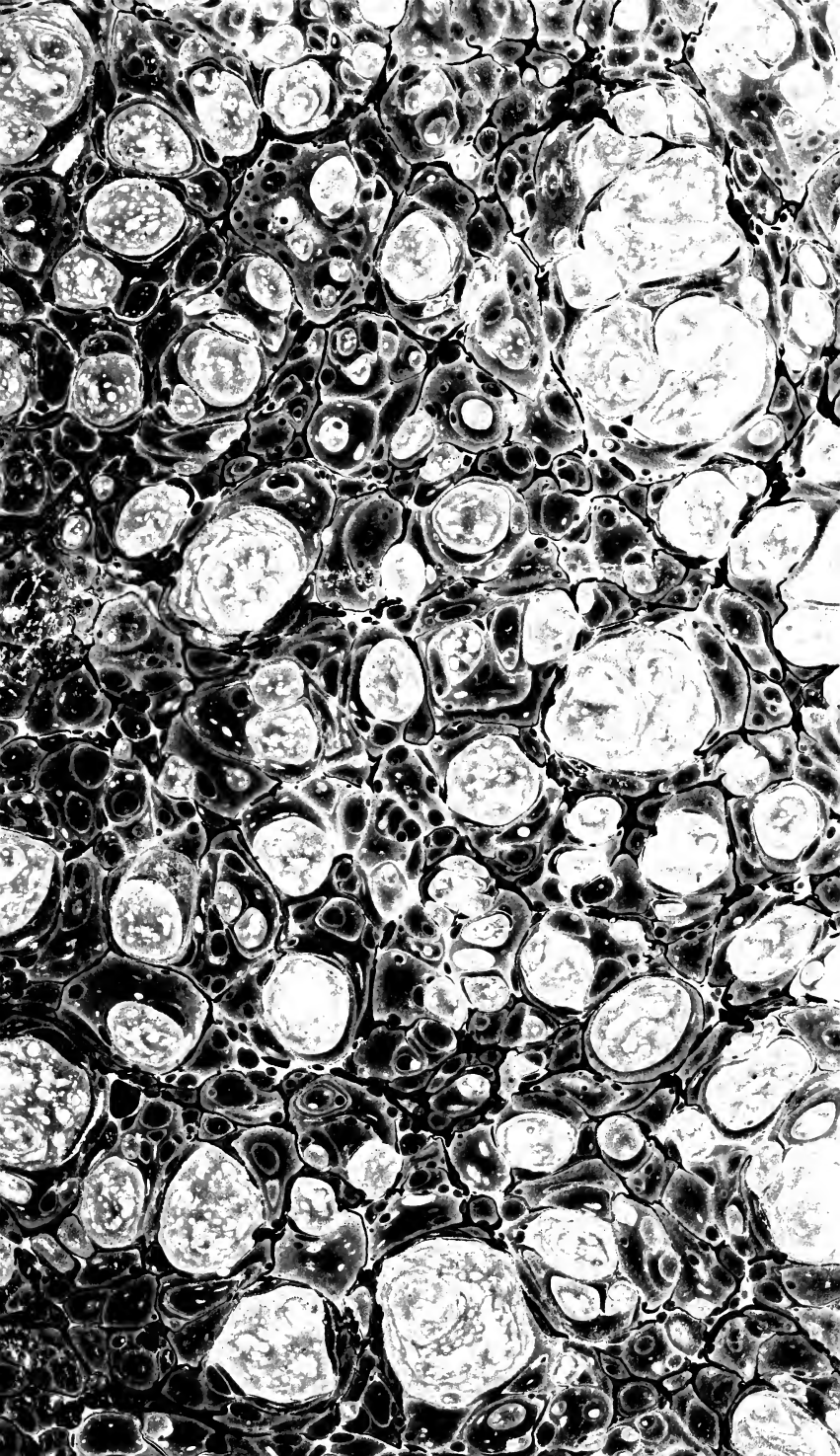
The image shows a full-page view of a marbled paper pattern. The pattern consists of numerous large, irregular, light-colored (off-white or light grey) oval shapes that resemble cells or bubbles. These are set against a dark, swirling background of black, dark grey, and medium grey. The overall effect is a dense, organic, and somewhat chaotic texture. In the bottom-left corner, there is a small white rectangular label with black text.

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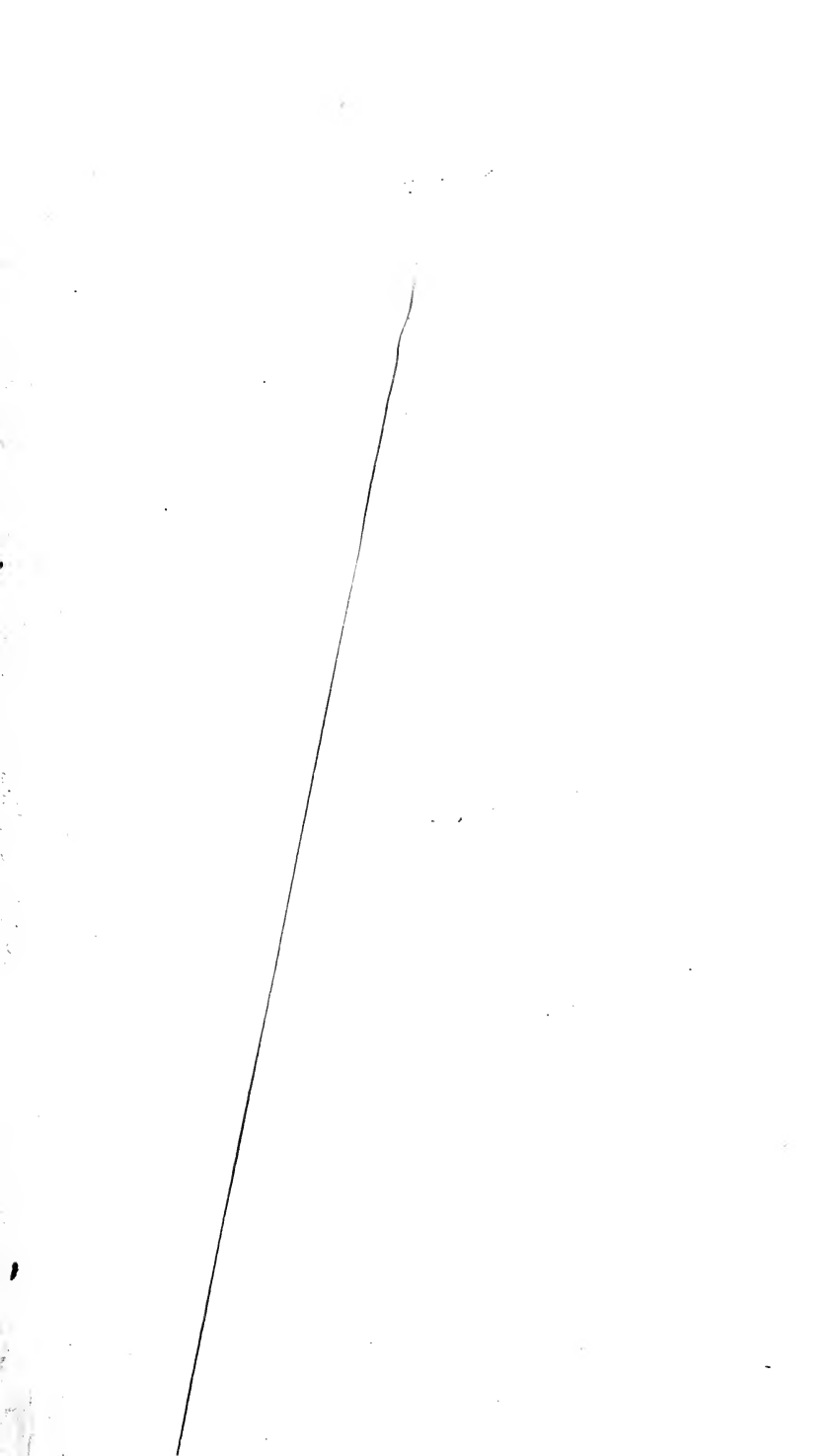
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\* THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, \*  
\* 35-4 Princeton, N. J. \*  
\* From the Rev. W. B. SPRAGUE, D.D. Sept. 1839. \*  
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# CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

UPON SOME

IMPORTANT MISREPRESENTATIONS

CONTAINED IN

THE UNITARIAN VERSION

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

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BY

RICHARD LAURENCE, LL. D.

RECTOR OF MERSHAM, KENT.

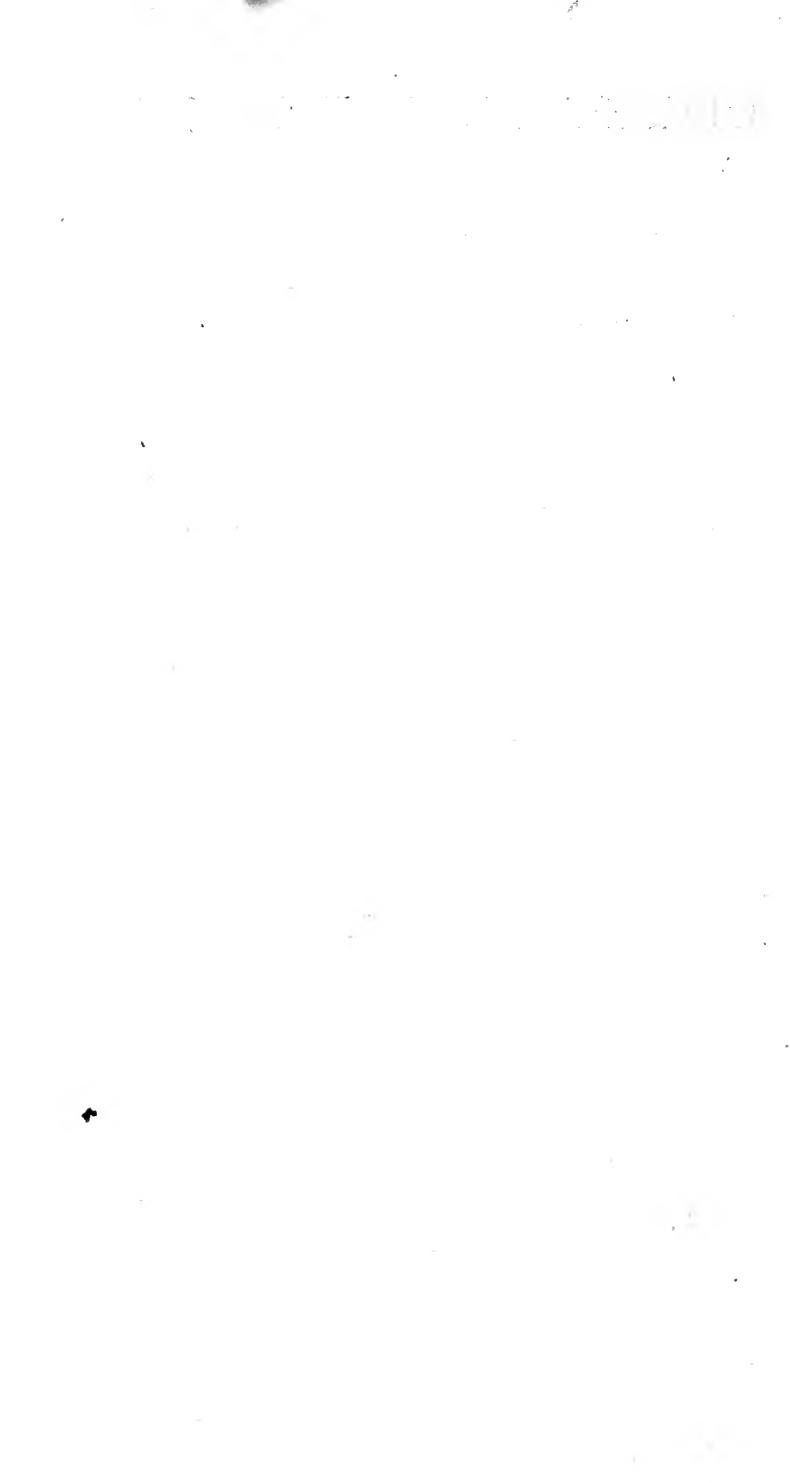
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OXFORD,

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Sold by J. PARKER, Oxford; and F. C. and J. RIVINGTON, London.

1811.



## P R E F A C E.

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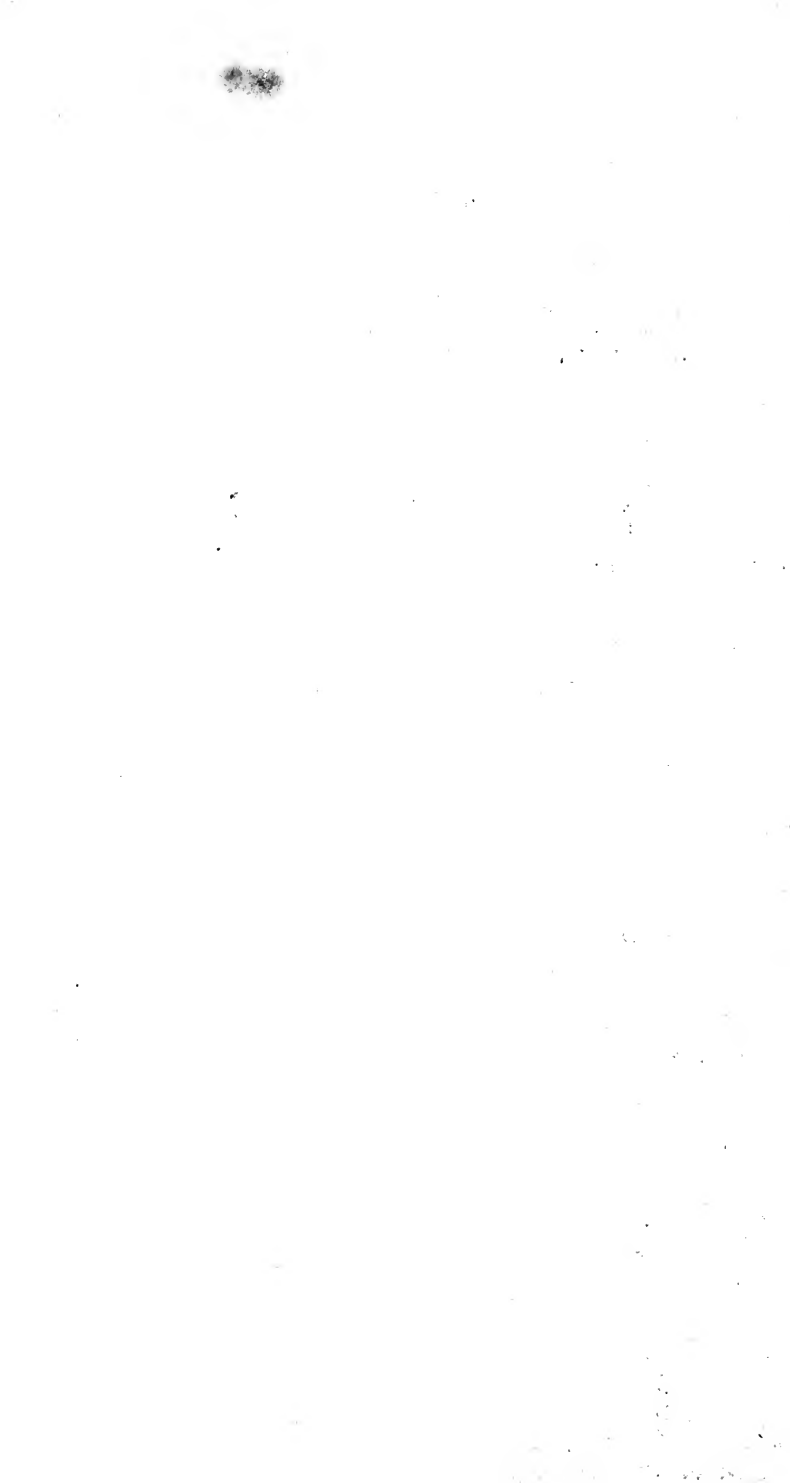
FROM causes, too unimportant for public enumeration, it happened, that the Author of the following pages possessed neither time nor inclination minutely to discuss the merits or demerits of that Version, which is the object of his present strictures, at its first appearance. Indeed he neglected the examination of it altogether till very lately, when his attention was irresistibly attracted to it by the *Remarks* of Mr. Nares, ably exposing, particularly upon doctrinal topics, many of its perverse inaccuracies and fallacious deductions. The scope of these *Remarks* appeared, it is true, sufficiently comprehensive. Still, however, he conceived, that certain misrepresentations of no inconsiderable moment required a more full and distinct, as well as different, refutation; and such a one has he now attempted. It will be seen, that with the theological argument of the New Version he has interfered as little as possible, the specific object in his view being

wholly critical. Not indeed that he has combated every erroneous position or incorrect conclusion which might have been fairly opposed; but he has contented himself with selecting a few of those which are most prominent and least venial.

