, " *Thus they were determined to put them to death, in defence of their religion.*" Another sublimation this, still more subtle, and more incomprehensible, from what we before contemplated as a mere caput mortuum. Nor is this all ; for after only two short intervening verses we are given to understand, that *to know* means not simply *to detect* and to *put to death*, but also *to approve of* ; for in ver. 8, the vulgar version, as he terms it, which has these words, " Behold now I have two daughters which have not *known* man," is thus corrected by him ; " Behold, now with me† two daughters who have not *approved of* man."

Instances of an unpardonable negligence† are not unfre-

\* The alteration of "*I have*" into "*with me*" unfortunately gives neither the Hebrew nor the English idiom of the expression י. The Hebrew literally is, " Behold now [there are] to me two daughters;" that is, *I have* two daughters, as the established version translates it.

† A remarkable one occurs Gen. iii. 23, where instead of the correct translation, as in the established version, "*to till the ground,*" he renders the clause, "*when he had transgressed on the ground;*" for

quent ; but in the 25th verse an alteration is introduced, in which it is difficult to say which predominates most, inattention, or conceit of superior sagacity. The established version runs thus ; “ he overthrew *those* cities.” This he says should be, “ he overthrew the cities *of the God,*” אַתְּ-הָעָרִים הָאֵל. The reasons assigned for the change are the following ; “ The אַתְּ or the הָ prefixed to עָרִים *cities*, cannot be translated by the pronoun plural *those*. And the word אֵל is entirely omitted, which is one of the most important words in the verse ; as it shows us what crime it was for which these cities were destroyed.” Is not this self-confident Hebraist aware, that אֵל with or without the article הָ is a pronoun as well as a substantive ; and that it is therefore the word הָאֵל instead of אַתְּ, which our translators render *those* ? He cannot well be ignorant of it ; because in the 8th verse the same word occurs with לְאִנְשֵׁים *men*, which both *he* and they alike translate *these*, “ to *these* men do nothing ? ” Why therefore does he just afterwards give the word a different signification ; an inconsistency of which *they* are not guilty ? Is it not, because he has an hypothesis to serve, which they had not ?

In pursuance also of the same object, and to rescue the

which alteration he gives the following reason ; “ The word לְעַבֵּר is rendered to *till* ; but this word with this construction means to *transgress*. See Deut. xvii 2. where the same word both consonants and vowels is rendered by the word *transgressing*.” Had the expression been לְעַבֵּר as he states it to be, and even writes it in Roman characters, his criticism would have had some application ; this however is not the case. It is not עָבַר to *transgress*, but עָבַר to *serve* or to *till*, when connected with the word *ground*. Surely he must have known a *Resh* from a *Daleth*. But he seems to have hastily run it over with a careless eye, wrapt up in the self important office of clearing Scripture from, what he terms, “ useless repetitions, which always obscure the sense, and frequently subvert the meaning, as in this passage.”

character of Lot from a crime hitherto universally imputed to him, in the 32d verse, for the words “*let us make our father drink wine,*” the following are substituted, “*we will drink wine with our father.*” The reader perhaps may be disposed to smile at the idea of palliating the conduct of Lot by introducing his daughters as participating in his intemperance. Not so Mr. Bellamy. For he tells us, that *to drink wine* means *to pour out libations of wine, or to offer a drink offering of wine*, at the accustomed time of morning or evening sacrifice. Thus, not satisfied with translating the Hebrew original in a manner, of which no one ever before dreamed, he gives a sense to English phraseology too recondite for a common understanding to discern. But as he is undoubtedly privileged to explain his own language in his own way, I will leave him in the full enjoyment of that privilege, and proceed to his critical defence of this novel translation. In a note he says, “The verb נשקה is rendered *let us make—drink*. But the obvious translation is, *we will drink.*” Obvious however as this may appear to him, it is far from being so to any one who thinks that some advantage may be derived from consulting a Lexicon, or who is endowed with the meanest portion of critical acumen. For the verb in question never occurs in the conjugation *Kal*, and cannot therefore be construed *we will drink*; once it occurs in Niphal, (but here Keri has ונשקה,) and once also in Puhil; but it is found *fifty-eight* times in *Hiphil*. In *twenty-seven* of these instances it is in a tense, which is sufficiently marked by its præformant ה; and in the remaining *thirty-one*, including that of the text under consideration, it is every where broadly distinguished from *Kal* by *Pathach*, the characteristical vowel of the future of *Hiphil*. Now if Mr. Bellamy will be pleased to admit, that *Hiphil* is a *causative* conjugation, he must confess that all other translators are right, and that he on this occasion at least is wrong.

But how is it that he writes the word נִשְׁקָה, not נִשְׁקָה? Is this mere carelessness, ignorance, or design? The substitution of the vowel *Chireh* for *Patach* makes indeed all the difference; but I cannot suppose, that he would *dare* to deviate from the vowels of the received text, which he conceives to be equally as inspired as the consonants of it, and to the reading of which he professes inviolably to adhere. Besides, he seems to know that the proper verb for the expression *to drink* is שתה not השקה, because in Gen. xxiv. 14, where both the words occur, he makes the correct distinction between them, rendering אשתה *I will drink*, and אשקה *I will give—drink*. I very much suspect however, that there he is more indebted for his correctness to the very translators whom he despises, than to his own ingenuity.

Perhaps also he will condescend to be told, that the same verb is used in Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic; *never* however in the sense of the conjugation Kal, *to drink*, but *always* in that of the conjugation Hiphil, *to cause to drink*. An irrefragable proof this, that, when the Masorets uniformly pointed this verb with the distinguishing vowel of Hiphil, they did it not only in compliance with the grammatical peculiarities of their own language, but also in perfect conformity with the established usage of every other oriental language belonging to the same family. The result of this remark completely annihilates the new sense, which he attempts for a particular purpose to fix upon the verb in question.

Having dwelt so long upon his erroneous explanation of the principal word in this passage, I shall spare myself the trouble of pointing out his other more minute inaccuracies, and proceed to the last novelty of interpretation which I propose to notice, and which is contained in the 33rd verse. The sentence ולא־ירע בשכבה ובקומה instead of, “And he perceived not, *when she lay down,*

nor when she *arose*," he translates, "But he knew not, *where she abode*, neither when she *married*." Here, either in perfect ignorance, or in perfect contempt of Hebrew syntax, he renders the preposition כ prefixed to the infinitive שכב by the adverb *where*, and that without the slightest pretence of authority. His sole remark upon the point is this; "When she lay down. It certainly does not require both a *verb* and an *adverb* to explain the meaning of כשכבה as in the common version." What must we think of that man's grammatical knowledge, even in our own language, who is not aware of the distinction between an *adverb* and a *conjunction* denominating *when* an *adverb*; or of that man's consistency, who after censuring the common version for explaining the meaning of a word not only with a *verb* but also with an *adverb*, (which proves however to be a *conjunction*;) does exactly the same thing himself, with this little difference alone, that the adverb, which he uses, is *not* the English of the original expression! That a preposition with an infinitive mood is used in Hebrew for a conjunction with an indicative or subjunctive mood would have been too trite a remark I should have conceived to escape even his observation. I subjoin to the following rule upon the subject from Schroeder's Grammar; Particulas inseparabiles בכלם quando præfixas habent infinitivi, modo nostris Gerundiis respondent, modo alias, Hebræis peculiare, loquendi formulas efficiunt, quarum aliquas Latinus sermo non aliter exprimere potest, quam ita, ut *Infinitivus, ope alicujus conjunctionis, in verbum finitum resolvatur* כ quando præmittitur infinitivo, inservit tempori exprimendo, in quo aliquid fit; ut כבוא אנרי in *venire domini mei*, i. e. *quum venerit dominus meus* 2 Reg. v. 18. כהיותם in *esse eorum*, i. e. *quando fuerunt*.

Upon the verb שכב he observes, that "it truly signifies to rest, to lodge, Joshua ii. 1, and lodge there;" and upon such account it is that he translates it to abide.

This I deny. Its true signification, as any Lexicon will inform him, which he may condescend to consult, is *to lie down*; so that the words “and *lodged* there” must be considered as synonymous with “and *lay* there.”

But the most extraordinary link in the chain of cognate ideas ever fabricated, is that which he has fastened upon the unfortunate verb קום, usually construed *to stand* or *to rise*, but which he construes *to be married*. “The various modes,” he says, “by which a verb is expressed, agreeably to the idea of the writer or speaker, are many in all languages. Thus it is said of a person, who *rises* in the world, as to property or situation, that he is *established, stands, remains, subsists, continues, endures, maintains, withstands, justified, absolved, succeeds.*” Does he mean that all these verbs are synonymous with the verb *rises*, and may be used indifferently for it? But let us hear him further. “And with regard to the operation of any *purpose, counsel, word, doctrine, prediction, promise, decree, decision, vow, agreement, or bargain*, it” (that is, the verb קום) “means *to stand good, to be ratified, established, confirmed, made sure, performed*; Gen. xvii. 13, *arise*; Deut. xix. 15, *established*; Josh. xi 11, *remain*; 1 Sam. xiii. 14, *continue*; Jer. xlv. 29, *shall stand*. And consequently this word in the strictest sense *embraces the act of marriage*. For when a woman *is married*, she *is then established*; the *bond, vow, or bargain* is *made sure*; is *ratified and confirmed*. Therefore the above sense and application of the word I have chosen *must necessarily be allowed.*”

In this singular species of reasoning there seems a strange jumble of language, and no very lucid development of idea; but if I comprehend the drift of it, it is intended to prove, that because a contract *is established* during the act of marriage, and because the verb קום, when connected with a substantive expressive of any contract, means *to be established*, therefore the verb קום

embraces the act of marriage; and further, that because a woman is said *to be established*, when she *is married*, and because the verb קום signifies *to be established*, when applied to the contract made by a woman in marriage, therefore also must the same verb signify *to be married*. This singular critic particularly prides himself upon his knowledge of major and minor propositions.\* I leave him to explain the species of propositions to which he alludes; but the reader perhaps will not be disposed to think, that he has here exhibited any great skill in *logical* propositions. With respect however to his first syllogism, granting the truth of the premises, I can only admit the conclusion under *a certain limitation*, viz. that the verb קום, although it means *to be established* when connected with a substantive, expressive of *any* contract, yet never *embraces the act of marriage*, unless when connected with a substantive or substantives expressive of *the marriage* contract. And with respect to the second, a fallacy pervades the whole argument; for he only proves, what no one ever doubted, that the verb קום signifies *to be established*, when applied to *a word* meaning some contract made or to be made, not when applied to *a woman* as in the text, who is not said to make, to have made, or to be about to make, any contract whatsoever. Besides, were this verb capable of such an application in such a sense, the conclusion stated would not then follow; for although it be indeed true, that when every woman is *married*, she is said *to be established*, the converse by no means holds, that when every woman *is established*, she is said *to be married*; otherwise what would become of all establishments for *unmarried* women? Nor perhaps will even Mr. Bellamy himself contend, that when we say, a woman *stands* or *rises*, we mean, that *she is married*.

\* Classical Journal, No. XXXVII, p. 29:

But notwithstanding that his reasoning upon this perplexed point is nothing more than confusion worse confounded ; let us for a moment suppose it to be correct, and what will be the result? Only that the verb קום *may*, not that it *does, signify to be married* ; for he will scarcely assert, that it bears such a meaning in any other part of the Bible. Still however he may be disposed to argue, that a word “ should be translated, not only as it is in *other* parts of Scripture, but also consistently with *the obvious sense of the narrative,*” and that the meaning, which he wishes to impose upon the verb קום *is* thus consistent. But with *what* obvious sense of the narrative is the meaning which he attributes to it consistent? Clearly not with any sense ascribed to it by any translator or commentator, ancient or modern, *himself alone* excepted. And can we for a moment listen to a man, who tells us, that he uses a word in a signification before unheard of, because he conceives that signification to be consistent with the obvious sense of the narrative, in which it occurs ; a sense as unheard of, until invented by him, as the signification itself? But indeed his sense of the narrative is more dependent upon this signification of the word, than this signification of the word is upon his sense of the narrative ; for translate קום in the usual manner, and the uncemented fabric of his novel narrative falls to the ground.

I have been more particular in my remarks upon this chapter, although not so particular as I might have been, in order to shew what little reliance is to be placed upon the judgment of such a writer ; of a writer, who, I believe from no bad motive, but with the most unpardonable arrogance and folly, fresh points the shafts of infidelity against every interpretation of Scripture, except his own.

Before I conclude my strictures on this anomalous translator, I must advert to a grammatical discovery, which he flatters himself that he has made, of considerable importance ; one, which has hitherto escaped the united penetra-

tion of Jews and of Christians ; of Jews at least since the time of Ezra, and of Christians at all periods : it is the discovery of a *preterpluperfect tense*, distinctly marked, in Hebrew. “The rule,” he says, “for the pluperfect tense does not appear to have been known either by Jews or Christians, since the dispersion of the Jewish nation, though it is pointed out in the language, and only required industry to trace out its *conformity* in every part of Scripture.” His reasoning a priori to prove, that there *must* have always existed some formal method of expressing this tense in Hebrew, is curious. “It will be seen,” he observes, “by the intelligent reader, that as there is a power exercised by man, which carries the mind to a period more remote, than the first preter, or recent past time ; there must be an expression for such a modification of the preter tense, as we find in *all* languages.” Certainly not in any *oriental* language of the same family with Hebrew. But let us proceed. “And therefore it would be *absurd* to suppose, that the Hebrew, the most expressive, the most comprehensive, and the most correct of all languages, the language in which God gave his commands, should be defective in this point. Consequently there *must* have been *some formal method of expressing* the existence of this remote preter among the ancient Hebrews.”\* Notwithstanding, however, the risk which I may run of incurring the supreme contempt of a man so well satisfied with the infallibility of his own conclusions, I must still confess, that I am inclined to swim with the universal current of opinion from the days of Ezra to our own ; and to consider the Hebrew language as having always laboured under the deficiency alluded to.

But what is this wonderful rule ? I will give it in his own words : “The rule for the modification of the preter tense, which modification is called the preterpluperfect

\* Introduction, p. xxxix.

tense, depends on the accent פֿשֿט [פֿשֿטא] i. e. *to put off*, which is its meaning. That is, it is *so called*, because it *puts off* the time of the verb to a time more remote.”\*

Such is the ground-work of his rule ; but what must we think of it, when we find him betraying the grossest ignorance of the *name and nature* of that very accent, upon which it depends. This it is by no means difficult to prove ; for in the first place פֿשֿט does not signify *in Hebrew* what he asserts, viz. *to put off* in the sense of *defferring*, or, as he uses the word, of *referring*, an action to a more remote period. Its proper meaning is *exuo, extraho, to strip off*, as a skin or garment ; and in this sense only can the English verb, *to put off*, be applicable to it. The terms however are by no means convertible. For although he may be said *to put off*, for instance, as well as *to strip off*, his coat at pleasure, he can only be said *to put off*, but by no means *to strip off*, the intended publication of the remaining parts of his version, should he be so disposed, to a more convenient opportunity.

Nor is this all. By building his hypothesis upon the supposed Hebrew signification of the word, he shows himself to have been totally unapprized, that the names of the accents are not Hebrew, but *Chaldee*. This the very termination of the accent in question פֿשֿט might alone have taught him ; to say nothing of others, which are capable of being derived from a Chaldee root alone. The Chaldee verb פֿשֿט then, very different from the Hebrew verb with the same radicals, signifies *to stretch out*, as the arms in action, or *to bend down*, as the eyes towards the ground. Hence it is that its substantive form פֿשֿטא which constitutes the name of the accent in question, has been usually considered, as bearing the sense of *extension*, and as serving to regulate the intonation of the voice on a

\* Introduction, p. xxxix.

syllable, which is succeeded by a slight pause. The use of accents surely he must know, if he knows any thing upon the subject, was adopted to mark, not a distinction of tenses, but a distinction of sense in the public reading of Scripture, by determining the appropriate inflexions and pauses of the voice in every sentence.

But he will perhaps say, Might not accents however have a secondary use, and indicate the tenses of verbs? They certainly might do so; but what proof of it exists? Of the whole number, he only assumes it to be the case of one. And it should be added, that were this the secondary use of *Pashta*, why is not that accent confined to *verbs* alone? Why is it so frequently connected with words belonging to every other part of speech.

After all however is it certain, that he is sufficiently acquainted with Hebrew accents to distinguish between *Pashta* and any other accent of the *same figure*? From the evidence of his writings I am persuaded that he is not. For immediately after stating his general rule as above, he gives, what he calls "*proofs* for the existence of this modification of the preter tense." His proofs consists of the following references. Gen. xvi. 5, *that she had conceived*, הרתה;—xix. 17, *when they had brought forth*, כהוציאם;—xxxiii. 19, *he had there spread*;—xxxv. 7, *for there he had repaired the altar*, ויבן;—*ibid*, *also he had preached*;—v. 14. *Jacob had erected*, יצב;—v. 15, *Jacob had called the name of the place*, יקרא;—*ibid*. *where God had spoken with him*, דבר; Joshua v. 12, *after they had eaten*;—viii. 13, *when they had set*, ישימו;—x. 1, *had taken*, לכד;—xiv. 3, *for Moses had given*, נתן;—Judges xiv. 18, *if ye had not ploughed*, חרשתם;—xxi. 5, *for they had made a great oath*, התיה;—Ruth i. 6, *she had heard*;—1 Kings i. 6, *had not displeased*, עצבו;—1 Chron. x. 9, *when they had stripped*. These references amount in all to *seventeen*;

out of which number there are certainly but *five* where the verbs occur marked with the accent *Pashta*, viz. Gen. xxxiii. 19, xxxv. 7; also *he* had *preached*; Joshua v. 12; Ruth i. 6, and 1 Chron. 9. And with respect to the remaining *twelve* verbs, *eight* of them are all marked with the accent *Kadma*; viz. Gen. xix. 17, xxxv. 14, xxxv. 15; Ibid. Joshua viii. 13, x. 1, xiv. 3; 1 Kings i. 6; while of the other *four*, one, Gen. xvi. 5, הָרַתָּה has the accent *Zakeph Katon*; another Gen. xxxv. 7, (for there he had repaired וִיבֶן) has *Mahpach*; the third, Judges xiv. 18, חָרַשְׁתָּם, has *Munach*; and the fourth, Judges xxi. 5, הִיָּתָה, has *Rebia*.

To what can all this blundering be attributed? In the four last mentioned instances indeed it might have arisen from mere inattention, from permitting the eye accidentally to wander from the verb in question to an adjoining, or nearly adjoining word with a *Pashta* over it. But what shall we say to the *eight* instances, out of the seventeen referred to, as all marked with *Pashta*, in which the accent *Kadma* instead of *Pashta* appears? That this must have been owing to complete ignorance, the reader will immediately perceive, when he is told, that the form of these two accents is precisely *the same*, the one being distinguishable from the other, not *by figure*, but solely *by position*. The distinction is this, A *Pashta*, when the sole accent of a word, is always placed over the *last* letter of the syllable, as פָּקֵד; but *Kadma*, as its name signifying *priority* imports, always over the *first*, as פִּקֵּד. The conclusion is obvious. He has mistaken one for the other; a mistake which pervades his whole work; and has thus stumbled at the very threshold of his theory.

But not satisfied with even this great discovery, he ventures to proceed a little farther; and attempts to prove the existence of *two* preterpluperfect tenses in Hebrew, the one more remote in point of time than the other. This

still more remote preterpluperfect is characterized, he conceives, by being honoured with *two* Pashtas. Now all, who are in the least acquainted with the doctrine of accents, know, that the proper situation of *Pashta* is over the *last* letter of the *last syllable* ; but that when a word requires it, the *natural* accent or tone of which word falls upon the *penultima*, or when the last syllable has *Pathach furtive*, or a double *Sheva*, then and then only, from the necessity of the case, are *two* Pashtas employed ; one being placed over the *last letter of the last syllable* as usual, the other over *the syllable upon which the tone falls*, thus פִּקְדוֹתֵי, that only, which is over the penultima affecting the pronunciation. What has this modification of an accent, adopted merely to suit the variety of emphasis, to do with the modification of tenses ?

It should likewise be remarked, that if a peculiar designation of time were really effected by *Pashta*, when it is used with a verb, such effect would be produced uniformly ; as indeed he distinctly states it is, asserting, that the observation of his rule is “regular throughout Scripture.” The reverse however proves to be the fact ; for verbs, which have *Pashta* are found by the context to be in *all* tenses. Thus Gen. iii. 22, the verb וּלְקַח marked with this accent, he himself construes *shall take*, as a future in the following clause ; “therefore now surely he *shall* put forth his hand, and *take* also of the tree of life.” Again Gen. xxvii. 25, the verb וְאָכַל with the same accent he correctly translates, *and I will eat* ; “approach before me, and *I will eat* the repast of my son.” Now in both these instances it is apparent from the context, that a *future* action alone is alluded to. This is still clearer in the narrative of Joseph’s dream, when his brethren say to him, “*Shalt* thou reign over us ?” where the verb *shalt thou reign* is תִּמְלֹךְ with *Pashta*.

Nor is this the case only when a *single Pashta*, but

also, when *two* occur over the same verb. So Gen. xxii. 2, he construes, אָהַבְתָּ *thou lovest*, not *thou hadst loved*. “Take now thy son, thy only son, whom *thou lovest*.” And in the 6th verse of the same chapter he renders יִשְׁם *which he laid*, not *which he had laid*; “Abraham took the wood of the offering, which *he laid* upon Isaac.” What may be his opinion upon the point, when he gets to the book of Numbers, I know not; but in chap. xxiv. 17, it will puzzle him I conceive to translate, according to his rule, in what he calls the most remote preterpluperfect tense, the verb אֶרְאֶנּוּ “*I shall see him*, but not now;” as the prophet Balaam is indisputably alluding to the *future* fortune of the Israelites. But indeed the hypothesis is altogether too unsound to endure the minutest examination, and so hollow as to ring at every touch.

I have been more particular in my remarks upon this singular attempt at a new translation of the Bible, in consequence of the public expectation which that attempt seems to have excited. The Quarterly Reviewers, however, have denounced without reserve its total failure; and for their spirited condemnation of it deserve the thanks of every friend to solid reasoning and sober criticism. Foreigners, it is to be hoped, will not form their estimate of the present state of Hebrew erudition among us from so illiterate a production, notwithstanding the respectable subscription which has been obtained to encourage it. For in this country, it should be recollected, the plausible projector, and importunate promoter, of every undertaking, apparently useful, and certainly laborious, solicit not public patronage in vain; and seldom is incapacity presumed, until it be detected.

Having thus devoted a whole chapter to the eccentricities of a translator, who regards convertibility as the essence of Hebrew construction, and incomprehensibility as the object of Hebrew criticism, not in compliment to

him, but solely in deference to the notice, which he has received, I shall now release myself from all further allusion to him; and return with satisfaction to authors of name and credit, whose opinions are worth refutation.

