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OF
ESSAYS AND TRACTS
IN
THEOLOGY.

BY JARED SPARKS.

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SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S
HISTORY
OF
TWO CORRUPTIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

NEWTON.

IN the annals of the human race are recorded the names of a few men, who have shone as the ornament and the boast of their species, whose wisdom has multiplied the triumphs and hastened the progress of intellect, and whose genius has thrown a splendor over the world. Of this fortunate number Newton stands at the head. To give a full account of this extraordinary man, of his life and character, his discoveries and their influence, would be to analyze all that is wonderful in the human mind, to reveal the deep things of nature, unfold the mechanism of the universe, and enumerate the achievements of science during the last century. No such arduous and venturesome task will here be undertaken, nor any thing more than the outlines of a subject, whose compass is so vast, and whose objects are so elevated.

Sir Isaac Newton was born at Woolsthorpe, near Grantham, Lincolnshire, on the 25th of December, 1642. In his early infancy he was extremely feeble, and little hope of his life was entertained. His

father died three months before he was born, and accordingly the charge of the son devolved wholly on the mother. She spared no pains with his education, and kept him under her own eye till he was twelve years old, when she sent him to the public school at Grantham. He was boarded in the house of an apothecary, whose brother was usher of the school.

It was here that he first began to display the peculiar bent of his genius, and to give a presage of what its future versatility and power would accomplish. It is recorded of him, while at this school, that his thoughts ran more on practical mechanics, than on his regular exercises, and that during the hours of recreation, which the other boys devoted to play, he was busy with hammers, saws, and hatchets, constructing miniature models and machines of wood. Among his first efforts was a wooden clock, kept in motion by water, and telling the hours on a dial-plate at the top. He made kites, to which were attached paper lanterns, and one of his favourite amusements was flying them in the night, to the consternation of the neighbouring inhabitants. He fabricated tables and other articles of furniture for his schoolfellows, and is said to have invented and executed a vehicle with four wheels, on which he could transport himself from one place to another by turning a windlass. The motions of the heavenly bodies did not escape his notice even at this period; for he formed a dial

of a curious construction, by fastening pegs in the walls of the house, which indicated the hours and half hours of the day. At first his fondness for these occupations caused him to neglect his regular studies; but he had too much spirit quietly to look on while other boys were gaining places above him, and he at length maintained not only a reputable, but a distinguished standing in the school.

In the mean time his mother's second husband died, and as she needed the assistance of her son, she took him home to manage the affairs of the farm. To this business he was devoted for a year or two, but with so little interest in the pursuit, that his mother soon found her agricultural concerns were not likely to flourish in his hands. It was one part of his business to go to Grantham market and dispose of the produce of the farm, but in executing this charge he is neither to be applauded for his diligence, nor admired for a love of his duties. The important task of finding a purchaser and making a bargain, he usually entrusted to the enterprise of a servant, and his own time was passed in his early haunts at the apothecary's house, reading books, or planning machines, till it was announced that the time of his return had arrived. At home, the farm itself was managed much in the same way as the sale of its produce at the market. It was neglected, or left to the care of others, while the mind of its nominal superintendent was invoking the genius of invention,

roaming the fields of philosophy, or exploring the regions of hidden nature.

So unpromising were the prospects of making him a farmer, that his mother resolved to yield to his propensities, and put him in the way of being a scholar. To this end he was again sent to Grantham school. At Grantham he resided nine months, and was then entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, on the 5th of June, 1660, in the eighteenth year of his age. In this situation, so favourable for drawing out and improving his peculiar talents, his success was equal to his advantages. It was not among the least fortunate circumstances to Newton, that Dr Barrow was at that time fellow of Trinity College. With mathematical powers of the highest order, and a strong predilection for the natural sciences, this great man would not be long in discovering so bright a genius as that which then began to dawn in his college; and, with a modesty and good temper equal to his greatness, he would not be slow to encourage the ardour with which the young student was animated, nor to lend assistance where it could advance his attainments. Barrow became not only his adviser and teacher, but his sincere friend; and few were the men of his time, who were better able to teach, or whose friendship was more to be desired.

Newton's mind soon turned into the channel of his favourite studies, and he read with avidity the works of the modern geometers then in vogue, especially

Kepler, Descartes, Saunderson, and Wallis. It is remarked of him, that he gave no time to the more elementary books usually put into the hands of beginners. Euclid himself he studied but partially, for by a glance of the eye at the enunciation and diagram, he saw at once the process and result of the demonstration. The wide distance, which others are forced to traverse with slow and painful steps, in their entrance to the profound sciences of numbers and geometry, he passed over at a single stride. Propositions, which required elaborate demonstrations to bring them out of the mists of doubt, and make them evident to other minds, were to him self-evident truths. With these endowments from nature, and with the aids in his reach, we ought not to be surprised, that his progress in mathematical attainments was unexampled ; but with all these on his side, we can hardly realize the fact, that while yet an undergraduate at the university he should conceive one of the sublimest inventions of human genius. It was during the last year of this period that he first detected the principles of the Fluxional Analysis, of which more will hereafter be said.

He took the degree of bachelor of arts in the year 1664, at which time, and for some months after, he appears to have been engaged in optical researches. His attention was particularly occupied in attempting to devise some method of improving telescopes ; and it is known, that at this time he had purchased a prism

with the design of making experiments to try Descartes' theory of colours. The next year after he was graduated, these inquiries were interrupted, and he was compelled to leave Cambridge on account of the plague, and take refuge at his own home in the country.

In this retirement he spent nearly two years, and it is natural to suppose, that a mind like his, with the world of unexplored nature before him, would not be idle. It was during this season of seclusion, that he caught the dawning hints of his great discovery of gravitation, the origin of which is among the most striking illustrations of the force of accident in developing the genius, and swaying the opinions of men. Newton was one day passing a solitary hour in a garden, occupied in philosophical musings, when an apple fell from a tree near him. Trifling as was this incident, it quickened the inquiring spirit of Newton, and immediately called out his mind to search for the cause. Why should an apple fall to the earth? Why should any other body fall? By what power is it impelled, by what laws directed? These were the questions, which he asked himself; and, although he could not answer them, he was led into a train of reflections, which ultimately carried him to the highest of human attainments.

The fact had been well established, that on every part of the earth's surface there is a tendency in bodies to fall to its centre, and that this tendency is

not perceptibly diminished by ascending to different elevations, as the tops of lofty buildings, and the summits of high mountains. Why then should not the power, which causes this gravitating tendency, reach beyond the remotest points of the earth's surface? Why not to the moon, and the other celestial bodies? And if so, why may not their motions be in some way influenced by this power, as well as the motions of bodies less distant from the centre of the earth? Not that it is necessary, that the tendency, or force, should everywhere be the same; for although it is not sensibly diminished on any part of the earth's surface, yet at a point so far distant as the moon, it may possibly become weaker. Pursuing this train of thought, he instituted a calculation. By comparing the periods of the planets, with their several distances from the sun, he ascertained, that if they were actually held in their orbits by a power like that of gravitation on the earth's surface, this power must act by a fixed law, and decrease in proportion as the squares of the distances of the gravitating bodies increase.

It only remained to determine, whether a power, acting by such a law, would keep the moon in its orbit, and produce its several motions. He went through a rigorous computation, but it was unsuccessful; the results did not correspond with observation; it did not appear that the moon was actuated by such a power; and he was not encouraged to prosecute his labours. Hereafter it will be seen, however, that he

was deceived, and that he had already discovered the great law of the universe.

In the year 1667 Newton took his degree of master of arts, and was elected fellow of his college. About the same time he returned to Cambridge. For two years he had been more or less engaged in his optical experiments, although only at intervals during his retirement. His primary object was to improve the telescope; and to accomplish this, he employed himself in grinding lenses of elliptical and parabolic forms, hoping thus to correct the indistinctness of figure produced by the aberration of rays in passing through a spherical lens. His attempts proved abortive, for, whatever figure he gave to his lens, the image was still defective. Wearied with ill success, he desisted from the labour of grinding lenses, and betook himself to experiments with his prism. In these experiments he was struck with the oblong form of the spectrum, and the brilliancy of the colours which it exhibited. He took for granted, that the rays of light, in passing through the prism, were equally refracted, in which case the spectrum ought to be circular. It was, nevertheless, invariably oblong. He observed, moreover, that the colours were regularly arranged, the red uniformly appearing at one end, and the violet at the other. From these appearances he drew the conclusion, that the rays in passing through the prism are not equally refracted, but those composing each colour are refracted in a different angle

from those of any other colour, and are thus separated. It hence followed, that light is composed of rays of as many different colours, as there are distinct colours in the spectrum, and that the rays of each colour are refracted in a certain uniform angle. This is called the *refrangibility* of light.

Newton soon perceived this great discovery to be susceptible of the most extensive application, since it is intimately concerned with all the phenomena of light and colours. He discovered the mistake under which he had laboured respecting the cause of the imperfection of telescopes ; for he found by computation, that the different refrangibility of light contributed several hundred times more to produce this effect, than refraction through a spherical lens. Hence, if a figure could be so formed as to correct the errors of refraction, the different refrangibility would still remain, and the image would scarcely be more distinct. He despaired of conquering this double difficulty, and resorted for the most convenient remedy to the principle of reflection. He applied himself to forming and polishing metallic concave mirrors with his own hands, and finally constructed two telescopes of this description, the first of which is now in the possession of the Royal Society. This kind of instrument received the name of the Newtonian telescope, and was the foundation of all the great improvements which have since been made. In a letter to Oldenburg, a plan of a refracting telescope was suggested by

Newton, in which the errors of refrangibility might be corrected by passing the rays of light through substances possessing different dispersive powers, so that the refraction of one should be counteracted by the opposite refraction of another. But there is no evidence, that he carried this plan into execution. The hint was not lost; it has been so far improved, that refracting telescopes have been made perfectly achromatic.

One of the most remarkable results of Newton's discovery in light, was his explanation of the phenomena of colours. He analyzed the rainbow. He laid open, in a most ingenious manner, the causes of various colours in all natural objects. By a series of curious experiments and philosophical deductions, he was led to the conclusion, that there is a thin, transparent covering on the surfaces of bodies, in which light is both refracted and reflected, producing by this process different colours. One colour prevails over another, because the configuration of the particles on which light falls is such, as to absorb nearly all the rays except of one kind. In almost all the fixed colours of opaque bodies, the three principal properties of light, refraction, reflection, and inflection, are concerned. There is no colour where there is no light, and this shows that colour is an accident, and not a property inherent in matter. Newton has explained its cause and its nature. In the language of a poet, he "untwisted all the shining robe of day,"

and in the words of a philosopher, who happily pursued the figure so beautifully started, "he made known the texture of the magic garment, which nature has so kindly spread over the surface of the visible world."* In short, the science of optics was so completely renovated by Newton, and established on the principles of truth and reason, that he may be considered as having been its author.

While thus successfully going forward in the march of discovery, his patron, Dr Barrow, had been appointed professor of mathematics at Cambridge. But in 1669, he concluded to resign his professorship, as he wished to devote himself more exclusively to theology. By his desire Newton was made his successor. The duties of his new office encroached so much on his leisure, that he was forced to relax in some degree the intensesness with which he had prosecuted his researches. That he might, however, complete what he had so successfully begun, he caused his optical inquiries to be the chief subject of his lectures during the first three years after he was raised to the professor's chair, and thus gradually matured his new discoveries into a system.

Newton was elected a member of the Royal Society in 1672, and, at the time he was chosen, a telescope sent by him was exhibited for the inspection of the society. So highly was it approved, that a resolution was passed to forward a description of it

* Playfair's Second Dissertation, Part II. sect. 3.

to Huygens, the celebrated philosopher and optician, that the invention might be secured to its true author. In a letter read by Oldenburg shortly after to the Society, Newton gave intimations of discoveries to which he had been conducted in optics, and which he proposed to submit to the consideration of that learned body. These proved to be no other, than his new theory of light and colours, which he had never as yet made public. At the earnest solicitation of the Royal Society, his papers on these subjects were immediately printed in their Transactions. Newton was now more than thirty years old, and had been employed for nearly ten years in developing the profoundest mysteries of nature, but this was the first occasion on which he had appeared before the public as a writer.

His theory met with a chilling opposition from almost every quarter, and he was so much disturbed at the petulance and peevishness with which he was assailed by ignorance in the garb of pretended knowledge, he was so much vexed by the narrowness and jealousy of some, and the bitterness of others, that he sometimes repented of having jeopardized his peace by an unavailing attempt to enlighten the world with truths, which it was so averse to receive, and which had cost him the patient labour of years to elicit and mature. He was first attacked by Hooke, and then by Pardies, Gascoigne, Lucas, and other writers on the continent. Being once

enlisted, it did not accord with his spirit to shrink from the contest, and he replied promptly to every animadversion from a respectable source, which was published against him. He was at last triumphant over all opposition, and settled his theory on a basis which has never been moved.

So foreign were such controversies from his disposition and feelings, that he absolutely refused to publish his *Optical Lectures*, which were then ready for the press; nor did they see the light till more than thirty years afterwards. In alluding to this controversy, he says, "I blamed my own imprudence for parting with so real a blessing as my quiet, to run after a shadow." This remark sufficiently indicates the reluctance with which he forced himself to combat prejudice and passion. It may justly command our applause as the evidence of a pacific and unassuming temper, but we can hardly be required to descend to the level of his modesty in thinking the splendid reality of which he was in pursuit to be no more than a shadow. He was conscious of no other motives than love of truth, and zeal for science; and notwithstanding his chagrin at the outset, he had the satisfaction of witnessing the gradual reception of his theory by those most enlightened, and best qualified to understand it, till at length it gave a new aspect to the science of optics.

Twelve years had passed away since the apple in the garden had carried up his thoughts to the cause

of the celestial motions, when he was again induced to resume that subject. He received a letter from Dr Hooke concerning the kind of curve described by a falling body, subjected to the double influence of the diurnal motion of the earth, and the power of gravitation. This letter put Newton on new inquiries into the nature of this description of curves, and prompted him to retrace the steps of his former calculations in regard to the moon's motion. The truth is, he had been deceived by the old measurement of the earth, which was essentially false; making a degree to consist of sixty English miles, whereas, by the late and more accurate measurement of Picard, a degree was ascertained to be sixty-nine miles and a half. As Newton reckoned the moon's distance in semidiameters of the earth, and as the length of a semidiameter depended on the length of a degree, this difference gave rise to an enormous error, and was the cause of his failure and discouragement.

By a new calculation with corrected data, his most sanguine hopes were more than realized. He proved with demonstrative accuracy, that the deflection of the moon towards the earth is precisely what it ought to be on the supposition, that it is actuated by a force operating inversely as the squares of the distances. He then brought the other planets within his calculation, and found the same law to hold in them all. Thus was accomplished a discovery more sublime in its nature, more profound in its details, more difficult

in its demonstration, and more important in its results, than any which has ever yielded to the force of industry, or the light of genius. The law which governs the heavens and the earth, the uniting principle of the universe, the cement of nature, was detected, and its rules of action developed and made applicable to the highest purposes of science.

We are not to understand, that Newton was the first, who imagined the existence of such a power as attraction between natural bodies. This was conjectured long before, but no one had been able to prove the fact. It is not certain that the ancients had any distinct notions of a power like that of gravity. Lucretius, in his romantic account of the origin and formation of the world, has some fanciful allusions to a kind of principle, which keeps the earth self-balanced in the centre of the universe, and operates in some inexplicable manner in producing the motions of the stars. But it is doubtful, after all, whether he supposes these effects to be produced by an internal power of attraction, or an external pressure.* Lucretius is mentioned, because he may be allowed to have spoken the sense of the large and flourishing sect of the Epicureans, whose philosophy he defended with an ingenuity and eloquence worthy of a better subject.

Copernicus had some obscure notions of a gravitating principle in the earth, which he supposed to

*De Rerum Natura, Lib. V.

exist also in the stars and planets, and preserve them in their spherical forms. He calls it a kind of natural appetency.* Kepler went one step farther, and supposed that an attracting power not only existed in the earth, but that it might reach to the moon and other planets, and that they might reciprocally attract each other. To such extravagant lengths did his fancy lead him, that he even assigned to the planets a sort of animating, self-directing principle, by which they were endowed with a sympathy for one another and enabled to make their way through the regions of space. Dr Hooke found out, that if such a power as gravity exists, it must act in proportion to the distance of the body, and the quantity of matter.

From this brief sketch it appears, that the ancients had no conception of a gravitating power; that Copernicus supposed it to extend not beyond the body of each planet; that Kepler assigned to it a reciprocal influence among the several planets, but knew nothing of its nature or laws of action, and that Dr Hooke advanced farther, but in establishing the existence of such a power, he went not beyond the confines of probability. Newton's discovery embraces two essential particulars; first, the fact, that an attracting principle pervades all matter; secondly, the law by which this principle acts. Take these away, and no conjectures about attraction could ever

* Equidem existimo gravitatem non aliud esse quam appetentiam quandam naturalem. *De Revol. Cæl. Orb. Lib. I. Cap. 9*

be converted to a single practical use. But now they are settled on the immovable basis of demonstration, they put in our hands the great key of nature. Newton undoubtedly profited as far as he could by what others had done ; but, compared with his discoveries, they had literally done nothing. They were tapers guiding the meridian sun in the career of his glory.

With this law at command, Newton constructed a new system of the world. He solved the most difficult problems pertaining to the motions of the heavenly bodies, and explained the celestial phenomena in a manner at once simple and satisfactory. In all his inquiries on these subjects, as well as on every other, he rigidly pursued the mode of philosophizing recommended by Lord Bacon ; or rather his own mode, as he made it peculiarly his own by being the first, who reduced it to practice, and gave it a prevalence in the world. With him it was a fundamental axiom, that nothing is to be assumed as a principle, which does not rest on observation or experiment, and that no hypothesis is to be admitted as establishing a fact.*

This axiom he never deserted, and hence the profound investigations into which his sublime geom-

* Quicquid enim ex phænomenis non deducitur, *hypothesis* vocanda est ; et hypotheses seu metaphysicæ, seu physicæ, seu qualitatum occultarum, seu mechanicæ, in philosophia experimentalis locum non habent. *Principia, Lib. III. Schol. General.*

etry carried him, were clothed with the same certainty, as the results of humble and obvious calculations. He walked among the planets, and took their dimensions, and measured their periods, and ascertained their motions and influence on each other, with as much security as the mariner traverses the ocean with his compass ; and he went forward with equal assurance, that he should not be deceived nor misled. He explained the lunar irregularities, which had baffled all former astronomers, he suggested and demonstrated the true figure of the earth, solved the perplexing problem of the precession of the equinoxes, illustrated the causes of the tides, and extended his researches with brilliant success to the eccentric orbits and erratic motions of the comets.*

The first public intimation, which Newton gave of these discoveries, was in 1683, when he sent a short paper to the Royal Society containing a dozen propositions relating to the planetary motions. This paper attracted the attention of Dr Halley, who visited Newton at Cambridge the year following, and became fully acquainted with his novel and astonishing attainments in these high departments of astronomy. No man was better qualified to understand and estimate them, and he extorted a promise from Newton, that he would make farther communications to the

* Lorsque la comète de 1680 parut, le vaste génie de Newton embrassoit l'univers entier. *Cométographie, par Pingré, Tom. I. p. 148.*

Royal Society. Accordingly at a subsequent meeting, Dr Halley and Mr Paget were appointed to correspond with Newton, and remind him of his promise. The consequence was, that he immediately began to arrange his materials into a methodical form, and on the 18th of April, 1686, he presented to the Society the manuscript of the *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*. It was put to press by order of the Royal Society under the superintendence of Dr Halley.

This great work, although it ranks among the highest efforts of human genius, was not at first greeted with so much applause as it deserved, and as it was destined to receive. Its originality and profoundness were no doubt obstacles to its success. It is hard to make the world believe what it does not understand, especially when such a faith is met by prejudice on the one hand, and a spirit of jealousy on the other. Theory and observation harmonized so perfectly in this system, that the more impartial were constrained to fall in with the author's conclusions, although they could not go with him to the depths of his geometry. But the power of old opinions was too strong to suffer the scales to drop from the eyes of the multitude. Many there were in the higher walks of science, who would see and confess nothing; it was their pride to be sceptics as to the new philosophy. They had ranged themselves under the popular standard of Aristotle and Descartes; they

dwelt in a fairy land, and could not descend from the region of dreams to the humble sphere of demonstration and fact. So strong did the current set against Newton's philosophy, that Voltaire spoke truth, in the opinion of Playfair, when he said that the *Principia* had not twenty advocates out of England at the time of the author's death, notwithstanding it had been nearly forty years before the public. And even in England, the Newtonian philosophy was not formally introduced into the universities at an earlier period. It made its way slowly, but surely.

The schools astonished stood, but found it vain
To combat still with demonstration strong,
And, unawakened, dream beneath the blaze
Of truth.

When the new philosophy had once gained a footing abroad, its progress was as rapid as it had been tardy in the outset. It fortunately passed through the hands of a succession of men eminently qualified, both by intellectual ascendancy and mathematical skill, to illustrate its deepest principles. The fluxional analysis opened an untrodden field; it was a magic wand in the grasp of the mathematician. Armed with this potent instrument, he interrogated nature with an authority and success before unknown. It let in a flood of light upon all that was dark or difficult in the philosophy of Newton. The prodigious achievements of Euler, Clairaut, D'Alembert, La Grange, and La Place, conspire to give lustre to

Newton's fame, and certainly to his discoveries. La Place, in particular, has gone up with the transcendental calculus to the summit of the Newtonian system, and all his labours have tended to fix it on a firmer foundation. After having proved throughout his great work, that a law like that of gravitation, explains with rigid precision all the irregularities of the celestial motions, he concludes, that from this circumstance, and the extreme simplicity of such a law, we are authorized to believe it the law of nature.*

Newton's discovery did not end here. It created the science of physical astronomy, but it was not limited to the compass of the heavens. The principle of attraction pervades all things, the smallest as well as the largest. It lets us into the mystery of chemical affinities, and tells us all that we know of the composition of bodies, their texture, internal relations, and other properties. In this sphere of its influence, it is called contiguous attraction, and although it does not ostensibly observe the same laws of action as in the case of remote bodies, yet there is reason to suppose, that this deviation is caused by the figure, position, and other accidents of the particles brought in contact. Newton made many experiments with chemical agents to try his theory, and he is allowed to have discovered the principle on which the operations of

* *Mécanique Céleste*, Tom. I. Liv. 2. chap. 1.

chemistry depend.* We thus find him applying his discovery not only to explain the machinery of the universe, but to detect the method of penetrating the inmost recesses of nature, and bringing to light the hidden properties of things.

Serious objections were at first offered to this theory, by Euler and some others, from the circumstance of its not accounting for the *cause* of attraction. They said it was the scholastic notion of an *occult quality*, and that the whole system was no more than a revival of the old, exploded philosophy. To this objection it was only replied on Newton's part, that he did not pretend to have discovered the cause of gravity; and, moreover, that if such a discovery were made, it would add nothing towards confirming the truth of his theory.† He was concerned with effects; the uniformity of these he called a law; while this uniformity continues, the law will remain the same. The law is investigated in its *operations*, and while these are subject to a fixed rule, nothing will be gained or lost by knowing the cause. And here, it may be observed, is exemplified the peculiar character of the Newtonian philosophy, in which the causes of physic-

* Murray's Chemistry, Introduction, p. 20.

† Rationem vero harum gravitatis proprietatum ex phænomenis nondum potui deducere, et hypotheses non fingo. *Princip. Lib. III. Schol. Gen.* And, after his discussion on contiguous attraction, he says, "I scruple not to propose the principles of motion above mentioned, they being of very general extent, and leave the causes to be found out." *Optics, Query 31.*

al events do not come under consideration, till the phenomena and laws of effects are explained and understood.

We now come to speak of the fluxional analysis. It was remarked above, that the first conception of this invention occurred to Newton in 1663, a short time before he received his bachelor's degree. At this period, however, he attained to nothing more than slight improvements of Dr Wallis's treatise on infinities. It was two years afterwards, as he tells us, that he arrived at the method of fluxions; and even then he published nothing on the subject, but contented himself with using the instrument, which he had invented, solely as a means of advancing his studies in mathematics and philosophy.

Before this invention, the mixed mathematics laboured under great difficulties. Problems were perpetually occurring, especially on the properties of curves and the phenomena of motion, which involved intricacies, that would yield to no powers of calculation then known. It was frequently impossible so far to simplify the data, as to subject them either to a geometrical or algebraical process, and no more than an indefinite approximation to truth could be obtained. The method of fluxions is free from the most of these sources of difficulty, and easily accommodates itself to the conditions of abstruse problems. It embraces all the relations of numbers and quantity, and may be applied with equal advantage

throughout the whole circle of the sciences. It is a powerful aid to the researches of the philosopher, and introduces him to those higher departments of knowledge, to which he could never ascend without its assistance.