He does not apologize for differing upon points of criticism, either from the Heterodox, or from the Orthodox. A critic is of no party; but, solely attached to philological truth, censures without reserve obliquities of judgment wheresoever he detects them, whether ushered into notice by Trinitarians of rank and character, or turned loose upon the world by an anonymous committee of obscure Unitarians.



TO  
JOHN COOKE, D. D.  
PRESIDENT OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,  
WHOSE UNIFORM INTEGRITY OF CONDUCT,  
BOTH IN PUBLIC AND IN PRIVATE LIFE,  
RECEIVES ADDITIONAL LUSTRE  
FROM THE SUAVIDITY OF HIS MANNERS,  
AND  
FROM THE BENEVOLENCE OF HIS DISPOSITION,  
WHOM IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO KNOW,  
AND NOT TO ESTEEM,  
TO ESTEEM, AND NOT TO VENERATE,  
**THIS CRITICAL PRODUCTION,**  
AS NOT PERHAPS AN UNAPPROPRIATE,  
ALTHOUGH AN INSIGNIFICANT  
TESTIMONY OF RESPECT  
TOWARDS THE GOVERNOR OF THAT COLLEGE,  
IN WHICH THE AUTHOR WAS EDUCATED,  
IS  
FAITHFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY  
INSCRIBED.



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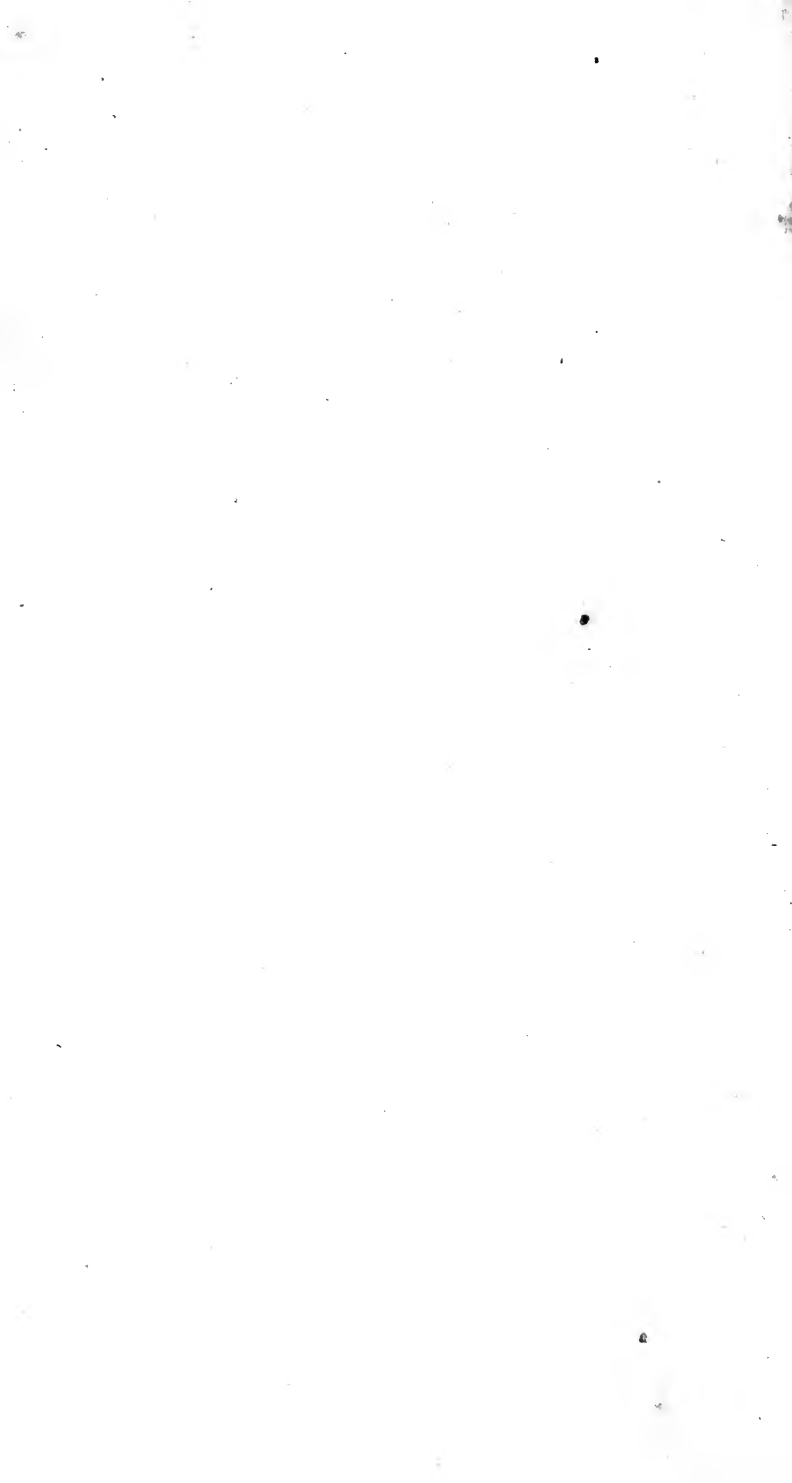
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## CHAP. I.

### *Introductory Remarks.*

WHEN a work appears under the singular title of “ The New Testament in an improved “ Version, upon the basis of Archbishop New- “ come’s new Translation, with a corrected “ Text, and Notes Critical and Explanatory, “ published by a Society for promoting Chris- “ tian Knowledge and the practice of Virtue, “ by the distribution of Books ;” it seems natural to enquire into the religious persuasion of the authors. This indeed is not explicitly avowed either in the Title Page or the Introduction : but the translation itself in every part, and the uniform tenor of the notes, sufficiently display it. The improved Version is nothing more than a new version so improved as to be rendered conformable with the tenets of *Unitarianism*. In proof of this assertion, it is unnecessary to quote more than the following passage, from the comment on 1 John i. 1. “ It is to the un-

“ wearied and successful labours of this pious  
 “ and learned person, (the venerable Theophilus  
 “ Lindsay,) whose life and doctrine have ex-  
 “ hibited the most perfect model in modern  
 “ times of the purity and simplicity of aposto-  
 “ lical Christianity, in conjunction with those  
 “ of his able coadjutors, Jebb, Priestley, Wake-  
 “ field, and others, that the Christian world is  
 “ indebted for that clear and discriminating  
 “ light, which has of late years been diffused  
 “ over the obscurities of the sacred Scriptures,  
 “ and which promises, at no very distant period,  
 “ *to purify the Christian religion from those*  
 “ *numerous and enormous corruptions*, which  
 “ have so long disfigured its doctrines, and im-  
 “ peded its progress.” Hence the nature of  
 that elucidation, which is diffused over the ob-  
 scurities of Scripture in this version, may be  
 distinctly perceived.

Nor will the Unitarians, I presume, disown  
 the production ; and if in their justification they  
 simply alledge the propriety of their possessing a  
 translation of the New Testament, more conso-  
 nant, in their own judgment, with the sense of  
 Scripture than that of the Establishment, they  
 certainly advance a position which few will be  
 disposed to controvert. But is it quite consistent



with that open and manly conduct, upon which they peculiarly pride themselves, to sink their characteristical denomination, and simply to describe themselves as “ a Society for the promotion of Christian knowledge and the practice of virtue by the distribution of books ;” who, in order “ to supply the English reader with a more correct text of the New Testament than has yet appeared<sup>a</sup>,” had fixed its choice and founded its improvements “ upon *the excellent translation* of the late most reverend Dr. William Newcome, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland, a worthy successor of the venerable and learned Archbishop Usher<sup>b</sup> ;” to enter the combat in disguise, and advance to the attack in an archiepiscopal coat of mail ? And is it true to the extent apparently professed both in the Title Page and Introduction, that Archbishop Newcome’s version really forms the groundwork of this ? The translators indeed say, that they have assumed it as a principle not to deviate from the Archbishop’s version “ but where it appeared to be necessary to the correction of error or inaccuracy

<sup>a</sup> Introduction, p. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 4.

“ in the text, the language, the construction,  
 “ or the sense.” But instances of such an  
 exception unfortunately so often occur, that  
 there is scarcely a single page without one or  
 more, and not many without numerous de-  
 viations from it. Nor are these deviations  
 simply confined to mere verbal errors or in-  
 accuracies, but extended to the most import-  
 ant doctrines, so as uniformly to divest the  
 Archbishop’s translation of every expression  
 hostile to the Unitarian Creed ; deviations,  
 which could not have incidentally taken place,  
 but must have been originally projected. For we  
 are expressly told, that the design of the Transla-  
 tors, as well as of the Society, was, to supply  
 the English reader with a more correct text of  
 the New Testament than has yet appeared : as  
 “ also, by divesting the sacred volume of *the*  
 “ *technical phrases of a systematic theology,*  
 “ which has no foundation in the Scriptures  
 “ themselves, to render the New Testament  
 “ more generally intelligible, or at least to pre-  
 “ clude many sources of error ; and, by the  
 “ assistance of the notes, to enable the *judi-*  
 “ *cious and attentive* reader to understand

“ Scripture phraseology, and to form a just  
 “ idea of *true and uncorrupted Christianity*<sup>d</sup>.”

What Unitarians mean, when they allude to a *systematic theology, which has no foundation in the Scriptures*; and also to *true and uncorrupted Christianity*, no man can for a moment doubt, who has but slightly glanced his eye upon any of their avowed publications. Instead therefore of being that which at first view it may appear to the general reader, a Version undertaken from no party motives, and conducted upon no party principles, the very reverse seems to be the fact.

The text, from which this translation is professedly made, is the amended one of Griesbach; a text which is too well known, and too highly respected, to require more than a simple notice of its excellency, and the superior correctness of which is universally acknowledged. But why in an English translation so long a history is given of the received Greek text, and its critical improvements, of Greek manuscripts, and of the different editions of the Greek Testament, it seems difficult to conjecture. Could it possibly be to take the chance

<sup>d</sup> Introduction, p. 5, 6.

of impressing an idea, that the established translation, which confessedly follows the received text, is too corrupt to be used as a rule of faith? This however it would be more easy to insinuate than to prove.

Among the various modes which have been adopted for the improvement of the received text, attempts, it is observed, have been made to correct it by *critical conjecture*. Upon this subject the following remarks occur; “ This is a  
 “ remedy which ought never to be applied  
 “ but with the utmost caution, especially as  
 “ we are furnished with so many helps for cor-  
 “ recting the text from manuscripts, versions,  
 “ and ecclesiastical writers. This caution is  
 “ doubly necessary when the proposed emen-  
 “ dation affects a text which is of *great im-  
 “ portance in theological controversy, as the  
 “ judgment of the critic will naturally be  
 “ biassed in favour of his own opinions*. It  
 “ ought perhaps to be laid down as a *general  
 “ rule, that the received text is in no case to  
 “ be altered by critical or at least by theolo-  
 “ gical conjecture, how ingenious and plausi-  
 “ ble soever.*” So far the reasoning is correct,  
 and perfectly conformable with the established  
 maxims of the most eminent critics: but what

follows ? “Nevertheless (it is added) there is  
 “ no reason why critical conjecture should be  
 “ *entirely* excluded from the New Testament,  
 “ any more than from the works of any other  
 “ ancient Author ; and some very plausible  
 “ conjectures of no inconsiderable importance  
 “ have been suggested by men of great learn-  
 “ ing and sagacity, which, to say the least, merit  
 “ very attentive consideration. See particularly  
 “ John i. 1. vi. 4. and Romans ix. 5.<sup>e</sup>” and a  
 reference is made to Marsh’s Michaelis, vol. ii.  
 c. 10. Here is a manifest qualification of the  
 preceding remark. Whatsoever ambiguity then  
 may be supposed to exist in the idea of a  
*general* rule, which is *universal* in its applica-  
 tion, it is certain that the Authors of the New  
 Version only mean, by so expressing themselves,  
 a rule which is in *most* cases to be observed,  
 but which may in *some* be violated ; and, by  
 way of distinctly pointing out the nature of  
 their exception, they refer to John i. 1. vi. 4.  
 and Romans ix. 5. The second reference in-  
 deed is not very important ; but the first and  
 third relate to theological conjectures, inimical  
 to the doctrine of Christ’s Divinity. The first

<sup>e</sup> Introduction, p. 18, 19.

consists in the substitution of Θεε for Θεος in the clause και Θεος ην ο Λογος, and the second in reading ων ο for ο ων in the passage ο ων επι παντων Θεος, so as by this transposition to render its sense, “ of whom was God, who is over  
“ all ;” necessarily precluding the interpretation usually affixed to these words. What then is their distinction ? The *general* rule, which *in no case* admits theological conjecture, how ingenious and plausible soever it be, ought not, it seems, to stand in the way of any unauthorized emendations of the sacred text favourable to the Unitarian hypothesis : but do they mean to extend the same indulgent exception to Trinitarian criticisms ? Or do they conceive, that it is only the judgment of the Trinitarian critic which is likely to be biased by individual opinion ?