### CHAP. III.

*Expediency only of a new translation asserted on the other side. No inaccuracies in the present translation affecting faith or morals. Probable reasons which might have prevented compliance with the proposal for a new translation under authority. No good case made out in support of that proposal. The received Hebrew text stated to be corrupt. Mode of amending it inefficient. Collations of MSS. and versions. No classifications of MSS. ever attempted. Under different editions impracticable. All MSS. and versions, the Septuagint alone excepted, of one and the same edition. Septuagint too corrupted for use. Eichorn. Critical Principles adopted by the advocates for a new translation unsatisfactory and fallacious. Baver. Eichorn.*

THE various writers in favour of a new version, have generally had in their contemplation a translation of the whole Bible, as well of the New as of the Old, Testament; but their arguments have been principally, and sometimes exclusively, limited to the consideration of the question, as connected with the state of the Old Testament alone. To this latter point, therefore, I shall altogether confine my own observations.

From the detail of opinions contained in the first chapter, comprehending those of the principal writers upon the subject from the commencement to the conclusion of the last century, it may be seen that, while some have argued *the necessity*, others have only urged *the expediency* of the measure. The anonymous author of "An Essay for a new translation of the Bible," proposes in his very title page to demonstrate "*the necessity*" of the undertaking; Lowth denominates it "*a necessary work*;" and Kenni-

cott alludes to “the *great expediency, or rather the necessity* of a more exact English Bible.”\* What precise idea was here intended to be affixed to the word *necessity*, does not appear; but it was probably one in perfect conformity with an observation of Archbishop Newcome, who makes the following remarks:—“In common language a measure is said to be *necessary*, when it is *highly expedient*.”†

Presuming therefore, that the term was meant to be taken in so limited a point of view, let us next see upon what this presumption of a high expediency was grounded. Certainly not upon the notion, that our present translation contains errors in any degree affecting religious opinion and conduct. This seems to be distinctly disavowed. Durell observes in recommendation of a new version, that “the minds of the people cannot hereby be *unsettled*. *All* the leading articles of religion will remain *undisturbed*; neither will *the ground of their faith or practice* be ever *so remotely affected*.”‡ Kennicott in his “Dissertatio Generalis” thus expresses himself: “Quidni itaque et nunc etiam boni omnes faverent si hodiernam nostram versionem in melius, recudi viderint? Sunt certe, et ii magni nominis viri qui versionem impense flagitant perfectiorem; quorum tamen *nemo non fatebitur, in ea, quam nunc habemus, versione satis omnino integritatis esse, ut de credendi et agendi norma liquido constant omnia*.”§ A similar avowal is made by Blayney, who hesitates not to admit, that “neither the errors, which have crept into the original text, nor those, which deform the translation, have fallen upon *any essential points either of doctrine or of morals*.”|| And subsequently he remarks, as Durell had done before him, that by the application for a new version, “no *innovation* in religion is intended, *not any the least alteration in the grounds of our faith and practice*.”¶

\* Remarks, Introd. p. 6.

‡ Critical Remarks, Preface, p. 9.

|| Prelim. Disc. to Jeremiah.

† Historical View, p. 189.

§ Sect. 8.

¶ Page xi.

When imperfections therefore are imputed to our established translation, these imperfections must be understood to consist, not in *theological*, but simply in *philological*, inaccuracies. And it is only upon a scale of this kind that we are to estimate the importance attached to them. The *absolute necessity* then of the proposed measure being wholly out of the question, and the *great expediency* of it resting upon such a basis, have not our rulers always acted with wisdom and discretion in resisting the headstrong torrent of literary opinion, and in not suffering themselves to be borne down by its impetuosity? They have been indeed repeatedly told, that our established translation was taken from an incorrect, or, as the fashionable phrase of the critic is, corrupt text, and that it abounds with philological errors; but they were at the same time assured that those errors involve no essential point of faith or morals. And what confidence had they in the stability of the new criticism? Or what reliance could be placed on the individual exertion of those critical powers to which they were to look for the emendation as well of the text as of the translation? Specimens of the supposed improvements have, it is true, been long abroad; but have these proved satisfactory in themselves, particularly as to their general result, or have they challenged universal concurrence? Might not another race of more scrupulous critics arise, who, contemplating the licentious innovations of their predecessors with equal astonishment and disapprobation, might choose again to adopt a more sober line of criticism, and make it necessary to undo much, if not all, of that which had been so recently done? Other reflections, I doubt not, of greater force, suggested themselves to prevent the prudent hand of power from intermeddling in an enterprise, where the object in view seemed not worth the perplexity and danger of the pursuit; where there was much to lose, but little to gain. Howsoever that might have

been, we may certainly conclude, that no trivial motives could have occasioned the total rejection of a proposal so earnestly pressed upon the attention of government by men of high character, rank, and talent. Indeed the plain policy of the question must have always been something more than problematical; for surely were the project adopted of revising a translation of the Bible, the general excellence of which is on all sides admitted, and to which the nation has been accustomed for full two centuries past to look up with veneration, not solely for the purpose of verbal corrections, but also for the purpose of introducing in some places novel senses, in others senses diametrically opposite to the former, and that without a possibility of explaining to the common reader the principles of the change, might not such a proceeding shake the very foundation of public confidence altogether?

But let us argue the question of expediency upon another ground, and see if any thing like a plausible case has been made out in support of it. The advocates for a new translation say, that the present one is taken from *a bad text*, and is itself replete with philological inaccuracies. This they indeed assert; but has this assertion been proved? Certainly not. The very basis of the whole argument has solely rested upon the ground of *mere assumption*.

Much has indeed been written upon the discordance between the printed Hebrew Bible, and Hebrew Manuscripts; and we know, that the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi point out the passages, in which that discordance exists. The first step therefore towards the formation of an amended text must be a critical arrangement and application of these materials. But has any thing of the kind been yet attempted? Dr. Blayney indeed long since proposed that a select committee of divines should be appointed by government “to examine into the state of the Hebrew text, and *to restore it as nearly as possible to its*

*primitive purity.*”\* But it may be well questioned, whether such a step would have been either desirable or effectual? If the talents of those, who might have been appointed to the task, had been in the highest degree respectable, as I doubt not they would have been, still I fear that the critical world would have looked with an eye of suspicion, if not of distrust, upon the labours of a committee thus constituted. Had a committee of the kind alluded to taken place, it would of course have been selected from the most eminent scholars of the day; from men like Lowth, Pilkington Durell, Kennicott, Blayney, &c. who had distinguished themselves in Hebrew literature, and who had already individually laboured in their various publications “to restore the Hebrew text as nearly as possible to its primitive purity.” But how would they have attempted to effect this object? The whole tenor of their respective writings demonstrate, that it would have been by the aid of an *arbitrary criticism*. The restoration of the Hebrew text to its primitive purity was the point, which in all their publications they kept constantly in view; and this they endeavoured to restore by exchanging the received readings for others, which they selected at pleasure, without any certain clue of discrimination, from the mass of manuscript collations furnished by Kennicott, sometimes preferring the reading of a single manuscript, sometimes that of more, and generally one sanctioned by the authority of a MS. or MSS. supposed† to be *ancient*.

\* Preface to Jeremiah, p. ix.

† The *most ancient* MS. collated is No. I. Bodl. which in Kennicott’s judgment is as old as about the middle of the *tenth* century, and which is written in the *Spanish* character. But De Rossi forms a different opinion of its antiquity, referring it to the *twelfth* century. Ob Keri, quod habet, et lineas Masoræ destinatas, videatur *certe recentior et ad xii. seculum* referendus. Vol. i. p. lix. And Bruns decides its character to be not *Spanish* but *Italic*. Hispanicum esse characterem hujus codicis *nego et pernego*. Italicus, quem Kennic. intermedium vocat, esse videtur. Dissert. Generalis Kennic. Ed. Bruns, p. 339. What certainty on such points can we have, when critics of eminence so widely differ in opinion from each other.

They also endeavoured to restore it by correcting it in conformity with readings deduced at will from the ancient versions; "A true text," says Lowth, "as far as it is possible to recover it, is to be gathered from the manuscripts now extant, and from the evidence furnished by the ancient versions of the readings of manuscripts of much earlier times."\* Nor is this all; for they took the liberty, particularly Bishop Lowth himself, not only of transposing, but sometimes of altering the Hebrew letters, so as to superinduce a change of sense in the passage. Thus he remarks, "a change of one of the similar letters for the other, when *it remarkably clears up the sense*, may be *fairly allowed to criticism, even without any other authority than that of the context* to support it."†

Upon such principles then we may conclude, that their restoration of the text would have been conducted. But could a restoration of this kind have proved satisfactory? It might indeed have pleased for a short period; but after the labours of Griesbach in the text of the New Testament, we may be sure that no more modern critic would have approved of any application of manuscript collations, *unarranged, and unclassified*. With respect likewise to the versions, the immensity of various readings in the Septuagint alone which have since been collected, sufficiently evince, that, before we attempt to correct the original text by them, they themselves must be corrected. And as to the liberty of transposing and changing similar letters in the words of the text, by way of clearing the sense of the context, who would now become an advocate for it? Indeed even those, who were ambitious of seizing this slippery rule of criticism, as it twisted and glided before them, soon found, that it constantly eluded their grasp, and began to abandon the pursuit of it.

I contend therefore, that no case has yet been made out sufficiently strong to warrant the public appointment of

\* Isaiah, Introduction, p. 57.

† Ibid. p. 51.

a committee to undertake a new translation of the Bible upon an improved text. It was surely incumbent upon those, who so zealously recommended the measure, to point out where this improved text was to be found, to realize their own dreams respecting it, and not to make government a party in pursuing the mere phantom of their own imagination. To have appointed a committee for this purpose, which must have been deficient in the means of executing the trust reposed in it, would have been little better than an attempt to revive the tyranny of the ancient Egyptian taskmasters. When biblical critics *are agreed* upon the formation of an improved text, it will then, I apprehend, be time enough to take the public adoption of that text into consideration.

But what have been, and what still are, considered by the advocates of the measure, as adequate materials for the emendation in view? The answer is obvious; *the collations and the versions*. Although, therefore, I maintain, that these materials should have been applied to some effectual purpose, so as to have uniformly produced an amended text, if that were possible, *before* the subject was at all pressed upon the attention of government, I nevertheless admit, as I have already remarked, that many ingenious specimens, of what it was supposed might be done in this way, were furnished by individuals of learning and ability in their notes upon detached parts of Scripture. Their efforts however, in the judgment of foreign, and therefore the most impartial, critics, completely failed of success; more, I am persuaded, from a defect of materials, than from a defect of talent.

When the *collations of Kennicott* appeared, they seem to have disappointed public expectation, particularly on the continent. The following is the statement of Baver upon this point in his "Critica Sacra;" Magna, qua animi tenebantur, expectatio fallebatur, et quidem vel ideo, quia æquo majus quid omnes speraverant. Et quo magis antea

bonus Kennicottus collaudabatur, eo plus nunc vituperabatur, idque ex parte immerito, ex parte autem merito suo. Cum enim plures animadverterent, farraginem variantium lectionum quidem innumeram esse, *longe plurimas vero apertos esse lapsus scriptorios, paucas* reperiri notatu dignas, quæ *in textu emendando* verum auxilium præsentent; Kennicotto stomachabantur, in eumque *immeritam* culpam transtulerunt, quasi plura et meliora dare potuisset, quam in codicibus suis invenerat. Hoc vero *jure* illi ab aliis in arte critica exercitatissimis, et ingenii ac doctrinæ laude insignibus viris exprobatum est, *quod quandoque dormitaverit*, et in excerptis variis lectionibus quarum infinitam copiam ante oculos habuit, *non semper satis diligens fuerit*, et quod in dissertatione generali *non præstiterit, quod a bono critico expectari poterat*.\* He then refers in corroboration of his statement to the criticisms of Michaelis and Eichorn.

The collations of Kennicott were soon followed by those of De Rossi, which are deemed equally deficient in readings of importance. Thus Baver remarks; *Variæ lectiones, in codice V. T. ortæ sunt ex usu matrum lectionis, qui a librariorum arbitrio dependebat. Inde factum est, ut codices, si ad litteras ך et ם otiantes spectes, tantopere inter se discrepent, ut maxima variarum lectionum a Kennicotto et De Rossi collectarum pars in vocibus plene vel defective scriptis consistat.*† Again speaking of both, he says, *Scimus maximam variantium lectionum farraginem esse vitia calami a librariis commissa; longe majorem earum partem in matribus lectionis, sc. defective et plene scriptis, consistere, quæ arbitrio scribarum relicta fuerunt.*‡

But of whatsoever description the reading contained in the respective collations may appear to be, certain it is, that no attempt has ever been made to *classify* them.

\* Prolegomena, p. 20, 21.

† Critica Sacra, p. 175.

‡ Page 423.

Nor indeed does a classification upon the plan of Griesbach, so as to arrange them under *different editions*, seem possible; because they all appear to belong to *one and the same* edition, viz. to the Masoretical. Upon this point Bayer makes the following observation: Omnes codices Hebraici V. T. quotquot sunt, sequuntur unam eandemque recensionem, *Masoreticam* nimirum, ad ejusque exemplum arctissime adstricti sunt. Hoc non Masorethæ quidem efficere potuerunt, ut omnes Masoræ contrarias lectiones antiquavissent atque delessent. Rara in singulis codicibus superest lectio Antemasorethica, sicuti excussis olivis Baccha, aut post vindemiam uva solitaria. *Falsa* itaque, quam fecerunt, divisio codicum est in *Masorethicos*, et *Antemasorethicos*; quos posteriores, si sensu strictiori tales intelligis, *nullibi inveniri*, experientia edocti sumus. Superfluum igitur quodammodo esse videtur, sollicite in familias codicum inquirere, *quos omnes e Masoretharum recensione profluxisse* constat.\* Again: Scimus, non codices *Antemasorethicos* superesse, sed omnes, quotquot in Bibliothecarum angulis latent, aut in Judæorum manibus versantur, codices ad Masoretharum decreta esse conformatos.†

It seems then, that a classification of Hebrew manuscripts under various editions is wholly impracticable. I do not indeed deny, that some sort of classification may be effected, so as to rank those, which have been transcribed from a superior, above those, which have been transcribed from an inferior, copy of the same edition; and thus to reduce into something like order the present chaotic mass of readings; but even this classification, such as it is, has been never yet accomplished, or even attempted. And, until it is, where can be the propriety of bringing these collations forward in any way for the effectual emendation of the text?

But if little assistance for this desirable purpose be af-

\* Page 396.

† Page 403.

forded by the collations of MSS. the ancient versions, it may be said, amply supply the deficiency. This, however, I by no means admit; for, with the exception perhaps of the Septuagint, they also appear to have been taken from the very same edition as the manuscripts, I mean from the *Masoretical*. So early as in the year 1784, Eichhorn wrote a preface to the second part of the "*Nova Bibliotheca Hebræa*" of Kocher, in which he maintains the position I have asserted, with arguments which I have never seen confuted. Upon this point he expresses himself thus decidedly: Quod ad versiones quidem antiquas attinet, cum eæ jam *solutiores* decurrant, jam verborum sint tenaciores, nec interpretes antiqui scriptam sibi alibi legem ubique tam sancte servaverint, ut nihil, ne particulam, ne suffixum quidem, textui sacro, inter vertendum intruderent, cum potius *de suo* talia multa adderent, et in subita v. c. personarum et numeri permutatione, scriptoribus Hebræis valde familiari et frequenti, suæ linguæ ingenium sequi deberent, et ad id genus alia multa ducerentur: hæc textus Masorethici cum interpretibus antiquis eum in finem instituenda comparatio, ut quomodo conspirare et differre dicendi sint appareat, res est, quæ magna et intentiore cura indiget. Si enim omnem, quæ inter comparandum prodere se videtur, lectionis varietatem tanquam veram et genuinam admittere velles, posses scriptorem quemlibet sacrum ita interpolatione diffingere et alium reddere, *ut ex vetere novus, ex corrupto corruptissimus evaderet*. Si vero a locis his dubiis et incertis discesseris, in lectione vulgari cum libris Masorethicis ita vel conspirant, vel ab iis discrepant interpretes antiqui, *ut eandem prorsus textus Biblici recensione ante oculos habuisse necesse sit, quam tum in Masora, tum in libris, qui ex eodem fonte fluere, codicis sacri scriptis servatam cernimus*. Et primum quidem vix unam et alteram lectionem *Masorethicam* satis fundatam, idoneisque libris suffultam, offendi arbitror, *quæ interpretum veterum suffragiis*

*non item confirmetur.* Deinde in vitiis adeo apertis, corruptelis, puta lacunis, hiatibus, atque etiam interpolationibus, vel prorsus conspirant cum Masorethis, vel in varias partes discedunt, ut adeo probabile fiat, *eadem quidem menda suis etiam apographis insedissee*, sed interpretum quemlibet *pro ingenii sui modulo* in emendandis sollicitandisque locis affectis desudasse.\*

As therefore the Masoretical text, and that from which all the versions, except perhaps the Greek of the Seventy, were derived, appear to have constituted, what critics would call, *one and the same edition*; the advantages afforded by the versions in the proposed emendation can be but trivial; the readings on both sides, although more or less diverted in their progress, having all originally flowed from the same source. But an exception is made in favour of the Septuagint. May not that alone therefore, it may be asked, be of the most important consideration, as having been probably taken from an edition of the Hebrew text different from the Masoretical? A better answer to this question cannot be given than in the words of Eichorn; *Jam si quæritur, quæ, ante Christum natum, a Bibliotheca sacra instituta fata ejus fuerint, et quas vicissitudines subierit, omnia sunt multo obscuriora tantisque tenebris involuta, ut ea silentio præterire fere præstet quam in campum tam lubricum descendere.* Dicam tamen breviter, quæ mihi verisimilia videntur. *Posset quidem Græca LXX interpretum versio fundamenti loco poni, cui de textus biblici, ducentis ante Christum annis, conditione disputatio superstruatur. Ut cum illa temporis injuria tam male habita sit, eaque jam seculo post Christum natum tertio sugillata, et suffusa tot livoribus et ulceribus a librariis et criticis audaculis esset, ut Origenes interpretem sæpe in interprete quæreret; nec ea post Origenis medellam meliora fata experta fuerit: sane lacunam hanc luto-*

*sam* præstat præterire, quam *textus Hebraici multo limpidiorem*, quem Historia testatur, *fontem rivulis lutosus turbidum reddere*. Quid enim ab interpretum manibus profectum sit raro exsculpi potest; nec ad quæstionem nostram enodandam facit id, de quo sæpius ac melius constat, quas Origenes vel librariorum aberrationes vel criticorum male sedulorum interpretamenta et emblemata damnaverit, quidve alibi inseruerit textui, ut lacunas suppleret, et id genus multa. Qui igitur de fide, qua ab Esra, sive a condita inde Bibliotheca sacra, textus Biblicus propagatus sit, *certi* aliquid statuere velit; *lectionum ad Masorethas transmissarum ingenii ac naturæ rationem habeat necesse est*.\*

In the judgment therefore of Eichorn it is much better to neglect altogether what he terms *the muddy ditch* of the Septuagint, than to render turbid with it the more limpid fountain of the Masoretical text.

Nor does he hold the Samaritan Pentateuch itself, which has been so extravagantly extolled by some critics, in much higher estimation. This indeed is no version; but it is usually considered as affording a strong corroboration to the readings found in some of the versions, particularly in the Septuagint. Of the boasted Samaritan, however, upon a comparison with the Masoretical text, the same distinguished critic speaks thus contemptuously: *Nec possumus Masoretharum fidem, ac religionem, an superstitionem dicam? majori in luce collocari, quam comparatione editionis Masorethicæ cum Samaritana instituta, quarum posterior tot scælet aberrationibus, interpolationibus, ac jejunis unius seu plurium criticastrorum emblematis, ut vix vicesima earum lectionum pars, in quibus a libris Judaicis discedit, aliquam veritatis speciem præ se ferat*.† And this censure he substantiates by a variety of examples taken out of the first and second chapters of Genesis.

But I would also here remark, as I have done in the

\* Ibid. p. 7, 8.

† Ibid. p. 6.

instance of the MS. collations, that something like a critical collection and discrimination of their respective readings, something like a digest and arrangement of their concordant and discordant testimonies, should have been attempted, before the practicability of the measure proposed upon principles necessarily involving these points had been presumed. And to have effected even this, would not previous collations of the versions themselves have been necessary ?

The advocates however for a corrected text and a new translation seem to have thought, that much might be done towards the accomplishment of the object before them without either a classification of manuscripts, or a verification, as well as an arrangement, of the readings, furnished by the versions. They imagined, that both these rich mines of emendation, without the laborious process of extracting the ore from its matrix, yielded an abundant treasure adapted to immediate use. On this fairy ground they trod ; and, attempting to reduce upon a small scale their theory into practice, exhibited, it must be confessed, much brilliant conjecture, but little solid criticism. Upon the point, however, of their failure in this attempt it may be proper to be a little more particular.

In proof then that the general principle of their criticism, together with their efforts in its exemplification, was unsatisfactory and fallacious, I shall first quote the statement of Baver, a critic by no means indisposed to novelty of opinion, and therefore the least exceptionable judge. Arguing that the Masoretical text, although like all the productions of antiquity, it must have suffered from the ignorance and inattention of transcribers, has nevertheless better preserved its integrity than any other ancient text, sacred or profane, he goes on to show, that his opinion is confirmed by the fate of their unavailing labours, who wrote in corroboration of the contrary position. He says, *Deinde enim id me in sententia mea firmat, quod maxima*

pars emendationum criticarum, quas viri docti attulerunt aut finxerunt, a criticis modestioribus, et linguæ Hebraicæ analogiæ peritioribus, *jam jure reprobatur, et ut non necessaria et vana repudiatur. Non longum est tempus*, cum omnes, qui novum quid tentare voluerunt, pro seculi genio vires ingenii in corrigendo textu V. T. exercuerunt. Sed quot numerantur emendationes a criticorum duce audacissimo, Houbigantio Francogallo, Kennicotto, Reiskio, Lowthio, ipsoque Michaele, ut alios minus celebres viros nunc silentio transeam, oblatae et commendatae, re attentius perpensa, rationibusque in utraque lance ponderatis, *hodie* adhuc plausum omnium communem ferunt? Jamjam docti litterarum sacrarum interpretes agnoscere incipiunt, ab utraque parte esse peccatum, et ab iis, qui sinceritatem Cod. Heb. nimis magnis laudibus extollebant, et ab illis, qui nimium deprimebant; caute esse versandum in crisi, et non statim de corruptione esse conquerendum, *priusquam idiotismorum Hebraicorum rationes probe cognoverimus. Sic multitudo emendationum*, quarum *tam ferax* fuit seculum nostrum, *oblivioni traditur*, et vix paucæ manebunt doctissimorum interpretum assensu comprobatae.\*

In conformity also with the statement of Baver is the censure of Eichorn upon the criticisms of those, who have vainly endeavoured to amend the Masoretical text by the versions. Pauci, he remarks, certe textui biblico vulnera esse altius inflicta videbant, quam ut vel interpretum veterum ope sanari possent. Jam cum tamen ex illis ei vellet medicinam parare, non potuerunt non eo delabi, ut sæpius *conjecturas interpretum* magis, quam *veram olim e codicibus exhibitam lectionem* sequerentur: nec quid *vere scriptum fuerit*, sed *quid scribi potuerit* invenirent, ut *elegantiora, exquisitiora, acutiora, forsitan veriora etiam, verba* in vulgarem locum substituerent,

\* Critica Sacra, p. 167.