The first public notice, which Newton gave of this invention, was in the *Principia*, twenty-four years after its origin. This dilatoriness in making it known was the cause of a long and sharp controversy. Leibnitz, in Germany, had already published several papers in which the principles of fluxions were clearly laid down, and the mathematicians of the continent claimed for him the honour of the invention. The contest was carried on with warmth between the partizans of these two illustrious philosophers, till at length the Royal Society appointed a committee to investigate the subject to the bottom. In their report it was decided in the most conclusive manner that Newton was the original inventor, and the only question was, whether Leibnitz had seen any of Newton's papers, which might unfold to him the mystery. This question has never been completely answered. That Leibnitz had seen in London some of Newton's mathematical papers in manuscript, is certain; but there is no good evidence of his having derived any hints from them on this subject, nor any positive proof to the contrary. Fontenelle considered Newton as unquestionably the first inventor, and the French Academy of Sciences confessed the

same.* Playfair, and other English mathematicians have conceded, that Leibnitz was the second inventor, although many years after Newton.

This concession, whether well founded or not, detracts in no degree from Newton's glory, for nothing is more certain, than that he invented and employed the calculus long before it was known to any other person. It is among the fortunate events connected with the progress of science, that the same mind, which detected the law of gravitation, should invent the only instrument by which this law could be demonstrated, and its influence traced in the motions of the universe. To this task the old geometry was not adequate. In the *Principia*, however, the author never uses directly the fluxional analysis.† Many of his theorems

* In the preface to the *Elements of the Geometry of Infinities*, published by the Academy at Paris, 1727, it was stated that, "M. Newton trouva le premier ce merveilleux calcul; M. Leibnitz le publia le premier."

† The principles of fluxions are explained in the Second Lemma of the Second Book, but they do not enter into the demonstrations in the body of the work.

Newton was charged with having preferred the old geometry to his own new analysis. The truth seems to be, however, that he preferred each in its proper place. Castiglione said of him,—*sæpius se reprehendebat, quod res mere geometricas algebraicis rationibus tractavisset, et quod libro suo de algebra Arithmeticae Universalis titulum posuisset, melius asserens Cartesium suum de re eadem volumen dixisse Geometriam, ut sic ostenderet has computationes subsidia tantum esse geometriæ ad inveniendum.* Dr Winthrop, Professor of Mathematics at Harvard University, wrote a tract to show that this representation is erroneous, and founded on a misrepresentation of a remark by Dr Pemberton in the

and propositions were discovered, and their truth established by this analysis; but in communicating these truths, he gives a decided preference to the synthetical mode. It is not so much his purpose to describe the process by which he comes to certain results, as to make these results obvious to others; and it will at least admit a question, whether the profound researches of the French mathematicians might not have done more to enlarge the bounds of science, if they had taken a little more pains to simplify and elucidate the achievements of their wonder-working analysis, by the aids of the old geometry.

We have now briefly touched on Newton's three great discoveries, the law of gravitation, the refrangibility of light, and the fluxional analysis. These constituted the brightest era in the progress of human knowledge; they were destined to work an entire revolution in the received system of things, and to raise a majestic and imperishable monument to the fame of their author. The study of the creation was commenced on new principles, and prosecuted with new success. Truth was called down from heaven to earth; it beamed on the inquirer's path, and encouraged him to persevere in the enterprize of discovery. The hiding places of nature, and many of the mysterious workings of omnipotence, became familiar to mortals.

preface to his *View of Newton's philosophy*. *Gent. Magazine*, vol. 44, for 1774, p. 531.

Our philosopher lived a retired life at Cambridge, devoted to the duties of his professorship, and absorbed in his favourite studies. Scarcely a single incident is known of him, unconnected with his immediate pursuits and discoveries, during the space of thirty years. It is mentioned as greatly to his credit and as an instance of his firmness of character, that when king James sent a mandamus to the university to confer the degree of master of arts on father Francis, an ignorant Benedictine monk, Newton was at the head of those who strenuously resisted what was deemed an encroachment on the privileges of the university. He was among the delegates appointed to remonstrate to the high commission court, and such was the earnestness with which their charge was executed, that the king thought it expedient not to enforce his demand. In 1688 Newton was chosen by the university a member of the convention parliament, in which he held a seat till that body was dissolved.

Mr Montague, at that time chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards earl of Halifax, was educated at the same college with Newton, and contracted for him a warm and sincere friendship. The great work of a recoinage of money was about to take place, and Montague wished to profit by the distinguished talents of his friend, as well as to elevate him to an office of dignity and emolument. At the solicitation of the chancellor, the king appointed

him warden of the mint in 1696, and three years afterwards he was raised to the responsible post of master of the mint. This place yielded him an annual income of nearly fifteen hundred pounds, and he retained it during the remainder of his life. His services were of high value in this important station, and at all times gave the fullest satisfaction.

When appointed to his office in the mint, he made Mr Whiston his deputy in the professorship of mathematics, and allowed him the whole salary. In 1703 he resigned all his duties at Cambridge, and through his influence Whiston was elected his successor. In the same year Newton was chosen president of the Royal Society, and two years afterwards the order of knighthood was conferred on him by Queen Anne in consideration of his extraordinary merit.

It was not probable, that a mind like Newton's would suffer the labours of his new station to drive him entirely from philosophical pursuits; yet we do not learn, that he did any thing more in this way, than to prepare for the press his work on *Optics*, and his *Method of Fluxions*, which had been nearly in readiness for many years. The book on *Optics* was published in 1704, and is more diligently elaborated perhaps, than the *Principia* itself. The author seems to have set a peculiar value on his discoveries in optics, being fully aware of their originality and importance. His work exhibits a masterly example of the experimental philosophy, and testifies to the

splendid success, which may crown the efforts of genius when aided by persevering industry. It was translated into Latin, with the approbation of the author, by Dr Samuel Clarke.

The *Queries* appended to the treatise on optics have been admired for the deep and original thoughts by which they are marked, and for the sagacity of their author in suggesting many probable results in philosophy, which experiment and observation have since verified. Some of them no doubt he had proved, but his apprehension, that they might not be acceptable to a public not yet prepared for their reception, induced him to employ this cautious method of making them known. He had been taught by the discipline of experience, that truth is no welcome guest when it comes in the garb of innovation, and that ignorance is easily dazzled to blindness by the too sudden light of knowledge.

From the time of publishing his *Method of Fluxions*, Newton gave himself but little to the study of mathematics, unless for occasional amusement. He used to say, that "no old man loved mathematics except Dr Wallis." It was after this period that the controversy with Leibnitz occurred, but in this he was not personally engaged. It was carried on by Dr Keill, and other English mathematicians. The facility with which he solved the famous problem sent by Leibnitz in the year 1715, as a challenge to the English nation, is a proof that neither the quickness of

his genius, nor his mathematical skill, was impaired by neglect. At four o'clock in the afternoon he received the problem, as he was returning fatigued from his labours in the mint. Before he went to bed the solution was completed.

We may now speak of the success with which the capacious and grasping mind of Newton sought out other treasures of knowledge. As his early years were spent in reading the book of nature with the scrutinizing eye of a philosopher, so his declining days carried him onward in the still nobler pursuit of unfolding the science of the moral world, and contemplating the ways of God to man. The ardour with which he measured the physical and visible heavens, was not more fervent than that with which he inquired for the truths of the spiritual and invisible. He read the scriptures, pondered their meaning, illustrated many of their darker parts, and settled down into a firm belief of their divine origin and holy import. In many respects he stood as high in the rank of theologians as of philosophers. The same power of intellect was applied with equal energy in both characters; and had not his brilliant discoveries in the former engrossed all the admiration of which the mind of man is capable, his achievements in the latter would have elevated him to a commanding station among the most able and erudite divines. A person of eminence in the church, said of him in his lifetime, that "he was the best divine and commen-

tator on the Bible he had ever met with." And it is a remark of Dr Chalmers, that "we see in the theology of Newton, the very spirit and principle which gave all its stability, and all its sureness, to the philosophy of Newton." He was deeply versed in sacred history, and had made himself master of all the external means of understanding the Scriptures.

His great work on *Chronology* had for one of its main objects the verification of the writings of the Old Testament. This work cost him the labour of many years, and was not published entire till after his death. It is drawn from an immense fund of classical and ancient learning, and shows in the author an intimate acquaintance with the poets, historians, and critics of former times. He begins with a historical sketch of chronological science from its origin, and proves that the chronology of ancient kingdoms is involved in the utmost uncertainty. All profane history runs back to tradition, and then soon loses itself in utter darkness. The Europeans had no chronology before the establishment of the Persian empire, and the Greek antiquities are so full of fable, that no reliance can be placed on them in fixing dates. The first Greek chronologists were addicted to fiction, and instituted inaccurate modes of reckoning. It has been the foible of nations to refer their origin to as remote a period as possible, and this vanity has usually shown itself in proportion to the obscurity, which hung about their early history. It was so in Greece, and the

Grecian writers have been guides to all future chronologists. The Romans depended on the Greeks for the chronology of the East, while in the history of their own nation, the accounts of dates and times are not worthy of credit, till the age of Alexander. And as for western Europe in general, it had no chronology till the third and fourth centuries, and in some parts much later.

Out of this chaos, Newton undertook to bring light and certainty. He has made it appear that the Greek mode of reckoning was erroneous, and assigned to the Greek nation too high an antiquity. On a series of arguments established by astronomical calculations, in addition to various historical testimony, he builds a system of chronology, widely different from any, which learned moderns have deduced from ancient writers. The difference of time amounts in general to about three hundred years, and in some important events to much more. The same cautious and rigid mode of reasoning prevails throughout his chronological treatise, as in his philosophical researches; the same exactness of logic, fertility of invention, and sagacity in detecting and combining the forcible points of an argument.

On the Grecian mythology he throws much light, and with learned ingenuity traces the gods and minor deities of Greece and Rome to the deified heroes of Egypt. He finds their origin at a much later period than most writers, and discovers that various names

have been multiplied from the same original. The work closes with a curious discussion concerning the first peopling of the earth, the commencement of towns, of agriculture, the arts and sciences, idolatrous worship, and numerous other circumstances and institutions, which have grown out of the social compact. The value which the author set upon this treatise, may be estimated from the fact, that the first chapter, which constitutes more than half of the whole work, he copied out eighteen times with his own hand. He observes, that he commenced the study of chronology and history while at Cambridge, as a relaxation from his severer pursuits.

With all his horror of controversy he was again driven into it in the latter years of his life. Queen Caroline, renowned for her love of knowledge and her civilities to men of literature and science, was fond of conversing with Newton, and often expressed her satisfaction, that it was her fortune to live in the same age and country with such a man. She had caught glimpses of his new views of chronology, and desired him to favour her with an abstract of his system. At her request, also, a copy was given to Abbé Conti, a Venetian nobleman, on condition of its being kept secret. But the treacherous Venetian betrayed his trust after he arrived in Paris. He procured the abstract to be translated into French and published without the author's consent or knowledge. To this translation notes were affixed confut-

ing its positions. Newton was so indignant at this unworthy conduct of Conti, as well as the perfidy of the translator, who pretended to have asked consent to publish the abstract, that he wrote a reply in the *Philosophical Transactions*, although now in his eighty-third year, which was equally remarkable for the power of its argument, and the keenness of its rebuke. The controversy was continued by Souciet on one side, and Dr Halley on the other, and was not brought to a close till about the time of Newton's death. Whiston wrote against the *Chronology*, and boasted many years afterwards, that his objections were never answered.

Another posthumous work of our author, was the *Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St John*. These were left unfinished. The remarks on Daniel are more matured than those on the Apocalypse; but on both they exhibit traces of the same depth of learning and patience of investigation, which characterize the *Chronology*. He starts with an inquiry into the origin of the books of the Old Testament, and advances the theory, so much enlarged on of late, that the historical parts are compiled from various written documents now lost. This he thinks particularly demonstrable of Genesis, and the books of the Kings. The present number and arrangement of the Jewish scriptures were not settled till after the Roman captivity, when the Jews added the points, and committed their

oral traditions to writing in the Talmud. No various readings were preserved, and whatever errors had crept into the text before this period cannot now be repaired, except from the version of the Seventy.

Newton places Daniel at the head of the prophetic writers, and considers his prophecies as a key to the interpretation of the others, and the foundation of the christian religion. The periods foretold by Daniel accord so exactly with the times of the ministry and death of our Saviour, as to present the clearest possible evidence, that the prophet spoke the dictates of divine inspiration. The book of Daniel was written by different persons; the six first chapters are a collection of papers of a historical character; the six last only were written by Daniel, and these at various times.

After a series of preliminary observations to this effect, the author traces each of the prophecies of Daniel to its verification in succeeding events. The vision of the Four Beasts, and the Ten Horns of the fourth beast, he explains with particularity and immense erudition. The prophecy of the Seventy Weeks he translates anew, and, contrary to the usual mode of interpretation, refers one clause of it to the second coming of Christ. His acquaintance with chronology enabled him to apply the several parts of this remarkable prophecy with great exactness to the principal events relating to the Messiah, to the time of his birth, his death, the duration

of his ministry, the wars of the Jews, and the ruin of the Jewish nation. His deductions from civil and and scriptural history he fortifies by astronomical calculations.

In regard to the Apocalypse, it has been the prevailing opinion of learned men, that this book was written later, than any other part of the Scriptures ; but Newton assigns to it an earlier origin. He would seem to hint that it was written before John's Gospel, and at all events before the general Epistles of Peter, and that to the Hebrews, as he supposes it to be alluded to in those Epistles. After a few remarks on the authenticity of the Apocalypse, he proceeds to explain some of its dark prophecies, which, as he considers them to bear an intimate relation to the prophecies of Daniel, he interprets on similar principles. Daniel and John in certain points predict the same events, many of which have already taken place. In pursuing the parallel which conducts him to this opinion, he dwells on the origin and progress of the papal hierarchy. All his discourses on the prophecies are confined to those predictions which he believes to have been fulfilled ; he hazards no conjectures beyond the limits of evidence ; hence some parts of the Apocalypse he does not touch, but leaves them to be unfolded in the order of providence.

A tract by Newton, entitled a *History of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture*, was first publish-

ed in 1754. A copy was obtained from Holland, which was among the papers formerly belonging to Le Clerc, and deposited after his death in the Remonstrants' Library at Amsterdam. So early as 1708, Le Clerc mentioned this tract in his preface to Kuster's edition of Mill's Testament; but he was ignorant of its author, as it came to him from Locke in his own handwriting. Some years afterwards Wetstein ascertained, that it was written by Newton, and as the copy in Holland was mutilated at the beginning and end, he applied to the heirs of Newton to be favoured with a perfect transcript from the original.* From motives never explained, this request was not granted, and the piece found its way to the public in the imperfect state in which it was left by Le Clerc. When Horsley published an edition of Newton's works, however, this tract was printed from a copy of the original manuscript then in the possession of Dr Ekins.

It is the author's purpose in this treatise to prove the famous text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses in John to be an interpolation, and to defend the Vulgate reading of the disputed passage in Timothy.† Considering the early stage at which he took up this subject, and the comparatively unexplored region through which he was compelled to pass, he has managed his argument with remarkable ability and

* Wetstenii Prolegomena, p. 185.

† 1 John v. 7; 1 Tim. iii, 16.

success. His knowledge of the Greek and Latin Fathers, the theologians of the middle ages, and the history of sacred learning, as displayed in this work, impresses the reader with amazement at the universality of his powers and attainments. Notwithstanding the length to which the controversy on the text in John has since been carried, and the eminent talents it has called into action, very few weighty particulars have been added to those first collected by Newton; and it would have been no disparagement to the champions of the cause he sustained, if they had manifested more willingness, than they have done, to acknowledge their obligation for the aids they have received from so illustrious a source.

Newton left many writings on theological subjects, which have not been published. Whiston mentions a tract on the *Rule of Faith*, and one on the *Dominion of the Clergy*. In the catalogue of Newton's manuscripts, arranged by order of his executors, we find noticed an article on *Corruptions of Scripture*, and another entitled *Paradoxical Questions concerning Athanasius*. Several pieces are designated by the general title of *Church Matters*. No reason has been assigned by the persons into whose hands these papers have fallen, why they should be withheld from the public. Horsley examined them, but introduced them not into his edition of the author's works. It has been supposed, and no doubt rightly, that the opinions they express on certain doctrines in theolo-

ogy are not such as squared with the orthodox standard of Horsley. Whatever may have been the cause, every fair mind must seriously regret, that the recorded thoughts of such a man as Newton, on the important subjects of religious truth and scriptural interpretation, should be withheld from the world.

Some of his peculiar theological sentiments may be discovered from his writings, and the testimony of his friends. Whiston tells us of his profound knowledge of church history during the three first centuries of the christian era, and of his having been convinced by his study of this history, that the doctrine of the trinity was introduced into the christian scheme many years after the time of the Apostles.* The tenour of Newton's writings is in accordance with this declaration, nor do they exhibit any evidence, that their author ever believed in a trinity. The charge against Horsley of having suppressed his papers because they were adverse to this doctrine, has never been contradicted.

It was also the faith of Newton, that in early times christian preachers were first chosen by the people, and then ordained by bishops, and that no person could be ordained to the pastoral office over any

*The Present State of the Republic of Letters, vol. III. p. 282. In the same work may be seen several other particulars concerning the theological opinions of Newton. See also *An Inquiry into the comparative Moral Tendency of Unitarian and Trinitarian Doctrines*, p. 367.

congregation, till he had been elected by the people, whom he was to teach.* In this respect his views of church government seem to have approached nearly to those of the Independents. He did not hold to the baptism of infants, but believed that all the subjects of this ceremony should be sufficiently advanced in age and understanding to receive religious instruction.†

To theology and ecclesiastical history the leisure hours of this great philosopher were devoted during the last thirty years of his life. The duties of his office in the mint were arduous, but his habits of close application to study, early formed and long continued, enabled him to penetrate deeply into those branches of sacred knowledge, to which he at first applied for relaxation and amusement.

Till his eightieth year his health was usually good. He was then afflicted with a severe illness, from which he never entirely recovered, although he went punctually through the labours of his office till within a year of his death.

It has been said, that his mind became so much impaired in his advanced age, that he could not understand his own works; but this is a mistake, as is testified by Pemberton. In his last illness, and for some time previously, Newton was attended by Dr Mead, with whom he held such conversations as

* Republic of Letters, vol. III, p. 281.

† Ibid. p. 280.

proved him to have full possession of his faculties. He died on the 20th of March, 1727, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and his remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey.

Plato thought, and others as wise as Plato have indulged the dream, that there is a chain of intelligences descending by a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest. If wisdom deceive not her children, and the vision of Plato be indeed a reality, who will deny to Newton the first rank in that portion of the scale, which the human race is destined to occupy? Other philosophers have been renowned for genius, acuteness, and power of intellect; they have been quick to invent, and sagacious to discover the more hidden phenomena of nature, and the deeper reasons of things. Other philosophers have shone as stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of science; in one happy discovery they may have gone before the rest of mankind; in one endowment of nature they may have stood without an equal. Such there have been, and they have reflected glory on the world; but in the blaze of Newton's effulgence they are eclipsed and lost. All the rare qualities, which singly measured the greatness of others, were combined in him, and contributed their respective shares to raise him to the eminence he held, and sustain him there. To no being whose destiny has been fixed among mortals, can be more justly applied the words of the sweetest poet

that ever invoked the philosophic muse. Of Newton it may truly be said, that he was one,

Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omnes
Præstinxit, stellas exortus uti ætherius Sol.*

In private life he was mild and affable, peaceful in his temper, gentle in his manners, and a lover of tranquillity and retirement. Although he went out little into the world, he was social in his feelings, and ready in conversation. Humility and modesty were among his most striking virtues. He was without arrogance or pretension, putting himself on a level with other men, and ascribing whatever progress he had made in knowledge wholly to his untiring industry and patience. As he was a stranger to pride, so he was free from any affected singularities. He was generous in his benefactions, and a patron of true worth wherever it was found. His religious faith was settled on the foundation of reason and the Scriptures; his piety was steady and strong; he was a christian in belief and in practice. In short, the balance of principles and powers which marked the rare structure of his mind, together with the unison in his philosophy, morals, and religion, formed a perfect and wonderful harmony in all the parts of his character.

* Lucret. de Rerum Nat. Lib. III. v. 1056.

AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
TWO CORRUPTIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

SECTION I.

On the Text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses.

I. SINCE the discourses of some late writers have raised in you a curiosity of knowing the truth of that text of scripture concerning the testimony of the Three in Heaven, 1 John v. 7, I have here sent you an account of what the reading has been in all ages, and by what steps it has been changed, so far as I can hitherto determine by records. And I have done it the more freely, because to you, who understand the many abuses which they of the Roman church have put upon the world, it will scarce be ungrateful to be convinced of one more than is commonly believed. For although the more learned and quick-sighted men, as Luther, Erasmus, Bullin-

ger, Grotius, and some others, would not dissemble their knowledge, yet the generality are fond of the place for its making against heresy. But whilst we exclaim against the pious frauds of the Roman church, and make it a part of our religion to detect and renounce all things of that kind, we must acknowledge it a greater crime in us to favour such practices, than in the Papists we so much blame on that account; for they act according to their religion, but we contrary to ours. In the eastern nations, and for a long time in the western, the faith subsisted without this text; and it is rather a danger to religion, than an advantage, to make it now lean upon a bruised reed. There cannot be better service done to the truth, than to purge it of things spurious; and, therefore, knowing your prudence, and calmness of temper, I am confident I shall not offend you by telling you my mind plainly; especially since it is no article of faith, no point of discipline, nothing but a criticism concerning a text of scripture which I am going to write about.

II. The history of the corruption, in short, is this. First, some of the Latins interpreted the spirit, water, and blood, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to prove them one. Then Jerome, for the same end, inserted the Trinity in express words into his version. Out of him the Africans began to allege it against the Vandals, about sixty-four years after his death. Afterwards the Latins noted his variations in the mar-

gins of their books ; and thence it began at length to creep into the text in transcribing, and that chiefly in the twelfth and following centuries, when disputing was revived by the schoolmen. And when printing came up, it crept out of the Latin into the printed Greek, against the authority of all the Greek MSS. and ancient versions ; and from the Venetian presses it went soon after into Greece. Now the truth of this history will appear by considering the arguments on both sides.

III. The arguments alleged for the testimony of the Three in Heaven, are the authorities of Cyprian, Athanasius, and Jerome, and of many Greek manuscripts, and almost all the Latin ones.