But, in corroboration of what they advance, they refer the reader to Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. c. x. In this chapter, which is entitled “ Con-  
“ jectural Emendations of the Greek Testa-  
“ ment,” and upon which their whole reasoning, one might suppose, was founded, it is singular that Michaelis reprobates, in the strongest terms, all theological conjecture whatsoever, and that for this obvious reason ; because “ a



“ Theologian, whose business it is to form his  
 “ whole system of faith and manners from the  
 “ Bible, cannot with propriety assume pre-  
 “ viously any system of theology, by which  
 “ he may regulate the sacred text; but must  
 “ adopt that text which is confirmed by  
 “ original documents, and thence deduce his  
 “ theological system<sup>f</sup>.” Nor is this all. In direct  
 opposition to the sentiments of those who  
 quote him, and in the beginning of that very  
 chapter to which they refer, he thus unequivocally  
 expresses himself: “ It must be evident to  
 “ every man, that the New Testament would  
 “ be a very uncertain rule of life and manners,  
 “ and indeed WHOLLY UNFIT TO BE USED AS A  
 “ STANDARD OF RELIGION, if it were allowable,  
 “ *as is the practice of several Socinians*, to  
 “ apply critical conjecture in order *to establish*  
 “ *the tenets of our own party*. For instance; if,  
 “ in order to free ourselves from a supersti-  
 “ tious doctrine, on the supposition that the  
 “ divinity of Christ is ungrounded, we were at  
 “ liberty to change, without any authority,  
 “ Θεός ην ὁ Λόγος, John i. 1. into Θεὸς ην ὁ Λόγος,  
 “ and ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, Rom. ix. 5. into ὢν ὁ

<sup>f</sup> Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 413.

“ *ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός*, the Bible would become so very uncertain, that every man might believe or disbelieve, as best suited his own principles.”

Could these writers have possibly read the preceding passage when they made their appeal to the authority of Michaelis? If they had, they must surely have perceived that Michaelis is directly against them; and that the very conjectural emendations, originally proposed by *the Socinian theorists Crell and Schlichting*, which they particularly notice as suggested by *men of great learning and sagacity*, and as meriting, *to say the least, very attentive consideration*, he directly censures in the most pointed terms, and expressly brings forward to illustrate the position, that theological conjecture is *never* admissible. If, conscious of opposing an established maxim, which ought in no instance to be violated, they wished to shelter themselves from the storm of critical reproof, the gabardine of Michaelis was most unfortunately selected indeed as a place of refuge.

To the passage which I have just quoted,

from the first section of the chapter referred to, I will add one or two more from the last section of the *same* chapter, in order to place the opinion of Michaelis in a still clearer point of view. “ The only plausible argument “ which an advocate for theological conjecture “ might use, not so much indeed *to convince* “ *himself of the justice of his cause*, as to *per-* “ *plex his opponents*, is the following; namely, “ that the New Testament has been so cor- “ rupted by the ruling party, which calls itself “ Orthodox, that the genuine doctrine of “ Christ and his Apostles is no longer to be “ found in it. But there is not the least room “ for a suspicion of this kind, as we have so “ great a number of manuscripts, versions, “ and ecclesiastical writings, in which the “ New Testament is quoted, of every age and “ every country<sup>h</sup>.” And in proof of his asser- tion, among other things, he remarks, that “ the “ passages *which afforded the most perplexity* “ *to the members of the ruling Church are* “ *still extant in manuscripts, versions, and* “ *editions of the New Testament*; whereas “ the *spurious* passage, 1 John v. 7. though

<sup>h</sup> Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 418.

“ the Orthodox seem to think it of the utmost  
 “ importance, has *never* had the good fortune  
 “ to find admittance into any Greek manu-  
 “ script, or ancient version.” If the compilers  
 of this Introduction, who not only in the in-  
 stance before me, but in almost every page,  
 refer to the writings of Michaelis, will not ad-  
 mit the validity of the argument in the pre-  
 ceding extracts, they may perhaps feel the force  
 of the following powerful appeal to Unitarian  
 consistency : “ As critical conjectures,” observes  
 the same author, “ have been principally made  
 “ by those, who, in the language of the Church,  
 “ are termed Heretics, I will invent one or  
 “ two examples of the same kind in the name  
 “ of the Orthodox, and ask those of the opposite  
 “ party, whether they would admit them as  
 “ lawful conjectures. For instance, suppose I  
 “ should alter *ὅτι ὁ Πατήρ μὲν μείζων μὲν ἐστίν*, John  
 “ xiv. 18. to *ὅτι ὁ πατήρ μὲν ἐστίν*, or *ὅτι ὁ Πατήρ μὲν*  
 “ *ζῶν μὲν ἐστίν*, in order to be freed from a text  
 “ that implies an inequality between the Fa-  
 “ ther and the Son ; or if I should read 1 John  
 “ v. 20. in the following manner, *ἐστὶς ὁ υἱὸς*  
 “ *ἐστίν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεός*, in order to shew more  
 “ distinctly the divinity of Christ ; I think the  
 “ Heterodox would exclaim, *He is either ex-*

“ *tremely ignorant, or, by having recourse to*  
 “ *such miserable artifices, acknowledges the*  
 “ *badness of his cause.* But the Heterodox, as  
 “ well as the Orthodox, must appear before  
 “ the impartial tribunal of criticism, where  
 “ there is no respect to persons, and where it  
 “ is not allowed for one party to take greater  
 “ liberties than the other.<sup>i</sup>” As it is impossible  
 to expose their reasoning more strongly than  
 the Critic himself has done, to whom they ap-  
 peal for support, and that even in the very  
 chapter which they quote, I shall add nothing  
 more upon the subject, but leave them to en-  
 joy, as they can, the testimony of Michaelis.

<sup>i</sup> Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 415.

## CHAP. II.

*Authenticity of the two first Chapters of  
St. Matthew.*

IN the remarks which I propose to make upon this New Version, it is not my intention to raise the shield of theological warfare against those “critics and commentators of the highest reputation” as they are termed<sup>a</sup>, that is, against the redoubted champions of Unitarianism, from whose works the Authors profess to have principally collected their notes for the illustration of difficult and doubtful passages ; but to confine my observations as much as possible to critical questions : and, as they do not presume to hold it up as a faultless translation, but merely as an improved version, still, no doubt, susceptible of far greater improvement, which they will rejoice to see undertaken

<sup>a</sup> Introduction, p. 4.



“and accomplished by *abler* hands<sup>b</sup>,” I shall not drag into view every little error and inaccuracy which the severity of criticism may discover, but consider those only which are most offensive and most prominent.

“If this Version,” they remark, “possesses any merit, it is that of being translated from the most correct text of the original which has hitherto been published<sup>c</sup>.” Yet, notwithstanding this and other similar assertions, “the inquisitive, liberal, and judicious reader,” whose approbation they seem assured of conciliating, scarcely opens the Gospel of St. Matthew before he finds *three* pages together printed in italics, an intimation, he is told, that the passages themselves are all of doubtful authority; and, when he gets to St. Luke’s, almost *seven* more of the same description. The reasons assigned for the propriety of this rejection may possibly satisfy the inquisitive, liberal, and judicious of their own communion, whose minds may be prepared by a previous intimacy with the writings of Priestley and his coadjutors, but will never, I am persuaded,

<sup>b</sup> Introduction, p. 30.    <sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 8.

convince the inquisitive, liberal, and judicious, if such can be admitted to exist, of any other communion.

Being repeatedly informed that this Version is adapted to the “admirable” text of Griesbach, as given in the last edition of his Greek Testament, “an edition of unrivalled “excellence and importance, the publication “of which will constitute a memorable era in “the history of Scripture criticism<sup>d</sup>,” we naturally turn to Griesbach for the authority of this bold step, but in vain; for there the doubtful passages (as they are denominated) appear in the genuine text without the slightest hint of their supposed illegitimacy. Indeed one of his invariable rules in the regulation of his corrections very properly was, “*nil mutetur “è conjectura, nil sine testium, nempe codicum “versionum, Patrum, auctoritate*.” Perhaps then it may be said, that the translators themselves, who certainly seem to speak of ancient manuscripts, and other documents of the kind, with much familiarity, may have had the good fortune to discover what escaped the search of the indefatigable Griesbach. But here again

<sup>d</sup> Introduction, p. 23.

<sup>e</sup> Prolegomena, p. 83.

we are foiled ; for a note informs us, that these passages are certainly to be found “ in “ all the manuscripts and versions, which are “ now extant<sup>f</sup>.” Upon what possible principle then can it be, that they are thus pilloried, and exposed in an English translation to popular contempt and fury ? When we recollect that they contain an account of the miraculous conception of our Saviour, and that Priestley, with others of the “ clear and discriminating” class of writers, “ who of late years have “ diffused so much light over the obscurities of “ the sacred Scriptures,” have thought proper to reject them, we cannot be long at a loss to divine the principle and the motive : but as a decision is not passed against their authenticity without some show of argument in the notes, the best, it is to be presumed, which Unitarian reading can supply, and as the question itself is one of considerable importance, I shall be the more particular in my remarks upon this subject.

The portion of St. Matthew’s Gospel which is thus stigmatized, consists of the whole of the two first Chapters, with the single exception of the Genealogy at the commencement.

<sup>f</sup> New Version, p. 2.

The critical authority adduced for the retention of the Genealogy, and the rejection of the remainder of these two chapters, is stated in the following terms: “ Epiphanius says, “ that Cerinthus and Carpocrates, who used “ the Gospel of the Ebionites, which was probably the original Gospel of Matthew, written in the Hebrew language for the use of the Jewish believers, argued from the Genealogy at the beginning of the Gospel, that Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary; but that the Ebionites had taken away even the Genealogy, beginning their Gospel with these words; ‘ And it came to pass in the days of Herod the king &c.’ See Epiph. Hæref. 30. N. 13. Jones on the Canon, vol. i. part ii. chap. 25. It is probable therefore that the first sixteen verses of this chapter are genuine; and that they were found at least in the copies of Cerinthus and Carpocrates. . . . . The remainder of this chapter, and the whole of the second, are printed in Italics; as an intimation that they are of doubtful authority. They are indeed to be found in all the manuscripts and versions which are extant; but from the testimony of Epiphanius and Jerome we are assured, that they

“ were wanting in the copies used by the Na-  
 “ zarenes and Ebionites, that is, by the ancient  
 “ Hebrew Christians, for whose instruction  
 “ probably this Gospel was originally written,  
 “ and to whom the account of the miraculous  
 “ conception of Jesus Christ could not have  
 “ been unacceptable, if it had been found in  
 “ the genuine narratives.”

Before I proceed to the examination of the authorities cited, it will be proper to notice an ambiguous assertion occurring in the first paragraph, viz. that *the Gospel of the Ebionites* was “ *the original Gospel of Matthew*, written in “ the Hebrew language for the use of the “ Jewish believers.” If this assertion be intended to convey the simple persuasion of the translators themselves, it will rest on no solid basis, and consequently require no particular refutation : but if they apply it to Epiphanius, an application which seems to arise from the natural connexion of the whole, it may be necessary to remark, that they certainly attribute to the Father an opinion the very reverse of that which he maintained. The words of Epi-

phanus are these: *Εν τῷ γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς Εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, ἔχ' ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεσάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ηἰκρωτηριασμένῳ, Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τὸ το καλῶσι, ἐμφερεται &c.*<sup>h</sup> This is thus translated by Jones, to whom also reference is made, most probably for the convenience of the mere English reader. "In that Gospel which they (i. e. the Ebionites) have called "the Gospel according to St. Matthew, which "is not *entire and perfect*, but *corrupted and* " *curtailed*, and which they call *the Hebrew Gospel*, it is written &c." Now is it not hence apparent, that Epiphanius, instead of considering it as "the original Gospel of Matthew, written in the Hebrew language for "the use of the Jewish believers," pointedly stigmatized it as an imperfect, spurious, (*νενοθευμένῳ, illegitimatized,*) and mutilated copy? But the translators perhaps, as I before observed, might have intended to take the responsibility of the assertion solely upon themselves; in which case I will only remind them, that they adopt the very opinion of the celebrated *Toland*, which "*the learned*" Jeremiah Jones, as

<sup>h</sup> Hæres. 30. §. 13.

they justly describe a favourite author, (Introduction, p. 7.) formerly reprobated in the strongest terms<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> Toland, it seems, not only maintained that the Gospel of the Ebionites was the original Gospel of St. Matthew, and that both the Ebionites and Nazarenes were the true ancient Hebrew Christians; but that the forged *Acts of the Apostles*, which the Ebionites also used, were a portion of genuine Scripture. After giving Epiphanius's account of the latter production, Jeremiah Jones adds the following severe reflections: "Part of this fragment is produced by " Mr. Toland, in his *Original Plan or Scheme of Christianity according to the Ebionites*, both in Greek and " English; nor is it strange that a person of Mr. Toland's " profession should grace his Scheme with a passage so " much to his purpose, I mean, *of abolishing the doctrines " of Christianity*, which are agreed upon by all Christians, " and introducing *his most ridiculous and impious Scheme " of Nazarene, or Jewish, or Ebionite, or Mahometan, or " (which is the undoubted truth) of no Christianity at all.* " Did Mr. Toland and his friends, in these their vile attacks upon so excellent and divine a constitution, not " *quibble, and juggle, and prevaricate*, as they upon all occasions do, in their citations out of the old records of " Christianity, (a crime which they are ever forward to " charge upon others, who are much more clear of it,) " I should excuse myself and the reader from the trouble " of any remarks upon them, leaving them to their slavish " infidelity: but when I observe a person *ransacking and " mustering together all the silly trumpery of the ancient " heretics*, grossly misrepresenting the books he cites, only

If I understand the ground of their argument in this case correctly, it is precisely this.

“ with design to gratify a bigoted humour against the  
 “ Christian religion, I am obliged, by my regards to the  
 “ profession I make of the name of Jesus, to lay open  
 “ such vile imposture. Of this I have given several in-  
 “ stances already from Mr. Toland’s books. The passage  
 “ I am now upon out of Epiphanius furnishes me with  
 “ another. He would persuade us the Ebionites or Na-  
 “ zarenas (*a most ridiculous sort of heretics, who scarcely*  
 “ *deserved the name of Christians, as I shall shew hereafter*)  
 “ *were the only true and genuine Christians*, consequently  
 “ *their books must be the truest and most genuine accounts*  
 “ *of the Christian affairs* ; and so, for instance, must these  
 “ Acts, which we are now discussing ; because it so much  
 “ vilifies St. Paul, and exposes his doctrine. But, as Dr.  
 “ Mangey has justly remarked, *this is most insupportable*  
 “ *impudence in him, to cite as genuine a wretched forgery*  
 “ *of the Ebionites*. One can scarce tell whether his inten-  
 “ tion of vilifying St. Paul, or the method he useth to do  
 “ it, be the more detestable ; this forry unbelieving Critic  
 “ governs his skill by his wicked principles, and has no  
 “ other way to judge of spurious and genuine books, than  
 “ by their opposition to Christianity.” Jones on the Ca-  
 nonical Authority of the New Testament, Part II. Chap.  
 17. It may indeed be observed, that the language of this  
 passage is disgraced by an immoderate asperity, and that  
 the opinion contained in it is unsupported by authority ;  
 to both of which remarks I fully accede ; only subjoining  
 with regard to the latter point, that although the opinion  
 be unsupported here, it is very sufficiently proved in other  
 parts of the work, and that, if it rested solely upon the



We are assured by Epiphanius and Jerome, that the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel were wanting in a Gospel supposed to be that of St. Matthew, used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, that is, by those who are conjectured to have been the ancient Hebrew Christians, and for whose instruction St. Matthew's Gospel is also conjectured to have been written; the whole two chapters therefore are *prima facie* to be rejected: but Epiphanius asserts, that Cerinthus and Carpocrates, who used the same Gospel, admitted the Genealogy at the commencement, which the Ebionites had taken away; therefore the Genealogy alone is to be retained, and the remainder of the two chapters to be rejected.