*scriptoremque adeo ipsum potius quam librariorum lapsus corrigerent.\**

In the judgment therefore of more modern and less adventurous critics, the efforts of those, who thus attempted to improve the text, have only tended to corrupt it; and must consequently have retarded, instead of having promoted, the great object in their contemplation. The bold project of applying critical conjecture without control, or, as it was presumed to be, of restoring its lost lustre, to the word of God, attracted indeed general admiration; and afforded scope for the exertion of elegant taste and of extensive erudition. But although the meteor arose in splendor, it blazed only for a short period; and if it be not already, will perhaps be soon forgotten.

\* Prefat. in Kocheri Nov. Bib. Heb. p. 2.

## CHAP. IV.

*Lowth's translation of Isaiah. Animalversions upon it. Censured by Kocher. Specimens of erroneous criticisms in it. Isaiah Chap. i. 3, Chap. i. 29, Chap. ii. 20, Chap. viii. 9, Chap. xxiv. 11. Kocher as superior in Philological acquirements, as inferior in classical taste. Lowth and his followers men of indisputable learning and ability.*

FROM a review of the general principles of criticism adopted by the advocates for a new version, I proceed to give a specimen of the mode in which they were desirous of amending the sacred text. This I shall take from the most celebrated production of the day, Bishop Lowth's translation of Isaiah.

When the translation alluded to first appeared, and even while it was rising into credit and reputation in our own country, foreign writers began to be startled by the unbridled boldness and temerity of its numerous emendations. Nor was it long before a direct attack was made upon it in a work entitled, “*Vindiciæ S. Textus Hebræi Esaiæ Vatis, adversus D. Roberti Lowthi, Ven. Episc. Lond. criticam. A Dav. Kochero V. T. et Ling. Orient. Professore. Bernæ 1786.*” So rapid was the effect produced by the publication of Kocher, that in the year 1795 we find Baver recording this unqualified condemnation of the criticisms, which had occasioned it: *Lowthius, Episcopus Londinensis, id imprimis egit, ut Jesaiæ textum curis criticis recenseret, et non paucas, ut sibi visum est, emendationes proposuit. Sed maximam illarum partem haud necessariam, inutilem, imo falsam esse, omnes fere interpretationis bonæ periti concedent.\** From this *Vindiciæ*

\* *Critica Sacra*, p. 452.

then of Kocher I shall select one or two of the many judicious remarks, with which it abounds, in confutation of the Bishop's amended text.

In Isaiah i. 3. our authorized version thus literally renders the Hebrew ; “ Israel doth not know ; my people doth not consider.” This is translated by Lowth in the following manner ; “ Israel doth not know *me* ; neither doth my people consider.” The reason for the addition of the word *me*, is thus given in the notes. [*Me*—] The same ancient versions [that is, the LXX, *Syriac*, *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, and the *Vulgate*] agree in adding this word ; which very properly answers, and indeed is almost necessarily required to answer, the words *possessor* and *Lord* preceding. Ἰσραὴλ δὲ ΜΕ οὐκ ἔγνω. LXX. Israel autem *me* non cognovit. Vulg. Ἰσραὴλ δὲ ΜΟΥ οὐκ ἔγνω. Aq. Theod. The testimony of so scrupulous an interpreter as *Aquila* is of great weight in this case. And both his and *Theodotion's* rendering is such, as shews plainly, that they did not add the word ΜΟΥ to help out the sense, for it only embarrasses it. It also clearly determines, what was the original reading in the old copies, from which they translated. It could not be, ידעני, which most obviously answers to the version of the LXX and *Vulgate*, for it does not accord with that of *Aquila* and *Theodotion*. The version of these latter interpreters, however injudicious, clearly ascertains both the phrase and the order of the words of the original Hebrew ; it was וישראל אותי לא ידע. The word אותי has been lost out of the text. The very same phrase is used by *Jeremiah*, chap. iv. 22. עמי אותי לא ידעו ; and the order of the words must have been as above represented ; for they have joined ישראל with אותי, as *in regimine* : they could not have taken it in this sense, Israel *meus* non cognovit, had either this phrase or the order of the words been different. I have endeavoured to set this matter in a clear light, as it is the first example of a whole word being lost out of

*the text* ; of which the reader will find *many other* plain examples in the course of these notes.”

In this criticism a little inaccuracy occurs at the very outset ; because the *Syriac*, one of the versions referred to as *adding* the word *me*, indisputably *omits* it, in perfect conformity with the Hebrew. This however I allow does not materially affect the drift of the argument. But let us turn to the remarks of Kocher. After having stated the Bishop's position and reasoning upon it, he thus proceeds. Nunc videamus argumenta in partem alteram. Ac primum quidem non unum hodie sed geminum με LXX habent, hoc modo : Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαὸς με οὐ συνήκεν. Ergo suo in codice *bis* LXX יְהוָה legisse dixeris ? an *semel* ? Profecto ego *ne semel quidem* ; nam prius *per ellipsin* dictum existimantes supplevere, ut nonnulli etiam recentiorum, recepto Interpretum more : in posteriori ne cæcus quidem erraturus fuisse videatur, ut verisimillimum sit, illos et מֵי legisse, et per ὁ λαός μου vertisse, dein librorum incuria vitium irrepsisse, errore facili quod eadem vocula με præcesserit ; idque factum mature, ob illa Hieronymi verba : “ Pro quo soli LXX transtulerunt ; *Israel autem me non cognovit, et populus me non intellexit.*” Atque prius *me* Vulgatus quoque habet, eadem plane ratione et causa, sive suo usus iudicio, sive LXX. ut solet, secutus. Quod autem ad Aquilam et Theodotionem attinget, ad notissimum יְהוָה, si tamen, ut ponitur, affuit, sic eos hæere potuisse censeam, ut pro evidente proboque accusativo incongruentem genitivum adhibere maluerint ? quare non dubito, quin suum μου non ad Ἰσραὴλ, sed sequens λαός addiderint, quo et pertinet, et manifeste in *Bosii* Biblii Græcis refertur. Confer Aldi editionem, et var. lect. Polygl. Lond. tomo VI, et inconsiderantiæ peccatum, opinor, intelliges. Præterea testem pro me appello Hieronymum, absque supplemento sic vertentem : “ Israel non cognovit, et populus meus non intellexit ;” item *Syrum* appello, *codicumque fidem*. Verum super-

est reliquis argumentis potentius verbum יָדַע *absolute usurpatum significantius simul et elegantius esse*, hoc modo ; Israel nihil novit, populus meus nihil intelligit." En exempla apud nostrum Esaiam lvi. 10, item xlv. 17; Jobi viii. 9; et Ps. lxxxii. 5; לֹא יָדְעוּ וְלֹא יִבְיִנוּ " *nihil norunt, nec quicquam intelligunt*" advertuntve ; en eadem verba, ac in loco nostro, et utrumque *absolute* peræque usurpata. Hoc si attendissent veteresque et recentiores, inutili, opinor, censura abstinuissent. Nonne in ipso ominosum offendisse limine, si tamen hic, ut autumo, B. Lowthus falsus est ?

What then is the amount of this proposed emendation? Why, a new word it seems is to be added to the Hebrew text without the evidence of a single manuscript in its favour ; because it is found in the Septuagint and Vulgate, and something like it in the Greek versions of Aquila and Theodotion. Surely such loose criticism can never be presumed to rest on a solid basis ; particularly when it is considered, that the translators of the Septuagint and Vulgate, as Kocher remarks, appear to have used the word merely in order to supply the supposed ellipsis of an accusative case after the verb יָדַע ; although indeed that verb elsewhere occurs in an absolute sense, without an ellipsis of the kind alluded to, and consequently occurs here without the necessity of any elliptical construction whatsoever.

Another instance of misapplied emendation may be quoted from the translation of the 29th verse of the same chapter. The Hebrew reads as in the English version, " *They* shall be ashamed of the oaks, which *ye* have desired, and *ye* shall be confounded for the gardens, that *ye* have chosen." To avoid this confusion of persons, Lowth converts the *third* person plural *they* into the second person *ye* ; and gives the following note upon it : " For *ye* shall be ashamed ] תְּבוֹשׁוּ in the *second* person, *Vulg. Chald. two MSS.* and one Edition ; and in agreement

with the rest of the sentence.” The object of this note is to substitute the reading of תבשו “*ye shall be ashamed,*” for that of בישו “*they shall be ashamed,*” upon the authority of the *Vulgate, Chaldee, and two MSS.* as well as of *one Edition*. But Kocher on the other hand more correctly contends, that the *intermixture* of personal pronouns, applicable to one and the same individual or individuals, is so far from being unusual in Hebrew, that it is esteemed *an elegance*; and that in the very verse under consideration, the translators of different versions render the persons of the verbs contained in it variously, deviating from the strict letter of the text at pleasure. His words are: Idne adsuetis prophetarum lectioni insuetum, personas sic quam sæpissime et de industria mutari; interpretes autem illam sibi insolentiam, quæ Hebræis usu frequenti in elegantiam verterat, ad suarum linguarum indolem, plus minusve, nec raro flectere? Igitur *Chaldæus* quatuor illa verba persona *secunda*, LXX, *Syrus*, et *Arabs* omnia peræque *tertia* exprimunt; atque *Vulgatus* denique *priori* quidem membro *tertium*, *posteriori* vero *secundam* personam maluit. Ecquis non sentit, quid sibi sic vertendo voluerint? Itaque res tædii plena, Episcopum per totum librum suam obtinere pertinaciam, semper personas permutare velle, me autem castigare. Quare hoc sit pro specimine, ut censura plerumque supersedere deinceps liceat. Interim *ad codices* hic provoco, apud animumque perpendere suadeo, quam difficile se sustentaturum illud בישו fuerit, si tamen fuisset pravum.

But slender as the authority is, upon which this emendation is proposed to be made, it is singular, that of the two versions, to which Lowth refers, viz. the *Vulgate* and the *Chaldee*, one of them, the *Vulgate*, adopts a rendering which makes directly against him, translating the disputed verb, not in the *second* person, *ye*, as stated by him, but in the *third* person, *they*, as in the Hebrew,

“*they* shall be ashamed ;” *Confundentur* enim ab idolis. Elegance of taste and refinement of talent may indeed despise the toil of long and painful research for points of apparently trivial importance in themselves ; but criticism cannot exist without accuracy of investigation and fidelity of statement.

In corroboration also of Kocher’s remark, respecting the frequent and designed intermixture of persons in the Hebrew text, I shall refer to Genes. xlix. 24, 25, 26 ; Deuteronomy xxxii. 15, 17 ; Micah ii. 3 ; Psalm xxii. 27 ; and Jeremiah xxix. 19 ; quoting only Deuteronomy xxxii. 15. Here the intermixture of persons, evidently however applied to one and the same, is thus correctly expressed in English ; “ But *Jeshurun* waxed fat and kicked : *thou* art waxen fat, *thou* art grown thick, *thou* art covered with fatness ; then *he* forsook God, which made *him*, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation.” Such is the variety of expression adopted in the Hebrew text of this passage ; a variety nevertheless which is by no means uniformly followed in the ancient versions. The Samaritan version indeed, as well as the Samaritan text, closely copies the Hebrew ; but the others without scruple depart from it. Thus the Chaldee adopts throughout, the use of the *third* person only, without noticing the transition to the *second*, and thence to the *third* again. The same is the case with the Syriac, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate. The Arabic, however, of the Polyglot has a singularity, which proves that its original possessed a transition from person to person, as in the Hebrew, but which its translator conceived would be best expressed by supplying a supposed ellipsis. It inserts therefore the words, “ *when it was said to him,*” now thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, &c. I should nevertheless add, that the Arabic version of the Pentateuch published by Erpenius supplies no ellipsis of the kind, but is in perfect conformity with the Hebrew. These examples sufficiently

shew the liberty, in which on such occasions the authors of the ancient versions indulged, preserving wholly or in part the rough exterior of Hebrew idiom, or polishing it off, at pleasure.

The third instance, to which I shall allude, occurs in chap. ii. 20, where Lowth proposes the rejection of a pronoun with its prefix upon authority of the slightest description. “In that day a man shall cast away his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which they made *each one for himself* to worship, to the moles and to the bats.” Here he translates, “which they have made to worship,” leaving out the words “*each one for himself* ;” and assigns the subsequent reason for it ; “The word לו *for himself* is omitted by an ancient MS. and is unnecessary. It does not appear, that any copy of LXX has it, except MS. Pachom. and MS. 1. D. 11, and they have ἐαυτοῖς להם plural.” With this it seems only necessary to contrast the observation of Kocher. Per *distributionem* sive *partitionem* sic multi explicant, ut multa alia. Id an veteres intellexerint, atque ut argutius sequi noluerint, in dubio est. Ita variant interpretando, redduntque LXX. ἐποίησαν, sine pronomine, in vulgatis quidem exemplaribus, etsi apud sequacem Arabem pronomen *sibi* additum legitur, ut olim affuisse sit verisimile. Codex Alex, singulare ἐποίησεν habet ; Vulgatus autem Hieronymusve, “quæ fecerat *sibi* ;” atque Chaldæus Syrusque, “quæ fecerant *sibi*.” pronomine, æque ac verbo pluralis numeri. Itaque ipsa illorum variatio nonne indicat idem atque nos legisse, sed pro suo quemque sensu, quod videbatur optimum, dare voluisse ?

Nor does he often attend either to the number or the weight of his authorities ; but is sometimes satisfied with that of the Septuagint alone. Thus in chap. viii. 9, where our version reads with the received Hebrew text, “*Associate yourselves, O ye people,*” he reads, “*Know ye this, O ye peoples,*” converting the letter ׀ into ׆. The fol-

lowing is the ground of this emendation, as expressed in a note. "The present reading רעו is subject to many difficulties; I follow that of the LXX. רעו γνωσθε. Archbishop Secker approves this reading, רעו *know ye this*, as parallel and synonymous to האזינו *give ear to it* in the next line." On the other hand, however, to the single support of the Septuagint, Kocher opposes the joint reading of the other versions; רעו עמים וחתו *consociamini populi, et consternamini*; congruenter phrasi וחתו התאזרו *accingimini et consternamini*. Estque רעו Pyhal ex Pihel רעה *associavit*, Jud. xiv. 20, atque bene Chald. אתחברו *consociamini*; neque longe abest Vulg. *congregamini*. Sed et Syrus ר vidit, etsi cum aliis tanquam ex רעע interpretabatur. Quid igitur obsit *unius* Græci in Esaia vertendo satis perspecta *levitas*, et ἀβλεψία? Kocher might have likewise added the testimony of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, all of whom read συναθροίσθησε.

But the genius of the critical school under consideration was of too aspiring a nature to be cramped in its flight by the mere readings of manuscripts and versions; it aimed at something higher, the restoration of the text by conjecture alone. From the many innovations of this description, with which the work of Lowth abounds, I shall select only one; but it is one, which shews, that an insatiable thirst for emendation sometimes prevailed over both his taste and his judgment. Instead of rendering the words כל־שמחה *all joy is darkened*, according to the established version, he translates them, "*all gladness is passed away*;" which translation he grounds upon the following correction; "For ערבה read עברה *transposing a letter*. Houbigant. Secker." Upon this proposed transposition of the letters ר and ב Kocher remarks, that it is altogether unsupported as well by manuscripts, as by the versions. He then thus explains the meaning of the word as it appears

in the Hebrew text untransposed. Quid si verbi ערב ignoratio eruditis viris obfuit, ejus diversæ et latente origine disparatæ significationes leguntur? En verba Buxtorfii in lexico : ערב *miscuit, commiscuit*, unde ad varia transfertur : *negotiarum, spondere, fidejuberè, oppignerrare ; amænum, suave, dulce esse ; pertexere ; advesperascere, obtenebrari, obscurari.*\*\*\*\* Nunc dispice, tenuene ac dilutum, idque per vim atque violenter arcessitum illud malis, “*transiit (עברה) omnis lætitia ;*” an luminosum elegansque istud, “*occidit (ערבה) omnis lætitia, ut cum decedens sol tristibus cuncta tenebris mergit.* Surely the reading of the established version, “*All joy is darkened,*” is as well more elegant, as more correct, than his.

These are a few of the numerous defects pointed out in the criticisms of an accomplished Prelate, whose classical erudition, taste, and talents were probably as superior, as his philological acquirements in oriental literature were confessedly inferior, to those of his opponent. Kocher indeed seems to have had too high and inflexible an idea of, what is usually termed, the integrity of the sacred text ; but Lowth had certainly too low and loose an opinion of it. From a perusal however of Kocher’s tract, written in confutation of Lowth’s criticisms, it is impossible not to admit the Bishop’s failure in the attainment of the object which he had in view. Ignorant or regardless of grammatical minutiae, he sometimes misconceives a meaning, which a little more accurate investigation would have clearly pointed out to him ; while at other times he substitutes a novel reading in a passage, where the common one, if correctly understood, would have given him the very sense, which he imputes to it. And, ever prone to display the fertility of his fancy, he adds, subtracts, transposes, and changes letters upon the slightest pretext of ideal incongruity, or upon the most unsubstantial proof of a better reading ; nor does he scruple to mow down

with unsparing hand every obstacle which retards the facility of his progress. The critical world now seems united in condemning the greatest portion of his textual emendations as either unnecessary, injudicious, or erroneous.

After so full a notice of this first great reformer of the Hebrew text in our own country, it will not, I apprehend, be requisite to make any reflections upon the labours of those, who were engaged with him in the same arduous enterprise. Superstitiously pursuing his track, they all appeared to feel as if treading on hallowed ground. Where Lowth therefore failed, could they be now consulted, they would scarcely presume, that they had themselves succeeded. In nothing however, which I have said on this occasion, shall I be misunderstood, I trust, as ascribing to such writers as Lowth, Durell, Kennicott, Blayney, and Newcome, any deficiency either in learning or ability for the accomplishment of the undertaking, in which they were embarked; their want of success should be imputed to a very different cause; to the wild and unrestrained principles of criticism, which they adopted; principles, more calculated to lead astray the fancy, than to inform the judgment; to attract admiration by their ingenuity, than to enforce conviction by their solidity.

## CHAP. V.

*Received Hebrew or Masoretical text. More ancient than the Masora. Eichorn carries it up to the first century of the Christian era. Complete restoration of it desirable, could it be effected. Septuagint may have been translated from another edition. This by no means certain. Cappellus. Sharfenberg. Masoretical the only text to be depended upon. Question of vowels and accents as connected with that of the Masoretical text. Controversy respecting them. Perfection of the vowel system precludes the idea of its originality. The probable succedaneum of some more ancient system. Schultens. Vowels and accents no parts of the inspired text.*

FROM the preceding remarks it will appear, that the principal argument of the advocates for a new translation, grounded upon the presumption that the Hebrew text has been greatly improved since the period of the last translation, falls to the ground. If such an improved text really exists, where is it to be found? And to what quarter must we look for some producible proof of its existence? Certainly not to the ingenious, but loose lucubrations of the school, to which they were themselves attached, and the credit of which they ineffectually laboured to establish and extend.

I do not however mean to say, that writers, whose erudition I respect, and whose talents I admire, have always reasoned inconclusively; but that the line of criticism, which they adopted, was incorrect. Much less do I contend, that the Hebrew text has not, like all other ancient productions, suffered from the ignorance and inattention of transcribers, or that they have never suggested any probable emendations of that text; but I maintain, that, be its state what it may, their suggestions, for its correc-

tion contain nothing like an approximation to the confidence inspired by genuine criticism. And further I maintain, as I have already remarked, that they should not have proposed a new translation from a projected text, before the readings of such text had been fully and satisfactorily settled.

The received Hebrew text is one of very high antiquity, and constitutes, what critics term, the only *edition* of the original text extant; for the Septuagint, as I have observed, if indeed translated from another and older edition of it, has nevertheless come down to us in too corrupted a state for accurate quotation. This text is usually denominated the Masoretical, because it is that which was used by the authors of the traditional remarks under the title of the *Masora*. But let us be careful not to confuse the antiquity of the edition itself with that of the *Masorets*,\* who laboured in their remarks upon it to inculcate a superstitious respect for it, as well as to preserve it inviolate. Upon this point I shall refer to the statement of Eichorn, who in the preface, previously alluded to, thus clearly establishes so necessary a distinction. *Deinde, si antiquitatem textus spectes, quem Masora, ad eamque adornati codices Masorethici exhibent, nova ei accedit commendatio. Qua quidem in quæstione totius ejus habitus et conditionis in genere spectatæ ratio est habenda, non unius alteriusve lectionis (opus enim Masorethicum ipsum diversis diversarum ætatum accessionibus, at tamen, quantum æstimare licet, non locupletibus auctum esse novimus;) nec id quæritur, quo tempore observationes Masorethiæ in illud corpus collectæ fuerint, in quo ad nos pervenerunt, quod seculo sexto antiquius non esse satis constat; nec id nos sollicitos habere potest, quo tempore prima Masoræ scriptæ vestigia deprehendantur,*

\* The Masorets were not only the acknowledged authors of the *Masora*, or traditional comment; but also the supposed inventors of vowels and accents, which they are stated to have added to the text.

quæ in opere Talmudico invenire in comperto est ; sed ad quam ætatem *textus ipse*, in genere spectatus, *quem Masorethæ excusserunt*, et *cujus lectiones in suos libellos transtulerunt*, universa item ejus ratio et conditio assurgat, in eo rei cardo versatur.\*

Eichorn was fully aware of the contempt, in which the Masoretical text was generally held at the period when he wrote. Quot, he says, quantisque cavillationibus a viris doctis acutisque textus Masorethicus noster sit vel ea, quam vivimus, ætate vellicatus, ut adeo parum abesset, quin in risum et contemptum adduceretur is, qui ad ejus laudem aliquid in medium affere, vel ejus causam contra iniquos ejus censores agere ausus fuerit, satis inter omnes constat.† Yet he scruples not to undertake the vindication both of its antiquity, and respectability. Nor does he withhold his assent from the importance of the despised Masora itself ; not the less important in his judgment for the absence of that acumen, which in modern times constitutes the merit of every critical production. Est enim opus, he justly remarks, criticis observationibus iisque ex *antiquissimis* codicibus ductis refertum, in quo textus biblicus e libris, qui Masorethis ad manus erant, *emendatissimis* recensetur, lectionis in iis animadversa varietas excutitur, lectiones pro spuriis habitæ damnantur, suspectæ notantur, atque de dubiis et incertis in utranque partem disputatur. Præterea tenua multa ac jejuna, quæ haud raro stomachum moveant, in ea contineri, quis neget ? At re altius pensitata quis eadem non facile ferat ?‡ Such he describes the Masora to be ; and subsequently argues, that from the simplicity of their critical code, and their dread of innovation, the Masorets have handed down to us an unadulterated and therefore invaluable text with the most scrupulous fidelity. Upon this subject he thus delivers his sentiments : Jam quidem

\* Page 3, 4.

† Page 2.