IV. Cyprian's words run thus,*—"the Lord saith, 'I and the Father are one.' And again of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost it is written, 'And these Three are One.'" The Socinians here deal too injuriously with Cyprian, while they would have this place corrupted ; for Cyprian in another place repeats almost the same thing.† "If," saith he, ["one baptized among heretics] be made the temple of God, tell me, I pray, of what God? If of the

* Dicit Dominus, Ego et Pater unum sumus ; et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, Et tres unum sunt. *Cypr. de Unit. Eccles.*

† Si templum Dei factus est, quæso cujus Dei? Si Spiritus Sancti, cum tres unum sint, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus ei esse potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est. *Cypr. Epist. 73, ad Jubaianum.*

Holy Ghost, since these Three are One, how can the Holy Ghost be reconciled to him who is the enemy of either the Father or the Son?" These places of Cyprian being, in my opinion, genuine, seem so apposite to prove the testimony of the Three in Heaven, that I should never have suspected a mistake in it, could I but have reconciled it with the ignorance I meet with of this reading in the next age, amongst the Latins of both Africa and Europe, as well as among the Greeks. For had it been in Cyprian's Bible, the Latins of the next age, when all the world was engaged in disputing about the Trinity, and all arguments that could be thought of were diligently sought out, and daily brought upon the stage, could never have been ignorant of a text, which in our age, now the dispute is over, is chiefly insisted upon. In reconciling this difficulty, I consider, therefore, that the only words of the text quoted by Cyprian in both places are, "And these Three are One;" which words may belong to the eighth verse as well as to the seventh. For Eucherius,* bishop of Lion in France, and contemporary to St

*Eucherius reads the text thus : *Tria sunt quæ testimonium perhibent ; aqua, sanguis, et spiritus.* And then adds this interpretation, *Plures hic ipsam, interpretatione mystica, intelligunt Trinitatem ; eo quod perfecta ipsa perhibeat testimonium Christo ; aqua, Patrem indicans ; quia ipse de se dicit, me dereliquerunt fontem aquæ vivæ ; sanguine, Christum demonstrans, utique per passionis cruorem ; spiritu vero Sanctum Spiritum manifestans.* *Eucher. de Quest. N. Test.*

Austin, reading the text without the seventh verse, tells us, that many then understood the spirit, the water, and the blood, to signify the Trinity. And St Austin* is one of those many; as you may see in his third book against Maximinus, where he tells us, that “the spirit is the Father, for God is a spirit; the water the Holy Ghost, for he is the water which Christ gives to them that thirst; and the blood the Son, for the word was made flesh.” Now if it was the opinion of many in the western churches of those times, that the spirit, the water, and the blood, signified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; it is plain that the testimony of Three in Heaven, in express words, was not yet crept into their books; and even without this testimony, it was obvious for Cyprian, or any man else of that opinion, to say of

* Sane falli te nolo in epistolâ Joannis Apostoli, ubi ait, “tres sunt testes, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et tres unum sunt;” ne forte dicas, spiritum et aquam et sanguinem diversas esse substantias, et tamen dictum esse, tres unum sunt. Propter hoc admonui te, ne fallaris; hæc enim sunt, in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendant, semper attenditur. Si vero ea, quæ his significata sunt, velimus inquirere; non absurde occurrit ipsa Trinitas, quæ unus, solus, summus est Deus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus; de quibus verissime dici potuit, tres sunt testes, et tres unum sunt; ut nomine spiritûs significatum accipiamus Deum Patrem, (de Deo ipso quippe adorando loquebatur Dominus, ubi ait, “spiritus est Deus); nomine autem sanguinis, Filium; quia verbum caro factum est; nomine autem aquæ, Spiritum Sanctum. Cum enim de aquâ loqueretur Jesus, quam daturus erat sitientibus, ait evangelista; “hoc autem dicit de Spiritu, quem accepturi erant credentes in eum.” *D. Augustin. cont. Maximinum. Lib. iii. cap. xxii.*

the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, "it is written, 'And these Three are One.'" And that this was Cyprian's meaning, Facundus,* an African bishop in the sixth century, is my author; for he tells us expressly, that Cyprian, in the above mentioned place, understood it so, interpreting the spirit, water, and blood, to be the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and thence affirming, that John said of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, "These Three are One." This at least may be gathered from this passage of Facundus, that some in those early ages interpreted Cyprian after this manner. Nor do I understand how any of those many who

* Facundus, in the beginning of his book to the Emperor Justinian, pro Defensione trium Capitulum Concilii Chalcedonensis, first recites the text after the manner of Cyprian, but more distinctly in these words; Nam Joannes Apostolus, in epistolâ suâ, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto sic dicit, "Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et hi tres unum sunt;" in spiritu significans Patrem, &c. Joan. iv. 21. in aquâ Spiritum Sanctum, Joan. vii. 37, in sanguine vero Filium. And a little after he thus confirms this interpretation by Cyprian's authority, saying, Aut si forsâ ipsi, qui de verbo contendunt, in eo quod dixit, "tres sunt qui testificantur in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt," Trinitatem nolunt intelligi; secundum ipsa verba quæ posuit, pro Apostolo Joanne respondeant. Numquid hi tres, qui in terrâ testificari, et qui unum esse dicuntur, possunt spiritus et aquæ et sanguines dici? Quod tamen Joannis Apostoli testimonium B. Cyprianus Carthagenensis, antistes et martyr, in epistolâ sive libro quem de Trinitate, immo de Unitate Ecclesiæ scripsit, de Patre, Filio, et Spiritu Sancto dictum intelligit; ait enim, "dicit Dominus, 'ego et Pater unum sumus;' et iterum de Patre, Filio, et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, 'et hi tres unum sunt.'" *Facund. Lib. i. p. 16; ex edit. Sirmondi, Parisiis, 1629.*

took the spirit, water, and blood, for a type of the Trinity ; or any man else, who was ignorant of the testimony of the Three in Heaven, as the churches in the times of the Arian controversy generally were ; could understand him otherwise. And even Cyprian's own words do plainly make for the interpretation. For he does not say, "the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost," as it is now in the seventh verse ; but "the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost," as it is in baptism ; the place from which they tried at first to derive the Trinity. If it be pretended, that the words cited by Cyprian are taken out of the seventh verse, rather than out of the eighth, because he reads not, *Hi Tres in Unum sunt*, but *Hi Tres Unum sunt* ; I answer, that the Latins generally read, *Hi Tres Unum sunt*, as well in the eighth verse, as in the seventh ; as you may see in the newly cited places of St Austin and Facundus, and those of Ambrose, Pope Leo, Beda, and Cassiodorus, which follow, and in the present vulgar Latin. So then the testimony of Cyprian respects the eighth, or at least is as applicable to that verse as to the seventh, and therefore is of no force for proving the truth of the seventh ; but, on the contrary, for disproving it we have here the testimony of Facundus, St Austin, Eucherius, and those many others whom Eucherius mentions. For if those of that age had met with it in their books, they would never have understood the spirit, the water, and the blood, to be the three persons of the Trinity, in order to prove them one God.

V. These passages in Cyprian may receive further light by a like passage in Tertullian, from whence Cyprian seems to have borrowed them ; for it is well known that Cyprian was a great admirer of Tertullian's writings, and read them frequently, calling Tertullian his master. The passage is this ;* "The connexion of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, makes three coherent ones from one another, which Three are One, (one thing, not one person,) as it is said, 'I and the Father are One ;' denoting the unity of substance, not the singularity of number." Here, you see, Tertullian says not, "the Father, Word, and Holy Ghost," as the text now has it, but "the Father, Son, and Paraclete ;" nor cites any thing more of the text than these words, "which Three are One." Though this treatise against St Praxeas be wholly spent in discoursing about the Trinity, and all texts of scripture are cited to prove it, and this text of St John, as we now read it, would have been one of the most obvious and apposite to have been cited at large, yet Tertullian could find no more obvious words in it for his purpose than "these Three are One." These, therefore, he interprets of the Trinity, and enforces the interpretation by that other text, "I and the Father are One ;" as if the phrase was of the same importance in both places.

* *Connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit coherentes, alterum ex altero, "qui Tres Unum sunt," (non Unus) quomodo dictum est, "Ego et Pater Unum sumus ;" ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem. Tertullian. advers. Prax. c. 25.*

VI. So then this interpretation seems to have been invented by the Montanists for giving countenance to their Trinity. For Tertullian was a Montanist when he wrote this; and it is most likely that so corrupt and forced an interpretation had its rise among a sect of men accustomed to make bold with the Scriptures. Cyprian being used to it in his master's writings, it seems from thence to have dropt into his; for this may be gathered from the likeness between their citations. And by the disciples of these two great men, it seems to have been propagated among those many Latins, who, as Eucherius tells us, received it in the next age, understanding the Trinity by the "spirit, water, and blood." For how, without the countenance of some such authority, an interpretation so corrupt and strained should come to be received in that age so generally, I do not understand.

VII. And what is said of the testimony of Tertullian and Cyprian, may be much more said of that in the feigned disputation of Athanasius with Arius at Nice. For there the words cited are only *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν*, and *these Three are One*; and they are taken out of the seventh verse, without naming the persons of the Trinity before them. For the Greeks interpreted "the spirit, water, and blood," of the Trinity, as well as the Latins; as is manifest from the annotations they made on this text in the margin of some of their manuscripts. For Father Si-

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mon* informs us that in one of the MSS in the library of the king of France, marked number 2247, over against these words, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ,† τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, for *there are Three that bear record [in earth,] the spirit, the water, and the blood*; there is this remark, τετέστι τὸ πνεῦμά τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, that is, *the Holy Ghost, and the Father, and He of Himself*. And in the same copy over against these words, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσι, and *these Three are One*; this note is added, τετέστι μία θεότης, εἷς θεός, that is, *One Deity, One God*. This MS is about 500 years old.

VIII. Also in the margin of one of the MSS. in Monsieur Colbert's library, number 871, father Simon tells us there is a like remark. For besides these words, εἷς θεός, μία θεότης, *One God, One Godhead*; there are added, μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, *the testimony of God, the Father, and the Holy Ghost*. These marginal notes sufficiently show how the Greeks used to apply this text to the Trinity; and by consequence how the author of that disputation is to be understood. But I should tell you also, that that disputation was not writ by Athanasius, but by a later author, and therefore, as a spurious piece, uses not to be much insisted upon.

* Critical History of the New Testament, chap. 18.

† Suspicio verba ἐν τῇ γῆ non extare in MS.

IX. Now this mystical application of “the spirit, water, and blood,” to signify the Trinity, seems to me to have given occasion to somebody, either fraudulently to insert the testimony of “the Three in Heaven” in express words into the text, for proving the Trinity; or else to note it in the margin of his book, by way of interpretation; whence it might afterwards creep into the text in transcribing. And the first upon record that inserted it, is Jerome; if the preface* to the canonical epistles, which goes

* The whole preface runs thus; *Incipit prologus in epistolas canonicas. Non ita est ordo apud Græcos, qui integre sapiunt, fidemque rectam sectantur, epistolarum septem, quæ canonicæ nuncupantur, sicut in Latinis codicibus invenitur; ut quia Petrus est primus in ordine apostolorum, primæ sint etiam ejus epistolæ in ordine ceterarum. Sed sicut evangelistas dudum ad veritatis lineam correximus, ita has proprio ordini, Deo juvante, reddidimus. Est enim una earum prima Jacobi, duæ Petri, tres Johannis, et Judæ una. Quæ si sicut ab eis digestæ sunt, ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum verterentur eloquium, nec ambiguitatem legentibus facerent, nec sermonum sese varietates impugnarent, illo præcipue loco ubi de Unitate Trinitatis in primâ Johannis epistolâ, positum legimus. In quâ etiam ab infidelibus translatoribus multum erratum esse a fidei veritate comperimus, trium tantummodo vocabula, hoc est, aquæ, sanguinis, et spiritûs, in ipsâ suâ editione ponentibus; et Patris, Verbiq;ue, ac Spiritûs testimonium omittentibus; in quo maxime et fides catholica roboratur, et Patris ac Filii et Spiritûs una divinitatis substantia comprobatur. In cæteris vero epistolis, quantum a nostrâ aliorum distet editio, lectoris judicio derelinquo. Sed tu, virgo Christi Eustochium, dum a me impensius scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem invidorum dentibus corrodendam exponis, qui me falsarium, corruptoremque Sanctarum pronunciant Scripturarum. Sed ego, in tali opere, nec æmularum meorum invidiam pertimesco, nec Sanctæ Scripturæ veritatem poscentibus denegabo.*

under his name, be his. For whilst he composed not a new translation of the New Testament, but only corrected the ancient vulgar Latin, as learned men think, and among his emendations, written perhaps at first in the margin of his book, he inserted this testimony; he complains in the said preface, how he was thereupon accused by some of the Latins for falsifying scripture; and makes answer, that former Latin translators had much erred from the faith, in putting only "the spirit, water, and blood," in their edition, and omitting the testimony of "the Three in Heaven," whereby the Catholic faith is established. In this defence he seems to say, that he corrected the vulgar Latin translation by the original Greek; and this is the great testimony the text relies upon.

X. But whilst he confesses it was not in the Latin before, and accuses former translators of falsifying the Scriptures in omitting it, he satisfies us that it has crept into the Latin since his time, and so cuts off all the authority of the present vulgar Latin for justifying it. And whilst he was accused by his contemporaries of falsifying the Scriptures in inserting it, this accusation also confirms that he altered the public reading. For had the reading been dubious before he made it so, no man would have charged him with falsification for following either part. Also whilst, upon this accusation, he recommends the alteration by its usefulness for establishing the Catholic faith, this renders it the

more suspected; by discovering both the design of his making it, and the ground of his hoping for success. However, seeing he was thus accused by his contemporaries, it gives us just reason to examine the business between him and his accusers. And so he being called to the bar, we are not to lay stress upon his own testimony for himself (for no man is a witness in his own cause), but laying aside all prejudice, we ought, according to the ordinary rules of justice, to examine the business between him and his accusers by other witnesses.

XI. They that have been conversant in his writings, observe a strange liberty which he takes in asserting things. Many notable instances of this he has left us in composing those very fabulous lives of Paul and Hilarion, not to mention what he has written upon other occasions. Whence Erasmus said of him, that he was in affirming things, “frequently violent and impudent, and often contrary to himself.”* But I accuse him not. It is possible that he might be sometimes imposed upon, or, through inadvertency, commit a mistake. Yet since his contemporaries accused him, it is but just that we should lay aside the prejudice of his great name, and hear the cause impartially between them.

* *Sæpe numero violentus, parumque pudens, sæpe varius, parumque sibi constans. Erasmii Annotation. in Johan. v. 7.*

Vide etiam quæ Erasmus contra Leum in hunc locum de Hieronymo fusius dixit.

XII. Now the witnesses between them are partly the ancient translators of the Scriptures into the various languages; partly the writers of his own age, and of the ages next before and after him; and partly the scribes who have copied out the Greek manuscripts of the Scriptures in all ages. And all these are against him. For by the unanimous evidence of all these, it will appear that the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" was wanting in the Greek manuscripts, from whence Jerome, or whoever was the author of that preface to the canonical epistles, pretends to have borrowed it.

XIII. The ancient interpreters which I cite as witnesses against him, are chiefly the authors of the ancient vulgar Latin, of the Syriac, and the Æthiopic versions. For as he tells us, that the Latins omitted the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" in their version before his time, so in the Syriac and Æthiopic versions, (both which, from bishop Walton's account of them, are much ancients than Jerome's time, being the versions which the oriental Æthiopic nations received from the beginning, and generally used, as the Latins did the vulgar Latin) that same testimony is wanting to this day; and the authors of these three most ancient, most famous, and most received versions, by omitting it, are concurrent witnesses, that they found it wanting in the original Greek manuscripts of their own times. It is wanting also in other ancient versions; as in the Egyptian Arabic, published

in Walton's Polyglot; in the Armenian version,* used, ever since Chrysostom's age, by the Armenian nations; and in the Illyrican of Cyrillus, used in Rascia, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Russia, Muscovy, and other countries, which use the Slavonic tongue. In a copy of this version,† printed at Ostrobe (Ostrow) in Volhinia, in the year 1581, I have seen it wanting; and one Camillus‡ relates the same thing out of ancient manuscripts of this version seen by him. Father Simon notes it wanting also in a certain version of the French church, which, saith he, is at least 1000 years old, and which was published by father Mabillon, a Benedictine monk. Nor do I know of any version wherein it is extant, except the modern vulgar Latin, and such modern versions, of the western nations, as have been influenced by it. So then, by the unanimous consent of all the ancient and faithful interpreters which we have hitherto met with, who doubtless made use of the best manuscripts

* Codex Armeniacus ante 400 annos exaratus, quem vidi apud Episcopum Ecclesiæ Armeniacæ, quæ Amstelodami colligitur, locum illum non legit. *Sandius. Append. Interpret. Paradox. in h. l.*

† The printed Slavonic version runs thus; "Quia Tres sunt qui testificantur, spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis; et Tres in Unum sunt. Si testimonium, &c."

‡ Testimonium Trium in Cælo non est in antiquissimis Illyricorum et Ruthenorum codicibus; quorum unum exemplar, a sexcentis fere annis manuscriptum, jam pridem apud illustrissimum Gabrielem Chineum, terræ Bactricæ Dominum vidi, et legi; alterum manibus nostris teritur, fide et antiquitate suâ nobile. *Camillus de Antichristo, Lib. ii. cap. 2. pag. 156.*

they could get, the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" was not anciently in the Greek.

XIV. And that it was neither in the ancient versions nor in the Greek, but was wholly unknown to the first churches, is most certain by an argument hinted above; namely, that in all that vehement, universal, and lasting controversy about the Trinity in Jerome's time, and both before and long enough after it, this text of "the Three in Heaven" was never once thought of. It is now in every body's mouth, and accounted the main text for the business, and would assuredly have been so too with them, had it been in their books. And yet it is not once to be met with in all the disputes, epistles, orations, and other writings of the Greeks and Latins (Alexander of Alexandria, Athanasius, the council of Sardica, Basil, Nazianzen, Nyssen, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Theodoret, Hilary, Ambrose, Austin, Victorinus Afer, Philastrius Brixianensis, Phæbedius Agenensis, Gregorius Bæticus, Faustinus Diaconus, Paschasius, Arnobius Junior, Cerealis, and others) in the times of those controversies; no, not in Jerome himself, if his version and preface to the canonical epistles be excepted. The writings of those times were very many, and copious; and there is no argument, or text of scripture, which they do not urge again and again. That of St John's Gospel, "I and the Father are One," is every where inculcated, but this of "the Three in Heaven" and their being

“One,” is no where to be met with, till at length, when the ignorant ages came on, it began by degrees to creep into the Latin copies out of Jerome’s version. So far are they from citing the testimony of “the Three in Heaven,” that, on the contrary, as often as they have occasion to mention the place, they omit it, and that too, as well after Jerome’s age, as in, and before it. For Hesychius* cites the place thus; *Audi Johannem dicentem, Tria sunt qui testimonium præbent, et Tres Unum sunt, spiritus, et sanguis, et aqua.* The words *in terrâ* he omits, which is never done, but in copies where “the Three in Heaven” is wanting. Cassiodorus, or whoever was the author of the Latin version of the discourse of Clemens Alexandrinus on these epistles of St John, reads it thus; *Quia tres sunt, qui testificantur, spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis, et hi Tres Unum sunt.*† Beda, in his commentary on the place, reads it thus; *Et spiritus est qui testificatur, quoniam Christus est veritas. Quoniam Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terrâ, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et Tres Unum sunt. Si testimonium, &c.* But here the words *in terrâ*, so far as I can gather from his commentary on this text, have been inserted by some later hand. The author of the first epistle, ascribed to Pope Eusebius, reads it, as Beda doth, omitting only the words *in terrâ*. And if the authority of popes be valuable,

* Hesych. in Levit. Lib. ii. c. 8. post med.

† Cassiodor. in Eibl. S. Patr. edit. Paris. 1589.

Pope Leo the Great, in his tenth epistle, thus cites the place ; *Et spiritus est qui testificatur, quoniam spiritus est veritas ; quia Tres sunt qui testimonium dant, spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis ; et hi Tres Unum sunt.* St Ambrose, in the sixth chapter of his first book *De Spiritu Sancto*, disputing for the unity of the Three Persons, says, *Hi Tres Unum sunt, Johannes dixit, aqua, sanguis, et spiritus ; Unum in mysterio, non in naturá.* This is all he could find of the text, while he was disputing about the Trinity, and therefore he proves the unity of the persons by the mystical unity of the spirit, water, and blood ; interpreting those of the Trinity with Cyprian and others. Yea, in the eleventh chapter of his third book, he fully recites the text thus ; *Per aquam et sanguinem venit Christus Jesus, non solum in aquá, sed in aquá et sanguine ; et spiritus testimonium dat, quoniam spiritus est veritas. Quia Tres sunt testes, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis ; et hi Tres Unum sunt in Christo Jesu.** The like reading of Facundus, Eucherius, and St Austin, you have in the places cited above. These are Latins as late, or later than Jerome ; for Jerome did not prevail with the churches of his own time to receive the testimony of “the Three in Heaven.” And for them to know his version, and not receive his testimony, was in effect to condemn it.

XV. And as for the Greeks, Cyril of Alexandria reads the text without this testimony in the xivth

* See also Ambrose in Luc. xxii. 10, and in his book *De iis qui mysteriis initiantur*, cap. 4.

book of his *Thesaurus*, cap. 5 ; and again in his first book *De Fide ad Reginas*, a little after the middle ; and so does *Œcumenius*, a later Greek, in his commentary on this place of *St John's* epistle. Also, *Didymus Alexandrinus*, in his commentary on the same passage, reads, "the spirit, water, and blood," without mentioning "the Three in Heaven ;" and so he doth in his book of the Holy Ghost, where he seems to omit nothing that he could find for his purpose ; and so doth *Gregory Nazianzen* in his xxxviii oration concerning the Holy Ghost ; and also *Nicetas* in his commentary on *Gregory Nazianzen's* xlvth oration. And here it is farther observable, that, as the *Eusebians* had contended that "the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," were not to be connumerated, because they were things of a different kind ; *Nazianzen* and *Nicetas* answer, that they may be connumerated, because *St John* connumerates three things not consubstantial, namely, "the spirit, the water, and the blood." By the objection of the *Eusebians*, it then appears that the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" was not in their books ; and by the answer of the *Catholics* it is as evident, that it was not in theirs ; for while they answer by instancing "the spirit, water, and blood," they could not have missed of "the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost," had they been connumerated, and called one in the words immediately before ; and to answer by instancing in these, would have been far more to their pur-

pose, because it was the very thing in question. In like manner the Eunomians, in disputing against the Catholics, had objected, that the Holy Ghost is nowhere in scripture conjoined with the Father and the Son, except in the form of baptism; which is as much as to say, that the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" was not in their books; and yet St Basil,* whilst he is very diligent in returning an answer to them, and perplexes himself in citing places, which are nothing to the purpose, does not produce this text of "the Three in Heaven," though it be the most obvious, and the only proper passage, had it been then in the Scriptures; and therefore he knew nothing of it. The objection of the Eunomians, and the answer of the Catholics, sufficiently show that it was in the books of neither party. Besides all this, the tenth epistle of Pope Leo, mentioned above, was that very famous epistle to Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, against Eutyches, which went about through all the churches, both eastern and western, being translated into Greek, and sent about in the east by Flavian. It was generally applauded in the west, and read in the council of Chalcedon, and there solemnly approved and subscribed by all the bishops; and in this epistle the text was thus cited; *Et spiritus est qui testificatur, quoniam Christus est veritas; quia Tres sunt qui testimonium dant, spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis; et hi Tres Unum sunt.* And

* Lib. V. adversus Eunomium, sub finem.

by putting πνεῦμα, according to the Greek reading, for *Christus*, which is still the vulgar Latin, it was thus translated by the Greeks : καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ μαρτυροῦν· ἐπειδὴ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια· τρεῖς γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσι. So then we have the reading, quoted by the Pope, owned in the west, and solemnly subscribed in the east by the fourth general council, and therefore it continued the public received reading in both the east and west, till after the age of that council.

XVI. So then the testimony of “the Three in Heaven,” which, in the times of these controversies, would have been in every body’s mouth, had it been in their books, was wholly unknown to the churches of those ages. All that they could find in their books was the testimony of “the water, the spirit, and the blood.” Will you now say that the testimony of “the Three in Heaven” was razed out of their books by the prevailing Arians? Yes, truly, those Arians were crafty knaves, that could conspire so cunningly and slyly all the world over at once (as at the word of a Mithridates) in the latter end of the reign of the Emperor Constantius, to get all men’s books in their hands, and correct them without being perceived ; ay, and conjurors too, to do it without leaving any blot or chasm in their books, whereby the knavery might be suspected and discovered ; and to wipe away the memory of it out of all

men's brains, so that neither Athanasius, nor any body else, could afterwards remember that they had ever seen it in their books before ; and out of their own books too, so that when they turned to the consubstantial faith, as they generally did in the west, soon after the death of Constantius, they could then remember no more of it than any body else. Well, then, it was out of their books in Jerome's age, when he pretended it was in ; which is the point we are to prove ; and when any body can show, that it was in their books before, it may be pertinent to consider that point also ; but till then we are only to inquire how, since it was out, it came into the copies that are now extant. For they that, without proof, accuse the heretics of corrupting books, and upon that pretence correct them at their pleasure without the authority of ancient manuscripts, as some learned men of the fourth and fifth centuries used to do, are falsaries by their own confession, and certainly need no other confutation. And therefore if this reading was once out, we are bound in justice to believe, that it was out from the beginning ; unless the razing of it out can be proved by some better argument than that of pretence and clamour.

XVII. Will you now say, that Jerome followed some copy different from any which the Greeks were acquainted with ? This is to overthrow the authority of his version by making him depart from the received Greek ; and besides, it is contrary to

what he himself seems to represent ; for in his blaming not the vulgar Greek copies, but the Latin interpreters only, which were before his time, as if they had varied from the received Greek, he represents that he himself followed it. He does not excuse and justify himself for reading differently from the received Greek, to follow a private copy, but accuses former interpreters, as if, in leaving out the testimony of “the Three in Heaven,” they had not followed the received Greek, as he did. And therefore, since the Greeks knew nothing of this testimony, the authority of his version sinks ; and that the rather, because he was then accused of corrupting the text, and could not persuade either the Greeks or the Latins of those times to receive his reading ; for the Latins received it not till many years after his death ; and the Greeks not till this present age, when the Venetians sent it amongst them in printed books ; and their not receiving it was plainly to approve the accusation.