I shall not undertake to refute the illogical reasoning manifested in the conduct of this argument, because it is in itself sufficiently obvious, and has already been exposed<sup>k</sup>; nor enter into an unnecessary discussion respecting the proper principle upon which *the Genea-*

credit of the assertor, still, as being the opinion of the learned Jeremiah Jones, it would be entitled to at least as much respect as the opposite opinion of the authors of the New Version.

<sup>k</sup> Nares's Remarks on this Version, p. 5, 6.

*logy* is to be admitted, satisfied that it is on both sides declared to be genuine; but confine myself to the critical statements upon which the rejection of the remainder of these chapters is grounded.

We are assured, the authors of this work observe, both by Epiphanius and *Jerome*, that the two first chapters were wanting in the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites. When I found them in the Introduction, p. 14. describing the *celebrated* Ephrem, who lived in the *fourth* century, as a writer of *some* note in the *sixth*, I began to suspect that they were very little conversant with the works of the Fathers<sup>1</sup>; and this sus-

<sup>1</sup> Are they aware that the works of the ancient heretics no where exist but as they are quoted in those of the Fathers? They certainly seem to put this point a little dubiously, when, in describing the means of correcting the received text, they say, "The works of those writers who are called heretics, such as Valentinian, Marcion, and others, are as useful in ascertaining the value of a reading as those of the Fathers, who are entitled Orthodox; for the heretics were often more learned and acute, and equally honest." Introd. p. 18. If the ponderous volumes of the Fathers are deemed to be in themselves but of little intrinsic value, they surely deserve to be investigated more accurately than they seem to have been by

picion seems confirmed in the present instance, by their attributing to *Jerome* an assertion which he never made. Every thing advanced by Jerome and others, upon the subject of the Gospel in question, has been carefully collected by Grabe, in his *Spicilegium Patrum*, vol. i. p. 15—31; by Fabricius, in his *Codex Apocryphus N. T.* vol. i. p. 346—349. and 355—370; and also by Jones, in the chapter of his work to which they themselves refer: and certainly in neither of these collections does any thing similar to what they say of Jerome appear. That therefore, which has escaped the diligent investigation of Fabricius and Jeremiah Jones, has scarcely, I presume, been discovered by them. Indeed a direct negative may here be assumed with the greater confidence, because, as I shall subsequently shew, Jerome himself asserted the very reverse of their position.

The assurance therefore, that these chapters were rejected by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, solely rests upon the authority of Epiphanius. The words alluded to are these: Οὗτοι δὲ ἀλλὰ

these writers, were it only for the discovery of that pearl above all price, according to their estimation, the genuine Christianity of the reputed heretics of antiquity.

τινα διανουνται· παρακοψαντες γαρ τους παρα τῷ Ματθαίῳ γενεαλογιας, αρχονται την αρχην ποιεισθαι, ὡς προειπον, λεγοντες· ὅτι εγενετο Φησιν, εν ταις ἡμεραις Ἡρωδὸς βασιλεως της Ιουδαίας &c. which are thus rendered by Jones; “ But they (viz. the Ebionites) “ have quite other sentiments; for they have “ taken away the Genealogy from Matthew, “ and accordingly begin their Gospel with “ these words, *It came to pass in the days of “ Herod king of Judea, &c.*”

This prolix writer is certainly not remarkable either for his learning or acuteness; qualifications, indeed, with which, in the judgment of Unitarians, the Fathers in general were very sparingly endowed. He digresses most immoderately, and paraphrases without mercy. If his honesty be unimpeachable, his accuracy, at least, is more than suspected<sup>m</sup>. Waving how-

<sup>m</sup> Mosheim, in his Ecclesiastical History, holds him in the most sovereign contempt. He says, “ Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in the isle of Cyprus, wrote a book “ against all the heretics that had sprung up in the “ Church until his time. This work has little or no reputation, as it is full of inaccuracies and errors, and “ discovers almost in every page the levity and ignorance “ of its author.” Vol. i. p. 359. The original Latin is thus expressed, “ Epiphanius Salaminæ in Cypro Episcopus sectas Christianorum iusto persecutus est volu-

ever every imputation of the latter kind, let us put the supposition, that his assertions are all grounded upon the most correct knowledge and the minutest investigation ; and what will follow ? Only that, with the same breath with which he tells us that the Gospel of the Ebionites contained not the two first chapters of St. Matthew, he also informs us, that it was because they scrupled not to curtail and mutilate the genuine production of that Apostle. The consequence is obvious. But perhaps a distinction may be here adopted ; and the first assertion be termed a matter of fact, the last

“ mine, at variis maculis et erroribus propter auctoris levitatem et ignorantiam *inusto*.” Hence it appears, that Mosheim considered the work as absolutely *branded* with ignominy. One circumstance indeed alone seems to throw an air of suspicion over this whole account of the Ebionites ; for Epiphanius not only derives the name of the sect from a person denominated *Ebion*, whose very existence is problematical, contrary to the opinion of other writers, who derive it from the Hebrew word אביון signifying *poor* ; but relates a story of *Ebion* and St. John, similar to what Irenæus, upon the authority of Polycarp, records of *Cerinthus* and St. John ; viz. that the Apostle, seeing *Ebion* in a bath, exclaimed, “ Let us depart hence, lest the building fall in, and we ourselves perish with the impious *Ebion*.” §. 23. Will the Unitarians admit the accuracy of this anecdote ?

only a matter of opinion ; so that, while one is correct, the other may be inaccurate. I shall not adduce in reply, as I easily might, various points of fact advanced by Epiphanius relative to the doctrine of the Ebionites<sup>n</sup>, and then call upon Unitarian consistency for an implicit reliance upon the fidelity of his statements, but produce a point of fact exactly parallel. Epiphanius distinctly asserts, that the Ebionites

<sup>n</sup> Will those who pronounce the Ebionites to have been the true Hebrew Christians, credit the veracity of this Father, when he represents them as believing that God committed the government of this world to *the Devil*, of the world to come to *the Christ*, and that *the Christ*, who was a celestial being superior to the archangels themselves, descended upon and was united to the man *Jesus* at his baptism? And yet, among other absurdities, this he precisely delivers as their creed: Δυο δε τινας συνιςωσιν εκ Θεου τεταγμενες, ένα μεν τον Χριστον, ένα δε τον Διαβολον. Και τον μεν Χριστον λεγουσι τε μελλοντος αιωνος ειληφεναι τον κληρον, τον δε Διαβολον τετον πεπιστευσαι τον αιωνα, εκ προσαγωγης δηθεν του παντοκρατορος κατα αιτησιν εκατερων αυτων. Και τουτου ενεκα Ιησυν γεγεννημενον εκ σπερματος ανδρος λεγουσι, και επιλεχθεντα, και ετω κητα εκλογην υιον Θεου κληθεντα, απο τε ανωθεν εις αυτον ηκοντος Χριστου εν ειδει περιτερας. Ου φασκουσι δε εκ Θεου πατρος αυτον γεγεννησθαι, αλλα εκτισθαι, ως ένα των αρχαγγελων, μειζονα δε αυτων οντα, αυτον δε κυριευειν και αγγελων και παντων υπο του παντοκρατορος πεποιημενων. Hæref. 30. §. 16. And in §. 14. their belief is expressly said to have been, that the Christ was συναφθεντα, *conglutinated with* the man Jesus.

not only rejected the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, but also the prophetical writings, and almost the whole of the Old Testament, with very little reservation indeed. His words are; *Αβρααμ δε ὁμολογεῖσι καὶ Ἰσαακ, καὶ Ἰακώβ· Μωσὴν τε καὶ Ααρών, Ἰησοῦν τε τὸν τοῦ Ναυη, ἀπλῶς διαδεξάμενον Μωυσεῶς, οὐδὲν τε οὐτά· μετὰ τούτους δὲ οὐκετι ὁμολογοῦσι τίνα τῶν προφητῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσι καὶ χλευάζουσι· . . . . . οὐτε γὰρ δεχονται τὴν Πεντατεύχον Μωυσεῶς ὅλην, ἀλλὰ τίνα ῥήματα ἀποβάλλουσιν.* §. 18. If therefore, from the testimony of Epiphanius, and upon the credit of the Ebionites, a sect which, nevertheless, this very author describes as resembling that portentous pest of antiquity, the fabled Hydra, (*πολυμορφὸν τερασίον, καὶ ὡς εἰπεν τῆς μυθευομένης πολυκεφαλῆς Ὑδρᾶς σφιδῶδη μορφὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀνατυπώσαμενος*, §. 1.) we expunge from the Canon of the New Testament any portion of the Gospel of St. Matthew, must we not, to be consistent with ourselves, from the same testimony, and upon the same credit, expunge also from the Canon of the Old Testament the whole body of the inspired Prophets, and admit even the Pentateuch itself under a suspicion, that some parts of our existing copies have been interpolated? Surely this inevitable

conclusion will gratify neither side ; and will at least prove highly unpalatable to those Unitarians, who think with Mr. Stone, that “ Jewish prophecy is the sole criterion to distinguish between genuine and spurious Christian Scripture<sup>o</sup>. ”

But let us consider more minutely the character of this boasted Gospel of the Ebionites. The production itself is lost ; and nothing remains of it, except a few extracts, preserved in the writings of the Fathers. It was called “ the Gospel according to the Hebrews,” and was certainly known under that title to Clements Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome ; the latter of whom, obtaining a correct

<sup>o</sup> See a singular sermon under this title, preached at a Visitation in Essex by Mr. Stone. I have not here noticed the testimony of Eusebius, who remarks, that the Ebionites also rejected the Epistles of St. Paul, whom they denominated an Apostate. Οὗτοι δὲ τὴ μὲν Αποστολὴν πάσας τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀρνήτεας ᾔγουντο εἶναι δειν, ἀποστατὴν ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ νομοῦ. Hist. lib. iii. c. 27. I have not noticed this circumstance, because the question solely turns upon the testimony of Epiphanius. If however we admit it, and it surely stands on higher authority than the other alluded to, we shall be under the necessity of rejecting a still larger portion of the New Testament, unless we abandon the fidelity of Ebionite Scripture altogether.



copy of it from the Nazarenes, translated it both into Greek and Latin. As so much has been said upon this subject both by Jones and Michaelis, it seems not necessary to dwell upon it minutely. Clemens Alexandrinus simply refers to it, quoting a passage not in the Greek copy of St. Matthew, or of any other Gospel. Origen likewise quotes from it in the same way, speaking of it as not of any decided authority. His words are, “ Si tamen placet aliqui suscipere illud, non *ad auctoritatem*, sed *ad manifestationem* propositæ quæstionis.” “ If any one be pleased to receive it, not as of any authority, but only for the illustration of the present question<sup>p</sup>.” Eusebius notices, that it was used by the Ebionites, who, he adds, very little esteemed any other; τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρον ἐποιχοντο λογον q. Jerome, in his Catalogue of Illustrious Men, certainly seems to describe it as the original Hebrew text of St. Matthew<sup>r</sup>; but in other parts of his works he represents it, in one place, as a Gospel which most *think* to be the Gospel according to St. Matthew, ut plerique *autumant*<sup>s</sup>; in another,

<sup>p</sup> Jones on the Canon, Part II. chap. 25. §. 3.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. §. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. §. 13.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. §. 15.

as a Gospel which is *called* by many the authentic Gospel of St. Matthew<sup>t</sup>; and at the beginning of his third book against the Pelagians, he considers it as a document which, if its *authority* be not admitted, may at least be used out of respect to its *antiquity*; “quibus  
 “testimoniis, si non uteris ad auctoritatem,  
 “utere saltem ad antiquitatem.” Hence Michaelis, after a particular examination of Jerome’s different allusions to it, says, “I am far  
 “from supposing that Jerome took the Nazarene Gospel for the *unadulterated* original,  
 “as it is evident, from the quotations which  
 “he has made from it, that it abounded with  
 “interpolations<sup>x</sup>.” And of the same opinion is Michaelis’s “learned and acute translator and  
 “annotator, Dr. Herbert Marsh,” as the authors of this Version justly denominate a biblical critic of the first celebrity, who remarks, that even when Jerome seems to describe it as the original text of St. Matthew, “he does  
 “not declare that it was really St. Matthew’s  
 “*unadulterated* original. Indeed if he had  
 “supposed so, he could not have used at other

<sup>t</sup> Jones on the Canon, Part II. chap. 25. §. 21.

<sup>u</sup> Michaelis’s Introduction, vol. iii. part i. p. 182.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. p. 181.

“ times the expressions, ‘ *quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum,*’ and ‘ *ut plerique autumant juxta Matthæum*.’” Indeed both these critics, upon a general view of the question, represent this Gospel as evidently a garbled production, and by no means the true Hebrew original of St. Matthew. Nor in their condemnation of it do they depart from the decisions of preceding critics. To omit such names as Casaubon, Mill, Whitby, Fabricius, and Le Clerc; the “ learned” Jeremiah Jones, and the “ venerable” Lardner, critics admired by the Unitarians, held precisely the same sen-

Michaelis’s Introduction, vol. iii. part ii. p. 134. That Jerome had no higher opinion of it than the other Fathers, is asserted also by Jones, who makes the following remarks upon a passage or two of Jerome, unfavourable to its authenticity, which I have not above referred to. “ He (Jerome) expressly saith, *It was the same with the Gospel intitled, according to the Twelve Apostles;* (see c. 25. §. 15.) but this he expressly rejects as *Apocryphal* in another place, (c. 7. §. 5.) and as a book of the *heretics, wrote by men destitute of the spirit and grace of God,* without a due regard to truth, c. 7. §. 4. The same appears from his manner of citing it in several of the places above, c. 25. For instance, in that there produced, §. 18. he introduces his citations thus; *He who will believe the Gospel according to the Hebrews.*” On the Canon, vol. i. part ii. chap. 28.

timents. The former writer was so fully convinced of its illegitimacy, that he adduces at some length (c. 29.) what he considers as “ positive proofs that it was apocryphal.” The latter regarded it as a compilation subsequent in point of time to the genuine Gospels, principally indeed formed upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, but having inserted in it various “ additions of things taken out of St. Luke’s, “ (and perhaps other Gospels,) and other mat- “ ters, that had been delivered by oral tradi- “ tion<sup>z</sup>.”