‡ Page 3.

nec ætas, qua orta est [viz. recensio Masorethica,] ferebat, nec ratio, qua condita est, eo deducebat, ut auctores, quas potissimum in textu constituendo secuti sint, leges testatas facerent; nunc autem et ejus indoles et lectionum in ea servatarum habitus satis docet, eos libros ex suo judicio *optimos*, et suo tempore *antiquissimos* adhibuisse. Nec verendum est, ne acumini suo plus quam æquum esset tribuerint, et ingenio proprio iudulserint. *Obstabat huic novandi pruritui et superstitio* quæ de codice suo sacro eorum animos occupaverat, et *artis criticæ infantia*, in qua primum periculum faciebant. Quin *gratulemur* textui biblico, *tanquam singularem aliquam fortunam*, quod, qui de eo recensendo cogitarent Critici primi, *liberalius illud conjecturis emendandi genus non tentaverint*. Bene enim ac feliciter divinare, quid quovis loco aliquatenus suspecto auctor scripserit, res est *magnæ doctrinæ, et ingenii multis variisque litteris imbuti, acuminis longa exercitatione sabacti, sagacitatisque haud vulgaris*. Sed quam futurum certo fuisset, ut id criseos genus ab Judæis male haberetur, argumento sunt pratim conjecturæ illæ parum felices, quas סְפֵרֵי־יְהוָה nominant, partim *Pentateuchus Samaritanus, multis sordibus coinquinatus*.\* He then digresses into that short but severe censure of the Samaritan text, which I have already quoted; after which he subjoins: Quæ cum ita sint, præter *antiquitatis, fidei, industriæ, et cautionis, qua constitutus fuerit, laudem*, accedit etiam textui Masorethico commendatio e scribarum Judæorum et editorum sacri codicis V. T. forsitan ex superstitione potius, quam ex religione, profecta fide, qua illi codicem sacrum ad Masoræ leges per libros scriptos propagarunt, hi vero sub prelo excudi jusserunt.†

In the judgment therefore of Eichorn, the received Hebrew text has been derived from the most ancient and most correct copies, which could be procured at a very early

\* Page 6.

† Page 7.

period ; at a period certainly long anterior to the date of all existing Hebrew manuscripts ; and it has been faithfully transmitted to us unsophisticated by conjectural emendations. What its precise antiquity may be, he does not indeed, from a defect of data, undertake to determine ; but he clearly carries it up *to the first century of the Christian æra, ad primum Christianæ Epochæ seculum sua ætate ascendere*.\* This point he proves from a comparison of it with the version of Aquila, composed at the commencement of the second century. Quæ adhuc disputavimus, he observes, e nullo interprete possunt manifestius probari, quam ex Aquila, qui circa seculi secundi p. Ch. n. initia versionem V. T. *verborum tenacissimam* concinnavit, *quæ et voculas, et syllabulas Hebruias omnes rimabatur*. Quotquot ejus supersunt fragmenta certa ac indubitata (multa enim spuria sub ejus nomine exhiberi satis constat,) ea omnia *tam presse* sequuntur textum nostrum Masorethicum, *vel in minutis ac minimis rebus, adeoque in aberrationibus manifestis, ut alterum ejus apographon videri possit*. Quis igitur dubitet, textui sacro tum eundem fuisse habitum eandemque formam, quam hodie pro se fert Masorethicus ; et qui post Aquilam eodem defuncti sunt labore, liberaliorem tamen rationem secuti, si a tramite Masorethico deflectere videntur, omnem dissensus causam vel in codicum suorum culpa sive vitiositate, vel in ipsorum vertendi ratione liberaliori esse quærendam.†

If a new translation then of the Bible were to be undertaken, what text could be followed more ancient, or more correct, than the received, or Masoretical ? And this is the very text upon which our present translation was formed. May it not however, an objector may remark, although generally respectable, in particular places have suffered from repeated transcription, (to name no

\* Page 7.

† Page 5.

other cause or error,) during a long lapse of ages? A sufficient answer to this objection may be given in the words of Baver. Quemadmodum non invitus largior, illum communi omnium librorum antiquorum sorte quoque non exemptum fuisse, sed passim incuria et oscitantia librariorum corruptum esse; ita talem ejus textus integritatem servatam esse existimo, *qualem non facile in aliis libris vetustioribus reperies.*\* But still it may be said, would it not be desirable to purify it from the aberrations of transcriptions, of what species soever those aberrations may be? Doubtless it would, and could not but prove a purification most devoutly to be wished. But how is such a purification to be effected? Certainly not by polluting this ancient text with emendations, collected from versions which were not only derived from copies of inferior authority, but have been so contaminated as to stand in need of a previous purification themselves; or by substituting other readings selected \*without discrimination from the motley mass of manuscript collations, as fancy or caprice may dictate. And indeed were their original purity to be restored to all the versions, except the Septuagint alone, and were the manuscript collations to be critically classed and arranged, circumstances, if not impossible, highly improbable at least, to take place, still would the whole weight of evidence deducible from both sources only serve to the amelioration of *a single Edition* of the Hebrew text.

I have remarked, that the Septuagint was probably translated from a copy of *another* Edition. This nevertheless seems far from being absolutely certain. Cappelus indeed in his *Critica Sacra* affirms that it was translated from a copy, containing as well a better and more ancient text than the Masoretical, as also one, which differed widely from that text; but we should recollect, that Cap-

\* *Critica Sacra*, p. 165

pellus wrote in support of a particular theory, to which such a concession would be of considerable importance. His Editor Scharfenberg however does not admit that the additions or omissions of the Septuagint necessarily prove it to have been translated from a copy very different from the Masoretical. *Admodum difficile* dictu est, he remarks, quæ vel omiserint vel addiderint interpretes Alexandrini, *propter librorum Hebraicorum*, quibus usi sunt, *varietatem*. Mihi quidem *non dubitandum esse* videtur, quin sicut additamenta, quæ Cappellus supra commemoravit, *maxima certe ex parte sint glossemata libroriorum*, ita et lacunæ *horum negligentia* ortum debeant. Si vero concesserim, id quod sane concedi potest, in illis esse quædam ab auctoribus ipsis Vers. Alexandrinæ profecta, tamen hinc non efficitur ut hæc expressa sint e Codice Hebr. a nostro *multum discrepante*, immo quod propius vero est, inserta vel ex aliis locis Vet. Testamenti (cf. Gen. xxvi. 20, ubi quæ in Vers. Alexandrina leguntur, dueta sunt e 1 Chron. vii. 14, 20, 21.) vel e libris aliis, quam quos vulgo vocant *Canonicos*. cf. Gen. iv. 8. Eadem sedulitas Judæorum Alexandrinorum, quæ finxit libros Apocryphos, haud dubie auctor fuit additamentorum multorum, quæ jam extant in versione Alexandrina.\*

The sentiments of Scharfenberg upon the corrupt state of the Septuagint as well as upon the extreme difficulty of deciding from it, what were, and what are not, the actual readings of the Codex, from which it was translated, seem conformable with those of Eichorn already quoted. The conclusion then of Eichorn's argument upon the subject is this; that if we wish to determine any thing *certain* (certi aliquid statuere) respecting the fidelity, with which the text of the Bible has descended to us from the time of Ezra, that is, from its re-establishment after the Babylonian captivity, we must necessarily study the genius

\* Page 712. See also note 253, p. 659.

and character of the readings transmitted *to the Masorets*, and by them to us.

But here a question of considerable importance arises, respecting what is meant by the received or Masoretical text. Are we, it may be said, to understand by it the consonants alone of that text, or the vowels and accents in addition? I hesitate not to answer; Both the one and the other; so far at least as the *sense* of Scripture is affected by them. Not that I contend for the *originality* of vowels and accents, as constituent parts of the Hebrew text. I contend not for their *originality*; but solely for their *antiquity*.

Without entering into a controversy, which was formerly agitated with a severity of reflection on both sides seldom paralleled, which exercised the talents, and exhausted the charity† of the conflicting parties, I shall assume for fact, that the Masoretical system, *in the state in which it is delivered down to us*, was unknown to the writers of the Old Testament. This I apprehend is sufficiently apparent, independently of all other considerations, from the perfection of the system itself; from the variety of characteristical marks to distinguish vowel from

\* *Wasmuth* in his *Vindiciæ S. Hebrææ* thus expresses himself: At vero istius originalem authenticam et integritatem, *divis ac blasphemis criminationibus* (post *Cappellum, Waltonum, et asseclas*) longe ferocius adhuc proscindat licet *Vossius*, nec solum contradicentes ipsi (quamvis mitissime et summa modestia) viros doctissimos, pro *indoctis fungis, fatuis et asinis* habeat; sed etiam post convictos toties ipsius *blasphemos errores* (reciprocatis jam pluries utrinque scriptis) jactare etiamnum *audet*, siquis adhuc cum ipso contendere velit, *sive argumentis, sive testimoniis, se victurum argumentis, se victurum testimoniis*; scil. pro argumentis dando *bruta decreta*, pro testimoniis *fabulas*, p. 27. Saltem sperare id potuisse non minorem *Vossii stupiditatem* prodit, quam *fastum* et arrogantiam plane intolerabilem, p. 28. Miror quod *Ecclesia Belgica, blasphemam illam et monstruosam Dissert. Isaaci Vossii de Chron. S. in publica luce toleret, merito æternis tenebris damnandam*; ut qua originalis S. Scripturæ certitudo et authenticam *funditus subruatur*, et sanctissima oracula de generatione Filii Dei, et morte Messię, tam *nefarie enervantur*, ut nisi *ad publicam palinodiam adactus fuerit auctor, et serio pœnituerit, via: Deum sibi possit polliceri propitium*. p. 28.

vowel, and from the minute modification of pauses by accents. Besides accents seem in some cases solely to bear a reference to the *reading* of Scripture in the synagogues or in private families; as when there are only two words under the immediate rule of *Silluk* or *Athnach*; that is, where there are only two words immediately preceeding a considerable pause; for then they are separated by a *distinctive* accent instead of being united by a *conjunctive* one, without any regard to their grammatical connexion, in order that the sense of the passage may not be lost by a too rapid fall of the voice at the conclusion of a sentence. Improvements in language, particularly in the arbitrary power of letters, have always been progressive; and surely the vowel system of the Hebrews bears internal evidence of a refinement, which could have scarcely belonged to the period, assigned to the latest production of the inspired writers. It exhibits a refinement unknown even to modern languages; for, to say nothing of its peculiar punctuation of Gutturals, it not only has two distinct notations for two distinct sounds of the vowels A and E; but it even marks by these the absence of a vowel, whether occasioned by the combination of two consonants without any intervening vowel, or by a consonant's terminating a syllable. And indeed every part of the system is so uniformly and inviolably preserved, that the authors of it appear rather to have completed some more ancient one, than to have invented one entirely new; and to have theorized upon the invariable principles of a dead, than upon the capricious irregularities, of a living language. Complex and comprehensive systems of every description usually succeed those, which are more simple, and limited in their operation.

But if the refinement of the Masoretical systems proves, that it could not have been coæval with the inspired writings themselves, the same refinement also, as I have

observed, may be thought to prove the existence of some more ancient system, which has been superseded by it, and which is now forgotten. This I conceive to be highly probable. Schultens confidently asserts, that such was the case not only in the Hebrew, but likewise in other oriental languages. He says ; Ejusdem artis puncta nec a *Chaldaica*, nec a *Syriaca*, nec ab *Arabica* lingua abfuisse tam mihi liquidum, quam liquet eos Consonantes habuisse, et mentem suam non tantum *clare eloqui*, sed et *distincte enotare*, ac *consignare*, inde *a scriptura inventa*, valuisse. Hoc qui negat, eodem jure *scriptionem* iis denegat ; nisi eos velit tam rudes, ut literas *cæcas ne punctulo quidem oculatas* reddere sciverint, ubi absolutissima necessitas id flagitaret. Institut. ad fundamenta Ling. Heb. p. 63. Concludo tam *certum Arabes et Aramæos, notulas* habuisse sonorum ; quam certum eos scribendi artem possedisse : quamvis ultro largiar, non satis liquere, *quænam* fuerint hæ *notulæ et figuræ*. Ib. p. 64. Desino in prudenti et moderato judicio Cl. Hottingeri ibid. subnectentis ; *Arabes, Syros, Chaldæos vocalium expressas semper notas habuisse, nullus dubito. Idem mihi persuasum de lingua Hebræa*. Ib. p. 65. What Schultens remarks relative to the *Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic*, is still more applicable to the *Ethiopic*, because this language from the peculiarity of its construction expresses seven distinct vowels by *seven distinct forms of every consonant*. Nor is the language known to have ever existed without this singular notation of vowels.\* And it should

\* *Cosmas*, a writer of the *sixth* century, notices a Greek inscription upon a stone chair at *Adulis*. Topog. Christiana p. 143, Ed. Montfauc. It appears to have been written before, perhaps immediately before, the conversion of the Abyssinians to Christianity, which took place in the year of Christ 333. Mr. Salt in his Travels into Abyssinia gives a full and accurate account of another Greek inscription, which he found at *Axum*, apparently of the same date ; as also of a mutilated *Ethiopic* inscription, which he discovered on the reverse of the stone containing the Greek inscription. This likewise as far as he was able to trace it out he minutely describes, and gives a fac simile of the letters.

be added, that the most ancient division of the Hebrew vowels upon record is only into *seven*, precisely as in Ethiopic, viz. into the five usual vowels with the addition of a short A and a short E ; every subsequent division into *ten*, and even *fourteen* or *fifteen* having arisen from the little vanity of discovering in the Hebrew a more full and accurate notation to them, than in any other language.

But if we admit the probability, that another, although less perfect, vowel system existed before the adoption of the Masoretical, it may be thought, that by the introduction of the latter the signification of many words might have been materially affected. This however by no means follows. For the addition of new marks, either to denote the mere absence of vowels, a circumstance not before regarded, or to point out the differences in sound, but not in sense, of one and the same vowel, differences perhaps solely introduced by the caprice of pronunciation, (and it is not probable that the Masorets attempted any greater refinements,) cannot I apprehend have effected any essential alteration in the discriminate character of the vowel system. Thus in our own language, as in pronunciation we give three distinct sounds to the vowel A in the words, *Father*, *Fall*, and *Fable* ; so were we to invent two new characters for either of the two varying sounds, or to distinguish every combination of consonants by some peculiar mark, the nature and essence of our vowel system would notwithstanding surely remain unchanged. May we not therefore in the same manner conclude, that although the ancient notation of vowels in Hebrew was more simple than the Masoretical, yet was it not vague and uncertain ; and that when it was modified to a more accurate distinc-

Now from these it is evident, that the same distinction of vowels by a change in the form of the consonants, which exists now, existed likewise in the fourth century ; for there is no reason to suppose, that the Ethiopic is more modern than the Greek inscription, and indeed the mutilated state of its characters seem to prove that it is at least of equal antiquity.

tion of sound, it was not necessarily modified to a new distinction of sense?

Here however another question of the first importance to the enquiry before us arises, which is this: even granting that a sufficient notation of vowels for discriminating the various senses of words was not unknown antecedently to the Masoretical, what proof have we that such a notation was generally used, and always considered as a constituent part of the Hebrew text? This is a question, which has been much controverted. To assert however that the ancient manuscript copies of Scripture were *sometimes* transcribed without vowels, as may be inferred from the numerous errors of the Septuagint version, or even to assert that they were *often* transcribed without them, seems not sufficient to disprove their originality; for no synagogue copy of any part of the Bible has been ever transcribed with vowels to the present day, and few manuscript copies have been at any period transcribed with them in the first instance, the points having been subsequently added, and generally by a different person from the transcriber of the consonants. I nevertheless confess, that these circumstances, compared together, appear to me to militate, not indeed against the existence, but against the authority, of the vowel points. Under some form or other they might have existed, and have been applied for the purpose of correct reading; yet they might not have been considered as original parts of the sacred text. And that the latter was really the case, the total omission of them by the Jews in all copies transcribed for the use of the synagogue appears, I apprehend, fully to indicate.

The Jewish opinion then upon the point is clearly expressed by the universal and uniform practice alluded to. But ought Jewish opinion, it may be said, to be deemed conclusive? Might not the inspired writers have possessed a knowledge of some vowel system, and possessing that

knowledge would they have denied themselves its advantages? To the infallibility of Jewish opinion few, I conceive, are disposed to subscribe; but uninterrupted usage must surely have considerable weight in every decision. Nor do I see reason to conclude, that the inspired writers, when they published their respective compositions, were likely to differ from other writers in the mode of their publication. The autographs of Moses and the prophets, were they still extant, would, I doubt not, resemble the autographs of all who wrote in the same age and country. The only question appears to be; were books for public perusal then usually edited with vowels or without them? The most probable conjecture certainly favours a negative answer. Points, it is true, might have been known at the time, and have been frequently used for the purpose of correct instruction, to regulate the reading, and fix the sense, of an author; but it does not hence follow, that the autograph of the author himself, much less the apographs of subsequent transcribers, contained them. In this way it is, for instance, that the whole remains of Chaldee literature has been transmitted to us. The Jewish nation was not expelled from Chaldea, until full five centuries after the completion of the Talmud, that is, after the lowest date assigned for the invention of the Masoretical system. And we well know that every Chaldee manuscript extant, including those of the Targums and the Talmud, is posterior even to the period of that expulsion. Yet in no manuscript whatsoever have vowel points been ever added to the Chaldee consonants. Not because it was impossible to have added them; but because it was not customary, and because the task of transcription was less laborious without them.

On the other hand nevertheless, I admit, that as the different meanings of many words must have always depended upon the different vowels, with which they were pronounced, we might have supposed, that in doubtful cases

at least, had vowels been known, they would certainly have been used. A remarkable instance of this description occurs in Gen. xi. 3, where it is recorded of the builders of Babel, that “they had *slime* for *mortar*,” והחמר היה להם לחמר. In this passage the word חמר, *slime* or *bitumen*, is evidently opposed to חמר mortar; words which are broadly distinguished from each other in pronunciation, as well by the intervention of different vowels as by the circumstance of the accent being placed on different syllables. Could Moses, it may be remarked, have possibly written these words without the slightest distinction, so as to have said, “they had חמר for חמר,” had he possessed the means of making any such distinction? The only answer to be given to this question is one, which has been already noticed; viz. that he probably did on this what other writers were accustomed to do on a similar occasion. It should however be added, that whether he distinguished the words from each other in *writing*, as they must have been distinguished in pronunciation, or whether he wrote the consonants alone, leaving the reader himself to supply the respective vowels, no translator has ever mistaken his meaning. Indeed to those, who had been accustomed from their childhood to all the peculiarities of the Hebrew language, the context itself must have readily suggested the proper vowels and accents of the two nouns, which are here evidently contrasted with each other.

[To be concluded in the next number.]



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**MORUS**

ON THE

**Style of the New Testament.**

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MORUS was formerly Professor of the Greek and Latin languages, and afterwards of Theology, at Leipzig. He died in 1792. He was one of the most distinguished scholars of his day, and his memory appears to be held in the highest veneration by his numerous pupils.—He was a Lutheran; and seems in substance to have adhered to the standards of his church. For although his writings are divested of much of the technical phraseology of Didactic Theology, he always maintained that he held to the commonly received doctrines. His works are principally distinguished by the skillful interpretation and application of Scripture. The expositions which occur in the following article, will, it is presumed, in the general be esteemed correct, although in some cases it is evident that the author's principles are strained too far, and that there is a disposition to *explain away* some of the peculiarly significant expressions of the Bible. This article is taken from his "*Hermeneutica Sacra*," edited by *Eichstaedt*, who has added notes of considerable importance. These notes are included in brackets, and marked by the initial of the Editor's name, E. These notes are in the following translation for the most part retained, and distinguished in the same manner as in the original.

ON THE

## STYLE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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### § I. *Introduction.*

IT is now necessary to explain separately the forms of speech, peculiar to the New Testament ; or the idioms which occur in it. In the first place therefore we must inquire concerning the general style adopted by the writers of the New Testament ; for in this, as is evident, there is much to aid in a critical investigation.

### § II. *What may be called a pure style.*

This whole subject rests on the question, whether the style of the New Testament, is pure Greek, or conformed to the Hebrew.

That is called a *pure style*, in which there is nothing foreign, or ungrammatical ; either in the import of words, or the construction of sentences. When therefore it is asserted that there ought to be nothing *foreign* in a language. it is usually said, there must be no barbarisms. Any thing foreign is barbarous, and a language that admits foreign words when it might use its own, is said to be infected with barbarisms ; and when it is asserted that there should be nothing *ungrammatical*, it is usually said, there must be no solecisms. But to return to barbarisms, these occur not only in the *construction*, but in the *signification* of words ; thus the Latin phrase *verba facere*, has not the same sense as the German *worte machen*, (to talk non-

sense,) and whoever gives this foreign sense to the Latin phrase, uses a Germanism.

If then a *pure style* admits nothing foreign in the signification of words, or the construction of phrases, in judging of the style of a writer, we must enquire, *first*, whether *single words*, in common use among the Greeks, are used in the same sense as they used them. But it is very evident, that the significations of many words in the New Testament are drawn from the Hebrew. When, therefore, the word *δικαιοσύνη*, in 2 Cor. ix. 9, and (with the true reading) Mat. vi. 1, is used to express *liberality*, the question is not whether it is a good Greek word, but whether that is the Grecian signification. But since no Greek author ever used the word thus, and this signification may be drawn from the Hebrew, *הַקְדָּוָה*, it follows that in those passages the word is impure.

Thus also in 2 Cor. ix. 2, *εὐλογία* is used to express *abundance*. This is a good Greek word, and signifies *praise*, from *εὐλογεῖν*, *to praise*; but the Greeks never used it in the sense of *abundance*. It is therefore drawn from the Hebrew, in which it corresponds to *הַבְרָכָה*, and is of course impure.

[*Note.*—The author has treated of those words only, whose origin is Grecian, and signification Hebrew. And such are more particularly embraced in the question. But those also may be added, which the Sacred writers, when speaking of things pertaining to religion, transferred from the Hebrew on account of the deficiency of the Greek. Such are *Μεσσίας*, *ἀλληλούϊα*, *ὠσαννά*, *γέεννα*, *πάσχα*, *ἀμήν*, &c. E.]

*Again*—We must enquire, not only whether the *phrases* have the Grecian Syntax, but also whether they bear the usual Grecian sense. In Luke i. 6, the words *δίκαιος ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ* are pure Greek, but the *construction* is foreign,

drawn from the Hebrew לִפְנֵי יְהוָה and is therefore impure.

The *signification* also is Hebrew, for δίκαιος like צַדִּיק signifies any thing good and virtuous in general. Thus also in the New Testament Παρασῆναι ἐνώπιον τινος occurs in the sense, *to serve any one*, but Παρασῆναι τινι is used by the Greeks in a different sense. In the phrase ἄρτον φαγεῖν, Luke xiv. 1, the construction is Grecian, but the signification is foreign, for it means to take dinner or supper, like the Hebrew אָכַל לֶחֶם.

*Lastly*—We must inquire whether the *entire form and manner* of the discourse is Grecian, or Hebraic. When I say the manner of a discourse, I mean the transitions from one thing to another, the form of the periods, and the connexion of words. Such passage for instance as Luke i. 5, 6, 7, after the short preface of pure Greek, sufficiently indicate the Hebrew manner. Its periods are unlike the Greek. It does not, like it, connect the sentences by particles, but usually by the copulative καί. The transitions are not like the Greek; nor does it display that collocation of words which is peculiar to the Greek.