XVIII. The authority of this version being thus far discussed, it remains, that we consider the authority of the manuscripts, wherein we now read the testimony of “the Three in Heaven.” And by the best inquiry that I have been able to make, it is wanting in the manuscripts of all languages but the Latin. For, as we have shown, that the Æthiopic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Sclavonian versions, still in use in the several eastern nations, Ethiopia,

Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Muscovy, and some others, are strangers to this reading, and that it was anciently wanting also in the French; so I am told by those who have been in Turkey, that it is wanting to this day in the Greek manuscripts, which have been brought from those parts into the west; and that the Greeks, now that they have got it in print from the Venetians, when their manuscripts are objected against it, pretend that the Arians razed it out. A reading to be found in no manuscripts but the Latin, and not in the Latin before Jerome's age, as Jerome himself confesses, can be but of little authority; and this authority sinks, because we have already proved the reading spurious, by showing that it was heretofore unknown, both to the western and the eastern churches, in the times of the great controversy about the Trinity. But, however, for further satisfaction, we shall now give you an account of the Latin and Greek manuscripts; and show, first, how, in the dark ages, it crept into the Latin manuscripts out of Jerome's version; and then how it lately crept out of the Latin into the printed Greek without the authority of MSS; those who first published it in Greek, having never yet so much as seen it in any Greek manuscript.

XIX. That the vulgar Latin, now in use, is a mixture of the old vulgar Latin, and Jerome's version together, is the received opinion. Few of these manuscripts are above four or five hundred years

old. The latest generally have the testimony of "the Three in Heaven;" the oldest of all usually want it, which shows that it has crept in by degrees. Erasmus notes it to be wanting in three very ancient ones, one of which was in the Pope's library at Rome, the other two were at Bruges; and he adds, that in another manuscript belonging to the library of the Minorites in Antwerp, the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" was noted in the margin in a newer hand. Peter Cholinus notes in the margin of his Latin edition of the Scriptures, printed anno Christi 1543 and 1544, that it was wanting in the most ancient manuscript of the Tugurine library. Dr Gilbert Burnet has lately, in the first letter of his travels, noted it wanting in five other ones kept at Strasburg, Zurich, and Basil; one of which MSS. he reckons about 1000 years old, and the other four about 800. Father Simon has noted it wanting in five others in the libraries of the king of France, Mons. Colbert, and the Benedictines of the abbey of St Germain's. An ancient and diligent collator of manuscripts, cited by Lucas Brugensis by the name of Epanorthotes, notes in general, that it was wanting in the ancient Latin manuscripts. Lucas himself, collating many Latin ones, notes it to be wanting in only *five*, that is, in the few old ones he had, his manuscripts being almost all of them new ones. For he praises* the Codex Lobiensis written anno Christi 1084, and the

* Lucas Brug. in calce annot.

Codex Tornacensis written anno Christi 1105, as most ancient and venerable for their antiquity; and used others much more new, of which a great number was easily had; such as was the Codex Buslidianus, written anno Christi 1432, that is, but eight years before the invention of printing. The Lateran council, collected under Innocent the Third, anno Christi 1215, canon 2, mentions Joachim, the abbot, quoting the text in these words; *Quoniam in canonicâ Johannis epistolâ legitur, Quia Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cælo, Pater, et Verbum, et Spiritus, et hi Tres Unum sunt; statimque subjungitur—Et Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terrâ, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et Tres Unum sunt: sicut in codicibus quibusdam invenitur.* This was written by Joachim* in the papacy of Alexander the Third, that is, in or before the year 1180, and therefore this reading was then got but into some books; for the words *sicut in codicibus quibusdam invenitur* refer as well to the first words of Joachim, *quoniam in canonicâ Johannis epistolâ legitur*, as to the next *statimque subjungitur*; and more to the first than the next, because the first part of the citation was then but in some books, as appears by ancient manuscripts; but the second part was in almost all; the words *Tres Unum sunt* being in all the books which wanted the testimony of “the Three in Heaven,” and in most of those which had it; though afterwards

* Vide Math. Paris Histor. Angl. A. D. 1179.

left out in many, when branded by the schoolmen for Arian.

XX. But to go to the original of the corruption. Gregory the Great* writes, that Jerome's version was in use in his time, and therefore no wonder if the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" began to be cited out of it before. Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, in the seventh year of Hunneric, king of the Vandals, anno Christi 484, in the summary of his faith exhibited to the king, cited it the first of any man, so far as I can find. A while after, Fulgentius, another African bishop, disputing against the same Vandals, cited it again, and backed it with the forementioned place of Cyprian, applied to the testimony of "the Three in Heaven." And so it is probable, that by that abused authority of Cyprian it began first in Afric, in the disputes with the ignorant Vandals, to get some credit; and thence at length crept into use. It occurs also frequently in Vigilius Tapsensis, another African bishop, contemporary to Fulgentius. In its defence, some allege earlier writers; namely, the first epistle of Pope Hyginus, the epistle of Pope John II. the book of Idacius Clarus against Varimadus; and the book *De unitate Deitatis Trinitatis*, ascribed to Athanasius. But Chiffletius, who published the works of Victor Vitensis and Vigilius Tapsensis, sufficiently proves the book against Varimadus to be this Vigilius's, and er-

* Vide Walton's Prolegomena, x. 5.

roneously ascribed to Idacius. To the same Vigilus he asserts also the book *De unitâ Deitate Trinitatis*. Certainly Athanasius was not its author. All the epistles of Hyginus, except the beginning and the end, and the first part of the epistle of Pope John, wherein the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" is cited, are nothing else than the fragments of the book against Varimadus, described word by word by some forger of decretal epistles, as may appear by comparing them. So then Eugenius is the first upon record that quotes it.

XXI. But though he set it on foot among the Africans, yet I cannot find that it became of authority in Europe before the revival of learning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In those ages St Barnard, the Schoolmen, Joachim, and the Lateran council, spread it abroad, and scribes began generally to insert it into the text; but in such Latin manuscripts and European writers, as are ancients than those times, it is scarce to be met with.

XXII. Now that it was inserted into the vulgar Latin out of Jerome's version, is manifest by the manner how the vulgar Latin and that version came to be mixed. For it is agreed that the Latins, after Jerome's version began to be of use, noted out of it his corrections of the vulgar Latin in the margin of their books; and these the transcribers afterwards inserted into the text. By this means, the old Latin has been so generally corrected, that it is nowhere

to be found sincere. It is Jerome that we now read, and not the old vulgar Latin; and what wonder, if in Jerome we read the testimony of "the Three in Heaven?" For who that inserted the rest of Jerome into the text, would leave out such a passage for the Trinity, as this hath been taken to be?

XXIII. But to put the question out of dispute, there are footsteps of the insertion still remaining. For in some old manuscripts, it has been found noted in the margin; in others, the various readings are such as ought to arise, by transcribing it out of the margin into the text. I shall only mention the three following varieties. Of the manuscripts which have not the testimony of "the Three in Heaven," some have the words *in terrá*, in the eighth verse, but the most want it; which seems to proceed from hence, that some, before they allowed so great an addition to the text, as the testimony of "the Three in Heaven," noted only *in terrá* in the margin of their books, to be inserted into the testimony of the spirit, water, and blood. Of the manuscripts which have the testimony of "the Three in Heaven," some in the eighth verse have *Hi Tres Unum sunt*; others not. The reason of this seems to be, that of those who noted this testimony in the margin, some blotted out *Et hi Tres Unum sunt* in the eighth verse according to Jerome; and others did not. And, lastly, the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" is in most books set before the testimony of "the Three in

earth ;” in some, it is set after ; so Erasmus notes two old books, in which it is set after ; Lucas Brugensis a third ; and Hesselius (if I misremember not) a fourth ; and so Vigilus Tapsensis* sets it after ; which seems to proceed from hence, that it was sometimes so noted in the margin, that the reader or transcriber knew not whether it were to come before or after. Now these discords in the Latin manuscripts, as they detract from the authority of the manuscripts, so they confirm to us, that the old vulgar Latin has in these things been tampered with, and corrected by Jerome’s version.

XXIV. In the next place, I am to show how, and when, the testimony of “the Three in Heaven” crept out of the Latin into the Greek. Those who first printed the Greek testament, did generally, in following their manuscripts, omit the testimony of “the Three in Heaven,” except in Spain ; for it was omitted in the first and second edition of Erasmus, anno Christi 1516 and 1519 ; in the edition of Francis Asulan, printed at Venice by Aldus, anno Christi 1518 ; in that of Nicholas Gerbelius, printed at Haganau, anno Christi 1521 ; and a little after, in that of Wolfius Cephalius, printed at Strasburg, anno Christi 1524 ; and again in 1526, in the Badian edition, as Erasmus notes ; and in that of Simon Colinæus at Paris, anno Christi 1534.† At the

* Vigilus, libr. advers. Varimadum, cap. 5.

† In editis exemplaribus nonnullis non legi ; ut in Aldinâ et Badianâ editione. Addo, nec in Græco Testamento Gerbelli, Haganoæ, 1521 ; nec in Colinæi Parisiis edito. *Gomarus in h. l.*

same time it was omitted in some editions of other western languages, as in the Saxon and German editions of Luther; and in the Latin Tugurine editions of Peter Cholinus, anno Christi 1543 and 1544. The first edition in Greek, which has the testimony of "the Three in Heaven," was that of Cardinal Ximenes, printed at Complutum in Spain, in 1515; but not published before the year 1521. The cardinal, in his edition, used the assistance of several divines, which he called together to Complutum, there founding an university, anno Christi 1517, or a little before. Two of those divines were Antonius Nebrissensis and Stunica. For Stunica then resided at Complutum, and in the preface* to a treatise he wrote against Erasmus, gives this testimony of himself; "that he had spent some years in reading the holy Scriptures in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; and had diligently collated the Hebrew and Greek exemplars with the Latin copies." This book, displeasing the cardinal, was not printed till after his death; and then it came forth at Complutum, anno Christi 1520. The year before, one Lee,

* Cum præsertim, si quisquam alius, et nos quoque his de rebus, nostro quodam jure, judicium ferre possumus. [Quippe] qui non paucos annos in sanctis scripturis Veteris et Novi Testamenti, Hebraice, Græce, et Latine perlegendis consumpserimus; ac Hebraica Græcaque ipsa divinarum literarum exemplaria cum Latinis codicibus diligentissime contulerimus. Longâ igitur lectione ac experientiâ jam pridem edocti, quantum translationi huic ecclesiasticæ Novi Testamenti deferendum sit, ni fallor, optime novi. *Hæc Stunica in præf. libri sui.*

an Englishman, wrote also against Erasmus; and both Stunica and Lee, amongst other things, reprehended him for omitting the testimony of "the Three in Heaven." Afterwards Erasmus, finding the Spaniards, and some others of the Roman Church, in a heat against him, printed this testimony in his third edition, anno Christi 1522, representing, "that in his former editions he had printed the text as he found it in his manuscripts; but now there being found in England one manuscript which had the testimony of "the Three in Heaven," he had inserted it, according to that manuscript; for avoiding the calumnies raised against him." And so it continued in his two following editions. And at length Robert Stephens, anno Christi 1550, reprinted Erasmus's edition, with some few alterations and various lections, taken out of the Complutensian edition, and fifteen Greek manuscripts, which he named after the numeral letters, α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , &c. putting α for the Complutensian edition, and β , γ , δ , ϵ , &c. for the manuscripts in order; and noting in the margin, that the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" was wanting in the seven manuscripts, δ , ϵ , ζ , θ , ι , κ , λ . Whence Beza* tells us, that he had read it in the rest. His words are, *Legit Hieronymus, legit Erasmus in Britannico codice et in Complutensi editione. Legimus et nos in nonnullis Roberti nostri veteribus libris.* And this is the original and authority of the printed editions. For

* Beza in hunc locum.

these are the editions ever since followed by all the West; and of late years propagated by the Venetian presses into Greece; and nothing further, that I know of, has been discovered in any manuscripts in favour of these editions.

XXV. Now to pull off the vizard, I cannot but, in the first place, extremely complain of Beza's want of modesty and caution in expressing himself.* In the preface to his annotations, describing what helps he had in composing his first edition, he tells us, "that he had the annotations of Valla, Stapulensis, and Erasmus, and the writings of the ancients and moderns collated by himself; and out of Stephens's library, the exemplar which Stephens had collated with about twenty-five manuscripts, almost all of which were printed." He should have said seventeen; for that number he puts in other places, and in his annotations cites no more. So then he had the collations of two more manuscripts than Stephens has given us in print. And this was all his furniture. The original manuscripts he does not here pretend to have; nor could he have them; for they were not Stephens's manuscripts, but belonged to several libraries in France and Italy. The manuscript €

* Non desunt, qui Bezam nimis audacem fuisse judicant, dum a receptâ lectione sæpius sine necessitate recedit; et unius, interdum nullius, codicis autoritate fretus, prætoriam exercet potestatem, ex conjecturis mutando et interpolando textum sacrum prohibito. *Walton. Prolegom. iv. sect. 15. in Bibl. Polyglott.*

Stephens himself never saw; but had only various lections collected out of it by his friends in Italy. The manuscripts γ, δ, ε, ς, ζ, η, ι, κ, were not Stephens's, but belonged to the library of the king of France, to whom Stephens was printer. The other six books, θ, ια, ιβ, ιγ, ιδ, ιε, Stephens had not out of his own library, but borrowed them for a time from several places to collate, his friends studying to promote the design of his edition. And yet Beza in his annotations, when he would favour any text, cites the collations of Stephens in such a manner, as if he had the very original manuscripts at Geneva before his eyes. And where Stephens does not cite various lections, there he reckons, that in the text of Stephens's collated books he read all the manuscripts. So in Mark vi. 11. where Stephens notes a certain period to be wanting in the manuscript copies β and γ, Beza saith, *Hæc periodus in omnibus exemplaribus Græcis legitur, exceptis secundo et octavo.* In the Acts xiii 33. because Stephens had noted no various lections, Beza affirms of the Greek text, *Ita scriptum invenimus in omnibus vetustis codicibus.* In 1 John iv. 3. where Stephens is silent, Beza speaks; *Sic legitur in omnibus Græcis exemplaribus, quæ quidem mihi inspicere licuit.* In James i. 22. where Stephens is again silent, Beza tells us of the word *ἄβρον*, *Ego in Omnibus nostris vetustis libris inveni.* And so, where Stephens in the margin had noted the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" to be want-

ing in seven manuscripts, he thinks that, in reading the text of Stephen's collated book, he reads it in the rest; and so tells us, *Legimus et nos in nonnullis Roberti Stephani codicibus*. This he did in the first edition of his annotations. Afterwards, when he had got two real manuscripts, the Claromontan, and that which at length he presented to the University of Cambridge (in both which the canonical epistles are wanting;) in the epistle to his fourth edition, in reckoning up the books he then used, he put only these two, and the seventeen of Stephens; and in his fifth edition he writes summarily, that he used nineteen manuscripts, joining with those two real ones the collations of Stephens, as if in those he had seventeen others; which sufficiently explains his way of speaking in his annotations. But whilst he had not the manuscripts themselves to read with his own eyes, it was too hard and unwarrantable a way of speaking to tell us, *Legimus et nos in nonnullis Roberti Stephani codicibus*; and therefore, in his later editions, he corrects himself, and tells us only, that the reading doth *extare in nonnullis Stephani veteribus libris*. Thus Beza argues from Stephens's book of collations; and the same inference has been made by Lucas Brugensis and others, ever since, from Stephens's forementioned edition of that book. "For," say they, "Stephens had fifteen manuscripts in all, and found the testimony of 'the Three in Heaven' wanting but in seven; and therefore it was in the other

eight; and so being found in the greater part of his manuscripts, has the authority of manuscripts on its side." Thus they argue; and this is the great argument by which the printed Greek has hitherto been justified.

XXVI. But if they please to consider the business a little better, they will find themselves very much mistaken. For though Stephens had fifteen manuscripts in all, yet all of them did not contain all the Greek testament. Four of them, noted γ , ϵ , $\iota\epsilon$, $\iota\delta$, had each of them the four Gospels only. Two, noted ϵ , η , contained only the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. One, noted $\iota\epsilon$, contained the Apocalypse only. One, noted $\iota\epsilon$, had only the Apocalypse, with St Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. The other seven, noted δ , ϵ , ζ , θ , ι , $\iota\alpha$, $\iota\gamma$, contained both St Paul's Epistles and the canonical ones, besides some other books; namely, the manuscript ζ contained the Epistles and Gospels; the manuscripts ι , $\iota\alpha$, $\iota\gamma$, the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles; and the manuscripts δ , ϵ , θ , the Epistles, Gospels, and Acts. And this any one may gather, by noting what manuscripts the various lections are cited out of, in every book of the New Testament. For in the various lections of the canonical epistles, and those to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, are found these seven manuscripts, δ , ϵ , ζ , θ , ι , $\iota\alpha$, $\iota\gamma$, every where cited, and no more than these. The same

also, and no more, are cited in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and the Hebrews; one numeral error, whether of the scribe or typographer excepted. Stephens therefore did collect various lections of the Epistles out of only these seven manuscripts, *δ, ε, ζ, θ, ι, ια, ιγ*; and in all these seven he found the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" to be wanting; as you may see noted in the margin of his edition.

XXVII. And that this testimony was wanting in all Stephens's manuscripts, is apparent also by its being generally wanting in the manuscripts which are now extant in France. For father Simon* tells us, "that after a diligent search in the library of the king of France, and in that also of Monsieur Colbert, he could not find it in any one manuscript; though he consulted seven manuscripts in the king's library, and one in Colbert's." And because Stephens had some of his various lections from Italy, I will add, that a gentleman, who, in his travels, had consulted twelve MSS in several libraries in Italy, assured me that he found it wanting in them all. One of the twelve was that most ancient and most famous MS in the Pope's library, written in capital letters.

XXVIII. So then the authority of the printed books rests only upon the authority of the editions of Erasmus and Cardinal Ximenes. But seeing that Erasmus omitted it in his two first editions, and in-

* Simon's Critical History of the New Test. chap. xviii.

serted it unwillingly, against the authority of his manuscripts, in his three last; the authority of these three can be none at all. When Lee, upon Erasmus's putting forth his second edition, fell foul upon him for leaving out the testimony of "the Three in Heaven," Erasmus* answered, "that he had consulted more than seven Greek manuscripts, and found it wanting in them all; and that if he could have found it in any one manuscript, he would have followed that in favour of the Latin." Hence notice was sent to Erasmus out of England, that it was in a manuscript there, and thereupon to avoid† their calumnies, as he saith, he printed it in his following editions; notwithstanding that he suspected that manuscript to be a new one, corrected by the Latin. But since, upon inquiry, I cannot learn that they in England ever heard of any such manuscript, but from Erasmus; and since he was only told of such a manuscript, in the time of the controversy between him

* Dicam mihi diversis temporibus plura fuisse exemplaria quam septem [scilicet Græca]; nec in ullo horum repertum, quod in nostris [scilicet Latinis] legitur. Quod si contigisset unum exemplar, in quo fuisset, quod nos legimus, nimirum illinc adjecissem, quod in cæteris aberat. Id quia non contigit, quod solum licuit, feci; indicavi quid in Græcis codicibus minus esset. *Hæc Erasmus contra Leum, in hunc locum.*

† Ex hoc igitur codice Britannico reposuimus, quod in nostris dicebatur deesse; ne cui sit ansa calumniandi. Quanquam et hunc suspicor, ad Latinorum codices, fuisse castigatum. Postquam enim concordiam inierunt cum ecclesiâ Romanâ, studuerunt et hæc in parte cum Romanis consentire. *Erasmii Annotation. in hunc locum; editio tertia, et sequen*

and Lee, and never saw it himself; I cannot forbear to suspect, that it was nothing but a trick put upon him by the Popish clergy, to try if he would make good what he had offered, the printing of the testimony of “the Three in Heaven” by the authority of one Greek copy, and thereby to get it into his edition.* Greek manuscripts of the Scripture are things of value, and do not use to be thrown away; and such a manuscript for the testimony of “the Three in Heaven,” would have made a greater noise than the rest have done against it. Let those who have such a manuscript, at length tell us where it is.

XXIX. So also let them who insist upon the edition of cardinal Ximenes, tell us by what manuscript he printed this testimony; or, at least, where any such manuscript of good note is to be seen; for till then I must take the liberty to believe, that he printed nothing else than a translation out of the Latin, and that for these reasons.

First; because in the preface to his edition of the New Testament we are told, that this testament was printed after the manuscripts taken out of the Pope’s library; and these the cardinal only borrowed†

* Versiculus 1 Joan. v. 7. in Syriacâ, ut et vetustissimis Græcis exemplaribus, nostro Alexandrino, aliis manuscriptis Græcis, quos contulimus, non reperitur. *Walton. Prolegomena*, xix. 23, in *Bibl. Polyglott.*

† Accivit e Vaticanâ Romæ Bibliothecâ, bonâ cum Leonis X. pontificis maximi veniâ. As Gaspar Bellerus, in his epistle prefixed to the Quinquagena of Antonius Nabrissensis, expresses it.

thence, and therefore returned them back so soon as his edition was finished. And Caryophilus some time after, by the Pope's command, collating the Vatican manuscripts, found the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" wanting in them all. I do not say but that the Cardinal had other manuscripts; but these were the chief, and the only ones he thought worth while to tell his reader of.

Secondly; I startle at the marginal note in this place of the Cardinal's edition. For it is beside the use of this edition, to put notes in the margin of the Greek text. I have not found it done above thrice in all this edition of the New Testament; and therefore there must be something extraordinary; and that, in respect of the Greek, because it is in the margin of this text. In 1 Corinth. xv. there is noted in this margin a notable variation in the Greek reading. In Matthew vi. 13. where they, in their edition, recede from the Greek copies and correct it by the Latin, they make a marginal note, to justify their doing so; and so here, where the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" is generally wanting in the Greek copies, they make a third marginal note, to secure themselves from being blamed for printing it. Now in such a case as this, there is no question but they would make the best defence they could; and yet they do not tell of the various lections in the Greek manuscripts, nor produce any one Greek manuscript on their side, but

run to the authority of Thomas Aquinas.* The Greek manuscripts have the text thus, "For there are Three that bear record, the spirit, the water, and the blood; and these Three are One." In many of the Latin manuscripts, the words, "these Three are One," are here omitted, and put only at the end of the testimony of "the Three in Heaven," before that of "the spirit, water, and blood;" in others, they are put after both testimonies. In the Complutensian edition, they follow the former copies, and justify their doing so, by the authority of Thomas Aquinas. "Thomas," say they, "in treating of the Three which bear witness in Heaven, teaches, that the words 'these Three are One' are subjoined for insinuating the unity of the essence of the Three Persons. And whereas one Joachim interpreted this unity to be only in *love* and *consent*, it being thus

* The marginal note is this; Sanctus Thomas, in expositione secundæ decretalis de summâ Trinitate et Fide Catholicâ, tractans istum passum contra Abbatem Joachim, viz. "Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cælo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus," dicit ad literam verba sequentia. "Et ad insinuandam unitatem trium personarum subditur, et 'hi Tres Unum sunt;' quod quidem dicitur propter essentiæ unitatem. Sed hoc Joachim perverse trahere volens ad unitatem charitatis et consensus, inducebat consequentem auctoritatem. Nam subditur ibidem, 'Et Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terrâ, sanctus spiritus, aqua, et sanguis;' et in quibusdam libris additur, 'et hi Tres Unum sunt.' Sed hoc in veris exemplaribus non habetur; sed dicitur esse appositum ab Hæreticis Arianis ad pervertendum intellectum sanum auctoritatis præmissæ de unitate essentiæ Trium Personarum." Hæc Beatus Thomas, ubi supra.

said of the spirit, water, and blood, in some copies, 'these Three are One;' Thomas replied, that this last clause is not extant in the true copies, but was added by the Arians for perverting the sense." Thus far this annotation. Now this plainly respects the Latin copies, for Thomas understood not Greek, and therefore part of the design of this annotation is to set right the Latin reading. But this is not the main design. For so the annotation should have been set in the margin of the Latin version. Its being inserted in the margin of the Greek text shows, that its main design is to justify the Greek by the Latin thus rectified and confirmed. Now to make Thomas thus, in a few words, do all the work, was very artificial; and in Spain, where Thomas is of apostolic authority, might pass for a very judicious and substantial defence of the printed Greek. But to us, Thomas Aquinas is no Apostle. We are seeking for the authority of Greek manuscripts.