That the argument however may have a due weight given to it in all its different bearings, I will even admit the external character of the document to stand as high as the Unitarians themselves would place it; and shall be satisfied to rest my proofs wholly upon the apocryphal complexion of its internal character. Among other passages of a suspicious nature occurs the following: “ Behold the mother “ and brethren of Christ spake to him; *John “ the Baptist baptizes for the remission of sins; “ let us go and be baptized by him.* He said to

<sup>z</sup> Credibility of the Gospel History, vol. i. p. 185. Ed. 1748.

“ them, *In what have I sinned, that I have  
 “ any need to go and to be baptized by him?*  
 “ Unless my saying this proceed perhaps from  
 “ ignorance<sup>a</sup>.” Again, in another part, our  
 Saviour says, “ *The Holy Ghost, my mother,*  
 “ took me by one of my hairs, and led me to  
 “ the great mountain Thabor<sup>b</sup>.” Will it be

<sup>a</sup> “ Ecce mater Domini et fratres ejus dicebant ei, Jo-  
 hannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum; ea-  
 mus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis, Quid peccavi,  
 ut vadam et baptizer ab eo? nisi forte hoc ipsum, quod  
 dixi, ignorantia est.” Quotation from Jerome in Jones,  
 ibid. §. 15. In another chapter (29th) the same author  
 makes the following comment upon this quotation.  
 “ The meaning of this passage will be best perceived from  
 “ a parallel one in another apocryphal book, entitled,  
 “ *The Preaching of Peter*, in which it was related, *that*  
 “ *Christ confessed his sins, and was compelled, contrary to*  
 “ *his own inclinations, by his mother Mary to submit to*  
 “ *the baptism of John.*”

<sup>b</sup> Ἀρτι ἐλάβε με ἡ μητὴρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τρι-  
 χῶν μου, καὶ ἀπενέγκε με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβωρ. Quotation  
 from Origen, ibid. c. 25. §. 4. If certain passages are to  
 be rejected upon the credit of this document, why are not  
 others to be inserted? Why, for example, after Matthew  
 xix. 20. in which our Saviour says to the rich man, “ Go  
 “ and sell what thou hast, and give it to the poor, and  
 “ come and follow me,” is not the following reading  
 added as at least probable; “ The rich man hereupon be-  
 “ gan to scratch his head, (scalpere caput suum,) and was

maintained, that a passage is to be received into the Canon of Scripture, which asserts, that our blessed Saviour required the baptism of John for the remission of such sins as he had ignorantly committed, in direct contradiction to the testimony of St. Paul, that *he knew no sin*, 2 Cor. v. 21? Or if it be, will not the authenticity of the other quotation at least be considered as dubious, in which *the Holy Spirit* is expressly termed *the mother of Christ*, and represented, in order to make the transaction more miraculous, as conveying him to a lofty mountain by *one* of the hairs of his head? Can passages like these be so twisted by the tortuous lubricity of theological comment, as to elude the grasp of indignant criticism?

But the very commencement itself of this singular production, as it is stated by Epiphanius, sufficiently betrays its illegitimacy. The Translators of the New Version give us the following information: "The Gospel," they say, "of the Ebionites or Hebrews, which did not contain the account of the miraculous conception of Jesus, began in this manner; *It*

"displeased, &c.?" See Jones on the Canon, *ibid.* §. 5. Doubtless the same document cannot be less competent to authorize an addition, than an omission.

“ *came to pass in the days of Herod king of*  
 “ *Judea, that John came baptizing with the*  
 “ *baptism of repentance in the river Jordan.*  
 “ See Epiphanius, and Jer. Jones.” But in the  
 preceding note they had thus reasoned : “ If  
 “ it be true, as Luke relates, c. iii. 23. that  
 “ Jesus was entering upon his thirtieth year  
 “ in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius,  
 “ he must have been born *two years at least*  
 “ *after the death of Herod* ; a circumstance  
 “ which alone invalidates the whole story.”  
 Now it is something singular, that, while they  
 object to the text of St. Matthew, because it  
 fixes our Saviour’s birth in the days of Herod  
 the king, who really died, they add, *two years*  
*before*, they should at the same time contend  
 for the authenticity of a document, which not  
 only supposes that Christ was born in the  
 reign of Herod, but that Herod was still living  
 when our Saviour was in his *thirtieth* year, at  
 the period of the Baptist’s public appearance  
 in the discharge of his mission. Leaving them  
 however to vindicate their own consistency, I  
 shall confine myself to the simple statement of  
 the fact. Epiphanius expressly declares, that the  
 Gospel of the Ebionites began with an account  
 of John’s baptizing with the baptism of re-

pentance in the days of *Herod king of Judea*; who, it is agreed on all sides, was dead many years before. If therefore Epiphanius's relation be true, and this Gospel began as he describes it, an anachronism of an extraordinary kind is apparent at its very outset, which instantly subverts the foundation of the whole Unitarian argument: and if it be not true, then the commencement of this Gospel is rendered uncertain, and the hypothesis raised upon it falls to the ground at once of its own accord. Whether his knowledge of this Gospel were derived from ocular inspection or from vague report, he is admitted to have misrepresented it; and if he be inaccurate in one point, how can we trust him in another? It is of little consequence, whether his misrepresentation arose from inadvertence, ignorance, or malice; for if the fact be so in one, and that an important instance, surely it must render every part of his testimony suspicious.

In whatsoever point of view therefore we contemplate this document, it betrays evident traces of a spurious origin.

I have hitherto taken for granted, what the authors of the New Version affirm, that the Cerinthians and Carpocratians rejected the two



first chapters of St. Matthew, with the exception of the Genealogy ; and that the Ebionites rejected them altogether, without that exception. It may however be questioned, whether this is not more than Epiphanius states. He certainly asserts, that the Gospel of the Ebionites began with an account of John the Baptist, which, as not occurring until the third chapter in the Greek Gospel, must of course exclude the preceding chapters ; but he does not assert, that the Gospel of the Cerinthians and Carpocratians began in the same manner : on the contrary he tells us, that it commenced with the Genealogy, precisely as the Greek Gospel commences. The latter sects, it is true, used a Hebrew Gospel in many respects similar to that of the Ebionites, but evidently not in all, as the difference alluded to indisputably proves. The Cerinthians and Carpocratians therefore, as far as the testimony of Epiphanius goes, may be supposed to have retained the whole, as well as a part of the disputed chapters. Indeed, in another place, he expressly argues against the opinions of the Cerinthians, from a passage in the same chapters, subsequent to the Genealogy, viz. from Mat. i. 18. which he would scarcely perhaps

have done, had not the passage been received by them as genuine. His words are these :

Πως δε παλιν εκ ελεγχθησεται αυτων η ανοια τς Ευαγγελις σαφως λεγοντος, οτι ευρεθη εν γαστρι εχυσσα, πριν η συνελθειν αυτς<sup>c</sup>.

Let us then briefly consider the deduction of the Unitarians from the premises which have been stated. The two first chapters of St. Matthew, they say, were not contained in the Hebrew Gospel of the Ebionites, therefore they are to be rejected; but a portion of them, about one fourth of the whole, was found in the Hebrew Gospel of the Cerinthians and Carpocratians, therefore this portion is to be retained, and the remainder only to be rejected. Is there not however a fallacy in the conclusion thus hastily drawn? The rejection of the three parts in question cannot well be made to depend upon the credit of the Cerinthian and Carpocratian Gospel, because it is not asserted to have been deficient in these respects; it must solely rest upon that of the Gospel of the Ebionites. But it must be admitted, that the Gospel in question was but a mutilated copy of St. Matthew at best, as it

<sup>c</sup> Hæref. 27. §. 7.

possessed not the Genealogy. If therefore its credit be more than questionable in the non-admission of one, and that a prominent part, how is it to be established in the non-admission of the remaining parts? Would the same hand, which avowedly cut away the Genealogy, scruple to remove also the account of the miraculous conception, and the other events subsequently recorded in these chapters?

But the authors of the New Version, it may be said, depend not wholly upon the testimony of Epiphanius. They introduce Jerome also as an auxiliary in their cause, certainly a more correct, more learned, and better informed writer, who, they observe, “assures us, “that the two chapters were wanting in the “copies used by the Nazarenes and Ebion-“ites.” So indeed they observe; yet may they be challenged to produce a single passage from the voluminous writings of Jerome, in which any assurance of the kind alluded to is either expressed or implied. On the contrary, it seems not difficult to shew, that the testimony of Jerome makes completely against them. This Father, it should be recollected, translated into Greek and Latin the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and must therefore have been well ac-

quainted with its contents. In his Catalogue of Illustrious Writers he makes the following allusion to it: “ Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui  
 “ in Berœa, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utun-  
 “ tur, describendi facultas fuit; in quo anim-  
 “ advertendum, quod ubicunque Evangelista,  
 “ five ex persona sua, five ex persona Domini  
 “ Salvatoris Veteris Scripturæ testimoniis utitur,  
 “ non sequatur Septuaginta translatorum auc-  
 “ toritatem, sed *Hebraicam*; è quibus illa duo  
 “ sunt *Ex Ægypto vocavi Filium meum*, et, *Quo-*  
 “ *niam Nazaræus vocabitur*. The Nazaræans,  
 “ who live in Berœa, a city of Syria, and make  
 “ use of this volume, granted me the favour of  
 “ writing it out; in which Gospel there is this  
 “ observable, that wherever the Evangelist ei-  
 “ ther cites himself, or introduces our Saviour  
 “ as citing any passage out of the Old Testa-  
 “ ment, he does not follow the translation of  
 “ the LXX. but the *Hebrew* copies, of which  
 “ there are these two instances; viz. that, *Out*  
 “ *of Egypt I have called my Son*; and that,  
 “ *He shall be called a Nazarene*<sup>d</sup>.” Is it not

<sup>d</sup> Jones on the Canon, vol. i. part ii. chap. 25. §. 13. See also Michaelis’s Introduction, vol. iii. part i. p. 166, 7; and Marsh’s Notes, part ii. p. 130, 1. I have omitted the other proofs advanced by Michaelis, and more ably urged

hence evident, that the second of these disputed chapters at least, where these passages occur, was contained in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, which both Jerome and Eusebius represent as the Gospel also of the Ebionites<sup>e</sup>? What then becomes of the supposed assurance of Jerome? And what credit is due to the assertions of those, who are too indolent, for I

by his Annotator, because the single proof referred to seems perfectly satisfactory. I shall however add here the conclusion of Dr. Marsh: "It appears," he remarks, "from Notes " 10, 11. to this section, that the Hebrew Gospel used by " the Nazarenes contained, at least, the second chapter of " St. Matthew. We must conclude therefore, from the " connexion of the subject, that it contained likewise *the* " *eight last verses of the first chapter, which are so closely* " *connected with the second chapter, that no separation can* " *well take place.* The only doubt therefore is, whether " it contained the *Genealogy*, Matt. i. 1—17." Ibid. p. 137.

<sup>e</sup> I have considered the same *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, as used both by the Nazarenes and Ebionites. Many critics have indeed surmised, that some little difference existed between the respective copies of these sects; but as this surmise principally rests on the credit of Epiphanius's quotations, I have omitted to notice it, particularly as the testimony of Eusebius and Jerome is direct to the point, and as the Authors of the New Version themselves identify the Gospel of the Nazarenes with that of the Ebionites.

cannot suppose them too ignorant, to examine the authorities, to which they appeal for the truth of their statements?

Still however they may remark, unwilling to abandon the accuracy of Epiphanius, that something perhaps may be discovered in the extracts from the Gospel of the Ebionites, furnished by other writers, to corroborate the general credit of his testimony. But, unfortunately, here again the fact is completely on the other side; and something may be found not to corroborate, but to invalidate his testimony. In the very passage where he speaks of the commencement of this Gospel, he adds the following quotation: “ Ἠλθε καὶ Ἰη-  
 “ σους καὶ ἐβαπτισθῆ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου· καὶ ὡς ἀνῆλθεν  
 “ ἀπὸ τῆ ὕδατος, ἠνοιγθησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ εἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα  
 “ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ Ἅγιον ἐν εἰδεί περιστερᾶς κατελθούσης καὶ  
 “ εἰσηλθούσης εἰς αὐτόν. Καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν  
 “ λέγονσα· Σὺ μὲν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἠδοκῆσα.  
 “ Καὶ πάλιν, Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκα σε. Jesus also  
 “ went and was baptized by John; and as he  
 “ ascended out of the water, the heavens were  
 “ opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit of God  
 “ in the form of a dove descending and enter-  
 “ ing into him, and a voice was made from  
 “ heaven, saying, *Thou art my beloved Son, in*

“ *whom I am well pleased*: and then another,  
 “ *I have this day begotten thee*<sup>f</sup>.” Such is the  
 extract of Epiphanius. Let this be compared  
 with the subsequent extract made by Jerome  
 relative to the same transaction, and the dif-  
 ference must appear remarkable. “ Factum est  
 “ autem, quum ascendisset Dominus de aqua,  
 “ descendit fons omnis Spiritus Sancti, et re-  
 “ quievit super eum, et dixit ei; Fili mi, in  
 “ omnibus prophetis exspectabam te, ut ve-  
 “ nires, et requiescerem in te; tu es enim re-  
 “ quies mea; tu es filius meus primogenitus,  
 “ qui regnas in sempiternum. It came to pass,  
 “ when the Lord ascended from the water,  
 “ the whole fountain of the Holy Ghost de-  
 “ scended and rested upon him, and said to  
 “ him, *My Son, among* (or during all the time  
 “ of) *all the Prophets I was waiting for thy*  
 “ *coming, that I might rest upon thee; for*  
 “ *thou art my rest; thou art my first begotten*  
 “ *Son, who shall reign to everlasting ages*.”  
 How are these varying passages to be recon-  
 ciled? Both profess to be taken from the *Gos-*

<sup>f</sup> Jones on the Canon, vol. i. part. ii. chap. 25. §. 11.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. §. 16. This indeed is the only extract which Epiphanius has in common with any other Father, and the difference we perceive is remarkable.

*pel according to the Hebrews.* That quoted by Jerome indisputably was ; that quoted by Epiphanius rests on the simple affirmation of the writer, unsupported by any collateral evidence, and made by one, whose character for accuracy is, to say the best of it, at least questionable. Can we possibly for a moment hesitate to determine on which side the balance of credibility preponderates ?

Having thus endeavoured to demonstrate, that if, in order to be consistent, we adopt the Scriptures of the Ebionites in all respects, who are stated to have rejected the two first chapters of St. Matthew, little will be left to us either of the Old Testament or the New ; that their Gospel, as appears both from its external and internal evidence, could not have been the original of St. Matthew ; and that, even if it had, we might have still inferred, from the testimony of Jerome, that certainly one, and perhaps both of the disputed chapters were contained in it ; I might here conclude the discussion : but, by way of satisfying those who conceive a Hebrew acknowledgment of these chapters to be important, I shall previously remark, that a particular passage in them was distinctly referred to by an Hebrew Christian of



a very early age. Hegesippus, who lived at a period immediately subsequent to the apostolical, ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένου διαδοχῆς, as Eusebius informs us, speaking of Domitian, observed, that he too dreaded the coming of Christ, *as well as Herod*; ἐφοβείτο γὰρ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης<sup>h</sup>: upon which reference of Hegesippus, it will be only necessary to give the opinion of *Lardner*. “This passage,” says that discriminating writer, “deserves to be re-  
 “marked. It contains a reference to the his-  
 “tory in the *second chapter* of St. Matthew,  
 “and shews plainly, that this part of St. Mat-  
 “thew’s Gospel was owned by this Hebrew  
 “Christian<sup>i</sup>.”