[*Note.*—Concerning these points, consult the preface of I. D. Michaelis, ad R. Lowthii prælectiones de Sacra Poësi Hebræorum, p. 33, seq. E.]

### § III. *Proofs that the style of the New Testament is not pure.*

The question being thus stated and defined, we unhesitatingly assert, that the style of the New Testament is not purely Grecian, but is conformed to the Hebrew idiom, not only in single words, phrases, and forms of speech; but also in the whole form of the language. It remains, therefore, to prove this by clear and substantial arguments.

I. *There are many Greek phrases in the New Testament which can be literally translated into no language so easily as into Hebrew.* For example, the passage Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου may be translated into Hebrew in precisely so many words. And so close an agreement of style cannot happen accidentally, especially when the same mode of writing prevails through almost the whole book. Such things could not escape a writer accidentally. Hence it is thought, that the best exercise for the student of the New Testament, is translating literally from Greek to Hebrew. To a tolerable Hebrew scholar, there is no great difficulty in this, either in single words or phrases.

II. *Many things cannot be explained without the Hebrew.* Many errors have crept into theology, and many theories have been falsely explained, because the Hebrew language was not consulted. But if the necessary comparison of the two languages had been continually made, it would have been evident that so perfect a conformity of the Greek to the Hebrew, could not have been accidental. In Acts xiii. 48, the words τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον cannot be translated without the Hebrew. For if the import is drawn from the Greek, the sense will be, “*transferred into life eternal,*” “*conveyed into that state of felicity.*” But this is evidently absurd; for those who then heard the preaching of Paul, and received his doctrine, are called τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. They were yet living and standing before him. What, therefore is the import? A comparison of the Hebrew shows that those to whom any thing was certain, are said to be *appointed*, or *ordained* to that thing. The evident import of the passage then is this: to as many as were certain of eternal happiness, to them that happiness was ordained, and they received the instruction of Paul.

In Col. iii. 14, ἀγάπη is called σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος. Those who recollect the Hebrew usage, will translate this by a substantive and an adjective: *a perfect bond.* But

סִמְלָה is by the Hebrew applied to whatever is correct and finished, or excellent and beautiful. With the Hebrew construction and signification, the sense of this passage will be: *love is the most beautiful bond*. And the discourse here refers to the cultivation of mutual affection, which is the best and the firmest bond of society. But if this passage is explained from the Greek, what will be its import? σύνδεσμος means a *bundle*, and a bundle is composed of many things embraced in one. Love, therefore, which is called σύνδεσμος, consists of many virtues embraced in itself. Τελειότης was used by the Greeks to denote any thing entirely finished, a *final consummation*. What then is a *bundle of perfection*? They explain it thus: In love as in a bundle all the other virtues are generally collected and embraced.

Nor do those succeed better who, independently of the Hebrew, attempt to define the words *election*, *predestination*, and *calling*, from the Greek ἐκλεγεῖν, προορίζειν, and καλεῖν, or to explain them from the Latin usage. In like manner the word πνεῦμα, the phrase *Christ in us*, and the word *covenant*, are not clearly explained by those who draw the import of πνεῦμα from the Greek or Latin usage, who explain *covenant* by its use among men, and who make *Christ in us* to mean, that Christ is actually dwelling in the breasts of men. When the Hebrew is consulted, it is evident at once, that רַחֵם is not always applied to a person, but in many other ways; that בְּרִית is merely a promise with a condition annexed; and that *Christ in us*, denotes that his doctrine is published in the assembly, and present to the hearts of men. From this same fountain have flowed many false, though approved opinions.

On such authority, a debate once somewhere arose, concerning the person of the Spirit; when it ought to have been concerning an entirely different thing. And from 2 Cor. xii. 9, concerning the moral weakness of the saints,

to whom, when doubting, and making but slow progress, the Divine assistance is promised; although the whole tenor of that passage demonstrates that ἀσθένειαν means *misery* and *calamity*. It often happens that those who are ignorant of the Hebrew, and even of the Greek, and who implicitly adopt the Vulgate version, make some very distorted interpretations. Thus in Gal. iii. 1, Christ is said to be “*evidently set forth,*” as if *painted before the eyes* of the Galatians. This in Greek is correctly written κατ’ ὀφθαλμοὺς προσεγράφη. But because the Vulgate has rendered it ‘Christus est proscriptus ante oculos,’ the Latin fathers taught that Christ was *proscribed*, in the same sense as the Romans sometimes were; that is, that he was exiled by the Jews. Could any explanation be more childish?

§ IV. *The arguments of those who advocate the purity of the New Testament Greek, considered.*

While there are so many proofs that the style of the New Testament is not pure, but abounding in Hebraisms, it is surprising that any should tenaciously defend a contrary opinion. The arguments of such shall be briefly stated.

*I. Many things called Hebraisms, are not such, but pure Greek.* To understand this objection correctly, it must be remembered, that the question is not whether pure Greek is mistaken for impure; but whether things have not been, and even now are, by some denominated Hebraisms, which are nevertheless pure Greek. This is cheerfully conceded.

What, for instance, is more common than the phrase ἐργάζεσθαι καλὸν or κακόν, which corresponds precisely to the Hebrew words פֶּעַל טוֹב or עֲשֵׂה רָע עֲשֵׂה טוֹב or פֶּעַל רָע. Yet Xenophon also writes ἐργάζεσθαι καλά Mem. Soc. II. 1. 27. The phrase, *to fight a fight*, and

the use of *δύναμις*, with reference to an army, are well known ; but they are pure Greek, and must not be considered as Hebraisms. Many fall into this error, because they do not reflect that many phrases are common to all languages. It is not the least strange that we should find expressions in the New Testament, which are common to the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin. Hence *Glassius*, in the grammatical part of his *Philologia Sacra*, has often remarked concerning such things as are common to Greek, Latin, and foreign writers.

Although such things may be dismissed from the number of Hebraisms, yet it must be remembered, that though found in the Greek, they are no less Hebrew, or rather translated from the Hebrew; for to the writers of the New Testament books, the Hebrew language was vernacular. All their purity, therefore, is accidental; and every phrase common to all languages which they have used, they used because they learned it from their vernacular tongue. Thus also when we were tyros at the school and wrote Latin, we formed much of it from our vernacular tongue, which is likewise the case with many approved writers.

This has been correctly observed concerning the writers of the New Testament, by Gataker contra Pfochen, p. 61, and by other learned philologists. (Comp. *Werenfel's* Opuscul. Dissert. xiv. de Stilo Script. N. T. p. 360.)

*II. They say further, that the words and phrases which occur in the New Testament, are found also among the Greek writers.*

No one will deny that *δικαιοσύνη, κοινόν*, et cet., are found in the Greek writers. But this is not the question. The inquiry is, whether they are used by the Greek writers in the *same sense* as in the New Testament.

This distinction was made in Sect. II. And it appears that all the labours of Pfochen and Blackwall, who contended that every word occurring in the New Testament

is found also in other writers, is utterly lost; and they themselves have admitted, that a few words occur in the New Testament which are not found in any other author.

*III. They defend the purity of the New Testament language by saying, that the words and phrases are read in the same sense in the Grecian authors.*

But such have made an improper selection of writers, from which to defend the purity of the New Testament. For in the first place the *poets* should not have been mentioned, in whom many things occur which are similar to the Hebrew idiom. Thus ξηρά *dry*, is used by the poets like the Hebrew יבֿשָׁה to signify *a continent*. The Hebrew word רֵחַמִּים *viscera*, is often applied to the mind, to the sensations and propensities of the soul, and indeed to every thing internal. The same term is often used by the Greek poets, as *Æschylus*, S. c. Th. 343, a base-hearted, corrupt soldier, a deserter of his arms, is called κάκοσπλαγχνος.

In *Plutarch* de A. P. p. 58, a poet calls a brave-hearted man δρασύσπλαγχνος. *Sophocles*, Antiq. 517, calls two brothers ὁμοσπλαγχνους. And thus also the Hebrews use it. (Comp. Mori libellus Animadv. in Longinum, p. 32.)

It appears from this, that there are some principles which may guide us in this case. The following are proposed.

a. The poets, indulging their genius and their poetic licence, say many things in an unusual manner. They therefore do not correctly indicate the usage of common life. But in the New Testament, the chief thing, whether in narrating, or in teaching, or in the discourses of common life, is simplicity. Such a style, on such subjects, therefore, can never be referred to the licence and the ornaments of poetic diction, so as to demonstrate its purity; nor can its rules of writing be derived from those who boldly despise such rules.

b. *The poets were permitted to adopt foreign words and*

*phrases.* This is done by Horace in transcribing the Greek words of Pindar, by Lucan, by Seneca the tragedian, and some others. But no one dared to imitate such things in prose, or to defend a barbarism from their authority. The permission was doubtless given to the poets only to vary and adorn their writings, and also to show their learning. This is continually remarked by Heyne on Virgil. But in the simple language of the New Testament authors, is there this variety? this ornament? and this display of learning?

c. *The poets drew many things from the primitive style of the East.* The purity of the New Testament style cannot be defended from Homer, Æschylus, or Pindar, who adopted the Oriental idiom, and imitated the Hebrew. But as this rests on fact, the argument must be historical. Homer undoubtedly lived in Asia Minor, which bordered on the Syrian, Chaldee, and Persian provinces; and is it surprising that a poet of Asia Minor should learn the language and customs of the Orientals? It is in this manner that all which is said in the sacred books concerning the presence of the Deity in the temples, his regard or aversion to men, and his sending upon men diseases, darts, and arrows, is also found in Homer. Proximity of country produced a similarity in language, and an analogy in thoughts and expressions. Others, afterwards, copied Homer, and imitated his sublimity. The agreement of Homer, therefore, with the language of the East was the base of that similarity which is discovered in the lyric writers, as Pindar, and in the tragic, as Æschylus and Sophocles, though the former was a Theban, and the latter Athenians, and neither held intercourse with the Orientals. At this time, in the age of Miltiades and Themistocles, the Greeks were at war with Persia; and when the Greeks went from Europe into the East, it was natural for them to adopt many Orientalisms. And the Jews being then captive in Babylonia and Assyria, and widely

dispersed through those countries, had a continual intercourse with the Greeks. Hence it could not but happen that the Jews should transfer to the Greeks many of their words and forms of speech. These the poets would soon adopt, that thus they might display their learning and adorn their style.—As these things must be noted by the critic, the inclination to observe them will be increased, and an useful exercise afforded to any one who will study the commentaries on Job, the Prophets, and Proverbs, and particularly Lowth on Isaiah. where it is shown that many things are evidently used by Pindar in the same manner as by Isaiah.

Those, therefore, who defend the purity of the New Testament from the poets, ought to make some distinction in those passages of the poets which they quote. Thus a passage from the comic poetry, as Ernesti remarks, may be quoted, with the exception of the choruses. For the Greek comedies, consisting chiefly of dialogues, and the conversations of men concerning the affairs of common life, were in the colloquial style, although written in iambic verse; but in the choruses, the style was far more elevated. With these, therefore, if the choruses be exempted, we may compare the language of the New Testament. There are also a few things in the remaining fables of Aristophanes, which might have a similar bearing.

The defenders of the purity of the New Testament should also be careful to adduce the *more ancient writers*, as models of a pure style, such as Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, the Grecian orators, and all the writers who flourished from Socrates to Alexander the Great. This was the golden age of Grecian literature. Next to the writers of the golden age, were those who flourished from the conquest of the Macedonian empire by the Romans until Augustus. The most eminent of these is Polybius. The authority of those Greek writers, who lived in later times, particularly in the age of the

New Testament writers, as Ælian, M. Antoninus, Libanius, Chariton, who are all mere imitators of the ancients, copying the beauties of the golden age, and who have introduced into their writings a variety of phrases, and a confusion of idioms, is even still less considerable. Those, therefore, are guilty of perverseness, who, estimating the purity of the New Testament, collect the words and phrases from all the Greek writers promiscuously, without inquiring whether they themselves wrote with purity.

Lastly—Those must not be used, *who have formed their style either from a version of the Old, or from the books of the New Testament.* Such are the Greek Fathers, who in writing concerning religion, must have drawn many things from these fountains. The defender of the purity of the New Testament, therefore, gains nothing by citing the authority of Theodoret, Chrysostom, and others, who, although excellent in doctrine, are by no means to be commended for the purity of their language.

Generally, writers must be explained by those which are similar; as historians by historians, philosophers by philosophers, et cet.

*IV. The defenders of the purity of the New Testament diction, use also this argument, that the sacred writers might be expected to use various expressions in a different sense from their common meaning, because they wrote on a subject which was new and unknown to the Greeks.*

These new things are the precepts of religion, to express which, they suppose, required either new words, or new significations drawn from the Hebrew, applied to the common words. But this does not render the New Testament diction impure. Every system has its own peculiar and technical words. And among the Latins also, writers, who were in other respects pure, when they wrote concerning things unknown to the Romans, introduced new

words, chiefly drawn from the Greek. Thus Cicero introduced the word *qualitas*; he uses *mores* out of its common sense, and also *perceptiones*; all these were drawn from the Greeks, and must have been first employed when their philosophy was introduced. But no one hence calls the style impure or barbarous. We admit, therefore, that unless there were other arguments which rendered the purity of the New Testament doubtful, no one could on this account pass sentence against it.

*V. They say that if the diction of the New Testament is impure, it detracts much from its value, for it can have no praise for elegance or beauty of style.*

But first, there is nothing in this to diminish the dignity of the sacred books; for that depends on the matter. Secondly, in this are discovered the footsteps of Divine Providence, which caused the New Testament, written chiefly for the Jews, to be written in the Hebrew idiom. Lastly, many things are related in the sacred books, which require such a style. What these are, will be shown hereafter.

a. *The writers of the New Testament thought in Hebrew.* And hence they must necessarily have been unable to write pure Greek. One born and educated, for instance, among the Germans, and accustomed to think in German, will inevitably write with the German idiom. Thus also the Apostles, who did not cultivate an intercourse with the nations of Palestine who spoke Greek, of course could not divest themselves of the habit of thinking in Hebrew, which had been contracted in childhood.

b. *The writers of the New Testament were not taught in the Grecian Schools.* Those who had from their youth been tax-gatherers and fishermen, could not have learned the Greek language grammatically, and much less philosophically and rhetorically. Hence they did not always avoid errors, and could by no means command at once all

the forms of speech of the Greek language. In Acts iv. 13, they are called ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι, *illiterate*. They might, indeed, have been taught to understand and explain the Scriptures or the law, or been instructed in the Jewish schools. Paul, in 2 Cor. xi. 6, calls himself ἰδιώτην τῷ λόγῳ, *rude in speech*; and this is often repeated in the Epistle to the Corinthians. Why then should we obtrude upon these men a sort of learning which they themselves never claimed, and which has never been attributed to them. (See LAMY de Eruditione Apostolorum, ch. vii—ix. WETTSTEIN'S Libellos ad Crisin et Interpret. N. T. p. 48, and THALEMANN. p. 18. E.)

c. *The writers of the New Testament had not read the Greek authors.* This might be expected from tax-gatherers and fishermen. Many, however, have laboured to prove that Paul did write with taste, clearness, purity, and ἀκριβεια; although he denies that he was learned, because he lived at Tarsus, where there were many Grecian rhetoricians and philosophers, they have made him also a rhetorician and a philosopher. And one has even written concerning the library of Paul, concluding from his quotation from Menander, and other poets, that his library must have been furnished with their works. CHR. GUIL THALEMANN, has judged differently in his Dissert. de Eruditione Pauli Apost. Judaica non Græca, L. 1769. 4. Paul was a Pharisee, and therefore debarred the study of Grecian literature; the Pharisees were then most tenacious τοῦ νόμου and τῆς παραδοσεως, and were not led to the study of Grecian learning, because they thought it impure and entirely unconnected with the Law. I refer to the age of Paul, for soon after, there was a change of times and a change of manners. For Josephus, though a Pharisee, was skilled in Grecian learning, and probably wrote in Greek. This change was wrought when the Jews, being subdued by the Romans, and dispersed from their country, were compelled to unite with the Greeks.

I said a little before, that the writing of the New Testament in the Hebrew idiom, displayed marks of *Divine Providence*; this shall be illustrated.

a. We all know that the writers of those books were illiterate Jews, who rose from the common people, and even occupied in the cares of vulgar life. If these books had been left to us written in the elegant style of Xenophon, would it not have afforded a strong argument against their authenticity?

b. The Jewish people to whom they wrote would have disapproved of that style, on account of their hatred to the Greeks, and to Grecian eloquence. For even when Jews cultivated the Grecian learning, as Philo, a great portion of the people were highly displeased. How, then, would they have received the Gospel of Matthew for instance, if they had found in it such a display of learning and refinement of diction?

[*Note.*—See Joh. Aug. Ernesti disp. de odio Judæorum adversus literas Græcas. Lips. 1758, 4to. and in Opuscul. Philol. Criticis, p. 408.

Hence many assert, that from the time that Christianity passed to the Gentiles, when the customs of the Jews became more assimilated to them, and after many pagans were converted to the religion of Christ, the Apostles used a more elegant and classic style of composition, such as is found in the Acts and the Epistles. If this observation refers to the Epistles of Paul, it is undoubtedly true. Only let no one suppose that the Epistles of Peter, James, and Jude, exhibit a refined and elegant style, even when the Jewish dress is laid aside, and the multitude of Hebraisms lessened.

John is purer than Matthew or Mark, if we except the Apocalypse, which is filled with Hebraisms, and unlike the Grecian style. (See Sam. Gottl. Lange Die Schriften Johannis des vertrauten Schüler's Jesu, tom. I.

(1795-8,) Einleit, p. 37.) The purest of all is Luke, in a few places in his Gospel, but more often in the Acts, although he displays more facility of writing, than effort or study. But in the Epistles of Paul, there is an elegance and a splendour of style unusual to unlearned men. This may be attributed to the genius of the Hebrew language, to the Jewish learning which he had acquired, and to the active mind of the author himself, animated in the delivery of divine truth. 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5. Comp. Job. Guil. Fuhrmann de Concinitate in Epistola Pauli ad Romanos, Lipz. 1776, 4to. Car. Lud. Bauer. Philologia Thucydideo-Paulina, f. notatio figurarum orationis Paulinæ cum Thucydidea comparatæ, Halle 1773, 8vo. Rhetorica Paulina ej. Halle 1782, 11 vol. 8vo., and C. H. Tzschuckii Commentarius logico-rhetoricus de Sermonibus J. Christi, Lipz. 1781. 8vo. See also Haenlein Einleit. in die Schriften des N. T. I. p. 384. E.]

c. It may be added, that such Jews as were strangers to pure Greek, would scarcely have understood the Greek style. Through the Alexandrian version, and the Apocryphal books, they were accustomed to a sort of religious or sacred style. If the Apostles had abandoned this, and unexpectedly selected the style of Xenophon or Plato, who of the Jews would have understood their writings?

*VI. Finally the defenders of purity, complain of the obscurity of style in the N. T. which necessarily exists, if it is to be referred to the Hebrew rather than the Greek idiom.*

Ernesti denies that a greater obscurity does arise from this source. He supposes that the readers of the Apostolic age understood these books, and it is not required of a writer, that he should neglect his own, and adapt his work to future ages. Although this may be true concerning the Jews, who had been accustomed by the

Alexandrian version, and the Apocrypha, to this sort of Greek, yet the Pagans also must be included; who were till then ignorant of the Hebrew language. I am not willing, therefore, to say that even in this age, they were understood by all, and entirely destitute of obscurity. It must be remembered, however, that in this age there were Doctors in the churches, who had been Jews, and who were able to interpret the Hebrew language. There were many laymen also in the Christian assemblies, who having formerly been Jews and acquainted with the language, were able to instruct the Pagans. It is evident, therefore, that in that age the books could be read and understood.

§ V. *Defenders of the purity of N. T. enumerated, who contend that the writers of the N. T. were purely Grecian.*

SEB. PFOCHEN—in *diatribe de linguæ græcæ N. T. puritate, ubi quam plurimis, qui vulgo finguntur, Ebraïsmis larva detrahitur et profanos quoque auctores ita esse locutos : ad oculum demonstratur. Amstel, 1629 and 1633, 12mo.* BALTHAS. STOLBERG—in a tract on the Greek language, *de solicismis et barbarismis græcæ N. T. dictioni falso tributis, ut et de Cilizismis aliisque a punto nove usurpatis*, with a preface by C. S. Schwarzfleisch. Wittenberg, 1685, 4to. 3d Edition. Witten. 1688, 4to.

*Erasmus Schmidt*—in his notes on the New Testament. (Nurenberg, 1658, folio.)

*Anthony Blackwall*—in the Sacred classics, or in aucto-ribus Sacris classicis defensis et illustratis endeavours to show that the writers of the New Testament and their language were purely classic. His book was written in English and translated into Latin by Christ. Wollius, who defends the same opinion. (Lipsig 1736, 4to.)

[*Note.*—The standard of this opinion, and the conse-

quent controversy, was raised by HENRY STEPHENS, who after the correct judgment of *Erasmus* and *Laurentius Valla*, in the 16th century, concerning the impure style of the New Testament attempted to defend its purity in the preface to his edition of the New Testament, published in 1578. Hence the theologians were excited to this kind of study. A great diversity of opinion was observed, yet the controversies did not appear before Sebastian Pfochen, whose book the author has recommended, and it is also inserted among other writings, on this subject, in *Jacobi Rhenferdi* dissertationum philologico—theologicarum de stilo N. T. syntagmati. Leovard, 1702, 4to. See also T. H. van der Honert, syntagma disset. de stilo N. T. græci. Amst. 1703, 4to.

In Germany, the first that repeated and endeavoured to defend the opinions of Pfochen, was J. Grosse, who published at Jena, in 1640, *Triadem propositionum theologicarum stilum N. T. a barbaris criminationibus vindicantium*. He chiefly opposed Joachim Junge, a virulent, though learned adversary of Pfochen. Jungius published *Sententias doctissimorum quorundam virorum—de Hellinistis et hellenistica dialecto*. Jena, 1639, which book it would be well to compare diligently with those of Heinsius, which will be noted hereafter (VII.)

*Christ. Sigism. Georgius*.—who wrote two books on this subject: *Vindiciarum N. T. ab Ebraismis libros III*. Frankfort, 1732, 4to., and *Hierocriticum N. T. S. de stilo N. T. Libros III*. Wirtenberg, 1533, 4to. E.]

#### § VI. *Defenders of the contrary opinion enumerated.*

Among those who asserted that the diction of the New Testament was similar to the Hebrew, we name in the first place *Martin Luther* and *Philip Melancthon*, not because they have written on the subject, for the question was not agitated in that age, but because in their commentaries

they have interpreted many passages by comparing them with the Hebrew, and in this manner they have declared their sentiments concerning the source of the New Testament diction.