A third reason why I conceive the Complutensian Greek to have been in this place a translation from the Latin, is, because Stunica (who, as I told you, was one of the divines employed by the Cardinal in this edition, and at that time wrote against Erasmus) when, in his objections, he comes to this text of the testimony of "the Three in Heaven," he cites not one Greek manuscript for it against Erasmus; but argues wholly from the authority of the Latin. On the contrary, he sets down, by way

of concession, the common reading of the Greek manuscripts, as well as his own, and that of others, in these words, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ. καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσι; and then condemns them altogether without exception; and justifies the Latin against them by the authority of Jerome. “Know,” saith he, “that in this place the Greek manuscripts are most evidently corrupted; but ours (that is, the Latin ones) contain the truth itself, as they are translated from the first original; which is manifest by the prologue of St Jerome upon the Epistles, &c.”* And this prologue, which he goes on to cite at length, and of which we gave you an account above, is all he argues in favour of the testimony of “the Three in Heaven.” In other places of scripture, where he had Greek manuscripts on his side, he produces them readily. So 1 Thessalonians ii. 7. *Ita quidem legitur*, says he, *in Græcis codicibus, quos ego viderim*. In James i. 11. he saith, *Sciendum in omnibus Græcis codicibus πορείαῖς hic legi per εἰ diphthongum*. In 1 Thessalonians v. 23. he saith, *Cum in Græcis exemplaribus quotquot sunt, ὁλίκληρον, et in Latinis integer hic legatur, nemine discrepante, nescio cur Erasmus dixerit, &c.* In

* Sciendum est, hoc loco codices apertissime esse corruptos; nostros vero veritatem ipsam, ut a primâ origine traducti sunt, continere; quod ex prologo B. Hieronymi super epistolas manifeste apparet. Ait enim, “Quæ si sicut ab eis digestæ sunt; ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum verterentur eloquium,” &c. *Hæc Suetonica in h. locum. Ejus Liber exstat in Criticor. vol. ix.*

Philipp. iv. 9. *Si quidem in omnibus*, saith he, *Græcis codicibus*, ταῦτα λογίζεσθε *hic legitur*; *neque Græci sunt libri*, qui πρόσθετε *hoc loco*, *neque Latini*, qui agite; *nisi mendosos utriusque linguæ codices*, cum hæc commentaretur *Erasmus*, *perlegit*. After this manner does Stunica produce the manuscripts used in the Complutensian edition, when they make for him; and here he produces them too, but it is for Erasmus against himself. “Know,” saith he, “that in this place the Greek manuscripts are most evidently corrupted.” In other places, if he hath but one manuscript on his side, he produces it magificently enough; as the Codex Rhodiensis in his discourses upon 2 Corinthians ii. 3. James i. 22. 2 Peter ii. 2. and other texts. Here he produces all the manuscripts against himself, without excepting so much as one. And hence Erasmus, in his answer to Stunica, gloried in the consent of the Spanish manuscripts with his own; and Sanctius Caranza, another of the Complutensian divines, in his defence of Stunica, written presently after, had nothing to reply in this point. Neither could Sepulveda, or the Spanish monks who next undertook the controversy, find one Greek manuscript, which here made against Erasmus. Neither had Marchio Valesius better success, though on that occasion he collated sixteen Greek manuscripts, eight whereof belonged to the king of Spain’s library, and the other eight to other libraries of Spain; and he did it on purpose to collect out of

them whatever he could meet with in favour of the present vulgar Latin. Neither did the reprinting of the Complutensian Bible by Arias Montanus produce the notice of any such manuscript; though, on that occasion, many manuscripts, as well Greek as Latin, fetched from Complutum and other places, were collated by Arias, Lucas Brugensis, Canter, and others.

XXX. So then, to sum up the argument, the Complutensian divines did sometimes correct the Greek by the Latin, without the authority of any Greek manuscript, as appears by their practice in Matthew vi. 13. and therefore their printing the testimony of “the Three in Heaven” is no evidence that they did it by a manuscript, but on the contrary, for want of one, they contented themselves with the authority of Thomas Aquinas; and Stunica confessed that they had none. Nor has all the zeal for this text been able since to discover one either in Spain, or any where else.

XXXI. And now you may understand whence it is, that the Complutensian edition, and the reading of the pretended English manuscript, set down by Erasmus in his annotations, differ so much from one another; for the Complutensian edition has the text thus; *ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα.* The pretended English manuscript thus; *ὅτι τρεῖς*

είσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πατήρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσιν. καὶ τρεῖς μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, πνεῦμα καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα. The differences are too great to spring from the bare errors of scribes, and arise rather from the various translations of the place, out of Latin into Greek, by two several persons.

XXXII. But whilst these two readings, by their discord, confute one another, the readings of the real Greek manuscripts by their agreement confirm one another as much. For Caryophilus, who, by the command of Pope Urban the Eighth, collated the Vatican and other manuscripts, borrowed out of the principal libraries in Rome, found one common reading in them all, without the testimony of “the Three in Heaven;” as you may see in those his collations, printed in 1673 by Peter Possinus, in the end of his *Catena of the Greek Fathers upon Mark*. He met with eight manuscripts in all upon the Epistles, and notes their reading thus; 1 Joan. v. 7. *Manuscripti octo (omnes nempe) legunt, “Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα. καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσι. Porro totus septimus versus hujus capituli desideratur in octo manuscriptis codicibus Græcis, &c.* Thus Caryophilus.

XXXIII. The very same reading Erasmus, in his annotations on this place, gives us of all his manuscripts, which were more than seven; and so doth Stephens of all his seven, without noting any various lections in them. Only the comma, which in Ste-

plens's edition is, surely by mistake, set after *οὐρανῶ*, is to be put in its right place. The very same reading does Stunica also, in his book against Erasmus, note out of the manuscript he had seen in Spain, as was seen above. Nor does Valesius, in his collection of the sixteen Spanish manuscripts, note any various lections in this text. The same reading exactly have also the manuscripts in England; namely, that most ancient and famous one in the king's library, which was conveyed thither from Egypt through Greece, and published in Walton's Polyglott Bible; and the four at Oxford, viz. that in New College, and that in Magdalen College, both very old, and two in Lincoln College; and four or five other ancient ones lately collated at Oxford, in order to a new impression of the Greek testament, as I am informed. The very same reading have also the three manuscripts of Monsieur Petavius Gachon, a senator of Paris, whose various lections, collected by his son John Gachon, were printed in the Oxford edition of the New Testament, anno Christi 1675. The same reading, without any variation, is published by Francis Asulan in his edition, printed anno Christi 1518, by Aldus at Venice, out of the manuscripts of those parts. The same reading Œcumenius, six hundred years ago, found in the manuscripts of Greece; as you may see in the text of his commentary on this epistle of St John. The same reading also Cyril of Alexandria met with in the manuscripts of Egypt, above eleven

hundred years ago ; as you may see in his citations of the text ; both in his *Thesaurus*, lib. xiv. cap. 5. and in his first book *De Fide ad Reginas* ; excepting that in the latter of these two citations, the particle *εἰς* is omitted ; and *μαρτυροῦσι* written for *οἱ μαρτυροῦντες*. And that the very same reading was also in the manuscripts of the first ages, may be gathered from the conformity of this reading to all the ancient versions.

XXXIV. It may be seen by what has been hitherto said, that this testimony is not to be found in the Greek manuscripts. *Epanorthotes*,* whom *Lucas Brugensis* describes to be an ancient, accurate, full, and industrious collator of manuscripts, found it wanting in all those he met with. *Epanorthotes*, saith *Lucas*, *desse hæc eadem Græcis libris, et antiquis Latinis annotat*. Nor have other collators made a further discovery

* *Habnimus ab Huunæo, id quod maximi facimus, MS Bibl. correctorium ab incerto auctore, quem Epanorthotem, aut correctorem fere vocamus, magnâ diligentia ac fide contextum, secuto uti oportet antiquos nostræ editionis codices, eosque cum Hæbræis, Græcis, et veterum Patrum commentariis sedulo collatos ; qui liber ad Genesin viii. 7. latius a nobis descriptus est. Hæc Lucas ; qui ad Genesin viii. 7. dixit hunc librum multis annis scriptum, et pluribus forte compositum. Dein, loco ex eo citato, pergit. Ad quæ dici quid possit ? An quod libro fidendum non sit ? Non hoc dicet, qui evolverit ; quæ namque a nostri sæculi scriptoribus ex MSS codicibus collectæ sunt variæ lectiones, omnes propemodum in eo comperimus ; et ad fontes fideliter examinatas deprehendimus. Scripsit hæc Lucas, anno 1579 ; unde sequitur correctorium ante disputationes Erasmicus de testibus in cælo elaboratum esse.*

to this day. Lee, Stunica, and the rest in England, Spain, Flanders, France, and Italy, who conspired against Erasmus, could find nothing in the manuscripts of those parts against him ; if that Phœnix be excepted, which once appeared to somebody somewhere in England, but could never since be seen. Hesselius,* about the year 1565, professor of divinity at Louvain, in his commentary on this place, ingeniously confesses it wanting in all the Greek manuscripts then known, except two, the one in Spain, the other in England ; meaning those by which the Complutensian divines and Erasmus printed it. Which two we have shown to be none at all ; unless one Annius dug up one in England. Since that time nothing further has been produced, besides the imaginary books of dreaming Beza. And yet I will not say, but that it may hereafter be found in some Greek copies. For in the times of the holy war, the Latins had much to do in the East. They were long united to the Greek church ; they made Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch ; they reigned at Constantinople over the Greeks from the year

* *Hesselius in hunc locum ait ; Manuscripti Græci fere omnes sic se habent ; “ Quoniam Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terrâ, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et hi Tres Unum sunt ;” nullâ factâ mentione triplicis testimonii de cælo “ Patris, Verbi, et Spiritus Sancti.” Dein codices aliter legentes describendo sic pergit ; Nostro tempore duo Græci codices manuscripti reperti sunt ; unus in Angliâ, et alter in Hispaniâ : quorum uterque hoc loco testimonium habet “ Patris, Verbi, et Spiritus Sancti.”*

1204, for above fifty years together ; and during this their kingdom, in the year 1215, was assembled the Lateran council, consisting of four hundred and fifteen bishops, Greeks and Latins together ; and therein the testimony of “the Three in Heaven” was quoted out of some of the Latin manuscripts, as we told you above. All which might occasion some Greeks, as well as Latins, to note it in the margins of their books ; and hence insert it into the text in transcribing. For this is most certain, that some Greek manuscripts have been corrected by the Latin ones. Such a book Erasmus* tells us, that he “once met with, and that there was such another in the Pope’s library.” He suspected also that book in England, out of which he printed the testimony of “the Three in Heaven,” to be of the same kind ; though I rather think it was none at all ; unless some falsary of that age were at the pains to transcribe one or two of St Paul’s Epistles. Such another book was one of those, out of which Valesius collected his various lections. Whence Mariana,

* Hic obiter illud incidit admonendum esse Græcorum quosdam Novi Testamenti codices ad Latina exemplaria emendatos. Id factum est in fœdere Græcorum cum Romanâ ecclesiâ ; quod fœdus testatur Bulla, quæ dicitur Aurea ; visum est enim et hoc ad firmandam concordiam pertinere. Et nos olim in hujusmodi codicem incidimus ; et talis adhuc dicitur aîservari in Bibliothecâ Pontif. Verum ex his corrigere nostros est Lesbiam, ut aiunt, admoveere regulam. *Erasmus ad Lectorem. Editio 5ta Novi Testamenti.*

into whose hands the manuscript book of those lections fell, tells us, that for that reason, in his annotations on the New Testament, he used those lections but sparingly and cautiously. And that Valesius did meet with such a corrected manuscript, appears by the lections themselves. For in the Apocalypse xviii. 17. where the Greek reads ἐπι τόπον: and the Latin translates *in locum*, and by the error of one letter *in lacum*, as the books now have it; some Grecian has here corrected this book by the Latin, and written ἐπὶ λίμνην; as it is in the lections of Valesius, taken out of this. Again in the Apocalypse ix. 11. where the Latin translation, in expounding the names *Abaddon et Apollyon*, adds, *Et Latine habens nomen exterminans*; Valesius notes the reading in his Greek copy to be ρωμαϊστὶ ἔχων ὄνομα εξετερμινανς; which certainly is a translation of the Latin. Again, in the Apocalypse xxi. 12. where the Greek has ἀγγέλως, and some ancient Latin copies, *angelos*, but the far greater part of the Latin copies at present have *angulos*; Valesius, in his manuscript, reads γωνίας. So in the Apocalypse xix. 6. where the Greek is ὄχλος πολλοῦ; the Latin, *turbæ magnæ*, and in the later copies, *tubæ magnæ*; Valesius, in his manuscript, reads σάλπιγγος μεγάλης. In Hebrews xiii. 2. for ἔλαθον, *latuerunt*; and in later copies, *placuerunt*, Valesius reads ἤρεσαν; and in 1 Peter iii. 8. for τὸ δε τέλος. *in fine*, and by an error *in fide*, Valesius reads ἐν τῇ πίστει δέ. These, and such like instances, put

the thing out of dispute. Now, though Valesius found not the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" in this manuscript; and Erasmus tells us, that he never saw it in any Greek manuscript; and, by consequence, not in that corrected one which fell into his hands; yet it may have crept out of the Latin into some other books, not yet taken notice of; and even in some manuscripts, which, in other places, have not been corrected by the Latin, it may possibly have been inserted by some of the Greek bishops of the Lateran council, where the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" was read. And therefore he that shall hereafter meet with it in any book, ought first, before he insist upon the authority of that book, to examine whether it has not been corrected by the Latin; and whether it be ancients than the Lateran council, and empire of the Latins in Greece; for, if it be liable to either of these two exceptions, it can signify nothing to produce it.

XXXV. Having given you the history of the controversy, I shall now confirm all that I have said from the sense of the text itself. For, without the testimony of "the Three in Heaven," the sense is good and easy, as you may see by the following paraphrase inserted in the text in a different character.

"WHO IS HE THAT OVERCOMETH THE WORLD, BUT HE THAT BELIEVETH THAT JESUS IS THE SON OF GOD, that Son spoken of in the Psalms, where he saith, 'Thou art my Son; this day have I begot-

ten thee.' 'THIS IS HE THAT, after the Jews had long expected him, CAME, first in a mortal body, BY baptism of WATER, AND then in an immortal one by shedding his BLOOD upon the cross, and rising again from the dead ; NOT BY WATER ONLY, BUT BY WATER AND BLOOD ; being the Son of God, as well by his resurrection from the dead, Acts xiii. 33. as by his supernatural birth of the Virgin, Luke i, 35. AND IT IS THE SPIRIT also THAT, together with the water and blood, BEARETH WITNESS of the truth of his coming ; BECAUSE THE SPIRIT IS TRUTH ; and so a fit and unexceptionable witness. FOR THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR RECORD of his coming ; THE SPIRIT, which he promised to send, and which was shed forth upon us in the form of cloven tongues, and in various gifts ; THE baptism of WATER, wherein God testified, ' This is my beloved Son ; AND THE shedding of his BLOOD, accompanied with his resurrection, whereby he became the most faithful martyr or witness of this truth. AND THESE THREE, the spirit, the baptism, and passion of Christ, AGREE IN witnessing ONE and the same thing, namely, that the Son of God is come, and, therefore, their evidence is strong ; for the law requires but two consenting witnesses, and here we have three. AND IF WE RECEIVE THE WITNESS OF MEN, THE threefold WITNESS OF GOD, which he bare of his Son, by declaring at his baptism, ' This is my beloved Son ;' by raising him from the dead, and by pouring out his

spirit on us, IS GREATER ; and therefore ought to be more readily received."

XXXVI. Thus is the sense plain and natural, and the argument full and strong ; but, if you insert the testimony of "the Three in heaven," you interrupt and spoil it. For the whole design of the apostle being here to prove to men by witness the truth of Christ's coming, I would ask how the testimony of "the Three in heaven" makes to this purpose. If their testimony be not given to men, how does it prove to them the truth of Christ's coming? If it be, how is the testimony in heaven distinguished from that on earth? It is the same spirit which witnesses in heaven and in earth. If in both cases it witnesses to us men, wherein lies the difference between its witnessing in heaven, and its witnessing in earth? If, in the first case, it does not witness to men, to whom doth it witness? And to what purpose? And how does its witnessing make to the design of St John's discourse? Let them make good sense of it, who are able. For my part, I can make none. If it be said that we are not to determine what is scripture, and what not, by our private judgments ; I confess it in places not controverted ; but in disputable places, I love to take up with what I can best understand. It is the temper of the hot and superstitious part of mankind, in matters of religion, ever to be fond of mysteries ; and for that reason, to like best what they understand least.

Such men may use the apostle John as they please ; but I have that honour for him, as to believe that he wrote good sense ; and therefore take that sense to be *his*, which is the best ; especially since I am defended in it by so great authority. For I have on my side the authority of the Fourth General Council, and, so far as I know, of all the churches in all ages, except the modern Latin, and such others as have lately been influenced by them ; and that also of all the old versions, and Greek manuscripts, and ancient Latin ones ; and nothing against me, but the authority of Jerome, and the credulity and heat of his followers.

For to tell us of other manuscripts, without ever letting us know in what libraries they were to be seen ; to pretend manuscripts, which, since their first discovery, could never be heard of ; nor were then seen by persons whose names and credit we know ; is plainly to impose on the learned world, and ought not to pass any longer for plain dealing. The Spaniards tell us plainly that they followed the Latin, and by the authority of Thomas left out the clause, “And these Three are One,” in the eighth verse, as inserted by the Arians. And yet St Ambrose, St Austin, Eucherius, and other Latins, in the Arian age, gathered the unity of the Deity from this clause ; and the omission of it is now, by printing it, acknowledged to be an erroneous correction. The manuscript in England wanted the same clause,

and therefore, if there was any such MS, it was a corrected one, like the Spanish edition, and the manuscript of Valesius. Erasmus, who printed the triple testimony in heaven by that English manuscript, never saw it; tells us it was a new one; suspected its sincerity; and accused it publicly in his writings on several occasions, for several years together; and yet his adversaries in England never answered his accusation; never endeavoured to satisfy him and the world about it; did not so much as let us know, where the record might be consulted for confuting him; but, on the contrary, when they had got the Trinity into his edition, threw by their manuscript, if they had one, as an almanac out of date. And can such shuffling dealings satisfy considering men? Let manuscripts at length be produced, and freely exposed to the sight of the learned world; but let such manuscripts be produced as are of authority; or else let it be confessed, that whilst Jerome pretended to correct the Latin by the Greek, the Latins have corrected both the Latin and the Greek by the sole authority of Jerome.

SECTION II.

On the Text concerning the Mystery of Godliness manifest in the Flesh.

I. WHAT the Latins have done to the foregoing, the Greeks have done to that of St Paul, 1 Timothy iii. 16. For by changing θ into Θ , the abbreviation of $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, they now read, "Great is the mystery of godliness; GOD manifested in the flesh." Whereas all the churches for the first four or five hundred years, and the authors of all the ancient versions, Jerome, as well as the rest, read, "Great is the mystery of godliness, which was manifested in the flesh." For this is the common reading of the Ethiopic, Syriac, and Latin versions to this day; Jerome's manuscripts having given him no occasion to correct the old vulgar Latin in this place. Grotius adds the Arabic, but the Egyptian Arabic version has $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$: and so has the above mentioned Slavonian version of Cyrillus; for these two versions were made long after the sixth century, wherein the corruption began. With the ancients versions agree the writers of the first five centuries, both Greeks and Latins. For they, in all their discourses to prove the Deity of the Son, never aliege this text, that I can find, as they would all have done, and some of them frequently, had they read "God manifested in the flesh;" and therefore they read θ . Ter-

tullian *adversus Praxeam*, and Cyprian *adversus Judæos*, industriously cite all the places where Christ is called God, but have nothing of this. Alexander of Alexandria, Athanasius, the bishops of the council of Sardica, Epiphanius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyril of Alexandria, Cassian, also Hilary, Lucifer, Jerome, Ambrose, Austin, Phœbadius, Victorinus Afer, Faustinus Diaconus, Pope Leo the Great, Arnobius Junior, Cerealis, Vigilius Tapsensis, Fulgentius, wrote all of them in the fourth and fifth centuries, for the deity of the Son, and incarnation of God; and some of them largely, and in several tracts; and yet I cannot find that they ever allege this text to prove it, excepting that Gregory Nyssen once urges it,* if the passage crept not into him out of some marginal annotation. In all the times of the hot and lasting Arian controversy, it never came into play; though now those disputes are over, they that read “God manifested in the flesh,” think it one of the most obvious and pertinent texts for the business.

II. The churches, therefore, of those ages were absolute strangers to this reading. For, on the contrary, their writers, as often as they have any occasion to cite the reading then in use, discover that it was $\frac{1}{2}$. For though they cite it not to prove

* Orat. xi. contra Eunom.

the deity of the Son, yet in their commentaries, and sometimes in other discourses, they produce it. And particularly Hilary, lib. 2. *de Trinitate*, and Ambrose, or whoever of his contemporaries was the author of the commentary on the Epistles, reads ὁ ; and so doth St Austin in *Genesin ad literam*, lib. 5; and Beda in his commentary on this text, where he cites the reading of St Austin, and the author of the commentary on the Epistles, ascribed to Jerome. So also do Primasius and Sedulius in their commentaries on this text; and Victorinus Afer, lib. 1. *adversus Arium*; and Idacius Clarus, or rather Vigilus Tapsensis, lib. 3. *adversus Varimadum*, cap. 12; and Fulgentius, c. 2. *de Incarnatione*; and so did Pope Leo the Great, epist. 20. *ad Flavianum*; and Pope Gregory the Great, lib. 34. *Moral.* cap. 7. These ancient Latins all cite the text after this manner, "Great is the mystery of Godliness, which was manifested in the flesh;" as the Latin manuscripts of St Paul's Epistles generally have it to this day; and therefore it cannot be doubted, but that this hath been the constant public reading of the Latin churches from the beginning. So also one of the Arians in a homily, printed in Fulgentius's works, reads ὁ , and interprets it of the Son of God, who was born of the Father *ante secula*; and of the Virgin, *in novissimo tempore*. And Fulgentius, in his answer to this homily, found no fault with the citation; but on the contrary, in his first book *ad Trasimundum*, cap.

6. seems to have read and understood the text after the same manner with other Latins.

III. Now, for the Greeks, I find indeed that they have changed the ancient reading of the text, not only in the manuscripts of St Paul's Epistles, but also in other authors; and yet there are still remaining sufficient instances among them of what the reading was at first. So in Chrysostom's commentary on this epistle, they have now gotten Θεός into the text; and yet by considering the commentary itself, I am satisfied that he read ζ. For he neither in this commentary, nor any where else, infers the deity of Christ from this text; nor expounds it, as they do who read Θεός; but with the Latins, who read ζ, understands by it Christ incarnate; or, as he expresses it, "Man made God, and God made Man;" and so leaves it at liberty to be taken for either God or man. And accordingly in one place of his commentary he saith, Ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ ὁ δημιουργός. In another place; Ἄνθρωπος ἄφθνη ἀνακρίστητος, ἄνθρωπος ἀναλήφθη. ἐκηρύχθη ἐν κόσμῳ, μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶδον αὐτὸν οἱ ἄγγελοι. *Man appeared without sin; Man was received up; Man was preached in the world; was seen amongst us by angels.* Instead of ὁ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, &c. he saith, *Man appeared without sin; making Man the nominative case to these and all the verbs which follow; which certainly he would not have done, had Θεός been their nominative case expressly in the text. He might properly put man*

for θ , but not for $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$. Neither could he have put $\alpha\nu\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ for $\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$, if he had read in his text $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma \epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$. For what man of common sense would say, that God was made sinless in and through the spirit? But what I have said of Chrysostom will be more evident, when I shall have shown you how afterwards, in the time of the Nestorian controversy, all parties read θ or $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, without any dispute raised about the reading; and how the Greeks have since corrupted the text in Cyril's writings, and changed θ and $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ into $\Theta\epsilon\delta\iota\varsigma$, as they have done in Chrysostom's.

IV. And, first, that the Nestorians read θ is evident by some fragments of the orations or homilies of Nestorius, sent by him to the Pope, and cited by Arnobius Junior, in the second book of his conflict with Serapion. For there, in order to show what was the opinion of Nestorius, and how he defended it, he cites two of his orations in these words; *Non peperit sanctissima Maria Deitatem; nam quod natum est de carne, caro est. Non peperit creatura Creatorem; sed peperit hominem Deitatis ministrum. Non ædificavit Deum, Verbum, Spiritus Sanctus; quod ex ipsâ natum est, de Spiritu Sancto est. Deo itaque virgo templum ex virgine ædificavit. Et paulo post; Qui per se natus est Deus in utero (scilicet ante Luciphorum) Deus est. Et paulo post; $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\varsigma$ formam in Deo honoramus. Et in aliâ prædicatione; Spiritum divina separat natura, qui humanitatem ejus creavit. Quicquid ex Mariâ natum est, de Spiritu*

Sancto est, qui et secundum justitiam replevit, quod creatum est; hoc quod manifestatum est in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu. Which last words in the language wherein Nestorius wrote those homilies, are, ὃ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι.