I should likewise add, that, although I have considered the document so often quoted, in order to preserve the thread of the Unitarian argument without interruption, as principally fabricated from the Gospel of St. Matthew, because such seem certainly to have been the sentiments of the early writers, I am far from admitting this point as clearly proved. The Fathers appear to have so considered it from

<sup>h</sup> Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. chap. 19. §. 20.

<sup>i</sup> Credibility of the Gospel Hist. part ii. vol. i. p. 317.

the circumstance of its being the only Hebrew Gospel with which they were at all acquainted, combined with their persuasion, that St. Matthew himself wrote in that language. It is nevertheless evident from the fragments of it still extant, that in many respects it is not only very different from the Greek of St. Matthew, but often closely copied from the other Gospels. In the extracts given by Epiphanius it bears a strong resemblance to St. Luke<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> The following parallel passages occur in St. Luke, and not in St. Matthew : ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΤΙΣ ΑΝΗΡ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΙΗΣΘΗΣ, ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΩΣ ΕΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΙΣΗΛΘΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΙΑΝ ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣ. Jones on the Canon, vol. i. part ii. chap. 25. §. 11. ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΗΝ Ο ΙΗΣΘΗΣ ΩΣΕΙ ΕΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ, Luke iii. 23. ΕΙΣΗΛΘΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΙΑΝ ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣ, Luke iv. 38. ΣΙΜΩΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΖΗΛΩΤΗΝ, *ibid.* ΣΙΜΩΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΖΗΛΩΤΗΝ, Luke vi. 15. ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΙΣ Ἡρώδης το βασιλεως της Ιουδαιας, *ibid.* ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΙΣ Ἡρώδης το βασιλεως της Ιουδαιας, Luke i. 5. ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑΣ, *ibid.* ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑΣ, Luke iii. 3. The same expression is also found in Mark i. 4. The parentage of John the Baptist is likewise given, which no one of the Evangelists records, except St. Luke. ΣΥ ΜΕ ΕΙ Ο ΥΙΟΣ Ο ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ, ΕΝ ΣΟΙ ΗΥΔΟΚΗΣΑ, *ibid.* ΣΥ ΕΙ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΜΕ Ο ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ, ΕΝ ΣΟΙ ΗΥΔΟΚΗΣΑ, Luke iii. 22. In St. Matthew the words are, ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΜΟΥ Ο ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ, ΕΝ Ω ΗΥΔΟΚΗΣΑ, chap. iii. 17. Εγώ σημερον γεγεννηκα σε. It is singular that these words do not occur in the text of St. Luke, but were nevertheless read in the following Mss. and Fathers, &c. referred to by Griesbach, "D. Cant. veron. verc. colb. corb \*. Clem.

Dr. Marsh perhaps would say, that this only proves the author of the Gospel in question to have borrowed from the same source as St. Luke. But whether this reasoning be correct, or not, it is sufficient for my purpose simply to note the fact, that in the extracts made by Epiphanius a verbal resemblance to St. Luke is in several instances strikingly visible.

Upon the whole therefore I have rendered it, I trust, more than probable, that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, whatsoever might have been its pristine state, if indeed it ever laid claim to apostolical purity, cannot, in the state in which it is known to us, be correctly

“Method. Hilar. Lactant. Jur. Faustus manich. ap. Aug. Codd. ap. Aug. qui tamen monet in *antiquioribus* græcis hæc non inveniri.” Μη επιθυμια επιθυμητα κρεας τετο το πασχα φαγειν μεθ' υμων; Epiph. Hæref. 30. §. 22. Επιθυμια επιθυμητα τετο το πασχα φαγειν μεθ' υμων. Luke xxii. 15. Here, if Epiphanius is to be credited in his extract, is a manifest perversion of our Saviour's meaning, at war with the context, by giving an *interrogative* turn to the sentence, in order to sanction the Ebionite principle of abstaining from animal food. Is it possible after this to contemplate the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, as represented to us by Epiphanius, in any other light than as a garbled and spurious production? Nor indeed do the quotations of it, preserved by Origen and Jerome, place it in a more respectable point of view.

considered as the unadulterated original of St. Matthew. And of this perhaps our new Translators themselves feel a little conscious ; otherwise they would scarcely have been satisfied with pointing out certain passages for rejection, without suggesting also certain additions, unless indeed they apprehended (which I rather suspect to have been the case) that the absurdity evident in some of these would have shaken the credit of their whole argument.

## CHAP. III.

*Authenticity of the two first Chapters of  
St. Luke.*

I HAVE not interfered in the former instance, nor do I mean to interfere in this, with the *conjectural* ground for the rejection of Scripture advanced by the Translators of this Version, because arguments similar to those which are used by them have been already often adduced, and as often refuted; because in some instances the most satisfactory answers are given by the very authors, to whom they refer for support; and because, above all, I am fully persuaded that the slippery system itself of conjectural criticism rests on no solid foundation. But where a sort of authority is appealed to, I shall consider its validity.

The Translators say; “ The two first chapters of this Gospel were wanting in the copies used by Marcion, a reputed heretic of the second century; who, though he is represented by his adversaries as holding some

“extravagant opinions, was a man of learning and integrity, for any thing that appears to the contrary. He, like some moderns, rejected all the Evangelical histories excepting Luke, of which he contended that his own was a correct and authentic copy.”

I shall not undertake to discuss the collateral question respecting the learning and integrity of Marcion; because it is perhaps of little importance in itself, and because we have no sure data from which we can form an impartial decision upon the subject. For the *odium theologicum* in the breasts of his adversaries, great allowance, I am aware, is to be made: but I must enter my unqualified protest against the Unitarian mode of constantly interpreting the Orthodox representation of an heretical character by the rule of contraries; of uniformly reading for vice, virtue; for folly, talent; and for want of principle, integrity. But as the Authors of this Version seem disposed to sacrifice the universal persuasion of antiquity, upon the subject of St. Luke's text, to the particular opinion of Marcion, let us examine a little the nature and extent of his testimony. We are told, that the two first chapters were wanting in the copies used by

him ; and yet the four first verses are retained as indisputably genuine. How is this contradiction to be reconciled ? Certainly some explanation of it should have been given. Were the four first verses retained simply for the convenience of an additional argument, in order to identify beyond dispute the writer of this Gospel with the writer of the Acts of the Apostles, and so to deduce from that circumstance the following ingenious display of criticism ? “ The Evangelist,” it is observed, “ in his preface to the Acts of the Apostles, “ reminds his friend Theophilus, Acts i. 1. “ that his former history contained an account “ of the public ministry of Jesus, but makes “ no allusion to the remarkable incidents contained in the two first chapters, which *therefore* probably were not written by him ;” as if, when an author refers to a former production, simply to point out its connexion with the one which he is composing, he must always be supposed distinctly to enumerate every subject contained in it. Should this be the only reason for esteeming the four verses in question genuine, our new Translators surely treat their favourite Marcion, whose single authority they have to plead for rejecting the re-

mainder of these chapters, very unceremoniously and contemptuously, because he expressly considered them also as spurious. As they appear not to have investigated very accurately the testimony upon which they rely, I shall point out to them what it really was, and will take my proofs from a work with which they are themselves doubtless well acquainted, “Lardner’s History of Heretics.”

Epiphanius, from whom we learn most respecting the Gospel in question, informs us, that it resembled the Gospel of St. Luke, much mutilated, being defective both in the beginning, the middle, and the end; particularly that at the beginning it wanted the *Preface*, (viz. the four verses still retained in the New Version,) and the account of Elizabeth, of the salutation of the Angel to the Virgin Mary, of John and Zacharias, of the nativity at Bethlehem, of *the Genealogy*, and of *the Baptism*.

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ χαρακτήρ τῶ κατὰ Λῦκάν σημαίνει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὡς δὲ ηὐκρωτηριασθαι, μὴτε ἀρχὴν ἔχων, μὴτε μέσα, μὴτε τέλος, ἱματίω βεβρωμένω ὑπὸ πολλῶν σήτων ἐπεχει τὸν τρόπον· εὐθύς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πάντα τὰ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τῶ Λύκᾳ πεπραγματευμένα, τὰτ’ ἐστὶν ὡς λέγει· ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχειρήσαν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἐλισαβέτ, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγγέλου εὐαγγελιζομένου τὴν Μαρίαν



παρθενον, Ιωαννης τε και Ζαχαρις, και της εν Βεθλεεμ γενησεως, γενεαλογιας, και της του Βαπτισματος υποθεσεως ταυτα παντα περικοψας απεπηδησε. Hær. 42. §. 11.<sup>1</sup> Hence therefore it appears, that Marcion rejected the Preface which the New Version admits, and also that part at least of the *third* chapter which contains the particulars of our Saviour's *Baptism* and *Genealogy*; a defalcation more extensive than the modest lop of the Unitarians<sup>m</sup>. But this is not all. *Lardner* contends, that not a single passage of St. Luke, with the exception of the words, "*In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar,*" from the *first* verse of the *first* chapter, down to the

<sup>1</sup> Lardner's History of Heretics, p. 250. note q.

<sup>m</sup> Epiphanius indeed, immediately after the words above quoted from him by Lardner, says, that the Gospel of Marcion began thus: "In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, &c." Και αρχην τε ευαγγελιου σταξε ταυτην. Εν τω πεντεκαιδεκατω ετει Τιβεριου Καισαρος και τα εξης. But he adds, that Marcion preserved no regular order of narration, τα δε προσιδησιν ανω κατω, εκ ορθως βαδιζων, αλλα ερραδιεργημενως παντα περινοσεων. Besides, as he had just asserted the omission of the *Baptism* and *Genealogy*, it seems impossible that he could have been either so absurd, or so forgetful, as directly to contradict himself in the very next sentence. Theodoret also mentions Marcion's rejection of the *Genealogy*, και την γενεαλογιαν περικοψας &c. Lardner, *ibid.* p. 250.

*thirteenth* verse of the *fourth* chapter inclusive, was to be found in the Gospel of Marcion. His argument is principally grounded upon the following extract from Tertullian: “Anno  
 “quinto decimo principatus Tiberiani propo-  
 “nit Deum descendisse in civitatem Galileæ  
 “Caphernaum;” Contra Marc. lib. iv. §. 7. which he considers as given by Tertullian for the commencement of Marcion’s Gospel, and which he thus translates: “In the fifteenth  
 “year of Tiberius Cæsar God descended into  
 “Capernaum, a city of Galilee.” Now as we are assured by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and others, that Marcion believed Jesus to be a celestial Being, or real Divinity, sent from the supreme God, who was superior to the Creator of the world; and as we read, Luke iv. 31. that Jesus “went down to Capernaum, a city of  
 “Galilee;” these circumstances alone, without any additional reasoning, seem almost indisputably to prove, that the *thirty-first* verse of the *fourth* chapter, with the simple date of the period prefixed, was the precise commencement of this Gospel, as pointed out by Tertullian <sup>n</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Marcion, it is obvious, could not, consistently with his principles, have acknowledged the *Baptism* and *Genea-*

Independently of this complete abscission, Epiphanius gives at large a variety of other omissions, and of interpolations, which he dwells upon minutely.

If then our new Translators conceive the whole of Marcion's evidence to be valuable, why do they adopt one part and neglect the other? Why do they not likewise fairly tell us to what extent we must proceed, if we regulate our Canon of Scripture by his rule? There is no doubt of his having disavowed every Gospel but his own, of his having received no other part of the New Testament except certain Epistles of St. Paul garbled, and of his having rejected altogether the writings of the Old Testament°. Hence surely some little perplexity must arise, when we attempt to reconcile the canon of the Marcionites and the Ebionites, (whose assistance in purifying the Gospel of St. Matthew must not be forgotten,) without sacrificing the credit of either. The

*logy*: neither, for the same reason, could he have admitted the *Temptation*, and the *Discourse in the Synagogue*, contained in the fourth chapter, as both occurrences are connected with allusions to the Old Testament; and we shall presently see how free he made with these.

° Lardner, *ibid*.

Ebionites rejected only a part of the Old Testament, retaining the greatest portion of the Pentateuch at least; the Marcionites rejected the whole. The Marcionites received almost all St. Paul's Epistles; the Ebionites held that Apostle and his writings in abhorrence. Both indeed agreed in repudiating every Gospel except their own; but unfortunately their respective Gospels were widely different from each other. Reduced to this lamentable dilemma, can we act with greater wisdom than to abandon both Ebionites and Marcionites; to prefer simplicity to fraud, and consistency to contradiction?

But, waving every other consideration, let us examine a little some of the internal pretensions of Marcion's Gospel to legitimacy. Among the extravagant opinions imputed to him, were the following: that the Creator of the *invisible* world was a Deity distinct from, and superior to, the Creator of the visible world; the former being goodness itself, the latter good and evil; the latter the God of the Old, the former the God of the New Testament: that Jesus was the Son of the Supreme Deity, assuming the appearance of manhood when he first descended from heaven, and was seen in

Capernaum, a city of Galilee ; and that a principal part of his mission was to destroy the Law and the Prophets, or the revelation of that inferior God, who created only the visible world. Hence Marcion found it convenient to get rid of every allusion to our Saviour's nativity, because he objected to believe that Jesus was *man*, certainly not upon the Unitarian principle, of objecting to believe that he was *more* than man ; and thus we find his Gospel commencing precisely where we might have expected it to commence.

A favourite text with the Marcionites was, Luke viii. 21. in which our Saviour says, " My mother and my brethren are those who hear the word of God, and do it ;" because they considered it as proving that Christ owned no mortal consanguinity : but the 19th verse stood directly in their way, " Then came to him *his mother and his brethren*, and could not come at him for the press ;" the words therefore, *his mother and his brethren*, they expunged. If it be said, might not the same words have been wanting in the genuine copies of St. Luke ? the answer is obvious : they certainly might have been ; but what proof is there that they were ? Are they omitted in any of the

three hundred and fifty-five manuscripts which have been collated, or in any of the versions? Not in one. And do they not seem necessary to the connexion of the subsequent verse, in which it is observed, “ And it was told him “ by certain, which said, Thy mother and thy “ brethren stand without, desiring to see thee?” Besides, we perceive these very expressions in the genuine Gospel of St. Matthew, (c. xii. 46.) where the same transaction is recorded. Could they have been inserted there by the hand of some wicked Ebionite? This however the Unitarians cannot consistently allow; because, in their judgment, the Ebionites were no interpolators. Must we not then conclude, when, as in this instance, an omission is pleaded in one Gospel which occurs not in another, which also destroys the connexion of the context, and which the party defending it has an interest in supporting, that the theological pruning-hook has been indisputably at work?