The same is often done by *Joach. Camerarius* who published *Notationem (notitiam) figurarum Sermonis in libris quatuor Evangeliorum*. Lips. 1572, 4to., and also in *Apostolicis Scriptis atque in librum πράξεων et ἀποκαλύψεως*. Lips. 1752, 4to. (republished in the Cambridge edition of Beza's N. T.) In these, as Erasmus has done in the notes to his edition of the New Testament, he has illustrated the New Testament style from the Hebrew usage.

But in my opinion *Theodore Beza*, in his notes on the N. T., deserves the highest praise for demonstrating that the New Testament books are filled with Hebraisms, and for the liberal mode of treating those Hebraisms.

*John Drusius*, in *Annot. in totum J. C. Testamentum, s. Præteritorum libris decem*. Franeg. 1612, 4to., and in *Commentario ad voces Ebraicas N. T.*; also *Ejus Annotationum in N. T. parte Altera*. Franeg. 1616, 4to.

*Isaac Casaubon*, in *Exercetatt. xvi. ad Cardinalis Baronii Prologomena in Annales*. Geneva, 1555, 4to.

*Sal. Glassius*, to whose *Philologiæ Sacræ, nostris temporibus accommodatæ a Joh. Aug. Dathis*, (Lips. 1776, 8vo.) are affixed Dissertations on the style of the sacred books, and of the New Testament.

*Tho. Gataker*, in *Dissert. de Novi Instrumenti Stilo*, London, 4to., and in his *Operibus Criticis*, Utrecht, 1698, fol. Gataker, who flourished in Britain, was, according to Ernesti, the most learned of those who refuted the error, that a comparison of the poets alone was enough to prove the purity of the New Testament.

*Moses Solanus*, a Frenchman, who wrote a good commentary on Lucian, and also a dissertation *de Stilo N. T. contra Seb. Pfochenium*, (which is inserted in the Rhenferdian Collection.)

*John Olearius*, in libro de Stilo N. T., which being enlarged by John Conrad Schwartz, with the Dissertation of John Henry Boecler, de lingua N. T. originali, was published at Cobourg, 1721, 8vo. This little book is full of instruction; although short, it is very useful for contracting a familiarity with those things in the New Testament which are singular.

*John Vorstius*, in Comment. de Hebraismis N. T., besides his thoughts de Stilo N. T., they have added—Horatii Vitringæ Animadv. ad Commentar. de Hebraismis N. T. curante Joh. F. Fischer. (Lips. 1778, 8vo.) See also Joh. F. Fischeri Supplementorum Commentarii Verstiani de Hebraismis N. T. Lips. 1790, 4to.

*Samuel Werenfels*, in Dissert. de Stilo Scriptorum N. T. (Basil, 1698, inserted also in his Opuscul. Tom. I. p. 311. Lausanne, 1792, 8vo.)

*John Leusden*, in a singular little book de Dialectis N. T. singulatim de ejus Hebraismis, republished by John Fr. Fischer. Leips. 1792, 8vo.

[*Note.*—Many things of this sort are found in J. F. Fischeri Proluss. de Vitiis Lexicorum N. T., Lips. 1791, 8vo.; but besides these, the names and writings of others can be learned from Buddei Isagoge, p. 1301. Michaelis' Introduction to N. T., Tom. I. p. 106. 223. Fischer's Preface to Leusden's book de Dialectis N. T., ed. ii. 1792, 8vo. Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, Vol. IV. p. 891. ed. Harl. But the whole history of this controversy de Stilo N. T. Chr. Matt. Pfaffius gives, in his exergetical notes on Matthew, Lect. III. p. 28. E.]

## § VII.

The style of the New Testament, which we have been describing, is correctly denominated Hebræo-Grecian. But there are some, as J. Joseph Scaliger, (Animadv.

ad Eusebium, p. 139,) and after him John Drusius, who prefer calling it *Hellenistic*. The reason is, that after the time of Alexander, the name Hellenist was applied to those native Jews, who lived out of Palestine, and who not only used the Greek language, but conformed to the Grecian customs and modes of living; for when the Jews were led into captivity by the Ptolomies of Egypt, and the Antiochs of Syria, they were so mingled with the Greeks, that many of their native customs were disused and forgotten, and succeeded by Grecian customs, with the Grecian language. The language of these Hellenists, however, was filled with Hebraisms, and many things were literally translated from the Hebrew. This is the language found in the New Testament; and if any wish to call it Hellenistic, I shall not object. But let them beware lest, with Daniel Heinsius, they understand by it some peculiar dialect. Such would be like one who should discover Germanisms in a Latin book, and should conclude that the language was a dialect of the German; or one who should hear in the language of a modern Jew, a mixture of Hebrew and German words, and should call it a dialect of the Hebrew; for this is not a diversity of terminations and form, which constitutes a dialect, but a new mixture of different languages.

When Heinsius used the word dialect in this affair, (in *Prefatio ad Nonni, Episcopi, Paraphrasin Evangelii Johannis*, Leyden, 1627, 8vo; and in *Exercit. Sacris ad N. T.*, Leyden, 1639, and lastly in *Exercit. de Lingua Hellenistica et Hellenistis*, Leyden, 1643, 8vo.; add also his *Apologiam adversus Croium*, 1696, 12mo,) though the error of a man who was often engaged in accurately illustrating and explaining the Greek diction from the Hebrew usage, did not much injury to the cause in general; yet it gave rise to a controversy, replete indeed with learning, but not with kindness. For Heinsius found an adversary in *Claudius Salmasius*, a man of genius and learning, who

undertook, in a book de Hellenistica, or Commentario Controversiam de Lingua Hellenistica Decidente, (Leyden, 1643,) to refute the opinion that the Hellenist was a peculiar dialect of the New Testament. To this Heinsius replied, and in the same year Salmasius published Funus Linguæ Hellenisticæ, sive Comfutationem Exercit. de Hellenistica. Not caring to have his opinion as it were buried, and the funeral ceremonies performed, Heinsius wrote another book; Salmasius answered it by publishing Ossilegium Linguæ Hellenisticæ sive Appendicem ad Comfutationem Exercitionis de Hellenistica, Leyden, 1743, 8vo. So that the funeral of the Hellenist being over, its bones and ashes were collected together and utterly destroyed.

[*Note.*—Concerning the *Hellenistic dialect*, there are two subjects of inquiry; first, *who may be, and have been called Hellenists*; and secondly, *whether the term Hellenistic dialect is correctly applied*.

Concerning the Hellenists, there are *three* principal opinions—

1. *Heinsius* (Aristarchi Sacri, P. I. Ch. x. p. 795, et P. II. Ch. viii. 898, Leyden ed. 1639, fol.) calls those Hellenists who were native Jews, but lived out of Palestine, chiefly in Egypt, and who used the Greek version of the Bible, and spoke generally the Greek language inflecting to the Hebrew idiom.

2. *Salmasius* (de Hellenistica, p. 190,) calls those Hellenists, who were not native Jews, but proselytes. He adds also, that they adopted from the Greeks the Greek version of the Bible, which the Jews of Palestine never used.

3. *John Lightfoot* (in addendis ad Horæ. Heb. in 1 Cor. xiv. Cap. I. opp. Tom. II. p. 929, wishes to distinguish them thus, that the Hebrews were Jews of Palestine, Babylon, Assyria, and Syria, to whom the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic was vernacular; and that the Hellenists were

native Jews, but dwelling among the Gentiles, ἐν διασπορᾷ, to whom the Greek was vernacular. *Morus* embraces the opinion of *Heinsius*, not only in his *Hermeneutics*, but elsewhere. But when the arguments adduced by *Salmasius* and *Carpsovius*, (*Crit. Sacræ*,) are duly estimated, it seems necessary to abandon this opinion; for first, in *Acts* ii. v. 11, Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ προσήλυτοι are mentioned, among whom, in *Ch.* vi. 5, the Hellenists are reckoned, of whom was *Nicolas*, a proselyte of Antioch, *vr.* 5; so that the writer evidently makes no distinction between proselytes and Hellenists. But in *Ch.* xi., the Hellenists are distinguished from the Jews, and in *Ch.* vi., the Hebrews from the Hellenists. At this time the Church was composed of two classes, Hellenists, and Hebrews or Jews, for between the latter there was no difference, except that Hebrew was a more ancient and general appellation, pertaining to the whole nation, while Jew was applied rather in a religious sense, and confined to the inhabitants of Judea. If this distinction is correct, we can easily comprehend why Paul, though a native of Tarsus, and born of Hebrew parents among the Greeks ἐν διασπορᾷ, never calls himself ἑλληνιστῆν, but every where ἑβραῖον; and by this the opinion of *Salmasius* is confirmed. 2. It cannot be conceded that all the Jews, through all their wide dispersion, in Italy, India, Persia, and other Eastern lands, understood and commonly used the Grecian language. We cannot, therefore, with *Heinsius*, agree to call all that dwelt out of Judea, Hellenists. The word ἑλληνίζειν is used among the Greeks in two senses. In the first and more general sense, it is applied to any one who uses the Greek language τῶν Ἑλλήνων, and in this sense is opposed to every foreign dialect. In the stricter sense, it is applied to those who cultivate the more polite Grecian learning. The signification, therefore, of this word, and of ἑλληνιστῆς, derived from it, is different from the one which *Heinsius* would give to it, so that the *Hellenistic language* was unknown to the ancients, both

in name and in fact. If this be used, it should be applied *only* to the *language* in which the words are Greek and the idiom Hebrew, without reference to the nation or country of a writer.

The 2d inquiry is, whether the term *Hellenistic dialect* is *correctly applied*.

Salmasius, both from the etymology of the word and the authority of the ancients, has shown that to constitute a dialect, two things are required. 1. That the people who use the dialect ought to be definitely limited, and divided from another people, who use a different dialect. 2. That its difference ought to consist in single words rather than phrases, and regard the transposition of letters and syllables, and the change in grammatical forms. In what is called the Hellenistic dialect, neither of these things occurs. For there was no people or city called Hellenist, but they were exiles through all the earth; nor did this dialect exhibit any thing peculiar in its simple words, though its whole construction was new, or rather, as Morus says, it was a new mixture of different languages.

The most eminent authors in this controversy, were *Richard Simon*, *Histoire Crit. d. N. T.*, L. II. Ch. 27, against Salmasius. Opposed to Simon was

*Joh. Hen. Maius*, in *Examine Historiæ Criticæ N. T.*, 1694, 4to. C. 27, 28. He referred the style of the N. T. and the Septuagint, to the Macedonian and Alexandrine dialect.

*John Croius*, *Observatt. in N. T.* Genev. 1645, 4to. C. 30, 34.

*Matthew Cotter*, in *Exercitatt. de Hellenistis, et Linguae Hellenist.* Strasburg, 1646, 12mo.

*Mart. Schock*, *de Hellenistis et Ling. Hel.* Dissert. ad Heinsium et Salmasium. Utrecht, 1651, 8vo.

*Aug. Pfeiffer*, in *Critica Sacra.* (Dresden, 1680,) 8vo. E.]

§ VIII. *Of the appellation, Alexandrine Dialect.*

This name was first selected by John Ernest Grabe, the British editor of the Septuagint, from the Codex Alexandrinus (Oxford, 1707-29, 4 vols. fol.)

But that this appellation is unsuitable, is evident, first, from what has previously been shown, that the Hebræo-Grecian style is not a dialect. And secondly, this style was used by the Jews of other places, for all who lived out of Palestine, used the Greek language conformed to the Hebrew idiom. There is no cause, therefore, why this should be named from the city of Alexandria. And lastly, this name would cause much confusion; for in the literary history of the Grecian language, the *Alexandrine dialect* denotes those provincialisms which the Alexandrines used instead of pure Greek. Such Alexandrinisms were collected by *Irenæus*, a grammarian of Alexandria, in a curious book without a date. (Vide Fabricii Bibl. Græc. Vol. IV. p. 537.) FRED. WILLIAM STURZE, has also written a dissertation, de Dialecto Alexandrina ratione simul habitæ versionis librorum N. T. Græcæ. But many things peculiar to this dialect, occur not only in the Alexandrine version, but also in the books of the New Testament.

§ IX. *The Style of the New Testament has been influenced by other languages besides the Hebrew.*

Every thing in the New Testament which is not pure Greek, is not therefore derived from the Hebrew; for there are in these books,

*I. Latinisms.* Thus in Luke xii. 58, is the phrase ἐργασίαν δοῦναι, which is the Latin operam dare; in Chap. xiv. 18, ἔχε με παρητημένον, habe me excusatum; in Matt. xxii. 15, λαμβάνειν συμβούλιον, consilium capere; in Titus ii. 10, πίστιν ἀγαθὴν ἐνδείκνυναι, fidem bonam exhibere. OLEARUS,

in his valuable book the *Stilo N. T.* has collected many things of this kind. (p. 368, Ed. Schwarz.)

[*Note.*—The introduction of Latinisms arose from the extent of the Roman Empire, the use of Roman laws, the presence of the Romans in the provinces, the commerce of merchants, and finally from the Greek writers who used them.

After JOH. ERH. KAPPIUS wrote a dissertation de N. T. Græci Latinismis, merito ac falso suspectis, (Lips. 1726, 4to.,) a controversy arose between *Sigism. Fr. Dresigius*, in favour of the opinion of *Kappe*, and CH. SIG. GEORGIUS, who took the opposite side. Both are embraced in the second part *Hierocritici Novi Fæderis*. Wittenb. 1733, 4to.

JOH. GEO. PRITEUS has also collected examples of such Latinisms in *Introd. in Lectionem N. T.* Lips. 1764, p. 320. E.]

*II. Persian words.* As γάζα for treasury, μάγοι for wise men, ἀγγαρεύειν, to compel. Matt. v. 41.

*III. Syraisms.* As, ἀββά, μαρὰν ἀθά, which is, the Lord comes. 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

*IV. Chaldeisms.* To this belongs the use of *remission of debt*, for *forgiveness of sins*. On this consult Buxtorf's *Lexicon*.

*V. Rabbinisms.* Which have been treated of in separate books by JOHN LIGHTFOOT, in *Horis Hebraicis et Talmudicis*. Lips. 1679, 4to, and in *Operis*, 2d Ed. Utrecht, 1699, fol. tom. II. And by CHR. SCHOETGIN, in *Horis Heb. et universum N. T.* Dresden, 1773-42, Tom. II. 4to. To the Rabbinisms belongs the well-known Formula, *to bind*, and *to loose*.

From these things, it is evident that the style of the New Testament is far from being perfectly pure. On this

subject, much may be found in J. D. Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament. Vol. I p. 128, seq.

§ X. *Rules for discovering the usus loquendi of the New Testament.*

With these things premised concerning style in general, it is easy to propose rules for discovering the usus loquendi, and for tracing out and interpreting particular passages.

*Rule I. We must study the Greek authors who most nearly resemble the sacred writers.*

The attention of the sacred critic must be directed not only to such writers as used the popular style, but also to such as lived in or near the Apostolic age, and who did not imitate the ancient style of the Attic writers.

For when by the prowess of Alexander the Great, the Macedonian empire had stretched over almost the whole earth, the Greek language was also widely extended. This was a new bond of union among the nations. And as the conquered nations adopted much of the Grecian idiom, so the Greek language became warped from the native purity which it had when confined within the borders of Greece; and from its intercourse with Asiatics, Africans, and Europeans, it acquired many barbarisms. The epoch of the Greek language, when it underwent so great a change, is called in the history of literature, the Macedonian. And these new forms are called the Macedonian dialect.

The principal author in this new style was Polybius, who flourished about 200, B.C. It might be truly said, that one perfectly acquainted with the best Greek authors, when he came to this, would find every thing so different, that it would be almost necessary to learn the language anew. He differs from others in the signification of words; and in using words and phrases entirely new.

The reader may profitably use the *Lexicon Polybianum*, added to the edition of Ernesti. Lips. 1763-4, 8vo. (lately enlarged by John Schweighheuser, a new editor of Polybius. Lips. 1789-95, Tom. VII. E.)

After Polybius, the chief writer in this style was *Diodorus Siculus*, who flourished in the age of Julius Cæsar, near the Apostolic times. The comparison of both these writers is important. For after the time of Alexander the Great, the Jews who were scattered through Egypt, Syria, and other provinces, assumed this new style, as may be easily perceived from the Apocryphal writings.

Such is the preface to Luke's Gospel, which accords precisely with the style of Polybius and Diodorus, and is written without Hebraisms. Such is the last chapter of Acts, and Luke vii. 40, to the end. In the other books, many forms, derived from this source, are scattered, as *παραδειγματίσαι*, Matt. i. 19, *δογματίζειν*, Col. ii. 20, *καταβραβεύειν*, to defraud, Col. ii. 18. Hence, as PETR. WESELING, from *Diodorus*, and GEO. RAPHAEL, from *Polybius* and *Diodorus*, have shown, more benefit may be derived from observations on the New Testament, drawn from these authors, than from whole commentaries written on the books themselves.

*Rule II. Compare with the New Testament the Hebrew, assisted by the ancient versions of the Old Testament.*

After a tolerable familiarity with the Hebrew, all that is read in the Old Testament should be reperused in the Alexandrine version. By this continual comparison, the Hebraisms used by the Greeks will become familiar; and in the mean time let the passages in the New Testament, often in the same words, be recalled.

*Rule III. In addition to the versions of the Old Testament, let the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament be compared.*

For in them, both in words and phrases, is found the same Hebraic and popular style of speaking concerning sacred things, and the historic style of the Apocryphal books is necessarily similar to the style of the New Testament. The writers of the Apocrypha were Jews, and thought and wrote in the Jewish manner; hence there are many things in those books, not found in the Old, though often in the New Testament. Compare Heb. xi. with the Son of Sirach, xiv xv. It is much to be desired that those books were studied with more order, and brought to bear on the interpretation of the New Testament.

The apocryphal books of the New Testament also ought to be compared. These, JOHN ALB. FABRICIUS has collected in codice Apocrypho Novi T. Hamb. 1719, 8vo. On this subject there are many things in Semleri Apparatus ad Liberalem N. T. interpretationem. Halle, 1767, 8vo. p. 104.

[Catalogue of authors who have written on the Apocrypha, to illustrate the acts, opinions, doctrines, manners, customs, words, and phrases, of the New Testament.

GEO. JOH. HENKIUS, Dissert. de usu librorum Apocryphorum V. T. in N. T. Halle 1711, 4to., and in Theod. Hasaei, et Conrad. Ikenii Thesaurο novo theologico philologico. Leyden and Amst., 1732, fol. T. I. p. 15.

JOH. GODOF. JEHNICHEN, Dissert. de petenda rerum quas libri N. T. continent, e libris V. T. Apocryphis illustratione. Wittenb. 1787, 4to.

FRISCH vergleichung zwischen den Ideen, welche in den Apocryphen des A. T. und d. schriften des N. T. über Unsterblichkeit, Auferstehung, Gericht, und Vergeltung herrschen; in Eichhorn's Bibliotheca litterat. Bibl. To. IV. p. 653—718; über die Messianischen Zeiten. Ib. To. VI. p. 692.

FLUGGE, Geschichte des Glaubens an Unsterblichkeit, Auferstehung, Gericht, und Vergeltung. Lips. 1795, II. 8vo.

STAEUDLIN, *Historia Doctrinæ de Futura Corporum ex-aminatorum instauratione.* Götting, 1792, 4to.

J. D. MICHAELIS, Uebersetzung des ersten Buchs der Macaabäer, in his German version of the Old Testament.

J. D. HASSE, Das andere Buch der Maccabäer übersetzt mit Anmerkungen und Untersuchungen. Jena, 1786, 8vo.

J. W. LINDE, Sittenlehre Jesu des Sohnes Sirach, neue übersetz. mit erläut. und Krit. Anmerkungen. Lips. 1782, 8vo.

ANDR. JOH. ONYMUS, Die Weisheit Jesus, Sirach's Sohn, mit erläut. Anmerkungen. Würzb. 1786, 8vo.

J. G. HASSE, Salomos Weisheit, neue übersetz. mit Anmerk. und Untersuchungen. Jena, 1785, 8vo.

JON. MELCH. FABER, Super libro Sapientiæ, Proluss. VI. Onold. 1776-7, 4to. et super lib. Sap. P. II. cont. Haseum. Onold. 1786-8, 4to.

J. F. KLEUKER, Salomonische Denkwürdigkeiten. Riga, 1786, 8vo.

For understanding the style of writing, we may refer to JOH. WALDINI *Annot. Phil. Criticæ in lib. qui inscribitur Σοφια Σαλωμωνος.* Gryphisw. 1786, 4to.

J. CHR. BEILII, *Novus Thesaurus Philolog. Lex. in LXX. interpretes et Scriptores V. T.* Hag. Com. 1799, 8vo.

J. FR. SCHLEUSNERI, *Spicilegia ad Beilii Lex. II.* Lips. 1784-6. 8vo.

Those who illustrate the New Testament from the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, are,

THEOPH. KUINOEL, *Auctor, Observationum ad N. T. ex lib. Apoc. V. T.* Lips. 1794, 8vo.

JOH. GODOFR. EICHHORN, *Einleitung in die Apocryphischen Schriften des A. T.* Lips. 1795, 8vo.

After these works on the use of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, the Apocryphal writings of the New began to be elucidated. On this subject GUIL. LUD. BRUNNIUS has lately published, *Disquisitionem historico-criticam de indole, ætate et usu libri Apoc. vulgo inscripti Evangelii-*

um Nicodemi. Berlin, 1784, 8vo. This regards chiefly the Gospel of Matthew. Compr. Götting. Bibl. der Neuesten Theologischen Literatur. Vol. I. p. 762-70. To all these, add an anonymous Commentary von den Apocraphis und Pseudopigraphis der Juden in Beyträgen zur Beförd. d. vern. Denkens in d. Religion. P. IV. p. 19, in Fabricii Bib. Græca, Vol. III. p. 718. Vol. IV. p. 822. ed. Harl. E.]

§ XI. *The Hebrew must also be compared with the pure Greek.*

We have seen (§ IV.) that sometimes the same word or phrase will be both pure Hebrew and pure Greek, since it is true that all languages have common forms of speech. A proper sense, therefore, may be drawn either from the Hebrew or Greek; thus the phrase ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν ἁμαρτιαις, if taken in the Hebrew sense, will mean not so much *to die naturally*, as *to become miserable on account of sin*; but if from the Greek its import will be, *to die by violence*, as one taken when committing a robbery and slain, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ. Both explanations will suit the passage in John viii. 1—24. But in such cases the Hebrew ought to be preferred to the Greek; because a Hebrew would more probably use the phrase in the Hebrew than in the Greek sense, particularly if it was rare and unusual. Καταβολὴ σπέρματος, (Heb. xi. 11,) if interpreted from the Greek καταβαλλεῖν σπέρμα means *to scatter seed in the fields*; but if from the Hebrew יָרַי signifies *posterity*, and καταβαλλεῖν is in the Alexandrine version *to lay a foundation*, or *make a beginning*, as in προ καταβολῆς τοῦ κόσμου. In the Hebrew sense, therefore, it will mean, *to lay the foundation of a family*, that is, to beget a son from which a family may proceed.