V. Here you see that Nestorius reads ὃ expressly; not only so, but absolutely excludes God from being understood by it; arguing, that the Virgin was not θεοτόκος because that thing which was manifested in the flesh, was justified in the spirit; or, as he expounds it, replenished by the spirit in righteousness, and calling that thing which was manifested in the flesh, a creature; *Spiritus*, saith he, *secundum justitiam replevit [hoc] quod creatum est; [nempe] hoc quod manifestatum est in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu.*

VI. And now, whilst he read the text after this manner, and urged it thus against the deity of Christ, one would suspect, that if this had not been the received public reading in the Greek churches, his adversaries would have fallen foul upon him, and exclaimed against him for falsifying the text, and blasphemously saying it was a created thing, which the Scripture calls “God manifested in the flesh.” And such an accusation as this would surely have made as great a noise as any thing else in the controversy; and yet I meet with nothing of this kind in history. His adversaries do not so much as tell him, that Θεός was in the text. They were so far

from raising any controversy about the reading, that they do not in the least correct him for it; but on the contrary they themselves, in their answers to his writings, read *z*, as he did; and only laboured by various disputations to put another sense upon the text, as I find by Cassian and Cyril, the two principal who at that time wrote against him.

VII. John Cassian was Chrysostom's scholar, and his deacon and legate to the Pope; and after the banishment of Chrysostom, retired from Constantinople into Syria and Egypt, where he lived a monkish life for some time, and then ended his days in France. At that time, therefore, when Nestorius, who was patriarch of Constantinople, broached his opinion, and Cyril, the patriarch of Alexandria, opposed him; Nestorius sent a legacy to Rome with copies of his orations, to let the Pope understand the controversy; and thereupon Leo the Great, who was then archdeacon of the Church of Rome, and afterwards Pope, put Cassian, then in France, upon writing this book, *De Incarnatione Domini*, against Nestorius. He wrote it therefore, in the year 430, as Baronius also reckons. For he wrote it before the condemnation of Nestorius in the council of Ephesus, as appears by the book itself. This book is now extant only in Latin; but, considering that his design in writing was to stir up the Greek church against Nestorius, and that for the making great impression upon them, he quotes Greek Fathers at

the end of his book, and concludes with an exhortation to the citizens of Constantinople, telling them, that what he wrote he had received from his master Chrysostom; I am satisfied that he wrote it originally in Greek. His other books were in both languages. For Photius saw them in eloquent Greek; and it is more likely that they had their author's eloquent language from their author, and the Latin from one of the Latins where he lived; than that the contrary should be true. Now in this treatise,* when he comes to consider the passage of Nestorius about this text, of which we gave you an account above out of Arnobius, he returns this answer to it; *Jam primum enim hoc quod ais, Nestori, quia justitiâ repleverit, quod creatum est; et hoc apostolico vis testimonio comprobare, quod dicat, apparuit in carne; justificatus est in Spiritu; utrumque falso sensu et furioso Spiritu loqueris. Quia et hoc, quod a Spiritu vis cum repletum esse justitiâ, ideo ponis, ut ostendas ejus vacuitatem, cui præstitam esse asseras justitiæ adimpletionem. Et hoc, quod super hâc re apostolico testimonio uteris, divini testimonii ordinem rationemque furaris. Non enim ita ab apostolo positum est, ut tu id truncatum vitiatumque posuisti. Quid enim apostolus ait? Et manifeste magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu. Vides ergo, quod mysterium pietatis, vel sacramentum justificatum apos-*

* Libro septimo, cap. 18.

tolus predicavit. Thus far Cassian is not only reading ζ , but confuting Nestorius by that reading. For whereas Nestorius said it was a creature which was justified, Cassian tells him, that if he had read the whole text, he would have found that it was “the mystery of godliness.” *Vides ergo, saith he, quod mysterium pietatis justificatum apostolus predicavit.* He does not say, *Deum justificatum apostolus predicavit* (as he certainly would have done, had that been in his Bible,) but *mysterium*; and so makes *mysterium*, or, which is all one, its relative *quod*, the nominative case to the verbs which follow. In another part of this treatise, lib. 5. cap. 12. Cassian cites and interprets the text as follows; *Et manifeste magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne, &c. Quod ergo magnum est illud sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne? Deus scilicet natus in carne, Deus visus in corpore, qui utique sicut palam est manifestatus in carne, ita palam est assumptus in gloriâ.* So you see Nestorius and Cassian agree in reading ζ , but differ in interpreting it; the one restraining it to a creature, by reason of its being justified; the other restraining it to God, by reason of its being a great mystery, and assumed in glory.

VIII. In like manner Cyril, the grand adversary of Nestorius, in his three books *De Fide ad Imperatorem et Reginas*, written against him in the beginning of that controversy, did not reprehend

him, as if he had cited the text falsely, but only complained of his misinterpreting it; telling him, that he did not understand the great mystery of godliness, and that it was not a created thing, as he thought, but the Word or Son of God; and arguing for this interpretation from the circumstances of the text. And, first, in his book *De Fide ad Imperatorem*, sect. 7. he has this passage; Πλανᾶσθε, μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφάς· μήτε μὲν τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας μυσῆριον, τατέσι Χριστὸν, ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, &c. *Ye err*, saith he, *not knowing the Scriptures, nor the great mystery of godliness, that is Christ; who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit.* By this citation it is plain that he read ὅς, using one of these MSS which, by understanding Χριστὸν for μυσῆριον, turned ὅ into ὅς; and, by way of interpretation, inserting τατέσι Χριστὸν, which in those MSS was to be understood; unless you will say that he turns Θεὸς in ὅς, which is very hard. For had Θεὸς been in this text, he would not have said μυσῆριον, τατέσι Χριστὸν, ὅς ἐφανερώθη; but μυσῆριον, Θεὸς, τατέσι Χριστὸς ἐφανερώθη, putting Χριστὸς, not for μυσῆριον, but for Θεὸς. For Χριστὸς, and Θεὸς are more plainly equipollent than Χριστὸς and μυσῆριον. And making Χριστὸς and μυσῆριον equipollent, he makes μυσῆριον the nominative case to ἐφανερώθη; and therefore read them joined in this text by the article ὁ. Had he read Θεὸς, he would never have left out that authentic and demonstrative word, and by way of interpretation for μυσῆριον Θεὸς, written Χριστὸν ὅς. For this

was not to argue against Nestorius, but to spoil the argument which lay before him. Neither would he have gone on, as he does, within a few lines, to recite the same text, putting λόγος by way of interpretation for *μυστήριον*; and after to propound it as his bare opinion, that the Word or the Son of God was here to be understood by this mystery, and to dispute for this his opinion, as needing proof out of other texts of scripture, as he does after this manner;* *Moreover, saith he, in my opinion, that mystery of godliness is nothing else than he who came to us from God the Father; the Word, who was manifested in the flesh. For in taking the form of a servant, he was born of the holy God-bearing Virgin, &c.* And then after many other things he at length in sect. 23 and 24, concludes, that “this divine mystery is above our understanding; and that the only-begotten, who is God, and, according to the Scriptures, the Lord of all things, appeared to us, was seen on earth, and became a man.” This he makes not the text itself, but the interpretation thereof; and from the preceding disputation, concludes it to be genuine.

IX. Again, in the first of his two treatises, *De Fide ad Reginas*, near the end, he cites the text, and argues thus against the interpretation of Nesto-

* "Εἰη γὰρ ἂν οὐχ ἕτερον οἶμαι τι τὸ τῆς εὐσιβείας μυστήριον, ἢ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος, ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. Γεγίνηται γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου καὶ Θεοτόκου, μορφὴν δούλου λαβών. *Cyrl. de Fide ad Imperatorem*, Sect. 8.

rius. "Who is he," saith he, "that is manifested in the flesh? Is it not fully evident, that it is no other than the Word of God the Father? For so will that be a great mystery of godliness (which was* manifested in the flesh); he was seen of angels, ascending into heaven; he was preached to the Gentiles by the holy Apostles; he was believed on in the world; but this not as a mere man; but as God born in the flesh, and after our manner."

X. So also in his second book, *De Fide ad Reginas*,† he cites the place again; and then argues upon it against the opinion of Nestorius after this manner; "If the word, being God, is said to become a man, and yet continue what he was before, without losing his deity, the mystery of godliness is without doubt a very great one; but if Christ be a mere man, joined with God only in the parity of dignity and power, (for this is maintained by some unlearned men,) how is he manifested in the flesh? Is it not plain, that every man is in the flesh, and cannot otherwise be seen by any body; how then was he said to be seen of the holy angels? For do they not also see us? What was there therefore new or extraordinary in Christ, if the angels saw him such a man as we are, and nothing more, &c." Thus Cyril goes on to give his reasons why that which was manifested in the flesh, was not a mere created

* Codex Græcus hoc loco jam legit ΘC pro ζ; sensu perturbato.

† Section 33.

man, as Nestorius interpreted, but the eternal Word, or Son of God; all which would have been very superfluous and impertinent, if God had then been expressly in the text.

XI. Seeing therefore Nestorius alleged the text to prove, that it was a created thing which was manifested in the flesh; and Cyril, in confuting him, did not answer that it was God expressly in the text, nor raise any debate about the reading, but only put another interpretation upon the text than Nestorius had done; arguing with Cassian, that in the text it was not a mere man, as Nestorius contended, but a great mystery of godliness; and by consequence Christ, or God the Son, which was manifested in the flesh; and labouring by divers other arguments to prove this interpretation, it is evident beyond all cavil, that Cyril was a stranger to Θεός, now got into the text; and read ὁ, or ὁ', as Nestorius and Cassian did.

XII And all this is further confirmed by Photius, who, in his commentary on the Epistles not yet published, relates that Cyril, in the 12th chapter of his Scholiums, read ὁ, ἐφανερώθη, &c. and consonant to this reading is Cyril's commentary upon the text in his explanation of the second of the twelve Anathematisms, where he puts the question, *Quid est igitur quod dicit, Apparuit in carne?* And explains it by saying, *Hoc est, Dei patris verbum caro factum est*, and concludes, that it is hence that we call him God and Man. Whereas had Θεός been in the

text, it would have needed no interpretation; nor would he have put $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ for $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, in order to prove that God was manifested in the flesh. And yet in his books *ad Reginas*, and in other writings, wherever he quotes this text, the Greeks have since corrected it by their corrected manuscripts of St Paul's Epistles, and written $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ instead of δ' ; whence, if you would truly understand the Nestorian history, you must read δ' or δ' for $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, in all Cyril's citations of this text.

XIII. Now, whilst Cyril read δ' or δ' , and in the explanation of the twelve chapters, or articles, quoted this text in the second article; and this explanation was recited by him in the council of Ephesus, and approved by the council,* with an anathema at the end of every article; it is manifest that this council allowed the reading δ' or δ' ; and by consequence that δ' or δ' was the authentic and public uncontroverted reading till after the times of this council. For if Nestorius and Cyril, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, and the heads of the two parties in this controversy, read δ' or δ' ; and their writings went about amongst the eastern churches, and were canvassed by the bishops and clergy without any dispute raised about the reading; and if Cyril read δ' by the approbation of the council itself; I think that the conclusion we make of its being then the general uncontroverted reading, must needs be granted us. And if the authority of one of the

* Concil. Ephes. par. iii. sub initio.

first four general councils make any thing for the truth of the reading, we have that into the bargain.

XIV. Yet whilst the Nestorian controversy brought the text into play, and the two parties ran the interpretation into extremes, the one disputing that *ὁ* or *ὁς* was a creature; the other that it was the Word of God; the prevalence of the latter party made it pass for the orthodox opinion, that *ὁ* or *ὁς* was God; and so gave occasion to the Greeks henceforward to change the language of *Christ* into that of *God*; and say, in their expositions of the text, that God was manifested in the flesh, as I find Thodoret doth, and at length to write God in the text itself; the easy change of *ο* or *οc* into *οc*, inviting them to do it; and, if this was become the orthodox authentic reading, to set right the text in Chrysostom, Cyril, Theodoret, and wherever else they found it, in their opinion, corrupted by heretics.

XV. And the man that first began thus to alter the sacred text, was Macedonius, the patriarch of Constantinople, in the beginning of the sixth century. For the Emperor Anastasius banished him for corrupting it. At that time, the Greek church had been long divided about the council of Chalcedon. Many who allowed the condemnation of Eutyches, rejected the council; by reason of its decreeing, by the influence of the bishop of Rome's letter against Eutyches, that Christ subsisted not only *ex duabus naturis*, which Eutyches allowed, but also *in duabus*

naturis ; which language was new to the Greeks, and by a great part of that church taken for Nestorianism. For they understood, that as the body and soul made the nature of man, so God and man made the nature of Christ ; assigning the nature to the person of Christ, as well as to all other things, and not considering that in all compounds the several parts have also their several natures. Hence each party endeavoured to render the other suspected of heresy ; as if they that were for the council secretly favoured the Nestorians, and they that were against it, the Eutychians. * For one party, in maintaining two distinct natures in Christ, were thought to deny the nature of one person with Nestorius ; and the other party, in opposing two distinct natures in him, were thought to deny the truth of one of the natures with Eutyches. Both parties, therefore, to clear themselves of those imputations, anathematised both those heresies ; and therefore whilst they thus differed in their modes of speaking, they agreed in their sense, as Evagrius well observes. But the bishops of Rome and Alexandria being engaged against one another, and for a long time distracting the East by these disputes ; at length the Emperor Zeno, to quiet his empire, and perhaps to secure it from the encroachment of the bishop of Rome, who, by this verbal contest,* aspired to the name and authority of universal bishop, sent about an

* Vide Baronium, anno 451 ; sect. 149, 150, 151.

henoticum, or pacificatory decree ; wherein he anathematised both Nestorius and Eutyches with their followers on the one hand, and abrogated the Pope's letter and the council on the other ; and his successor, Anastasius, for the same end, laboured to have this decree signed by all the bishops. And Macedonius at first subscribed it ; but afterwards heading those who stood up for the council,* was, for corrupting the Scriptures in favour of his opinion, and such other things as were laid to his charge, deposed and banished, ann. C. 512.† But his own party, which at length prevailed, defended him, as if oppressed by calumnies ; and so received that reading for genuine, which he had put about among them. For how ready are all parties to receive what they reckon on their side, Jerome well knew, when he recommended the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" by its usefulness ; and we have a notable instance of it in the last age, when the churches, both eastern and western, received this testimony in a moment into their Greek testaments, and still continue with great zeal and passion to defend it for the ancient reading, against the authority of all the Greek manuscripts.

XVI. But now I have told you the original of the

* Evagrius, lib. iii. cap. xxi. 44.—Theodorus Lector, lib. ii. and Marcellini Chronicon.

† Flavian was banished in the year of Antioch 561, as Evagrius notes ; and Macedonius was banished the same year, or the year before.

corruption, I must tell you my author; and he is Liberatus, archdeacon of the church of Carthage, who lived in that very age. For in his Breviary, which he wrote in the year 535, or soon after, and collected, as he saith in his preface, out of Greek records, he delivers it in these words;* *Hoc tempore Macedonius Constantinopolitanus episcopus ab imperatore Anastasio dicitur expulsus, tanquam evangelia falsaret; et maxime illud apostoli dictum, Quia apparuit in carne, justificatum in spiritu. Hunc enim mutasse, ubi habet qui.....hoc est.....monosyllabum Græcum, literâ mutatâ in.....vertisse et fecisse.....id est, ut esset Deus, apparuit per carnem. Tanquam Nestorianus ergo culpatus expellitur per severum Monachum.*† The Greek letters here omitted are, in the second edition of Sunius, and in those of the councils, thus inserted; *Ubi habet ες, hoc est qui, monosyllabum Græcum, literâ mutatâ o in ω, vertisse et fecisse ως; id est, ut esset, Deus apparuit per carnem.* But this interpolation was surely made by conjecture; for if Θεός was in the sacred text before the corruption, then ες or ε was not in, and so could not be changed into ως; but if Θεός was not in, it could not be brought in by this change. The interpolation therefore is inconsistent and spurious, and seems to have been occasioned by straining to make out Nestorianism here; the scribes for that end,‡ refer-

* Liberati Brev. cap. xix. † Vide Baronii Annal. 510. sect. 9.

‡ N. B. In Hincmari opusc. xxxiii. cap. 22. the words *ut esset*

ring the words *ut esset* to the sacred text ; and then the interpolator writing *ús* for *ut*. Whereas they should have referred *ut esset* to the words of Liberatus, thus distinguished from the sacred text ; *Id est, ut esset, Deus apparuit per carnem*. I had rather, therefore, wave the conjecture of this interpolator, and fill up the *lacunæ* by the authority of an ancient author, Hincmarus ; who above eight hundred years ago* related the fact out of Liberatus after this manner ; *Quidam ipsas Scripturas verbis illicitis imposturaverunt ; sicut Macedonius Constantinopolitanus episcopus, qui ab Anastasio Imperatore, ideo a civitate expulsus legitur, quoniam falsavit evangelia ; et illum apostoli locum, quod apparuit in carne, justificatum est in spiritu ; per cognationem Græcarum literarum O et Θ hoc modo mutando falsavit. Ubi enim habuit, qui, hoc est OC, monosyllabum Græcum, literá mutatá O in Θ, mutavit, et fecit ΘC, id est, ut esset, Deus apparuit per carnem ; quapropter tanquam Nestorianus fuit expulsus*. He was banished therefore for changing the ancient reading (which in some MSS was OC, as these authors have it, and in others O) into ΘC. But whereas he is here represented

are in like manner referred to the sacred text ; and somebody, to make out the sense, has in their stead added *ut appareret* to the words of Liberatus, and written *ut appareret, ut esset Deus, &c.* But the words *ut appareret* not being in Liberatus, must be struck out, and supplied by setting the comma after *ut esset*, to part these words from the sacred text

* Hincmari opuscul. artic. xxxiii. cap. 18.

a Nestorian, for doing this, the meaning is, that he was banished for corrupting the text in favour of the doctrine of two natures in Christ ; which his enemies accounted Nestorianism, though it was not really so. Nestorius held only a human nature in Christ ; and that God, *the Word*, dwelt in this nature, as the spirit in a holy man ; and therefore interpreted *ὁ* of the human nature. This doctrine Macedonius anathematised, and maintained two natures in Christ ; and, for proving this, corrupted the text, and made it *God manifested in the flesh*. This distinguishing Christ into two natures was, by the enemies of Macedonius, accounted Nestorianism in another language ; and in this respect the historian saith, that they banished him as a Nestorian for corrupting the text, though he was not really of that opinion.

XVII. But whilst he is said to be banished as a Nestorian for this, without explaining what is here meant by a Nestorian, it looks like a trickish way of speaking, used by his friends to ridicule the proceedings against him as inconsistent ; perhaps to invert the crime of falsation ; as if a Nestorian would rather change *Θc* into *ο*. For they that read history with judgment, will too often meet with such trickish reports ; and even in the very story of Macedonius, I meet with some other reports of the same kind. For Macedonius having in his keeping the original acts of the council of Chalcedon, signed by that emperor under whom it was called, and

refusing to deliver up this book to the emperor Anastasius ; some, to make this emperor perjured, distorted the story ; as if, at his coming to the crown, he had promised under his hand and oath, that he would not act against the council of Chalcedon ; and represented his subscribed promise to be the book, which Macedonius refused to deliver back to him. Macedonius had got his bishopric by being against the council of Chalcedon, and had subscribed the *henoticum** of Zeno, in which that council was anathematised ; and this being objected against him, his friends, to stifle the accusation, make a contrary story of the emperor ; as if, when he came to the crown, he had done as much as that in behalf of the council. Another report was, † “ That the people of Alexandria and all Egypt, great and small, bond and free, priests and monks, excepting only strangers, became about this time possessed with evil spirits, and being deprived of human speech, barked day and night like dogs ; so that they were afterwards bound with iron chains, and drawn to the church, that they might recover their health. For they all ate their hands and arms. And then an angel appeared to some of the people, saying, that this happened to them because they anathematised the council of Chalcedon, and threatened, that they should do so no more.” Again, we are told in his-

* Vide Annotationes Valesii in Evagr. &c. lib. iii. cap. 31.

† Victor Tununensis in Chronico.

tory,* “That the adversaries of Macedonius produced certain boys in judgment to accuse both him and themselves of sodomy; but that when they found that his genitals were cut off, they betook themselves to other arts for deposing him.” Now if you can believe that a eunuch had the beard and voice of another man; and that in a solemn council the great patriarch of the East was thus accused and thus acquitted, and yet deposed; you must acknowledge, that there were many bishops among the Greeks who would not stick at as ill and shameless things, as corrupting the Scriptures. But if all this be a sham invented to discredit the council, the need of such shams, adds credit to their proceedings in condemning him for a falsary.

XVIII. This council, if I mistake not, sat first at Constantinople, being that council which Theodorus calls “a company of mercenary wretches;” and Nicephorus, “a convention of heretics, assembled against Macedonius.” Upon their adding to the † “thrice holy” these words, “who art crucified for us” the people fell into a tumult; and afterwards, when Macedonius came to be accused, they fell into a greater tumult, crying out, “The time of persecution is at hand; let no man desert the father;” meaning Macedonius. In this tumult, which was said

* Evagrius, lib. iii. cap. 32.

† Theodor. lib. ii.—Nicephor. lib. xvi. cap. 26 —Evagr. lib. iii. cap. 44.

to be stirred up by the clergy of Constantinople, many parts of the city were burnt, and the nobles and emperor brought into the greatest danger; insomuch that the emperor was forced to proffer the resignation of his empire, before he could quiet the multitude. Then seeing that, if Macedonius were judged, the people would defend him, he caused him to be carried by force in the night to Chalcedon; and thence into banishment, as Theodorus writes. Whence I gather, that the council removed also to Chalcedon to avoid the tumult, and finish their proceedings there. For the story of his being accused in judgment by boys, Nicephorus places after this tumult; and all agree that he was condemned; and the monks of Palestine, in an epistle recorded by Evagrius, say that Xenaias and Dioscorus, joined with many bishops, banished him. When his condemnation was sent him, signed by the emperor, he asked, whether they that had condemned him, received the council of Chalcedon; and when they that brought him the sentence denied it, he replied, "If Arians and Macedonians had sent me a book of condemnation, could I receive it?" So that it seems he stood upon the illegality of the council. The next day one Timothy was made bishop of Constantinople, and he sent about the condemnation of Macedonius to all the absent bishops to be subscribed.* Whence I think it will easily be granted, that he

* Theophanes, p. 135.

was condemned as a falsary by the greatest part of the eastern empire; and by consequence, that the genuine reading was till then, by the churches of that empire, accounted ψ . For had not the public reading then been ψ , there could have been no colour for pretending that he changed it into Θc .

XIX. About six years after, Anastasius died, and his successors, Justin and Justinian, set up the authority of the council of Chalcedon again, together with that of the Pope over the eastern churches, as universal bishop; and from that time the friends of Macedonius prevailing, it is probable, that in opposition to the heretics, which condemned him, and for promoting and establishing the doctrine of two natures in Christ, they received and spread abroad the reading Θc . But as for the authority of the Pope, that fell again with Rome in the Gothic wars, and slept till Phocas revived it.

XX. I told you of several shams put about by the friends of Macedonius, to discredit the proceedings of the council against him. There is one which notably confirms what has hitherto been said, and makes it plain that his friends received his corruptions as genuine scripture. For whereas Macedonius was banished for corrupting the New Testament, his friends retorted the crime upon the council, as if they had taken upon them, under colour of purging the Scriptures from the corruptions of Macedonius, to correct in them whatever they thought the Apostles, as un-

skilful men and idiots, had written amiss. For this I gather from an ironical report of this kind put about in the West, and thus recorded by Victor Tununensis. *Messalâ V. C. consulibus, Constantinopoli, jubente Anastasio Imperatore, sancta Evangelia, tanquam ab idiotis composita, reprehenduntur et emendantur*; that is, "In the consulship of Messala, the holy Gospels, by the command of the emperor Anastasius, were censured and corrected at Constantinople; as if written by Evangelists that were idiots." Here Victor errs in the year. For Messala was consul anno Christi 506, that is, six years before the banishment of Macedonius. But Victor is very uncertain in dates of the years; for he places the banishment of Macedonius in the consulship of Avienus 502; and the abovementioned tumult about the *Trisagium* in the consulship of Probus, anno Christi 513; whereas all these things happened in the same year. For it is plain by this chronicle, that the Scriptures were examined and corrected about this time by a council at Constantinople, by the order of Anastasius; and I meet with no other council to which this character can agree, besides that which deposed Macedonius. Now that they should censure and correct the Gospels, as if written by idiots, is too plainly ironical to be true history; and therefore it must be an abusive report, invented and put about to ridicule and shame the council, and to propagate the corruptions of Mace-

donius as the genuine apostolic reading of the Scriptures, which the council had rashly corrected.