Again; our Saviour addresses his heavenly Father as “ Lord of Heaven and Earth,” Luke x. 11. an appellation which completely militated against the creed of Marcion, who distinguished between the Lord *of heaven*, (that is, the heaven of heavens,) or the Lord of the *in-*

*visible* world, and the Lord of *the earth*, or the Lord of the *terrestrial and visible* world. We therefore find, that in his Gospel the latter part of the appellation was suppressed, our Saviour being introduced as only using the terms, "Lord of heaven." But since precisely the same expressions, "Lord of heaven *and earth*," are read in St. Matthew, (c. xi. 25.) and since Marcion, as we have seen, had private reasons for the omission, we cannot surely hesitate in determining which is the genuine text.

The greatest liberty however seems to have been taken with those passages which tend to confirm the authority of the Old Testament. Hence were omitted, in the eleventh chapter of St. Luke, the verses 30, 31, and 32, which allude to Jonah, to the Queen of the South, to Solomon, and to Nineveh; and the verses 49, 50, 51, which speak of the blood of the prophets, and of Abel and Zacharias: in the nineteenth chapter, the verses 45, 46, in which our Saviour expels the money-changers from the Temple: in the twentieth chapter, the verses 17, 18, in which occurs a quotation from the Psalms; and the verses 37, 38, where an allusion is made to the divine vision exhibited in the bush to Moses: in the twenty-first

chapter, the verses 21, 22, which recognize a prophecy of Daniel : and in the twenty-second chapter, the verses 35, 36, and 37, in the last of which a prophecy of Isaiah is represented as about to be accomplished. Now every one of these texts, omitted by Marcion, are to be found in the corresponding passages *both of St. Matthew and of St. Mark*, except the two first and the last, the former of which however are in St. Matthew, and the latter is in St. Mark. And it should be observed, that these are<sup>p</sup> the principal texts of

<sup>p</sup> Perhaps if to those, which are mentioned above, we add Luke xviii. 31, 32, 33, we may say all; and these likewise were omitted by Marcion, as the first of them asserted, that “ All things which are written *by the Prophets* concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished.” Indeed a similar declaration is made, Luke xxiv. 44, 45, 46 ; but I very much doubt whether Marcion’s Gospel had any thing in common with St. Luke after the preceding verse, for the following reasons: Epiphanius states, that it was *defective* at the *end* as well as at the beginning, Hæref. 42. §. 11 ; and that he had proceeded regularly to *the end* in his refutations of every part in which Marcion had absurdly retained any expression of our Saviour hostile to his own doctrine : *ὅτως ἕως τελευτῆς διεξήλθον, ἐν οἷς φαίνεται ἡλιθίως καθ’ ἑαυτὴ ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς παραμεινάσας τοῦ τε Σωτῆρος καὶ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέξεις φυλατῶν.* §. 10. Now the last notice of this kind which he takes



St. Luke, in which the Old Testament is quoted with distinct approbation. There are indeed two passages of this description, which were not erased; viz. Luke xiii. 28. and Luke xxiv. 25. but these were ingeniously accommodated to the doctrine of the Marcionites. In the first it is said, “ There shall be weeping  
 “ and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see  
 “ Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the  
 “ prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you  
 “ yourselves thrust out.” Here, instead of  
 “ when ye shall see *Abraham, and Isaac, and*  
 “ *Jacob, and the prophets*, in the kingdom of  
 “ God,” Marcion read, “ when ye shall see *all*  
 “ *the just* in the kingdom of God.” In the second passage, our Saviour thus addresses two of his disciples after his resurrection, “ O fools,  
 “ and slow of heart to believe all *that the pro-*

is contained in the 39th verse, the subject of which is concluded at the 43d verse. The result is obvious. Besides, it should not be forgotten, that in a former passage he had absolutely erased a declaration of the same nature, not indeed so fully expressed as this. Epiphanius, it is true, is in general sufficiently inaccurate; but if any dependence can be placed upon his statements, it is in the case of Marcion’s Gospel and Apostolicon, which he professes to have read, and from which, for the object of refutation, he made, he says, numerous extracts.

“*phets have spoken.*” This he changed into  
 “Slow of heart to believe all *that I have*  
*spoken to you*.”

When therefore these several circumstances are duly considered; when we perceive so many omissions, and such striking deviations in Marcion's Gospel, all pointing one way, all tending to the support of his own peculiar system; and when also we discover parallel passages in the genuine Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, sometimes in one, and sometimes in both of them, where the disputed expressions appear; must it not argue an infantine credulity almost beyond example, a credulity, which no reflection can correct, no experience cure, to conceive it probable, that the text of Marcion was the unadulterated text of St. Luke? What possible chance could have produced so great a variety of readings, and that at so early a period, all meeting in a common

¶ It may be added, that in all the instances adduced, the Peshito, or old Syriac Version, is strictly conformable with our received Gospels, and directly against Marcion's; an argument which may perhaps be of some weight with those who justly admit that Version “to be of the *most remote antiquity*, and of the *highest authority*.” Introduction to the New Translation, p. 15.

centre ? A result so uniform never surely could have been effected by a simple combination of contingencies, but must have been fraudulently secured by the loaded die “ of a systematical “ theology.” If the opinion of Lardner on this point be important, whose History of Heretics must be allowed to be sufficiently favourable to heresy, that also will be found adverse to the Unitarian argument. “ Upon an impartial “ review,” he observes, “ of these alterations, “ some appear to be trifling, others might arise “ from the various readings of different copies : “ but many of them are undoubtedly *designed* “ *perversions*, intended to countenance, or at “ least not directly contradict, those *absurd* “ *principles* which he and his followers espoused<sup>r</sup>.” But Le Clerc is more harsh in his censure ; and hesitates not to term those absolutely mad, by whom the defalcations of the corrupted Gospel of Marcion are approved<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> History of Heretics, p. 261.

<sup>s</sup> Docebat Marcion Christum venisse, ut opera Creatoris dissolveret. At de Christo nihil norat, nisi quod ex Novo Testamento acceperat, unde contrarium planè liquet ; nisi quæcumque Marcionis sententiæ adversantur, quæ innumera sunt, insanâ licentiâ refecentur ; quod nemo, *sui compos*, probaverit. Hist. Ecclesiastica, p. 649.

Indeed the Translators of the New Version themselves, whatsoever convenience they may find in depriving of canonical authority the commencement of St. Luke's Gospel, because it was not to be found in "the copies of Marcion," do not always pay a similar regard to the same precious relicks of reputed heresy. It will not perhaps be denied, that the Scriptures of Marcion must be, in all respects, of equal validity; that the credit of his *Αποστολικον* must vie with that of his *Ευαγγελιον*, and that both must stand or fall together. Yet we find that in Galat. i. 1. where St. Paul calls himself "an Apostle, not from men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead," Marcion omitted the words *God the Father*, in order, as Jerome observes, to point out that Christ raised himself up by *his own* power; "Omittebat Marcion, *Και Θεσ πατρος* in ejus *Αποστολικω* volens exponere Christum, non a Deo patre, sed per semet ipsum suscitatum." Hieron. in Galat. i. 1.<sup>t</sup> But we do not find that these words are omitted, or even marked by italics, in the New Version: on the contrary, an argument is

<sup>t</sup> Lardner's History of Heretics, p. 266.

founded upon them in the notes, to prove that  
 “ here Jesus Christ is distinguished from God,  
 “ to whom he was subordinate, and by whose  
 “ power, and not his own, he was raised from  
 “ the dead.” Were the Translators aware of  
 this circumstance? They could not have been  
 well ignorant of it, as Griesbach, whose text  
 they profess to follow, distinctly refers to it in a  
 note. But they may have been negligent. Sup-  
 posing this then to have been the case, let us  
 proceed to another reading in the Apostolicon,  
 which they certainly did not overlook, viz.  
 1 Cor. xv. 47. because they expressly remark,  
 that “ Marcion is accused by Tertullian of in-  
 “ serting here the word κυριος.” Our common  
 reading runs thus: “ The second man is the  
 “ Lord from heaven;” ὁ δευτερος ανθρωπος ὁ κυριος  
 ἐξ οραν. This *he* read, “ the second is *the* Lord  
 “ from heaven;” ὁ δευτερος ὁ κυριος ἐξ οραν: but  
*they* read, “ the second *man* will be from hea-  
 “ ven.” Thus, in the very teeth of his autho-  
 rity, they admit the word ανθρωπος, which he  
 rejected, and reject the word κυριος, which he  
 admitted; and even presume to found an ar-  
 gument for the rejection of the latter expres-  
 sion upon the circumstance of *his* having ad-  
 mitted, or, as they say, inserted it. Where is

the consistency of all this? Nor does their dereliction of professed principle terminate here. They modestly observe in their Introduction, "If this Version of the Christian Scriptures possesses any merit, it is that of being translated from the most correct text of the original which has hitherto been published," p. 8. Yet in the present instance, and this is not the only one of the kind<sup>u</sup>, they venture to discard "the most correct text of the original which has hitherto been published," the text of Griesbach, that identical text, in which, as in one of the highest credit, they professed implicitly to confide; thus coolly throwing over-

<sup>u</sup> Another occurs 1 Cor. x. 9. where Marcion, Griesbach, and the received Text, all read, "Let us not tempt *Christ*;" which they change into, "Nor let us try (tempt) *the Lord*." It is true they take no notice of Marcion, but they seem to express their surprize that the word *Christ* "is retained by Griesbach, even in his second edition." They do not indeed any where represent Griesbach's text as absolutely perfect, yet they consider it as perfect as the *present* state of criticism will admit; for they say, "The Editors of this work offer it to the public as exhibiting to the English reader a text not indeed *absolutely perfect*, but approaching as nearly to the Apostolical and Evangelical originals, as the *present* state of sacred criticism will admit; nor do they hold it up as a faultless translation, &c." Intro. p. 30.

board the very pilot, to whose boasted guidance, in their passage through the perilous deeps of manuscript criticism, their inexperienced bark was avowedly committed.

But, after all, what certain proof exists that the Marcionites themselves considered their Gospel as the composition of St. Luke? If the assertion of the new Translators be received, no doubt can be entertained upon the subject, because they advance this unqualified affirmation: "Marcion, like some moderns," (meaning, it is presumed, the admirers of Evanfon, for the sect of Unitarianism is itself interested,) "rejected all the Evangelical histories except St. Luke, of which he contended, that his own *was a correct and authentic copy.*" Instead, however, of pressing them with opposite authority myself, I shall simply confront their statement with the very different one of a critic, to whom both parties are disposed to listen with much deference; the "learned and acute" Annotator of Michaelis. "It has been very generally believed," says Dr. Marsh, "on the authority of Tertullian and Epiphanius, that Marcion wilfully corrupted the Gospel of St. Luke. Now it is true, that the long catalogue of Marcion's

“ quotations, which Epiphanius has preserved  
 “ in his forty-second Herefy, exhibits readings  
 “ which materially differ from those of the  
 “ corresponding passages in St. Luke’s Gospel;  
 “ consequently, *if* Marcion really derived those  
 “ quotations from a copy of St. Luke’s Gospel,  
 “ that copy must have contained a text which  
 “ in many places materially differed from our  
 “ genuine text, though the question will still  
 “ remain undecided, whether the alterations  
 “ were made by Marcion himself, or whether  
 “ he used a manuscript, in which they had been  
 “ already made. But that Marcion used St.  
 “ Luke’s Gospel at all, is a position which has  
 “ been taken for granted, *without the least*  
 “ *proof*. *Marcion himself never pretended that*  
 “ it was the Gospel of St. Luke, as Tertullian  
 “ acknowledges; saying, ‘ Marcion Evangelio  
 “ suo *nullum ascribit autorem*,’ Adv. Marcion.  
 “ lib. iv. c. 2. It is probable therefore that  
 “ he used some *apocryphal* Gospel, which had  
 “ much matter in common with that of St.  
 “ Luke, but yet was not the same. On this  
 “ subject see Griesbach, *Historia Textus Episto-*  
 “ *larum Paulinarum*, p. 91, 92, and Loeffler’s  
 “ dissertation entitled, ‘ *Marcionem Pauli Epi-*  
 “ *stolas et Lucæ Evangelium adulterasse dubita-*



“tur,” which is printed in the first volume of “the Commentationes Theologicae<sup>x</sup>.”

As the opinions of Griesbach, to whom a reference is made, deservedly rank high in the estimation, not only of the world in general, but of the Unitarians in particular, it may be proper to remark, that the argument of the German critic, in the passage above pointed out, tends to prove the impropriety of denominating Marcion a corrupter of St. Luke’s text, because he never represented his Gospel as written by that Apostle. The result, however, drawn by Griesbach himself from this position being different from that of Dr. Marsh, I shall give it in his own language: “Hoc Marcioni propositum fuisse videtur, ut ex Evangelistarum, atque præsertim è Lucæ commentariis concinnaret succinctam de munere, quo Christus publicè functus erat, atque de ultimis fatis

\* Marsh’s Michaelis, vol. iii. part ii. p. 160. Dr. Marsh might have added a passage or two from Epiphanius, indirectly at least bearing on the same point. Instead of asserting that the Marcionites represented their Gospel as that of St. Luke, Epiphanius only says, that they used a Gospel which *resembled* that of St. Luke *μονὴ δὲ κεχρηται τετρῶ τῷ χαρακτηρὶ τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Ευαγγελίῳ*, §. 9. and that they themselves simply called it *the Gospel* *τὸ παρ’ αὐτῶν λεγόμενον Ευαγγέλιον*, §. 10.

“ ejus narrationem, ita adornatam, ut infer-  
 “ viret illorum hominum ufibus, qui quantum  
 “ poffunt longiffimè a Judaifmo difcedere, eam-  
 “ que ob caufam, neglectis Vet. Teft. libris, fo-  
 “ lis difcipulorum Chrifti fcriptis uti vellent, et  
 “ hæc è philofophiæ fuæ legibus interpretaren-  
 “ tur. Talibus itaque lectoribus cum Evan-  
 “ gelium *fuum* destinaret, *collegit ex Evange-*  
 “ *liftarum fcriptis* ea, quæ huic hominum ge-  
 “ neri grata effe fciret, *omiffis omnibus, quæ*  
 “ *lectoribus fuis displicere potuiffent* y.”

y Perhaps the reader may not think me too minute if I fubjoin the fentiments of another highly efteemed writer upon the fame fubject, the accurate and laborious Tillemont. It is this: Pour le Nouveau Teftament, des quatre Evangiles il recevoit feulement une partie de celui de S. Luc, qu’il n’attribuoit néanmoins *ni à S. Luc*, ni à aucun autre des Apôtres ou des difciples, ni à quelque perfonne que ce fuff. Dans la fuite fes fectateurs l’attribuerent à *Jefus-Chrift* mefme, difant néanmoins que S. Paul y avoit ajouté quelque chofe, comme l’hiftoire de la paffion. Ils le changeoient tous les jours felon qu’ils eftoient preffez par les Catholiques, en retranchant et y ajoutant ce qu’il leur plaifoit. Ils en ostoient fur tout les paffages, qui y font citez de l’ancien Teftament, et ceux ou le Sauveur reconnoift le Createur pour fon pere. Hiftoire Ecclef. vol. ii. p. 123. ed. 1732. It is curious to remark the different conclufions deduced by three refpectable critics from the fame premifes. Tillemont conceives, that Marcion made his felections from the genuine Gofpel of St. Luke ; Dr.