§ XII. *Chiefly concerning the preceptive style.*

It is correctly asserted, that the doctrinal expressions which are peculiar to the Christian religion, must always be interpreted from the Hebrew language. For instance, *to fear God*, is, from the Hebrew usage, *to reverence and worship God in general*. *The knowledge of God*, in the Hebrew idiom, is not only a knowledge of God in the mind, but such a knowledge as produces devotion and reverence for God, consequently theoretic and practical knowledge. In like manner if angels are so called, because they are spirits more excellent than men; if *πιστις* is said *σώζειν*; if *ὁμολογῆσαι ἁμαρτίας* not only means to confess with the mouth, but also to disapprove in the heart the things committed, and to judge ourselves base and deserving punishment; these can be derived only from the Hebrew.

The reasons why the words in these cases ought generally to be drawn from the Hebrew, are very apparent. For, first, the teachers of religion were Jews, who received their religious instruction in Hebrew, who from their childhood thought in Hebrew, and who, when called to the office of teaching, could express themselves only in Hebrew; for they were strangers to Grecian literature. Secondly, the religion of the New Testament agrees with the religion of the Old, as a continuation, that is, it so agrees, that in place of the ritual worship, succeeds the internal and spiritual. The economy of the law is superceded by another; and what was imperfect and obscure, is rendered perfect and clear. But the continuation is either the same, or in the same style. Thus *προσερχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ* is in both the Jewish and the Christian religion. In the one it is *to go up to the Temple*, in the other it is continued; yet to render the imperfect perfect, it is *to approach God in spirit*. In the same manner many things in the Old Testament, spoken concerning sacrifices, priests, the temple of God, &c., with the figure removed, are in the New Testament

applied to Christ offering himself to die, and to the assembly of Christians. This will not appear sufficiently evident, without the necessity of interpreting the preceptive style of the New Testament from the Old Testament books, is perceived; for the whole style of language in the New Testament, concerning the worship of God, is drawn from this source; as when giving thanks to God is called offering the sacrifices of the lips, and of praise. But in the illustration and explanation of this preceptive style, we must be careful not to draw opinions from the forms or tenses of verbs, or the number of verbs and nouns, in which the New Testament style often departs from the Greek and follows the Hebrew.

*Number of words.* In the New Testament, *οικτιρισμοι* is applied to God, much stress is wont to be laid on the plural, as if the *great* mercy of God was intended. But this opinion is drawn directly against the Hebrew usage; for *רַחֲמִים* means mercy without any emphasis, or idea of greatness. *רַחַם* in the singular, means *uterum*. In like manner those err who attempt to establish a plurality of persons from the plural form of *אֱלֹהִים*, or the trinity from the union of a singular verb with *אֱלֹהִים*, and those who from *שָׁמַיִם* would prove the plurality of the heavens, or draw the idea of the highest heaven where God has his throne.

*The forms of verbs and tenses.* Tenses are so indefinite and confused in the Hebrew, that nothing can be drawn from them positively. Thus the future is often præterite or present, and the perfect is used for the imperfect or present, which is chiefly manifest in reading the prophets, where history must be consulted.

### § XIII. *The other Oriental dialects must be compared.*

When the Hebrew fails in elucidating the sense, the other Oriental languages must be consulted; *the Syriac*

first, and then the *Chaldee and Rabbinic*. In this we must beware of abusing these aids, for the display of a profitless learning. When a form of speech is sought in another language, the Syriac for instance, after having found how they used it, we may discover its import in the Greek language.

[*Note.*—We add the following words, which may be illustrated from the Arabic language, *ῥήμα ἀργον*, Matt. xii. 36, *προσευχῆσαι*, Matt. xix. 13. *ἔρχεσθαι ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης*, Matt. xxi. 32. Comp. J. D. Michaelis *Einleit. in das N. T.* p. 149. ed. 4. E.]

§ XIV. *Direct testimony is not always sufficient to discover the usus loquendi of the New Testament.*

The legitimate mode of discovering, in single passages, the usage of the New Testament writers, is by testimony which is generally called *direct*. But though this is the general mode, yet alone it neither is, nor can be sufficient; for in these books *many words are new because the things are new*, and can neither be explained from the Hebrew or Greek, but are peculiar to the New Testament, as they occur there in a sense evidently new. For example, the doctrine of Christ is called *πνεῦμα*, 2 Cor. iii. 6, in opposition to the written law of Moses. But the word *πνεῦμα* does not occur in the Old Testament in this sense, and much less in the Greek writers. The whole Christian doctrine also is called *εὐαγγέλιον*, which cannot be explained from a Hebrew root. *To change one's religion* is in the New Testament *μετανοεῖν* or *ἐπιστρέφειν*, applied chiefly to the Pagans, as in Acts xvii. 30. But it is not so read in the Old Testament.

In the New Testament *ἐκκλησία* is an institution of the doctrine of the Christian religion; but *קהל* in the Old Testament, signifies only an assembly of people. We add from Ernestius some examples. *Δαιμονιζέσθαι* used con-

cerning men whose disease was ascribed to some demon; although this word was used by the Greek writers of that age, as Josephus. *Ταρταρος* is not found in the Old Testament, though common in the Greek language. But in the New Testament, (2 Pet. ii. 4,) the fabulous Tartarus of the Greeks is not intended, but the state of misery of the wicked. There is nothing in Hebrew corresponding with the word *ἀναγεννᾶν*; and though the phrase *to be born again*, is often to be found in the Greek and Latin writers, yet it means being transferred from misery to happiness; but in the New Testament, it refers to a moral change in man. Why Ernestius adds *τετρατα και σημεῖα, ἀδης*, I cannot understand, for they are not new in the New Testament, and may be explained from the Old Testament.

§ XV. *How the usus loquendi of the New Testament, in such passages, may be discovered.*

For these cannot be explained from the primitive signification, but have a peculiar interpretation, though not less certain. The import may be found,

*I. In the description which the writers have sometimes added.* Thus in Heb. ix. 15, covenant, *κληρονομία, μεσίτης*, are so explained, as to show that they are metaphorical.

*II. In the collation of other similar passages.* We have already seen what a true parallelism is, (p. 92,) and we add here, that the explanation of words in a new sense must be sought from some leading passage of the same class. Such is the passage in John iii. on regeneration.

*III. In the testimonies of the Greek Fathers.* By this nothing more is proved, than that such a Doctor of the Church understood a word in such a sense. We must still inquire whether he understood it falsely or correctly. Thus the whole investigation returns to the comparison of the

New Testament writers, and parallel passages. Ernesti has mentioned the Greek Fathers, from whom he brings examples, P. III. c. 5. § 23; from him we shall extract what is important. In Phil. ii. 6, 7, it is said, Ἰησοῦς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπαρχῶν οὐχ ἄρπαγμα ἡγήσατο το εἶναι ἴσα θεοῦ. But I do not find that Paul has here used any word in a new sense; nor is there much light from the passage of Clemens Romanus, Ep. i. p. 20, Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἤλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανίας καίπερ δυναμεινός ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν. In 1 Cor. xi. 10, how is πνεῦμα ἐρευνᾶ καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ illustrated from the passage in Cyril Hieros. Cat. xi. p. 222, when he exchanges the word ἐρευνᾶν for the word γιγνωσκεῖν? If in the books of the Apostolic Fathers, I could tell what things were drawn from the primitive Apostolic discipline, and delivered down, they would be of consequence in interpreting. But who can say what these things are?

*IV. In the use of Greek Glossaries.*

*V. In the context, and the nature of the things themselves.* What pertains to this subject may easily be reduced to precept. Collect the plain and evident propositions of Scripture, and make them the basis of the interpretation. See that no interpretation is inconsistent with these propositions. If any thing is found in the sacred writers repugnant to these propositions, reduce them to a coincidence. When it is said that God is holy, and tempts no man to sin, and elsewhere, that he causes them to sin; that God is omnipotent, and elsewhere, that he dwells in men;—these propositions must be reconciled from *common sense*. And one thus doing, is said to interpret according to the *analogy of faith and doctrine*.

§ XVI. *What the analogy of faith is, and what is its use in discovering the usus loquendi of the New Testament.*

*Analogy of faith and sacred doctrine*, is a technical term; for *πῶς* is often applied to doctrine in general. *Analogy* is used in the same sense, as when we say analogy of law, as in an obscure case we appeal to an analogy of law, which requires this or that sense; that is, from some perspicuous passage, from evident legal principle, we may establish what is now obscure. Thus the *analogy of faith and doctrine*, is contained in the principal maxims and precepts of religion, clearly taught. This is, as I understand it, a *summary* of all religious doctrine: for if such evident propositions as that God is one, that he created the world, that he governs all things, that he reforms us by his truth, and that there is a future state of rewards and punishments, be collected, they will constitute a summary of religion; and this constitutes the standard according to which every thing must be interpreted, so that all shall harmonise.

It is wrong to make this analogy consist in the doctrines approved by any one sect, as the Lutherans, Calvinists, or Papists. For then there would be many analogies, each sect would hold up its own religious system as the standard.

The system of no sect can ever become the law of interpretation; for this refers to the plain and evident testimony of Scripture. Nor does the analogy of doctrine consist in the system of any particular person; for these systems are disposed in order, and the doctrine explained in a manner merely to suit the authors. Such systems cannot be made a rule of interpretation.

The Doctors of the ancient Latin Church, often spoke of a *rule of faith*, to which all things must be referred, and with which all must agree. This rule of faith, which,

although it might have differed from ours, was the analogy of doctrine, may be learned from the book of Joh. Geo. Rosenmüller de origine Christiani Religionis, p. 82. The Doctors of the second century had a certain epitome of doctrine, not drawn from the New Testament, but formed before the New Testament was written, which was delivered down in the church by tradition.

These were used chiefly in instructing catechumens, and defeating adversaries and heretics. So Tertullian de Prescriptionibus Hæreticorum, p. 15. Comp. Schroeckh Kirchengeschichte, Tom. IX. p. 95. E.

But who can make a rule, from oral tradition, a law of interpretation? We ought, therefore, to attribute nothing to tradition, but all to the evident doctrines of Scripture.

Lastly, the opinion of those who think they have found in Rom. xii. 6, the *analogy of faith* in the same sense as we have explained it, is censurable; for first there was no necessity for such a precept in the Scripture, when common sense, the custom of writers, and the thing itself, require that one thing should be illustrated by another. And secondly, this passage has a sense entirely different, for he is there recommending modesty. *If any man teach, let him teach according to his own conviction; he should not wish to teach more than he knows, and is assured of, and should acknowledge that others may know more than he does.*

§ XVII. *When the analogy of faith is to be used.*

The analogy of faith ought chiefly to be adduced in those places which contain something repugnant to evident truths elsewhere, and also to common sense, in divine and human things. Θεός ἐστὶ πνεῦμα is an evident truth, clearly revealed. When, therefore, the members of the human body are ascribed to God, who is not constrained to explain such passages with reference to the declaration just quoted? It is repugnant to common sense when it is read, that if

any one desires to follow me, he must hate his parents ; for it is elsewhere said *τιμα τον πατερα*. It must therefore be accommodated to this evident proposition. It was very common among profane authors, (although they thought and wrote with skill and accuracy,) when not professedly speaking on doctrinal subjects, to employ expressions not strictly correct, but which were to be understood in a sense consistent with their opinions, when stated with more precision. It is not surprising, therefore, that the sacred writers should sometimes have written with less precision, when the nature of the oriental genius and language had generally this tendency. On this account, an interpreter should become familiar with such modes of speech, and so accustomed to the labour of softening some and limiting others, that he may be prepared for the more difficult passages. But in what manner every thing that will not coincide with sure and evident propositions is to be explained and reconciled, cannot be explained by precepts ; for in different passages, different methods are required.

*I. Many things are said universally or absolutely, which must be understood with limitations et προς τι, especially in morals.*

The precept concerning loving others, was in the Old Testament before Christ, and was often inculcated. As this commandment is called *new* in Joh. xiii. 34, it must be either *absolutely*, or in a certain sense, et προς τι, so that in some respects it may be *new*. But as far as possible, this must be learned from the passage itself ; thus, as far as love to others is commanded *according to the example* of Christ, *because* he loved them, and to the extent that he loved them. Thus also it is plain that there ought to be in the Christian church, men learned in religion, because Christ appointed and desired it. When, therefore, we read in 1 John ii. 20, ye know all things and have no need that any man should teach you, it appears to disagree with that proposition here, what is spoken

generally and absolutely which must be understood particularly ; this appears from the passage itself, which relates to false teachers, who disseminated heresies. The writer, therefore, could correctly say, you have no need to be taught things that are new and contrary to my doctrine, for you know all that belongs to the doctrines of religion.

The same occurs in *morals*, when things are often spoken of hyperbolically ; as when we find in Psalms such things as, there is *none* that serves God, *none* that works righteousness, *all* have sinned, and are full of murder, rapine, and blasphemy. Who will dare to understand these things absolutely. These particular crimes certainly greatly increased in that age, and the greater part of mankind became addicted to them. From history, therefore, those things which are asserted absolutely, must be understood with some limitation.

*II. Many things in morals not spoken comparatively, are however to be thus understood.*

We read that God saith, I desire not *sacrifice* but obedience. Yet he had prescribed that victims should be offered. This, therefore, must be understood comparatively, sacrifice being compared with obedience. Then this will be the sense : I desire *obedience* more than *sacrifice*. In 1 Tim. vi. 8, it is said, and having food and raiment, let us therewith be content. Must no one desire a house, or a competence of wealth ? These things, therefore, are compared with what are called the luxuries of life. In 1 Cor. vi. 18, Paul says, every sin that a man doeth is without the body, that is, the injury is done out of the body, as in theft, murder, &c., but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body, that is, injures himself. Are not other things, as drunkenness, anger, &c., committed against his own body ? And is not fornication committed without the body ? And does it not injure others ? In this sense they are not opposed ; but if understood comparatively, the sense is evident ; the fornicator

injures himself *most*, and he that commits other crimes injures others most. On such interpretations in morals, see Turretin de Interpret. Sacrarum Literarum, p. 348.

§ XVIII. *How the analogy of faith may determine things doctrinally ambiguous.*

I will add in passing, that the analogy of faith may determine doctrinal ambiguities, which can be determined in no other manner. A *grammatical* ambiguity exists in the possibility of many significations which a word will bear, or of many senses which the context will admit. But a *doctrinal* ambiguity is when there is a diversity in the doctrine or sentiment itself. For example, in the beginning of the Gospel of John, Jesus Christ is called God. But some object that that God may signify any thing exalted or venerable, in which sense magistrates and angels are sometimes called gods. They, therefore, are unwilling, from the words  $\delta \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma \eta\nu \Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , to derive an argument for Christ's Divinity as others do. And for determining this doctrinal ambiguity, we are wont to collect all the passages that plainly relate to Christ. We know that divine works and attributes are attributed to him. Hence we conclude, that he who is said to have built the world, who sustains it, who is omniscient, omnipresent, and has all power in heaven and earth, is not called  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  merely because he is high and venerable, but in a far different sense from that in which magistrates and angels are said to be gods.

There are also many passages in which God is said to convert and renew men. Hence arises a *doctrinal* ambiguity, whether this is said concerning God immediately or not. The words  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \varphi\omega\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\iota$  will bear both senses. But it is found in other places more definitely, that God converts men by teaching, as 2 Pet. i. Thus the ambiguity is solved by analogy.

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**HENRICUS EHRENFRIED WARNEKROS,**

ON THE

**Fertility of Palestine.**

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HENRICUS EHRENFRIED WARNEKROS,

ON THE

## Fertility of Palestine.

(Concluded from page 197.)

### § XIV. *Mount Libanus contributes much to the fertility of Palestine.*

We must not suppose that Palestine has as much rain as our region ; still there is enough to render the earth fruitful : and mount Libanus contributes much to the fertility. For in the Spring,\* when the snows of this mountain melt, the river Jordan is swelled, and overflows the land, thereby rendering it fertile. *Libanus* is three leagues distant from Tripoli, in the lower part of which the *fountain of gardens* (Cant. iv. 15,) has its rise. This fountain appears small at its source, but within a small space it so increases, as to make a large river in the plain of Tripoli, and by it the gardens are watered. Between Vclena and the sea of Galilee there is a valley, into which the Jordan runs when the snows of Libanus melt in the spring, and a collection of water takes place in the valley, which in the Scriptures is called the *Waters of Merom*. This is the place where Joshua fought with Jabin and twenty-four other kings, and obtaining the victory, pursued them even to the waters of Masserephot. So we read in the xi. chap. of Jos. Joshua and all his army with him, went

\* *La Roque's Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Libanus*, p. 66, 186.

out against these kings at the *Waters of Meron*, and rushed upon them, and the Lord delivered them to him. Which collection of waters, in the heat of summer for the most part dries up, and trees and herbs, like a wood, grow so thickly, that lions, bears, and other wild animals, conceal themselves there, according to *Saligniac*, *Brectenbach*, *Cotovicus*, and others. *Pliny*\* says, the river *Jordan* arises from the fountain *Panias*; † it is a pleasant stream, and its current is swift. It runs into the lake *Asphaltites*, where it mingles its sweet waters with the impure water of the lake. *Solinus* says the same thing, and affirms that Judea has excellent water: and of all its streams, the river *Jordan* has the sweetest water. It descends from the fountain *Panias*, passes through a very pleasant country, and is lost in the corrupt water of the lake *Asphaltites*.

With regard to the size of the river *Jordan*, there are various opinions and different representations. Some assert that it is very broad, others that it is narrow. These different opinions arise from its having been visited at different seasons of the year. For in the months of September and October, the rivers of Palestine are neither deep nor rapid; but on the contrary, very small and languid in their course. Let us produce the authority of some of the authors. *Bellonius* ‡ affirms, that the river *Jordan*, which runs from north to south, is so narrow that a boy can throw a stone across it; nor is the channel sufficiently deep for a ship to sail in it. *Schultz* § reckons the depth of the *Jordan* to be five or six cubits, and its breadth such, that he who would throw a stone across it, must use all his

\* Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 15.

† *Stephanus*, in his *Epitome de Urbibus*, says, *Panias* is a cave of Palestine, whence flows the *Jordan*. *Josephus*, *Antiq. Jud.* lib. xiii. and *de Bello Jud.* lib. iii. c. 16, says, *Panias* is a very pleasant cave in the mountain, and it contains a cavity full of stagnant water. In this cave the *Jordan* has its source.

‡ *Observat.* lib. ii. cap. 86.

§ *Leitungen des Höchsten auf seinen Reisen*, &c. T. v. p. 90.

strength. *Pococke* and *Shaw*\* have presented us with the most accurate description. The latter affirms that the breadth of the Jordan is ninety feet, and its depth at the very shore nine feet. *Pococke* asserts, that its breadth is equal to that of the Thames of England at Windsor, but its rapidity is much greater. The Thames is there one Italic mile wide. And this I suppose to be the general width of the Jordan, although I would not deny that it may be wider, when the snows of Libanus are melting and flowing into it.

This lofty mountain, Libanus, is never entirely free from snow. Some assert the contrary, but the testimony of Tacitus† is to the point. And *Maundrell* corroborates his testimony, where he says that he travelled for six hours through the snow on mount Libanus, in the month of May. He was then far from the highest top of the mountain, and yet he found abundance of snow. *Phillippus a Sancta Trinitate*‡ states, that in October he saw the remains of the snow in Libanus; but in the end of November, the whole mountain was white with snow. From which circumstance, this mountain is called by the *Samaritans* and *Chaldeans*, שׁוֹר תְּלֹגָא, that is, the *Mountain of Snow*. The Arabians call it by the same name. *Jonathan*, in the Chaldee Paraphrase,§ says, that Libanus is never without snow. There is, therefore, snow at all times on Libanus, and the heat of the sun can never overcome the cold of its lofty tops. The prophet Jeremiah has said the same thing, xviii. 14. This is a very difficult place, on which the commentators have expended much labour and sweat, and formed very different opinions. Let us attempt to make this very obscure place more clear. The

\* *Pococke's* description of the East, Vol. ii. P. i. p. 69. *Shaw's* Travels, &c. p. 373.

† Histor. lib. v. cap. 6.

‡ In Itinerario, lib. iii. cap. 2.

§ Ad Deut. ix. 1.

words of the text are, **היעזב מצור שדי שלג לבנון**  
**אם־ינתשו מים זרים קרים נזולים.**

In the beginning of this passage, there are several difficulties; the construction of the word **עזב** with the preposition **מ**, is unusual, and not to be found any where else; and afterward, what is the *rock of the field and the cold flowing waters that come from another place?* The LXX. render it as follows, *μη εκλειψσσι απο πετρας μαςοι η χιων απο τσ λιβανσ, μη εκλινη υδωσ βιαιωσ ανεμω φερομενον.* In the same manner the *Syriac* translates it. From which interpretation, it appears that they derive the word **זרים** from the root **זרם**, which signifies to *overflow*. The *Vulgate* translation is, shall the snow of Lebanon fail from the rock of the land? or can the cold waters, breaking forth and flowing out, be taken away? Which is a literal translation of the Hebrew text, and yet it is without sense. Our more recent translators differ greatly, not at all recollecting that there is here a parallelism of phrases, a mode of expression very common to all the oriental languages, which if we consider, will throw much light on this place; and it is very evident that the two members of this verse imply one and the same thing—so that the *snow of Lebanon*, and the *foreign waters* denote the same. The word **מצור** still remains, and presents a great difficulty. If we retain the consonants and vowel points in the order in which they are placed by the Masorites, the sense of this place will be, can the snow thus leave mount Libanus as to flow over the land? But the word *land* does not seem to suit this place, and it greatly diminishes the force of the whole description; for if the snow of Libanus should melt and flow over the adjacent land only, that would be but a trifling circumstance; but it is manifest, from the journals and geographies, that it runs into the Jordan and the Orontes, by which they are greatly increased. Therefore I consider the word **מצור** as a false reading, although the ancient interpreters and manuscripts

give me no other, and the explications of the modern writers do not satisfy me. Therefore, if it is right to pronounce an opinion in the midst of so much darkness and obscurity, I would prefer the word **מְקוֹר**, which means a fountain ;—then there would be no difficulty, and this reading would make the best sense, and be very suitable to the whole description. This is a mere conjecture, and supported by no authority from the old interpreters, and by no manuscripts ; but it appears so probable, that I must consider it as the true reading. I would then translate this passage in the following manner : *can the snow of Lebanon leave the fountain of the land ? or can the waters from abroad permit the running streams to be dried up ?*

I need not apologize for using **יִנְתֵּשׂ** Fut. Con. Pual, instead of **יִנְתֵּשׂוּ**, Fut. Cong. Niphal ; for I think it beyond dispute, that the vowel points were added to the text about the sixth or seventh century ; and therefore, if they are improperly placed, and contrary to the analogy, we are bound to change them.