XXI. So then the falsation was set on foot in the beginning of the fifth century, and is now of about twelve hundred years standing; and therefore since it lay but in a letter, and so was more easily spread abroad in the Greek manuscripts than the testimony of "the Three in Heaven" in the Latin ones; we need not wonder if the old reading be scarce to be met with in any Greek manuscripts now extant; and yet it is in some.

XXII. For though Beza tells us, that all the Greek manuscripts read $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$; yet I must tell Beza's readers, that all his manuscripts read δ' . For he had no other manuscripts of the Epistles besides the Claromontan; and in this manuscript, as Morinus by ocular inspection has since informed us, the ancient reading was δ' ;^{*} but yet in another hand, and with other ink, the letter Θ has been written out of the line; and the letter O , thickened[†] to make

* *Aliâ manu et atramento, extra lineæ seriem, addita est litera Θ , et ambesa paululum O , ut appareret sigma. Sed præpostera emendatio facile conspicitur. Hac Morinus in *Exercitationibus Biblicis, Lib. i. Exercitat. ii. cap. 4.*—At Beza nobis aliqua invidit, ut ex ejus epistolâ ad Academiam Cantabrigiensem a Waltono editâ liquet; ubi variantes aliquas lectiones eelandas esse admonet.*

† ["Thickened." Such is the reading in the defective edition of 1754, as well as in the late edition of the entire essay from which the present is reprinted; but the sense of the passage implies, what is expressed by "ambesa paululum" in the preceding note, a *partial erasement* of the letter O . ED.]

a C, appears; which instance shows sufficiently by whom the ancient reading has been changed. Valesius also read ϑ in one of the Spanish manuscripts; and so did the author of the Oxford edition of the New Testament, anno Christi 1675, in the manuscript of Lincoln College Library, which is the oldest of the Oxford manuscripts. The Alexandrian MS* and one of Colbert's, and Cyril, c. 12. Scholi-
orum, (teste Photio MS com. in Epist.) read $\sigma\sigma$. So then there are some ancient Greek manuscripts which read ϑ , and others $\vartheta\sigma$; but I do not hear of any Latin ones, either ancient or modern, which read $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

XXIII. And besides to read $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ makes the sense obscure and difficult. For how can it properly be said, "that God was justified in the spirit?" But

* Alio atramento jam ducta cernitur tam lineola per medium literæ O, quam virgula superna; ut jam legatur $\Theta\sigma$. Putat autem Millius, lineolas illas olim tenues fuisse et prope evanidas, et novo dein atramento incrassatas fuisse; eo quod perlustrato attentius loco, lineolæ per medium Θ ductæ, quæ primam aciem fugerat, ductus quosdam ac vestigia satis certa deprehendere visus esset; præsertim ad partem sinistram, quæ peripheriam literæ pertingit; luculentiora multo habiturus nisi obstante liturâ quam dixit hodiernâ lineolæ ipsi superinductâ. Verum si lineola antiquitus tam conspicua esset, ut usque nunc per medium lineæ crassioris, alio atramento superinductæ, cerni possit; quid opus esset, ut a lineâ illâ superinductâ incrassaretur. Sin olim tam evanida esset, ut cerni vix posset; mirum est, quod ejus ductus et vestigia satis certa, per medium literæ illius superinductæ, etiamnum appareant. Doceant verba evanida aliis in locis atramento novo incrassata fuisse, vel fateantur $\Theta\sigma$ hic mutatum in $\Theta\epsilon$.

to read δ , and interpret it of Christ, as the ancient Christians did, without restraining it to his divinity, makes the sense very easy. For the promised and long expected Messias, the hope of Israel, is to us "the great mystery of godliness." And this mystery was at length manifested to the Jews from the time of his baptism, and justified to be the person whom they expected.

XXIV. I have now given you an account of the corruption of the text, the sum of which is this ; the difference between the Greek and the ancient versions puts it past dispute, that either the Greeks have corrupted their MSS, or the Latins, Syrians, and Ethiopians, their versions ; and it is more reasonable to lay the fault upon the Greeks than upon the other three, for these considerations. It was easier for one nation to do it than for three to conspire. It was easier to change a letter or two in the Greek, than six words in the Latin. In the Greek, the sense is obscure ; in the versions, clear. It was agreeable to the interest of the Greeks, to make the change, but against the interest of other nations to do it ; and men are never false to their interest. The Greek reading was unknown in the times of the Arian controversy ; but that of the versions then in use amongst both Greeks and Latins. Some Greek MSS render the Greek reading dubious ; but those of the versions hitherto collated agree. There are no signs of corruption in the versions, hitherto dis-

covered ; but in the Greek we have shewed you particularly when, on what occasion, and by whom, the text was corrupted.

XXV. I know not whether it be worth the while to tell you, that in the printed works of Athanasius, there is an epistle *De incarnatione verbi*, which reads Θεός. For this epistle relates to the Nestorian heresy, and so was written by a much later author than Athanasius, and may also possibly have been since corrected, like the works of Chrysostom and Cyril, by the corrected texts of St John's Epistles. I have had so short a time to run my eye over authors, that I cannot tell whether, upon further search, more passages about this falsation may not hereafter occur pertinent to the argument. But if there should, I presume it will not be difficult, now the falsation is thus far laid open, to know what construction to put upon them, and how to apply them.

XXVI. You see what freedom I have used in this discourse, and I hope you will interpret it candidly. For if the ancient churches, in debating and deciding the greatest mysteries of religion, knew nothing of these two texts, I understand not, why we should be so fond of them now the debates are over. And whilst it is the character of an honest man to be pleased, and of a man of interest to be troubled at the detection of frauds, and of both to run most into those passions when the detection is made plainest ;

I hope this letter will, to one of your integrity, prove so much the more acceptable, as it makes a further discovery than you have hitherto met with in commentators.

BUTLER'S

HISTORICAL OUTLINE.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE
OF THE CONTROVERSY RESPECTING THE TEXT
OF THE
THREE HEAVENLY WITNESSES.

BY CHARLES BUTLER OF LINCOLN'S INN.

[The following comparative view of the arguments, which have been advanced on both sides in discussing the genuineness of 1 John, v. 7. is taken from the Appendix to Butler's *Horæ Biblicæ*. As coming from a Roman Catholic and a Trinitarian, this article must be supposed to be free from any bias on the part of the writer against the genuineness of the text. He seems, indeed, to have reviewed the subject with great impartiality, and to have given as accurate an outline of the controversy through the several stages of its progress, as the limits he prescribed to himself would admit. If in some instances he is too brief for perspicuity, he has on the whole contrived to embrace the most important points of the discussion within a smaller compass than any other writer.]

THE genuineness of the verse of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, or 1 John v. 7. has engaged much of

the attention of the learned during the three last centuries ; so that, as Mr. Herbert Marsh observes, "there is hardly a library in all Europe, from the Vatican to the Bodleian, from Madrid to Moscow, in which the manuscripts of the Greek Testament have not been examined, in order to determine, whether it really proceeded from the pen of St John ;" and, as Mr Travis observes, "there are few subjects, in the walks of philology or criticism, in which, one simple question, as it appears on a distant view, expands itself, on a nearer approach, into so many complicated branches, and covers so large a field of historical and theological criticism."

The following sheets may be found to contain, I. Some account of the state of the question ; II. Of the history of the general admission of The Verse into the printed text ; III. And of the principal disputes to which it has given rise ; IV. An inquiry whether the general sense of the text is affected by the omission of The Verse ; V. Some account of the argument in favour of its authenticity from prescription ; VI. Some account of the arguments against it from its absence from the Greek manuscripts ; VII. Of the answers to those arguments, from its supposed existence in the manuscripts of Valla ; VIII. From its supposed existence in the manuscripts of the Complutensian editors ; IX. And from its supposed existence in the manuscripts used by Robert Stephens ; X. Some observations on the

argument arising on its not being inserted in the Apostolos or Collection of Epistles read in the Greek Church ; XI. On its not being inserted in the oriental versions ; XII. On its not being inserted in the most ancient Latin manuscripts ; XIII. On the silence of all the Greek Fathers respecting it ; XIV. On the silence of the most ancient of the Latin Fathers respecting it ; XV. Some account will then be given of what has been written respecting its first introduction into the Greek and Latin manuscripts.

There are many other important topics for and against the authenticity of The Verse ; and several of those which have been mentioned, lead to facts and subjects which are not noticed in these sheets ;—but, what is noticed, will, perhaps, be found sufficient to shew the general turn and bearings of the controversy.

I. THE STATE OF THE QUESTION is as follows :—
In the *Textus Receptus*, or received Greek text of the 1st Epistle of St John, the 7th and 8th verses of the fifth chapter are expressed in these words :

Seventh Verse.

Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσιν.

Eighth Verse.

Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν.

In the vulgate, the verses are thus translated :

7th.

*Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in cælo ;
Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus : et hi tres unum
sunt.*

8th.

*Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terrâ ; spiri-
tus, et aqua, et sanguis : et hi tres in unum sunt.*

The question is, whether the whole of the 7th verse,—or, to speak with greater accuracy, whether the words, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσιν, in the 7th verse, and the words, καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, in the 8th verse, are genuine or spurious. If the passage in question be genuine, the text stands properly, as it is now expressed : if it be spurious, it should stand ; “Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν, in the Greek ;—and in the Latin, “(Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant ; spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis : et hi tres in unum sunt.”

II. With respect to the HISTORY OF THE GENERAL ADMISSION OF THE VERSE INTO THE PRINTED TEXT :

1. The first event, which deserves attention, is the insertion of it in the *Latin Vulgate* :—what should be understood by the Vulgate, in this place, will be mentioned afterwards.

2. The second is *Erasmus's* insertion of *The Verse*, in his three last editions of the *Greek Testament*.

Erasmus had the honour of being the person who published the first printed edition of the Greek New Testament. He published five editions, in 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. The Complutensian Polyglott was printed in 1517, and published in 1522. In his edition of 1522, and in his two subsequent editions, Erasmus is supposed to have conformed his text, in different places, to the Complutensian edition; this makes his edition of 1519 the most esteemed of all he published. In his editions of 1516 and 1519, he did not insert The Verse of the Heavenly Witnesses. This gave rise to a dispute between him and Lee, an Englishman, and to a dispute between him and the Spanish divines employed on the Complutensian Polyglott. He promised to restore The Verse, if it could be found in a single Greek manuscript. Such a manuscript was found,—the manuscript now in Trinity College, Dublin, then called the Codex Britannicus, since called the Codex Montfortianus; and, in consequence of this discovery, Erasmus inserted The Verse in his edition of 1522, and retained it in his two subsequent editions.

3. The third of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in the *Complutensian Polyglott*. That noble work was begun in 1502, completed in 1517, and published in 1522.

4. The fourth of these events, is the insertion of The Verse by *Robert Stephens*, in his celebrated edition of the New Testament, in 1550; the text of it,

with a very few variations, is similar to that of the fifth edition of Erasmus.

5. The fifth of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in *Beza's editions of the Greek Testament*. The first of his editions was published in 1565 ; he principally follows in it, the third edition of Robert Stephens. He printed other editions in 1576, 1582, 1589, and 1598 ; they do not contain every where the same text, but in all of them, The Verse is inserted.

6. The sixth of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in the *Elzevir edition* of the Greek New Testament.

Five several printers of the name and family of Elzevir, are immortalized by the successful labours of their presses. Lewis, the eldest of them, was a printer of distinction in 1505 ; Daniel, the last of them, died in 1680.

Their edition of the Greek Testament was first printed, at Leyden, in 1624 ; it was printed from the third edition of Robert Stephens : where it varies from that edition, it follows, generally, the edition of Beza ; and, like each of those editions, contains The Verse. By this edition, the text, which had fluctuated, in the preceding editions, acquired a consistency. It was followed, in all subsequent editions, and, on that account, it deservedly acquired the appellation of *Editio Recepta* : the editors of it are unknown.

7. The seventh of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in the modern edition of *Luther's transla-*

tion of the New Testament. From the translations published by himself, he uniformly rejected it. The last edition, which was in the press, while he was living, but was not quite finished till after his death, was that of 1546. In that, as in all his former editions, it is wholly absent. Luther concludes his preface to that edition, with what may be termed his dying request, that, upon no account, his translation should be altered, in the slightest instance. The Verse, however, was inserted in the Frankfort edition of 1574; and, for a time, inserted in some, and rejected in other editions: but, since the beginning of the 17th century, with the exception of the Wittenberg edition of 1607, the insertion of it, in the editions of Luther's translation, has been general.

8. It should be added, that the principal printed editions of the Greek New Testament since the Elzevir, are those of *Mill*, *Bengel*, *Wetstein*, and *Griesbach*. The Verse is found in the text of them all:— it is determined by the two first, to be genuine; by the two last, to be spurious. To the credit of all the editors, it should be observed, that, notwithstanding their particular sentiments, they state, with equal candour and fairness, the arguments for and the arguments against The Verse.

III. With respect to THE PRINCIPAL DISPUTES TO WHICH IT HAS GIVEN RISE :

1. The first, is *the dispute between Erasmus and Lee, and between Erasmus and the Editors of the Complutensian Polyglott.*

It has been mentioned that Erasmus published five editions of the Greek New Testament. He did not insert The Verse in the two editions of 1516 and 1519. For this, he was reprehended, in the severest terms, by Lee or Ley, an English divine of some note, afterwards advanced, by Henry the Eighth, to the archbishopric of York; and by Stunica, a Spanish divine, employed on the Complutensian Polyglott. In answer to them, he declared his readiness to insert The Verse, if a single manuscript should be found to contain it. As The Verse was inserted in the Complutensian Polyglott, and ought not to have been inserted in it, without the authority of one or more manuscripts, Stunica was bound, in honour, to produce such a manuscript; but he produced none. (For the controversy between Erasmus and Lee, see *Burigni, Vie d'Erasme*, 2 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1757, 1 vol. 372-381;—for the controversy between Erasmus and Stunica, see the same work, 2 vol. 163-175; and for Stunica's attack and Erasmus's defence, see the *Crit. Sac.* Tom. vii. p. 1229.) At length, the Codex Montfortianus, then called the Codex Britannicus, now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, was found to contain The Verse. In performance of his promise, Erasmus inserted The Verse in his edition of 1522; and retained it in his editions of 1527 and 1535.

2. *The second dispute*, respecting the authenticity of The Verse, may be considered to have begun

with *Sandius* the Arian, and to have continued, till the note respecting it, in Mr Gibbon's History, provoked a fresh dispute.

By *Sandius*, it was pointedly attacked in his *Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, Cosmopoli, 1669, 8vo. Col. 1676. 4to. and his *Interpretationes Paradoxæ in Johannem*.

Its authenticity is defended by *Mr Selden*. In his treatise *de Synedriis Ebræorum*, L. 2. C. 4. S. 4. he sums up the arguments on each side of the question, and pronounces in favour of The Verse.

A regular and able attack on it was made by *Father Simon*, in his *Histoire critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament*, Rot. 1680. 4to. Part I. ch. 18. Part II. ch. 9. and in several other parts of his writings.

It found a zealous advocate in *Martin*, the Pastor of the church of Utrecht. In support of it, he published the following works.

Deux Dissertations Critiques, la première sur le verset 7 du ch. v. de la première Epistre de St Jean, "Il y a trois au Ciel," &c. dans laquelle on prouve l'authenticité de ce texte. La seconde sur le passage de Joseph touchant Jesus Christ, où l'on fait voir que ce passage n'est point supposé. Utrecht, 1717, 8vo.

Examen de la réponse de Monsieur Emlyn à la Dissertation Critique sur le verset 7 du ch. v. de la 1 Epistre de St Jean. Londres, 1719, 8vo.

La verité du Texte de la première Epistre de St Jean, v. 7. démontrée par des preuves qui sont au dessus de toute exception, prises du témoignage de l'Eglise Latine, et de l'Eglise Grecque, et en particulier d'un manuscrit du Nouveau Testament, trouvé en Irlande. Par David Martin, Pasteur de l'Eglise à Utrecht. Utrecht, 1721.

The Verse found an able adversary in *Mr Thomas Emlyn*, an eminent presbyterian divine, whose sufferings for his religious principles, all true christians must lament and reprobate; he attacked it in the following works.

A full inquiry into the original authority of that text, 1 John, v. 7. London. 1815, 8vo. reprinted in 1719, 1757.

An answer to Mr Martin's critical dissertation on 1 John, v. 7. London, 1709, 8vo.

Reply to Mr Martin's examination of the answer. London, 1720.

Martin also met with an able adversary in *César de Missy*, a native of Berlin, French preacher in the Savoy, and French chaplain at St James's, the author of *Four Letters against the genuineness of the verse, inserted in the 8th and 9th volumes of the Journal Britannique.*

The *Bible de Vence*, published at Paris, about the middle of the last century, Tom. xiii. p. 5. contains a candid, learned, and sensible dissertation in favour of The Verse. The author cites in it, *Ketneri Dic-*

sertatio hujus loci, Dissertatio singularis ; Roger, Dissertatio Critico-Theologica, in hunc locum, Paris, 1713.

A regular attack upon The Verse was made by *Dr Benson*, a presbyterian divine, in his *Paraphrase of the Gospels*, 2 vol. 4to. 1756.

Sir Isaac Newton is the author of a treatise against the genuineness of The Verse. It made its appearance, under the title of *Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Mr Le Clerc*, 1754, reprinted from a manuscript in the possession of *Dr Ekins*, dean of Carlisle, in the fifth volume of *Dr Horsley's* late edition of *Sir Isaac Newton's* works.

They are written with the force, candour, and perspicuity, which might be expected from *Sir Isaac Newton*.

The English opposition to The Verse, in this stage of the controversy, is respectably closed by *Mr Bowyer*, the learned printer's *Conjectures on the New Testament*, London, 4to. 1781.

In the mean time, The Verse had been the subject of much controversy in Germany. Some mention of the principal works which there have made their appearance on this subject, may be found in the note on *St John's* first Epistle, in *Schmidius's Historia Antiqua et Vindicatio canonis sacri veteris novique Testamenti*, Lipsiæ, 8vo. 1774. an excellent publication of the high Lutheran school ; in *Bengel's Gnomon*, 2 vol. 4to. Tubingæ, 1773 ; and in *Michaelis's*

Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Mr Herbert Marsh, vol. 4. ch. 21.—Michaelis had, at first, declared himself an advocate for The Verse, in his *Vindiciæ plurimum lectionum codicis Græci Novi Testamenti adversus Whistonum et ab eo latas leges criticas*, Halæ, 1751; but, afterwards, became one of its most powerful opposers, in his *Historical and Critical Collections, relative to what are called the proof passages, in dogmatic theology.*

3. This leads to the third stage of the controversy. In the 119th Note to the 37th Chapter of his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (3 vol. p. 545, 4to.) Mr Gibbon asserts, that “The Three Witnesses have been established, in our Greek Testament, by the prudence of Erasmus; the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors, the typographical fraud, or error, of Robert Stephens, in the placing a crotchet; or the deliberate falsehood or strange misapprehension of Theodore Beza.”

This note was attacked by *Mr Travis*, Archdeacon of Chester, in three letters, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1782. He printed them, with two others, in a separate publication, in quarto, in 1784, and reprinted the five, with considerable further additions, in octavo, in 1786. To these, *Mr Professor Porson* replied in several letters, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1788, 1789. In the *Magazine* for January 1790, another letter, on the subject, appeared from Mr Travis. Mr Porson replied

to it, in the Magazine of the following month, and soon afterwards, all Mr Porson's Letters, with additions, which increased their number to twelve, were published in one octavo volume,—an eternal monument of his uncommon erudition, critical sagacity, and wit. In 1794, Mr Travis republished his letters, with considerable additions; he took no particular notice in them, of Mr Porson's letters to him, but professes to answer, one after another, the arguments of other distinguished opponents of *The Verse*. In 1795, *Mr Herbert Marsh* published a series of letters to Mr Travis, entitled *Letters to Mr Archdeacon Travis, in vindication of one of the Translator's notes to Michaelis's Introduction, and in confirmation of the opinion, that a Greek Manuscript now preserved in the public library of the University of Cambridge, is one of the seven, which are quoted by Robert Stephens, at 1 John v. 7. with an Appendix, containing a review of Mr Travis's Collation of the Greek MSS which he examined at Paris; an extract from Mr Pappelbaum's Treatise on the Berlin MS; and an Essay on the Origin and Object of the Vele-sian readings. By the Translator of Michaelis; Leipsig and London, 1795.*

The principal object of Mr Marsh's letters was, as the title expresses it, to vindicate his assertion, in one of his notes to his translation of Michaelis's Introduction, that the Greek manuscript referred to in the title of his book, is one of the seven, which are quot-

ed by Robert Stephens, at 1 John, v. 7 ; but his letters abound with most learned, ingenious, and profound remarks on almost every point, which comes into consideration, in the discussion of the genuineness of The Verse.

Mr Clarke has lately circulated among his friends, an interesting pamphlet on the subject of The Verse, with this title, *Observations on the Text of the Three Divine Witnesses, accompanied with a Plate, containing two very exact Fac-Similes of 1 John, Chap. v. verse 7, 8, and 9, as they stand in the first Edition of the New Testament, printed at Complutum, 1514, and in the Codex Montfortii, a Manuscript marked C. 97, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. By A. Clarke, Manchester, 1805.* It is to be hoped he will put it into public circulation.

Such have been the principal stages of this controversy. The following may be found to contain a distinct view of the principal arguments used by the combatants in support of their opinions.

IV. The first object of the inquiry is to ascertain WHETHER THE GENERAL SENSE OR IMPORT OF THE TEXT, IS ASSISTED OR INJURED, BY THE INSERTION OR OMISSION OF THE VERSE. The ascertainment of this fact, will establish a strong argument for or against the internal evidence of the text. This is an inquiry of some nicety ; the verse is obscure, is susceptible of more than one construction, and the partisans of each opinion, have attempted to fix that sense on it, which best suits their cause.

This much must be granted, that The Verse is not absolutely necessary to the sense of the text. Without it, the text will stand as follows. "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he, who believeth that Jesus is the son of God? This is he, who came by water and blood, even Jesus the Christ; not, by the water only, but by the water and the blood. And it is the Spirit who witnessed; because the spirit is truth. Thus there are three who bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and the three agree in one."

Whatever be its right construction, the sentence is complete and perfect in itself. Jesus, the Christ, is the person to whom testimony is borne; the spirit, the water, and the blood, are the witnesses bearing testimony to him. Thus without further aid, the construction and meaning of the sentence are complete. The Verse therefore is not essentially necessary to the text.

V. I. ERASMUS has been stated to have made the first attack on The Verse. At that time, from its general insertion in the manuscript and printed copies of the Latin text, the universal opinion of the Latin church was in its favour. The text of these copies had been adopted by the spiritual and temporal courts, appealed to in disputes, taught in the schools, and praised and commented on by the learned men of every state, within the Latin pale. *Prescription* therefore, if prescription be pleadable in these cases, was in its favour.

2. If we believe the opposers of *The Verse*, the introduction of *The Verse*, was first owing to the spiritualization of the 8th verse by the African fathers, which became common in the 4th century ; *The Verse* gained little ground till the 8th ; and was universally received for genuine in the 12th. It is remarkable, that not the slightest vestige of opposition to it is discoverable in the works of those times, which have reached us ; nothing, which intimates, that even a suspicion had been entertained of the genuineness of *The Verse*.

3. Here the communicant with the see of Rome takes a higher ground. The council of Trent, Session 4, declared Anathema to all, "who should not receive for holy and canonical, all and every part of the books of the Old and New Testament, as they had been accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they stood in the old vulgate edition ;" and in the sixth session, declared "the Vulgate to be authentic, and that no one should, on any pretence, dare or presume to reject it."

Now, when the council of Trent made this decree, *The Verse* had long been accustomed to be read in the catholic church, and long made a part in the old vulgate edition ; those, therefore, in communion with the see of Rome, who now reject *The Verse*, fall within the council's Anathema.

To these objections the adversaries of *The Verse* reply ;

1st. That in the times of which we are now speaking, there was little of biblical criticism, and that no works of those times have reached us, in which such an objection either would be made, or would be noticed.

2dly. That, before too great a stress is laid on its insertion in the Vulgate, an accurate notion should be formed of the edition denoted, in these cases, by the appellation of the Latin Vulgate. It does not denote the edition, anterior to St Jerome, which, from its superior celebrity, was called the Ancient Italic; it does not denote the edition published by St Jerome; it merely denotes that edition, which, at the time of the council of Trent, was generally in use; and afterwards served as the groundwork of the editions published, first by Sixtus Quintus, afterwards by Clement the Eighth, and which last edition is the archetype of the modern Vulgate; that this edition partook more of the modern, than of ancient versions; and, that standing by itself, it is, in a matter of criticism, of no authority.

3dly. To suppose, that the council of Trent pronounced the Vulgate to be wholly free from error, and that no one was at liberty to vary from it, in translation or exposition, is going to an extreme. In declaring it to be authentic, the council did not declare the Vulgate to be inspired or infallible; the council only pronounced it to be inerrant, where the dogmata of faith or morals are concerned. In this

decision, every Roman Catholic must acquiesce, as he receives the scripture from the church, under her authority, and with her interpretation ; but further than this, the council leaves the Vulgate in mere matters of criticism, to the private judgment of every individual. To this effect, father Salmeron, who was one of the ten first disciples of St Ignatius, and who assisted at the council of Trent in the character of one of the pope's theologians, is cited by the Abbé de Vence, to have expressed himself in the third of his prolegomena.

In this stage of the argument, Bossuet takes very high ground, in one of his letters to Leibnitz, published by Mr Dutens, in his edition of Leibnitz's works ; as, in that letter, Bossuet seems to place the general acquiescence of the Roman Catholic church, in the authenticity of The Verse, among the traditions which the church receives, and the faithful are therefore bound to adopt.—As every thing which has fallen from the pen of that great man, is important, and the passage in question is little known, it is here transcribed at length.

“ J'avoue au reste, Monsieur, ce que vous dites des anciens exemplaires Grecs sur le passage, *Tres Sunt*, &c. mais vous sçavez aussi bien que moi, que l'article contenu dans ce passage ne doit pas être pour cela révoqué en doute, étant d'ailleurs établi, non seulement *par la Tradition des Eglises*, mais encore par l'Écriture très évidemment. Vous sçavez aussi

sans doute, que ce passage se trouve reçu dans tout l'Occident; ce qui parôit manifeste, sans même remonter plus haut, par la production qu'en fait S. Fulgence dans ses Ecrits, et même dans une excellente Confession de foi présentée unanimément au Roi Huneric par toute l'Eglise d'Afrique. Ce témoignage produit par un aussi grand Théologien, et par cette sçavante Eglise, n'ayant point été reproché par les hérétiques, et au contraire étant confirmé par le sang de tant de martyrs, et encore par tant de miracles, dont cette Confession de foi fut suivie, est une démonstration de la Tradition, du moins de toute l'Eglise d'Afrique, l'une des plus illustres du monde. On trouve même dans S. Cyprien une allusion manifeste a ce passage, qui a passé naturellement dans notre Vulgate; et confirme la Tradition de tout l'Occident. Je suis, &c.

“J. Bénigne, Evêque de Meaux.”

Such is the state of the argument, so far as the authenticity of The Verse depends on the general prepossession, in its favour, before the impression of the Greek original.

It certainly imposes on the adversaries of The Verse, the obligation of attack. The following are their principal arguments against its authenticity, and the principal answers to them.

VI. They say, that there is hardly a library in Europe, in which the *Manuscripts of the Greek Testament* have not been examined, in order to deter-

mine whether *The Verse* really proceeded from the pen of *St John*; and that the result of this long and laborious examination is, that of all the *Greek* manuscripts of the *Catholic Epistles*, now extant, of which more than a hundred have been quoted by name, independently of those which have been quoted in the aggregate, (as where *Dr Griesbach*, *Professor Birch*, or *Professor Alter* speak, at large, of all the manuscripts they have seen), the passage has been discovered in one manuscript only,—the *Codex Montfortianus*, which is neither of sufficient antiquity nor of sufficient integrity, to be entitled to a voice in a question of sacred criticism.

This, the advocates of *The Verse* generally admit;—but reply that, though no such manuscript be now extant, there existed formerly *Greek* manuscripts, which contained *The Verse*,—for which they cite those, which were in the possession of *Valla*, the *Complutensian* editors, and *Robert Stephens*.

VII. With respect to *THE MANUSCRIPTS OF VALLA*;—the advocates of *The Verse* assert, that *Valla* had seven *Greek* manuscripts of the *1st Epistle of St John*, and that all his manuscripts exhibited *The Verse*. They observe, that it was his plan to mark, in his annotations, those passages, in which the *Vulgate* receded from the *Greek*; that he takes no notice, in his annotations, of the omission of *The Verse*, in any of his manuscripts; from which they infer, that it was contained in them all.

The adversaries of *The Verse* reply,—that we are ignorant of the number of manuscripts which Valla used, and of his plan of annotation ; that, though it be probable he had seven Greek manuscripts, which exhibited *St John's Gospel*, ch. vii. v. 29. where he expressly mentions that number of manuscripts, it does not appear, and it is highly improbable, he should have the like number of Greek manuscripts of the 1st Epistle of *St John* ; that *The Verse* might have been wanting in the Latin text, with which he made his collation ; that he might studiously have avoided a remark, which, in the country and the times in which he lived, might have exposed him to persecution ; that it is highly probable that some or other of his manuscripts have been quoted under different titles ; that no manuscript contains *The Verse*, and that, of course, there is the same probability of none of his manuscripts having contained it, as there is that we are now in possession of some or other of his manuscripts. From these circumstances, the adversaries of *The Verse* infer, that nothing near to a conclusion in its favour can be drawn from his silence respecting the passage in his manuscripts.

It is observable that *Mr Archdeacon Travis* objects heavily to *Erasmus*, that, when he was pressed by *Lee*, with the contents of *Valla's* manuscripts, he attempted to bear him down by other arguments, but did not deny that *The Verse* was to be found in

the manuscripts of Valla, which manuscripts the archdeacon asserts, were in Erasmus's possession. But the archdeacon appears to have been mistaken in this supposition ; Erasmus was the editor of Valla's commentary ; but it no where appears that he was in possession of Valla's manuscripts, and he himself asserts the contrary.—Such are the obligations of literature to Erasmus, that men of letters should eagerly rise in his defence, whenever they think he is unjustly accused.

VIII. With respect to THE MANUSCRIPTS USED BY THE COMPLUTENSIAN EDITORS ;—The Polyglott Bible, printed at Alcala or Complutum, under the patronage, and at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes, was begun in 1502 ; the whole impression of it was finished in 1517, and published in 1522. It is certain that the cardinal spared no expense in procuring manuscripts ; but, whether he had any that were truly valuable, has been much doubted. The Verse has its place in this edition ; from which its advocates infer, that it was exhibited by all, or at least the greatest part of the manuscripts used by the Complutensian editors. This inference is denied by the adversaries of The Verse. They contend, that, from the deference, which the Complutensian editors had for the Vulgate, they were honestly persuaded, that The Verse was genuine, and therefore inserted, and thought themselves warranted in inserting in their text, a translation of it from the Latin. This,

they say, appears clearly from the dispute between Stunica and Erasmus;—the former in the bitterest terms, reproached the latter with the omission of The Verse, in his printed edition; Erasmus, with equal vehemence, challenged Stunica to produce a single Greek manuscript in support of The Verse; Stunica did not cite a single manuscript, but persisted in urging the authority of the Latin.—This, Mr Archdeacon Travis owns himself unable to account for satisfactorily.

IX. With respect to ROBERT STEPHENS'S MANUSCRIPTS;—To explain this part of the case, to persons unacquainted with Stephens's celebrated edition of the Greek Testament, which gives rise to the present question, and which was the edition published by him in 1550,—it is necessary to observe that the text of it is a re-impression of the fifth edition of Erasmus, with a few alterations. In the margin, Stephens quotes various readings from the Complutensian edition, and from fifteen Greek manuscripts, eight of which were borrowed from the King's library, six were procured from various quarters, and one was collated in Italy. The Complutensian text and the fifteen copies he denoted, when he cited various readings from them, by the Greek numerals α' , β' , γ' , as far as fifteen. The copy α' , he quotes throughout the whole New Testament, because, like other printed editions, the Complutensian edition, which it denotes, contains the whole. Of his fifteen

manuscripts, he quotes some in one part, some in another ; but none throughout the whole New Testament. In the Catholic Epistles, Stephens has quoted only seven manuscripts, which he denotes by the numerals δ', ε', ζ', θ', ι', ιά, ιγ', of which the four marked δ', ε', ζ', ι', were from the King's library, and the other three θ', ιά, ιγ', were among the six which he had procured elsewhere. At the 1 John v. 7. the disputed passage stands thus in Stephens's text, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσιν· καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ

In the margin, Stephens has quoted the seven manuscripts just mentioned, with an obelus prefixed. Now, according to his plan of annotation, when any word or number of words is omitted in the quoted manuscript, he expresses it by placing in his text, an obelus before the first word, and a little crotchet in the shape of a semicircle, and of the size of a comma, after the last word. At the place in question, the obelus is set before ἐν, which precedes τῷ οὐρανῷ, and the semicircle immediately after οὐρανῷ ; so that by this notation the words ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, and not the whole passage, are represented as absent from these seven manuscripts. But, as compositors are not infallible, and marks of reference are frequently placed wrong, through various accidents in printing, this edition of Robert Stephens had not been published many years, when Lucas Brugensis suspected, that Stephens's compositor had here made a mistake, and

that he ought to have set the crotchet, not after $\sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\tilde{\phi}$, but after $\gamma\tilde{\eta}$, that is, after the last word of the controverted passage, and not after the third; for, even in the sixteenth century it was well known, that the Greek manuscripts, in general, omitted the whole passage; but no one, either before or since the time of Robert Stephens, has ever seen a Greek manuscript which omitted the three first words only. This, however, was not admitted by the advocates of The Verse, who still quoted these seven manuscripts, as authority, not indeed for the whole passage, but, what is of some importance in a case of necessity, for at least three quarters of it. About a hundred years after the time of Lucas Brugensis, Simon examined all the Greek manuscripts in the library of the king of France, and found that not only $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\tilde{\phi}\ \sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\tilde{\phi}$, but that all the following words, as far as $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\tilde{\eta}\ \gamma\tilde{\eta}$ were absent from them all; and, as four out of the seven, which Stephens has quoted at 1 John v. 7. had been borrowed from this library, though Simon did not attempt to determine what particular four, he concluded, that Stephens's representation at that passage was inaccurate. To evade this argument, the patrons of Stephens's semi-circle had recourse to the hypothesis, that the eight manuscripts, which, in the time of Robert Stephens, belonged to the king's library, were no longer there, and even that they were no longer in existence; a position, which, though wholly incapable of defence,

is indispensably necessary for those, who maintain, that the semicircle is set right, because the manuscripts which still exist, both in Paris and in other places, decide against them. From this untenable post, they were driven, a few years afterwards, by Le Long, who, in 1720, undertook to determine the particular eight manuscripts, in the royal library, which had been used by Robert Stephens, and consequently four out of the seven, which are quoted at 1 John v. 7. The eight manuscripts he imperfectly described in the *Journal des Sçavans* for June 1720; but he gave a more complete and accurate account of them in the edition of his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, which was published in 1723, soon after the death of the author.

From this time, the accuracy of Stephens's semicircle appeared to be given up, and his manuscripts, as evidence for the authenticity of The Verse, appeared to be wholly abandoned. But, in 1791, Mr Archdeacon Travis took a journey to Paris, in order to compare Stephens's quotations from the eight manuscripts, which he had borrowed from the royal library, with the readings of those on which Le Long had fixed, as the eight, which were used by Stephens. In this comparison, he found, according to his own account, that the quotations made by R. Stephens differed, so frequently, from the readings in Le Long's manuscripts, as to warrant the inference, that these were not the eight, which Stephens

used. The grounds of his opinion, he mentions at length, in the sixth edition of his letters to Mr Gibbon;—they have been attacked by Mr Marsh.—Previously to the publication of Mr Travis's last edition of his letters to Mr Gibbon, Mr Marsh in one of his notes to Michaelis, (Vol. II. p. 789), had informed the world, that he had found a Greek manuscript, marked K x. 6. 4. in the public library of the University of Cambridge, which he had discovered to be the manuscript which Stephens had quoted by the mark, 'γ', and consequently, one of the seven manuscripts which are quoted in Stephens's edition of 1550, at 1 John v. 7; and at the same time, assigned the reasons, which induced him to believe, that the manuscript in question had been at Paris, and that it was no other than the manuscript which Stephens called ιγ'. Now, this manuscript omits not only ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, but all the following words, including ἐν τῇ γῆ;—and, since Stephens quotes all his seven manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles for the same omission, it follows, that, as one of them omitted the whole passage, the others did the same. Of the truth of this inference, Mr Travis was well aware; and, in his last edition of his letters to Mr Gibbon, attacked Mr Marsh's arguments in support of the identity of the manuscript K x. 6. 4. and Stephens's ιγ'.

To this Mr Herbert Marsh answered, by "*his Letters to Mr Archdeacon Travis, published in 1795.*"

In this publication, Mr Marsh states the several steps which led to the discovery of the identity of the two manuscripts. He establishes it by various proofs; and, by an application of an algebraical theorem to the documents produced by him, he shows, that the probability in favour of the identity of the manuscripts is to the probability of the contrary, as two nonillions to a unity. This is one of the most curious instances which have appeared, of the application of mathematical calculation to a critical inquiry.—One of the points, principally discussed by Mr Marsh, is, how far the inference, deduced from a general and remarkable similarity, in favour of the identity of manuscripts, is counteracted by a certain number of discordances; a consideration of the utmost importance, in all collations of manuscripts; but Mr Marsh's treatise abounds with other curious and important remarks, and is a mine of recondite and useful biblical erudition.

The nature of this inquiry does not admit of more than this general outline of that part of the controversy, which arises from the subject of Robert Stephens's manuscripts. Persons to whom the subject is new, would be surprised, in their investigation of it, to find that it embraces so wide a field of inquiry. Perhaps, nothing has contributed so much to the accurate knowledge, which seems now to be obtained of the Greek text of the New Testament, as the discussions to which The Verse has given rise.

X. The adversaries of The Verse continue the attack ;—they observe that there are many Greek manuscripts of THE APOSTOLOS, or the collection of lessons, read in the Greek churches, from the Epistles, and which they call the Apostolos, to distinguish it from the Lectionarium, which contains the lessons from the Gospels. Now, they observe, that no one has been able to discover The Verse in a single manuscript apostolos.

The advocates of The Verse observe, that it is to be found in the first printed edition of the apostolos, which appeared at Venice in 1602 ; but the adversaries of The Verse contend, that this does not afford the slightest argument in favour of the authenticity of The Verse, as, in all probability, the lessons were printed from the modern Greek text, into which it had long found its way.

XI. The adversaries of The Verse further contend, —THAT IT IS WHOLLY UNKNOWN TO ANY OF THE ORIENTAL VERSIONS WHICH WERE MADE FROM THE TEXT, while it was in its original purity. It is totally unknown to the manuscripts of the old Syriac version ; it is wanting in the new Syriac or Philoxenian version, which was made in the beginning of the sixth century, and collated with Greek manuscripts at Alexandria, in the beginning of the seventh ; it is wanting also in the Arabic manuscripts, as well of the version printed in the Polyglott, as in that published

by Erpenius ; it is wanting in the Ethiopic, the Cophtic, the Sahidic, and the Armenian versions.

To this, the advocates of The Verse reply, that all those versions, except the Armenian, were made from the Syriac, which, they say, is faulty beyond description. That we know little of the Armenian version ; but that The Verse is contained in the first edition of that version, published at Amsterdam, in 1666 ; from which they infer, that The Verse was contained in the manuscript or manuscripts, from which that edition was printed. We certainly know little of the Armenian version ; but no one has actually pretended to have seen The Verse in any Armenian manuscript ; and Professor Alter, in the second volume of his edition of the Iliad, page 85, mentions his having been informed by " Pater Zohrab Armenus, Bibliothecarius Meghitarensium in insulâ S. Lazari Venetiis," that having examined many Armenian manuscripts, in the library of his convent, he had not found The Verse in any one of them.

XII. The adversaries of The Verse contend that —IT IS WANTING IN FORTY OF THE MOST ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATIN VERSION. This, they say, equipoises, if it do not overbalance the authority of those Latin manuscripts in which it is contained.

In 1743, Sabatier published, at Rheims, his "*Bibliorum sacrorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ, seu vetus Italica, et ceteræ quæcunque in codicibus Manuscrip-*

tis reperiri potuerunt, quæ cum vulgatâ Latinâ et cum textu Greco comparantur." The object of the work is to restore the text of the ancient Italic, by putting together the quotations of the Bible, in the works of the ancient Fathers; where none can be found, Sabatier supplies the chasm from the Vulgate. He was so fortunate as to find, in different parts of the works of St Augustin, a sufficient number of quotations, to form the whole of the four first chapters, and likewise the beginning of the fifth. But, when he comes to the seventh verse, this very voluminous Father, who wrote not less than ten treatises on the epistle in question, suddenly deserts him, though immediately after this critical place, he comes again to his assistance. This chasm, therefore, Sabatier fills up, by a quotation from Vigilius Tapsensis, who wrote at the end of the fifth century.

XIII. The adversaries of The Verse urge,—that **THE GREEK FATHERS HAVE NEVER QUOTED IT**, in their warmest disputes about the Trinity, which they certainly would have done, if the passage had been known to them; and this, they observe, is the more remarkable, as they often quote and dwell upon the sixth and eighth verses in succession, without once mentioning or even slightly alluding to the seventh verse. This is one of the strongest parts of the cause of the adversaries of The Verse. Its advocates have little to reply to it, except that it proves no more, than that The Verse did not exist in the

copies, which those Fathers used ; that many works written by those Fathers, and many other works written at the same time, have not come down to us ; and that The Verse might have been mentioned in all or some or one of these.

XIV. The adversaries of The Verse urge the same argument from THE SILENCE OF THE LATIN FATHERS TILL THE FOURTH CENTURY.—Here, they are met by the advocates of The Verse, who contend that, though The Verse is not quoted, it is expressly referred to by several of the earliest Latin Fathers ; particularly Tertullian and St Cyprian.—The adversaries of the Verse reply, that none of these passages refer to the seventh verse, but refer to the eighth verse, by mystically interpreting the Spirit, the blood, and the water, mentioned in that verse, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. They dwell much on a passage of St Augustin, in which he expressly says, that “the Spirit, the blood, and the water, may be understood, *without any absurdity*, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,” an expression, which, most assuredly, St Augustin would never have used, if he had been aware of the seventh verse.

It is certain that The Verse is mentioned in St Jerome's Preface to the Canonical Epistles ; but the authenticity of these prefaces, first suspected by Erasmus, is given up by Dom Martianay, the Benedictine monk, and almost all modern writers.

XV. The adversaries of The Verse thus account FOR THE INTERPOLATION OF IT INTO THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.—The mystical interpretation of the 8th verse, which some of the fathers adopted, was, as they allege, frequently inserted in their commentaries, and sometimes in the margin of their copies; by degrees it slid from the margin into the text; insensibly it came to be considered as part of it; at first, it appeared sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another, and was inserted sometimes before, and sometimes after the eighth verse; at length the dignity of the subject gave it a precedence over the eighth verse; and thus it came to be considered as the seventh verse of the chapter. Probably it had gained a place in no manuscript, as part of the text, till some time after the death of St Augustin; and the eighth century may be considered as the era of its final settlement in the Latin text.

From the Latin text it was transplanted into the Greek. At the general council of Lateran, held in 1215, The Verse was quoted from the Greek. The acts of the council, with the quotation of the Vulgate, were translated into the Greek and sent to the Greek churches. About a century after this period, the Greeks began to quote The Verse; *the first Greek writers who have quoted it, are Manuel Callecas, who lived in the fourteenth, and Bryennius, who lived in the fifteenth century; and it is observable, that, when the passage first*

appeared in Greek, it presented itself under as many different shapes, as when it first made its appearance in Latin.

XVI. This, perhaps, may be considered an outline of the history of the controversy respecting this celebrated Verse. It has the merit of having rendered invaluable services to the biblical criticism of the sacred text. It has led to a minute discussion of several curious and interesting topics of literary history, particularly the rules for judging of the age of manuscripts, the nature of manuscript collations, the different merits of the principal editions of the Old and New Testament, the early versions of them, and the characters of the different persons, by whom they were edited or published. A full and complete history of the controversy, which should enter, at large, into all its particulars, would be an invaluable acquisition to literature.

Considering Mr Archdeacon Travis was a mere novice in biblical criticism, when he first engaged in the controversy, he performed wonders; but it was his misfortune to combat with giants.

The principal argument in its favour, which appears not to be satisfactorily answered, is its having a place in the confession of faith presented by the African bishops to Huneric. Mr Porson has treated this argument with abundance of wit; but it seems to deserve a more serious treatment. It is not necessary to suppose, as Mr Porson humourously says,

that each of the four hundred bishops had a Bible in his pocket, and the useful place doubled down.— If there were such a number of copies exhibiting The Verse, as induced the bishops to adopt it into the confession of faith, this fact would afford strong ground to contend, that it was inserted in the copies then generally in use.

This circumstance, therefore, may be thought to deserve further investigation ;—and a more complete examination of the manuscripts in the royal library at Paris, is much to be desired ; in other respects the topics of argument respecting the authenticity of this celebrated Verse, appear to have been exhausted.

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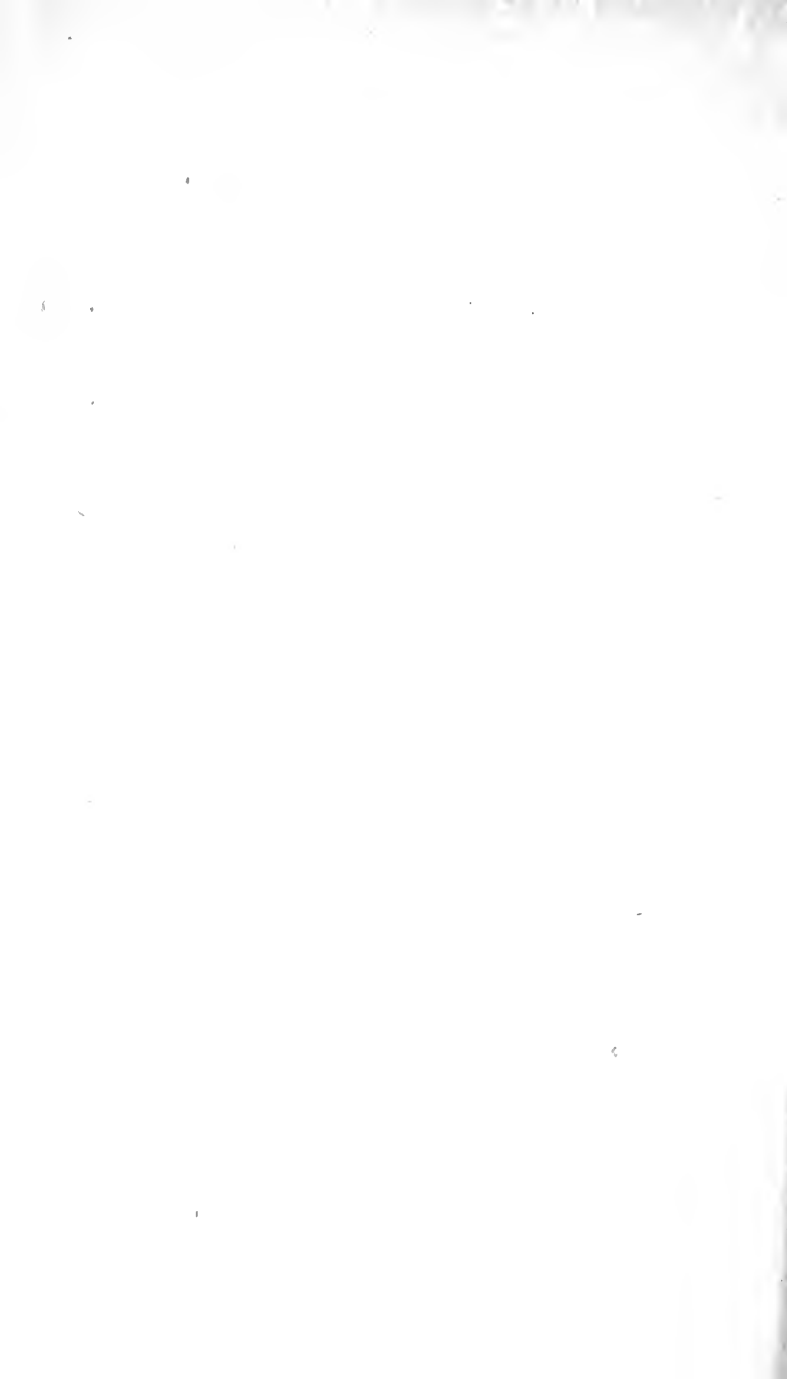
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