From the arguments brought forward, it is evident that mount Libanus is never free from snow. Still many in our times deny this, on the grounds of the testimony of *Shultz*,\* who roundly asserts that Libanus is not covered with snow, but with white stones, which at a distance resembles snow. He says that he was at first deceived with the appearance ; but when he ascended the mountain, he discovered that he had not seen snow, but white stones. But shall the testimony of one writer, without any support, be esteemed of greater weight than that of many writers, and of those who are esteemed the first authority. The evidence of *Abulfeda* yet remains, who describes Libanus as never free from snow. The whole mistake arises from this fact, that *Shultz* has not distinguished

\* In *Descriptione Syriæ*, p. 162.

between *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; for the eastern mountain, under whose high top the Jordan takes its rise, is called *Antilibanus* by the Greek and Roman writers, who make frequent mention of it; and many have thought that *Shultz* had reference to this mountain. But the opposite mountain, west of this and near the Mediterranean, and triangular in its form, is called *Libanus*; and this is the mountain which *Schultz* visited. It is covered with cedars and white stones as *La Roque* informs us. *Schultz* did not visit *Antilibanus*. *Rauwolf*\* informs us, that the snow of this mountain is carried in large quantities to Tripoli, and that it is there kept for sale during the whole summer, and used for cooling their drink. According to the testimony of *Soligniac*,† the valleys of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus* are highly cultivated; they are rich in pastures, vineyards, gardens, orchards, &c. The inhabitants of these valleys are of various nations—Arminians, Greeks, Nestorians, Georgians, &c., who call themselves Christians, and belong to the Roman church.

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§ XV. *The division of the rains in Palestine.*

There are two seasons in particular in Palestine, when rain is expected; and these rains are called יורה and מלקוש, that is, the *former* and the *latter* rain, from the season of the year when it falls. According to our division of the year, they might be called the *autumnal* (for the civil year among the Jews commences with the month Tissi in autumn,) and the *vernal* (in the month Abib, which is the beginning of the spring.) The Bible makes frequent mention of these rains.‡ The best description of

\* In seiner Morgenländischen Reise, p. 282.

† In Descript. Terræ Sanctæ, P. i. cap. 4. § 5.

‡ Conf. Deut. xi. 14. Jer. iii. 3. v. 24. Hos. vi. 3. Joel ii. 23. Zach. x. 1: *Lightfoot's Hor. Ebr. ad Sac.* iv. 36.

them may be found in *Shaw*\* and *Russel*.† In Palestine and Aleppo, the weather is very uniform in summer, and for several months no rain falls. In the month of September, they are visited with showers for a short season; and afterwards the weather becomes clear for thirty days. At the end of this time, the heavy and long continued rains set in, which are called in Hebrew יורה, in Greek *εργασιμος*, in Latin *Matutina* or *tempestiva*, *early* or *timely*; for the rain falls after the sowing of the grain. After this they have no showers until the end of the month of March, at which time the rain descends again. This precedes the harvest, and quickens the growth of the grain, by filling up the ears in the stalks. It is called גולקוש, in Greek *οψιμος*, in Latin *serotina*, *latter*.

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#### § XVI. *Palestine abounds in plants.*

The Bible proves that Palestine produces a great variety of plants; and no one can deny that the sacred writers were extensively acquainted with the subject, and that they had carefully examined the mysteries of nature. *Celsius*, a classic author on this subject, enumerates two hundred and fifty species of plants, of which mention is made in the Scriptures. *Gesner* has also written on this subject, and has displayed much knowledge in the science of botany. Still there is much ignorance on this subject, and the difficulty of arriving at the truth is very great. Had *Gesner*, so extensively acquainted with other branches, been equally skilled in the knowledge of the Oriental languages, what a flood of light might he have thrown on the natural history of the Bible! It is said of Egypt, that nature has denied to it much variety both of plants and animals; but

\* Travels and Observat. pag. 336.

† Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, pag. 14.

Palestine abounds in both. The fields are like gardens in which grow a great variety of plants and flowers. There are to be found cedars, citron trees, lemon trees, and amarantths of the sweetest odour, which may be seen on the trees all the year round. The common apple, however, the pear, the cherry, and the nut, are not generally to be met with, according to *Saligniac*.\* I know no other cause for this, except that the inhabitants have not been accustomed to cultivate them. The land appears to be as favourable for apples and nuts, as for figs. These fruits are brought to them from Damascus, but they cannot be preserved long. The *palm* tree is common not only to Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and other Oriental regions, but to many parts of Italy. The palm tree in Egypt is very small, and its fruit in many places is not fit to eat, especially at the Delta and Alexandria. In Thebais it flourishes better than in any other part of Egypt.

The palm tree is always green, whence it is called *αειφυλλος*. It is a very beautiful tree, and of great use; whence the ancient Babylonians reckoned three hundred and sixty uses of it, according to *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, and *Cælius*.† Hence the inhabitants of the Moldine islands, when they wish to praise a man, say, that he is more useful than the palm tree.

Judea, especially in its early times, was famous for the palm tree; although those who have lately visited that country find very few at this day. The travellers to Palestine give us different accounts. *Radzivil* and *Cotovic* affirm, that many palm trees are yet to be found there, but *Doubdan* says there are very few. In examining the books of the Old Testament, we find frequent mention of the palm tree. In the Arabian desert, near *Elim*, the Israelites had seventy palm trees, as we read in Num.

\* In *Itinerario Terræ Sanctæ*, lib. i. p. 2. cap. 1.

† In *Antiq. Lect.* lib. v. cap. 6.

xxxiii. 9.\* At this time, palm trees may be found in that place. Deborah the prophetess dwelt under the palm trees. Jericho abounds with this tree, whence it is called the *city of palms*. *Strabo* says, the plain of Jericho is surrounded with mountains; there is a palm grove, having other trees scattered through it, but abounding in palm trees for one hundred stadia, well watered and filled with habitations; which place Herod purchased for a palm grove, at a great price, from Cleopatra, to whom Anthony had presented it as a splendid gift.

Many others, as *Tacitus*, *Justin*, *Pliny*, *Josephus*, testify that Jericho formerly abounded in palms. There is another reason why Judea appears to have been very rich in palms. That region is represented under the emblem of that tree; for hieroglyphics were taken for the most part from things which a country produced in great abundance. On the coins of *Titus*, the image of that country is to be seen, bound to a palm tree, with the inscription IVD. CAP.

The *Sycamore* tree is a native of Egypt, whence, according to *Theophrastus*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, it is called the *Egyptian Fig tree*. It has, however, flourished in other regions, and especially in Palestine. It flourishes best in open plains.† It is a large tree, containing many branches. It is a species of the fig tree, and its leaves resemble those of the mulbary tree. It does not grow from the seed, but is propagated by the branch. It abounds in sap, and produces much fruit. Its fruit grows in a peculiar manner, not on the extremities of the boughs, as in other trees, but near the trunk. Its size is about that of the fig, though it differs from that in not having seed within. It

\* Conf. *J. C. Ulrick* de decem fontibus et septuaginta palmis ab Israelitis in Elim repertis.

† 1 Kings x. 27. 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. 2 Chron. i. 15. Conf. *Relandi Palestina*, p. 1024.

is very sweet and pleasant to the taste. It does not ripen without being plucked and placed in oil. The use of figs is injurious to the stomach, it relaxes and weakens it. But figs may be eaten with impunity by those who have been heated by travelling, or exposure to the sun, and who need cooling and moisture. They are not of great value as food, but are eaten considerably by the poor.\* This fruit, however, and the flower of the tree, are of considerable importance as a medicine. Wine and vinegar are also made out of it.

The wood of this tree will not decay for many ages, whence it was used by the ancient Egyptians for coffins. The ancients used it for building houses and ships.

\* Amos vii. 14.

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ON THE

**Population of Palestine;**

FROM

**MICHAELIS' LAW OF MOSES.**

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## POPULATION OF PALESTINE.

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### § 1. *Could Palestine contain as many inhabitants as Moses proposed to settle in it?*

The population of a country does not belong to the subject of political law; because a lawgiver cannot determine or fix it, by statutes, but to its historico-political description. The reader, however, will not be displeased to find here some remarks on this point as an appendix to the preceding Articles; more especially as so many doubts have been started as to the number of citizens sometimes ascribed to the Israelitish state in the course of their history. But indeed the number of fighting men mentioned by Moses himself, has a closer relation to the object of the present work than at first appears: for if to them he has assigned for a habitation a country included within certain limits, and incapable of supporting so great a number, his laws must be considered as deficient in those principles that are acknowledged as incontrovertible by the universal sense of mankind: more especially as their chief object was the still farther increase of population, and as withal he had established his policy on this principle of agriculture, that every citizen was to possess his own hereditary land unalienably. In a state depending for its prosperity solely on trade or manufactures, it is of no moment whether the land be sufficient to support the people or not; (Holland here furnishes a remarkable example,) but the Israelites were to live, not by trade, but by husbandry, which rendered it indispensably requisite that there should

be a just proportion between the extent and fertility of the land, and the number of the inhabitants.

Moses has left an accurate enumeration of the Israelites. The men able to bear arms somewhat exceeded 600,000 ; and, including the Levites, amounted to nearly 620,000. If, according to the usual principle of calculation, we admit the whole people, women and children included, to have been four times as many, we shall then have nearly 2,500,000 souls for the amount of the population ; that is, about 500,000 more than Busching gives to the kingdom of Sweden. Yet we must add something further on account of Polygamy and slavery, although these only took place in the families of the more opulent ; and I should therefore think that, upon the whole, the number of people that Moses had to carry into Palestine, could not have been less than 3,000,000. Now the question is, Was it possible, within the limits of Palestine, to find hereditary possessions and support for so prodigious a population ?

No doubt if we include all the country from beyond Jordan to the Euphrates, there was quite room enough for three millions. But Moses' first object was to bring the whole people into the country this side Jordan, and to leave the nations on the Arabian side of it unmolested, if they granted him free passage into Palestine. The Israelites were not to continue wandering herdsmen, but to learn every one to love and improve his own allotted and hereditary fields : and even after the conquest of some of the kingdoms beyond Jordan, none but the two tribes and a half, which could not muster quite 120,000 men, received their settlements there ; so that still 500,000 men able to bear arms, or in other words, a population of about two millions and a half, were to be provided for in the small territory on this side that river. Was this possible ? Palestine, as to its extent and limits, is not so perfectly known as that I can venture on the mensuration of it in German square miles. But any one who measures it but slightly

on the map will admit, that the part on this side Jordan could not contain less than 300, nor more than 400 German square miles. Now, distributing 500,000 fighting men, or 2,500,000 souls over that extent, each square mile would include about 1500 warriors, or from 6,000 to 7,000 people. This seems to be too great a number; because allowing that every man would thus have 20 acres allotted him for his support, still there are in every country many pieces of ground quite useless: and besides, people have many more wants than that of bread-corn alone. The whole Prussian territories, including the very populous province of Silesia, had, before the last war, in the year 1756, about 4,700,000 inhabitants; and therefore, exclusive of foreign mercenaries, 1,175,000 natives able to bear arms. They contain, according to Busching's calculation, 3000 German square miles, although in many districts the soil is not fertile, they might undoubtedly support a much greater population, because corn is exported. Agriculture is also improving, and many places, in which the king endeavours to get foreigners to settle, are susceptible of cultivation; but still, how great the difference between 1,200,000 men able to bear arms, on 3,000 square miles, and 500,000, on 300 or 400? Supposing Prussia so much improved as to maintain 1,500 men on a square mile, it would altogether maintain no less than 4,500,000; and women and children included, at least 18,000,000 of people. But will any man conceive such a degree of improvement practicable? Nay, though I had here made a mistake in the number of square miles, and they did not quite amount to 3,000, the difficulty would still remain very weighty.

In order, therefore, to remove this objection to the possibility of Moses having been able to put the very first and most important of all his laws in execution, I must beg the reader's attention to the following remarks.

In the *first* place, it will be allowed from what has been said, in the preceding chapter, on the geography of Pales-

tine, that even the promised land, strictly so called, was more extensive than our maps make it. A good part of Lebanon, with the fruitful vales that intersect it, ought to be included in it; and the ten tribes and a half on this side Jordan, extended their settlements a good way southward into Arabia.

In the *second* place, Palestine is represented by Moses as a remarkably fertile country; in which the best modern travellers, particularly Dr. Shaw,\* entirely agree with him. I cannot enter into the dispute that has arisen on this point; but it seems to me that we may fairly admit the testimony of Moses as valid. He had himself sent spies into the country, and was at pains to obtain satisfactory information as to its nature; and these spies, not excepting those who excited the Israelites to mutiny against him, gave their testimony to its extreme fertility. Had all this then been untrue, and Palestine as barren as some modern writers would insinuate, Moses, in designing to introduce so great a multitude into it, and to establish a state on the agricultural system, would have shown himself not only an impostor, but also a fool; and *that*, not even his enemies are wont to account him. Those who describe Palestine as unfruitful, appeal to the evidence of Greek and Latin authors; but the passages which they adduce, refer only to the country around Jerusalem; and what land is there that has not some barren spots? But of the country in general, Tacitus, the most creditable of all the classic authors, says, on the other hand, that it is as fertile as Italy. His words are, (Hist. v. 6.) *Rari imbres, uber solum. Exuberant fruges, nostrum ad morem, præterque eas, Balsamum at Palmæ.* Considering the time when it was given, this is a pretty favourable testimony. The country about Jerusalem was no doubt ill adapted for tillage; but its vineyards and olive-grounds highly enriched it. Allowing, however,

\* See p. 336, 337, of the English edition of 1757.

that it had been absolutely barren, that was not the case with the whole of Palestine. The great Arabian geographer, Abulfeda, king of Hama in Syria, who in his journey to Egypt had certainly been in Palestine, says, even in the 13th century, that *Palestine is the most fertile part of Syria*;\* and concerning the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, described by Strabo as very barren, he does not indeed deny its want of water,† but still declares it to be *one of the most fruitful parts of Palestine*.‡ Now should we not put more faith in this native Syrian writer, than in a foreigner, who, though an excellent geographer, had never been in Palestine himself? From the present situation of that country, for now more than a thousand years laid waste by war, and the tyranny of barbarians, no conclusion can be drawn to its times of culture. Having been cultivated like a garden, and, according to Maundrell's remark, the cold rocks being by the hand of industry covered with soil, and thus made fertile, it cannot but have become very unlike itself, after seventeen hundred years devastation; and if the vine was one of the chief bounties which nature had bestowed upon it, it is easy to see how much it must have suffered by its non-cultivation for more than ten centuries, under the dominion of the Mahometans, to whom wine is interdicted. But, independent of these circumstances, let any man consider the present state of Germany with respect to cultivation, and the descriptions which Cæsar and Tacitus have left of this

\* See Abulfeda *Tabulæ Syriæ*, p. 9. Köler's edit.

† See p. 10. of the same book. "Jerusalem has, some springs excepted, no water, at least not enough to water corn-fields." But the country is not therefore barren; for in the first place, it consists not of corn-fields, but of vineyards and olive-grounds; and in the next place, Abulfeda himself had said, a little before, that Palestine was supplied with water from rain, and had its corn and trees watered from heaven. And this, in the East, they account far preferable to artificial irrigation.—See Deut. xi. 10, 11, and my remark upon it.

‡ P. 10. of the same work.

now so extremely fertile country, and he will be sensible, that if from these it could never have been conceived, that Germany could by culture have become what it now is ; so from the descriptions of desolated Palestine, its former situation, in the times when agriculture and industry flourished, can by no means be judged of. What that really was, may be seen in a very remarkable passage of Josephus, (De Bello Jud. Lib. III. cap. 3) who knew it when in its glory, before the Roman war. That passage where, in a particular manner, the fertility, cultivation, and prodigious population of Galilee, are described, is, however, too long for quotation here.

In the *third* place, as every Israelite had his land altogether his own, and could inclose and use it as he chose, except in the seventh year ; and as, by the herds being driven into the deserts, common pasturage occasioned no obstruction or damage to individual proprietors ; Palestine could thus sustain a greater population than a country equally good, in which, from the rights of *common*, they are prevented from making the best possible use of their fields.

In the *last* place, a country of equal fertility in the 32d degree of latitude, will support more inhabitants than in the 51st. Our colder countries require extensive spaces for woods ; and if, for each man able to bear arms, I reckon only four cords of wood yearly, (each 216 cubic feet) how much space will be necessarily occupied with timber, where 2,000,000 of cords must be annually felled? In a warm climate, very little wood is required for fuel, and in Palestine that article was actually very scarce.—Again, how much more wool and linen do we require for our clothing than the inhabitants of Palestine? These wants occasion the occupation of a great deal of land, in raising flax and sheep. The Israelites most probably had more wool than they could consume ; and of course had it in

their power to manufacture and sell it to strangers,\* and with the monies thence arising, purchase articles which their own country did not produce in sufficient abundance.—Farther, a country lying in a climate somewhat better than ours, admits the planting of vineyards, and finds drink to its inhabitants on the hills, which with us are barren, or at best adapted only for wood. We, on the contrary, must employ a part of our best land in raising barley, which furnishes our principal drink.—Once more, in the 32d degree of latitude, the same ground, treated as a garden, may be cropped oftener within the year, than with us; an advantage for which Moses expressly celebrates Palestine in Deut. xxxiii. 14.

It will perhaps appear somewhat trifling to observe, that people in southern climates are satisfied with less food than in northern: but it is nevertheless very certain, and well known from church history, (see Mosheim's *Institutiones Hist. Eccl.* p. 168,) that on the introduction of the Asiatic fasts, the stomachs of the French were very differently affected from those of Egyptians. But it is more important to remark, that the industry of husbandmen in countries where rain rarely falls, and where the fields must be artificially watered, far surpasses any thing that our farmers exhibit. There they learn to make use of every foot of land: they cover the naked rocks with earth, and raise walls to prevent showers from washing it away. In those parts of Switzerland where vines can be reared, we see numberless examples of this most laudable economy; and that Palestine was anciently cultivated in the same manner, Maundrell discovered many traces in the course of his travels.—This is sufficient to justify the law of Moses, who designed to provide at least 480,000 men able to bear arms, with land on this side Jordan. When in process of time the population increased, they had it in their power

\* That this actually took place, we see from Prov. xxxi. 24.

to settle colonies in those parts of Arabia, till then only used for pasturage, where water was somewhat abundant, (for in such a climate, the very sand is fertile, where water is found ; ) or else in the valleys of Mount Lebanon ; and that this was actually done, we learn from 1 Chron. iv. 39—42, and from Judges, chap. xviii.

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§ 2. *Concerning the later enumerations of the Israelites.*

Having said thus much concerning the numbers of the Israelites in the time of Moses, as my readers may have the curiosity to make some enquiries concerning the later enumerations of that people, I will for their satisfaction add a few particulars relative thereto, though not strictly belonging to the illustration of the Mosaic law. Those to whom it may be irksome to read what is not indispensably necessary on this subject, may pass over the following paragraphs.

The enumerations made by Moses are those alone in which we can with certainty confide. In the time of the Judges, we find in all Israel only 426,700 men able to bear arms ; and during a short war carried on with great fury, they became 66,000 fewer, (Judg. xx. 2, 15, 17, &c.) Saul could not bring more than 330,000 men together.\* But whether, on either of these occasions, those residing in the more distant parts towards the Euphrates, were included, is uncertain ; and at Saul's command, the tribe of Judah, whereof he found only 32,000 men, appears to have come forward very sparingly ; for Saul seems in general to have had but little authority over that tribe. Nor is it at all to be wondered that the population should have diminished

\* 1 Sam. xi. 8. There is great variety of lection as to the numbers in this passage, concerning which see the *Orientalische Bibliothek*, Part v. p. 247. I here follow the common text.

during so many unsuccessful wars, and those too, with nations who made slaves of their prisoners, and by carrying off young women, rendered the number of marriages less among the vanquished.

The next enumeration was the celebrated one undertaken by David. From the command issued by him, from the time of nine months allotted for carrying it into effect, and from the words of 2 Sam. xxiv. 1—8, we clearly see, that this census, or rather enrollment, comprehended the people in the most remote places, even in the Syrian and Arabian deserts ; only that the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, the two weakest of all, are said to have been spared, 1 Chron. xxi. 6. The great amount of the numbers need not therefore appear incredible, because between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, even more might have found room. It would, however, have been impossible that in the course of one generation, the whole people, *by births alone*, should have increased from 330,000 to more than a million ; or that the tribe of Judah, if in Saul's time (1 Sam. xi. 8.) it could really muster only 32,000 men, should now, by births alone, have amounted to 500,000. But it would appear that many who had before, by reason of the bad times, retired into foreign lands, or had been carried away as slaves, had now returned again under David's reign ;\* and besides, many proselytes from the conquered countries might be included. But we can by no means fully rely on the numbers given. For no man who has critically perused the books of Samuel, in the last chapter of the second of which this enumeration is related, will hesitate to admit, that many parts of them, but above all the two last chapters, have come to us somewhat disfigured. But the books of Chronicles are in general more carelessly copied than any of the other books of the Bible, and not to be depended upon, as to the accu-

\* See my Dissertation, *De pretiis Rerum apud Hebræos*, § 10.

racy of the numbers which they give, and which appear indeed somewhat incredible. Add to this, that in regard to the numbers in question, these two books do not accord. For Joab found,

According to Samuel,	300,000 in Israel—Chronicles,	1,100,000
	500,000 in Judah,	470,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,300,000	1,570,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>

which numbers I know not how to reconcile. The tribe of Judah, according to both, is prodigiously strong; very probably because most of the proselytes attached themselves to the tribe to which the king belonged, when they desired to participate in the civil rights of the Israelites, while they adopted their religion.

But even according to the least number, the people of Israel, women and children included, amounted to more than 5,000,000; about as many as the Prussian states at present contain.\* And yet these were not all the subjects that David could boast; for we must add 150,000 tributary Canaanites, with their wives and children; as also the conquered nations, at least those among them who had not by circumcision become Israelites; and the slaves, who might, however, chiefly belong to the conquered nations. If partiality towards the Jewish state, has not greatly magnified these numbers, David must certainly have been a very powerful prince, but still not to be compared with an Egyptian monarch.

The number of the Israelites under Jeroboam and Abijah, which is mentioned, 2 Chron. xiii. 3, is pretty nearly the same with that under David, if we only suppose that all who could bear arms were present in one battle. For the ten tribes mustered 800,000; and Judah, with Benjamin,

\* I must here remind the reader that I wrote this in 1770, and therefore spoke of the *then* Prussian states. But now, that West Prussia must be taken into the account, their population will be considerably augmented.

400,000. But these numbers are manifestly any thing but accurate; for the battle to which they relate, wherein 500,000 men are stated to have fallen, could never have been so bloody but by the mistake of transcribers.\*

The list of fighting men, 2 Chron. xvii. 14—18, belonging to the kingdom of Judah alone, under Jehoshaphat, being no less than 1,160,000, looks likewise suspicious, by reason of its great amount; which may be very reasonably ascribed to errors in transcription, more especially, as about a century after, in the reign of Uzziah, only 307,500, able to bear arms, could be mustered, (2 Chron. xxvi. 13); and *that* at a time when all the citizens were obliged to defend their country. In short, all the enumerations of the Israelites and Jews, subsequent to the time of Moses, are from the faults of transcribers uncertain, or manifestly erroneous.

\* See Syntagma Comment. P. I. 13, 14, and Kennicott's Second Dissertation, p. 197, &c.

The reader will observe that an error has occurred in numbering the pages, 339 being made immediately to follow 328. This mistake was not discovered until several sheets had been printed. It was therefore deemed advisable not to correct the error, but to allow the paging to run on regularly. The present number, therefore, is paged to 460, whereas it should properly extend no further than 450.





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