Upon the whole then, taking a retrospective view of what has been advanced upon both topics, will Unitarian candour act unworthy of itself, if, instead of rejecting any part of St. Matthew's Gospel upon the credit of the Ebionites, or any part of St. Luke's Gospel upon the credit of the Marcionites, it be disposed to give a due weight to that text, the authority of which no biblical critic of eminence has ever yet attempted to shake, if it put the concurrent testimony of antiquity, supported by the accurate collation of Manuscripts, Fathers, and Versions, into one scale, and throwing the spurious Gospel of Ebion, and the more spurious Gospel of Marcion, into the other, behold them ignominiously kick the beam ?

Marth, not from the genuine, but from some apocryphal Gospel of the same Evangelist ; and Griesbach, from St. Luke, St. Matthew, and St. Mark indiscriminately. All however coincide in the position, that Marcion did not assert his Evangelion to be " a correct and authentic copy " of St. Luke."

## CHAP. IV.

*Intermediate State between Death and the Resurrection. Authenticity of Luke xxiii. 43.*

AS the Authors of this Version are manifestly disciples of those fond philosophers who descry, or fancy that they descry, in the page of Scripture the characteristical hues of their own ephemeral systems, so also do they appear to be of that peculiar sect which maintains, that human souls are material, that they are composed of a genuine corporeal substance, although of one so refined and subtle, that thousands of them, as it is quaintly but forcibly expressed by a Platonical writer<sup>a</sup> of the

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Henry More, in his Divine Dialogues.

“*Hyl.* Is it not incredible, Philotheus, if not impossible, that some thousands of spirits may dance or march on a needle’s point at once?

“*Cuph.* I, and that booted and spurred too.” Vol. i. p. 90.

Having alluded to the Dialogues of this eccentric but amiable writer, whose talents as a metaphysician, philosopher, and divine were doubtless highly respectable, but whose imagination too frequently outran his judgment,

seventeenth century, “ can dance booted and  
 “ spurred upon a needle’s point.” But what-  
 soever may be the creed of these Translators  
 upon the particular doctrine of materialism, it  
 is certain that they contend for the extinction  
 of the soul with the body, and for the revivi-  
 fication of both together at the day of judg-  
 ment. This opinion they clearly assert in a  
 note upon Phil. i. 21. “ For as concerning  
 “ me, (rather a singular translation of *ἐμοὶ γὰρ*),  
 “ to live is Christ, and to die is gain ;” where  
 they maintain, that the Apostle does not “ ex-  
 “ press an expectation of an intermediate state  
 “ between death and the resurrection,” but  
 simply represents “ a *quiet rest* in the grave, du-  
 “ ring that period, as preferable to a life of suf-  
 “ fering and persecution.”

But it is not my present object to oppose

I cannot avoid digressing a moment from my subject to  
 notice, that from a passage in the same work, viz. the  
 story of *the Eremite* and *the Angel*, related p. 321—327,  
 the celebrated “ *Hermit*” of Parnell was evidently bor-  
 rowed, not merely in the general circumstances of the  
 narrative, with some slight deviations indeed, but some-  
 times in its very turn of expression ; a production which  
 I have heard the late Mr. Burke pronounce to be, “ a  
 “ *Poem without a fault.*”

their theological system, to pursue them from one labyrinth of Unitarian exposition to another, through all the intricate mazes of metaphysical refinement; yet I cannot help reminding them, that one text at least in another Epistle of St. Paul, which seems to make directly against their position, required a little explanation. It is this; “We are desirous rather “to be *absent from the body*, and to be *present with the Lord*,” 2 Cor. v. 8. a declaration which to common minds appears to imply, that the “*presence with the Lord*” here spoken of must mean a presence *during the period of absence from the body*, a period immediately commencing with death, after the same manner as it was stated in the preceding verse, “while we are *present* in the body, we are “*absent from the Lord*.” This passage nevertheless is suffered to pass without a comment.

While, however, they here abstain from all explanatory remark, on another occasion they contrive to preclude the necessity of it altogether. The Sadducees are said to believe, “that there is no resurrection, nor angel, nor spirit, *μητε πνευμα*, Acts xxiii. 8.” Now the conjunction *μητε*, nor, they have chosen to translate *or*; “the Sadducees say,

“ that there is no resurrection, nor angel, or  
 “ spirit,” in order to convey the idea of the  
 word *spirit* being synonymous with that of  
*angel*, instead of being intentionally distin-  
 guished from it. It is perhaps a singular coin-  
 cidence, that the same translation should occur  
 in an anonymous version of the New Testa-  
 ment, published at an early period in the pre-  
 ceding century by some person or persons well  
 versed in the art of what the majority then de-  
 nominated, and are still disposed to denomi-  
 nate, the art of unchristianizing the records of  
 Christianity. I shall transcribe the animad-  
 version made upon it at the time by the acute  
 Twells, who volunteered on this, as on other  
 occasions, the unpleasant duty of exposing ig-  
 norance and detecting subterfuge. “ St. Luke  
 “ says,” observes that discriminating writer,  
 “ the Sadducees affirm, that there is no resur-  
 “ rection, neither angel, nor spirit. Gr. Μηδε  
 “ αγγελον μητε πνευμα, i. e. they denied the ex-  
 “ istence of angels and also of souls separate  
 “ from the body, that is, *spirits*. In all which  
 “ they are represented to err. But the Trans-  
 “ lator has a device to keep his reader from  
 “ seeing that the denial of spirits is one of the  
 “ errors of *Sadducism*, by mistranslating μητε

“or instead of *nor*. The Sadducees, says he, “maintain there is neither resurrection, nor angel, or spirit. So that, according to him, “spirit was but another name for angel<sup>b</sup>.”

Neither is this the only passage upon the point under consideration, in which both the Versions alluded to accord<sup>c</sup>. That of the former period renders εἰς ᾠδὴν, Acts ii. 27, *in the grave*, “because thou wilt not leave my soul “in the grave,” which is also adopted by this of the present day, with the addition of a still wider deviation from the established Version, in translating τὴν ψυχὴν μου, *my soul*, by the pronoun *me*, “because thou wilt not leave *me* in “the grave.” I indeed admit that ψυχή is

<sup>b</sup> “Critical Examination of the late new Text and Version of the New Testament,” Ed. 1731. p. 134. But why all this contrivance to expunge from Scripture a belief in the existence of disembodied spirits, when our Saviour himself expressly asserts it? For when his Apostles were terrified at his appearance after his resurrection, “and supposed that they had seen a spirit,” he said to them, “A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me “have,” Luke xxiv. 39. Are the Unitarians bold enough to insinuate, that the Apostles only proved themselves on this occasion to be fools, and that our Saviour answered them according to their folly?

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 133.



often put by synecdoche for the whole person, as Matthew xii. 18, “ my beloved in whom “ *my soul*, i. e. *I* am well pleased ;” but so also is the English word *soul* in the very same text. But does it therefore follow, that neither the Greek nor the English word has any other appropriate meaning ? Surely we must perceive, that not the whole, but a peculiar part of man is distinctly pointed out, when our Saviour says, “ Fear not them who kill *the body*, but cannot “ kill *the soul*,  $\tau\eta\nu\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\nu$ ,” Matt. x. 16. I am also aware that Grotius, in Matt. x. 36. argues for a *reciprocal* sense of the substantive  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ , in conjunction with a pronoun, as a sort of familiar Syriacism ; but the application of his rule in the instance alleged is successfully opposed by Vorstius <sup>d</sup>, nor are other examples of it in the New Testament referred to by either Author. Besides, were it generally admissible, the grammatical connexion of the word in the disputed text would preclude its influence ; for to say, “ thou wilt not leave *myself* in the grave,” would be little better than nonsense, and a direct violation of common syntax. If it be observed, that the context will determine the

<sup>d</sup> De Ebraïsmis Nov. Test. p. i. p. 120. 122.

fense; this is precisely the point for which I am  
 contending: for I maintain, that *ἀδης* cannot  
 be correctly translated *the grave*, but always  
 means *the receptacle of departed souls*, and con-  
 sequently that *Ψυχή* can only signify that part  
 of man to which such a receptacle is appro-  
 priated. In proof of what I assert, it will be  
 sufficient perhaps simply to appeal to Schleuf-  
 ner, Art. *ἀδης*, and to Wetstein in Luc. xvi. 23;  
 whose “numerous and invaluable notes,” as  
 the Authors of the New Version themselves  
 conceive, “supply an inexhaustible fund of  
 “theological and critical information.” Both  
 support their opinion by respectable references.  
 Wetstein observes generally, “Vox Græca *ἀδης*,  
 “cui respondet Hebræa שְׁאוֹל, et Latina infe-  
 “rorum, denotat *illum locum communem, in*  
 “*quem recipiuntur omnes hominum vita func-*  
 “*torum animæ. Nunquam vero significat aut*  
 “*sepulchrum aut cœlum.*” I rather suspect  
 that these Authors had perused the note of  
 Wetstein alluded to, because, in their transla-  
 tion of the very text upon which this com-  
 ment is given, they render *ἀδης* “*the unseen*  
 “*state.*” Be this however as it may, I shall,

\* Introduction, p. 21.

I trust, be excused if I prefer, in the instance before me, the opinion of such able critics and philologists as Schleusner and Wettstein, supported by numerous and respectable authorities, to that of a whole committee of Unitarian Translators, who either cannot or will not, on the other side, adduce any authority whatsoever.

But, on the controverted topic of an intermediate state between death and the resurrection, there exists a passage in St. Luke, which, without a little expository straining, or a disavowal of its legitimacy, seems completely at war with the Unitarian hypothesis. It is Luke xxiii. 43. “And Jesus said to him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise<sup>f</sup>.” An attempt indeed was made, at a very early period, by some who disliked the doctrine which this text evidently contains, to get rid of the offensive position by a novel punctuation. Instead of putting the comma before the word *σήμερον*, *to-day*, they proposed to place it after it, and then to read, “Verily I say unto thee this day, Thou shalt be with

<sup>f</sup> Wolfii Curæ Philologicæ, vol. i. p. 766. Koecheri Analecta, p. 982, and Hackspan in loc.

“ me in Paradise ;” a very bungling and unsatisfactory artifice. It was nevertheless at one period adopted by the Socinians, whose German translation of the New Testament was in the verse under consideration carefully thus pointed. But so manifest a dislocation of sense and language was not likely to prove long fashionable. We therefore find the new Translators pursuing a different and a bolder line of conduct. They in the first place endeavour to explain away its obvious meaning, by remarking, that, when Christ says to the penitent malefactor, “ To-day thou shalt be with me in “ Paradise,” he only meant, “ in the state of “ the *virtuous dead*, who, though *in their* “ *graves*, are *alive to God* ;” and also by referring to their comment upon Luke xx. 38, where we are told, that all *live to God*, because he “ regards the *future* resurrection as if it “ *were present*.” Will these refined reasoners however permit me to ask them, by what harsh epithet they would characterize the conduct of that man, who should announce to them a blessing of the first importance as actually to take place *on that very day*, which he at the same time knew would not happen *until a distant period*, under the despicable subter-

fuge, that there is no distinction of time with God; because “one day is with him as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day?” Really, with all their contempt for ancient and established opinion, they must have a strange conception indeed of the popular intellect, if they can persuade themselves, that this flimsy sort of new *sumpsimus* will ever supersede what they may scornfully contemplate as the old *mumpsimus*.

Conscious perhaps of this circumstance, they then proceed a step farther, and boldly propose at once the rejection of the verse altogether, having previously taken care to mark it in the text by italics, as one of doubtful authority. Their ground of suspicion is thus stated: “This verse,” they say, “was wanting in the copies of *Marcion*, and other reputed heretics, and in some of the older copies in the time of *Origen*; nor is it cited either by *Justin*, *Irenæus*, or *Tertullian*, though the two former have quoted almost every text in Luke which relates to the crucifixion, and *Tertullian* wrote concerning the intermediate state.”

The first part of their argument, that “the verse was wanting in the copies of *Marcion*,

“ and other *reputed heretics*, and in some of “ the older copies in the time of *Origen*,” seems to have been borrowed from Griesbach, who, without attempting to dislodge the verse from the text, or in any way to mark it as suspicious, simply makes the following observation; “ = (the sign of deficiency) Marcion ap. Epiph. Manichæi ap. Chrys. Aliqui ap. “ Orig.”

Upon the illegitimacy of Marcion’s Gospel I have already been sufficiently diffuse, as well as upon the inconsistency of those, who, in order to get rid of some offensive, or to support some favourite text, at one time admit, and at another discard, the authority of that spurious production at pleasure. It seems therefore only necessary to refer to what I have previously adduced upon this subject; at the same time however reminding them, that when they attempt to cut out what they may conceive to be the cancerous excrescences of Scripture, if they wish to prevent a self injury, they will find it wisdom to abstain from the double-edged knife of Marcion.

But it seems that the verse in question was also wanting in the copies of “ *other reputed heretics*.” What may be the exact prepon-

derance of heretical authority against the uniform testimony of antiquity in their judgment, I cannot pretend to determine ; it certainly seems considerable ; and yet how is this compatible with the importance which they annex to the laborious collations of Manuscripts, Versions, and Fathers ? While most men conceive, that, in proportion to the number of such attestations in favour of a particular reading, the greater appears to be the probability of its genuineness, will they adopt an inverse mode of calculation ? Or will they contend, that a single grain of reputed heresy outweighs, in point of credit, a whole ton of orthodoxy ? And who are the reputed heretics here alluded to ? As they have not condescended to give their names, we are left to conjecture. The extract however from Griesbach will enable us perhaps to guess, that they mean *the Manichæans*. But what possible reason can be assigned for suppressing the name of these heretics ? I cannot suppose that they had examined the authority of Griesbach ; and, finding him inaccurate in his statement, yet still resolving to take the chance of heretical suspicion, preferred the uncertainty of a general allusion to the precision of a particular description of persons, by way of avoiding the probability

of detection. They rather perhaps adopted the mode in question, because they apprehended that the very term *Manichæans*, to the credit of whose supposed copies an appeal must have been made, might have produced in the reader's mind an inconvenient association of ideas. That however which I do not ascribe to them, a distrust in the accuracy of Griesbach, I consider myself as a sufficient ground for rejecting this part of the testimony altogether.

To the exertions of that laborious critic biblical literature, I am fully convinced, is highly indebted; nor do I hesitate to join with them in denominating his edition of the New Testament a work “ of unrivalled excellence “ and importance,” and in regarding it as not the least of his merits, that he contrived “ to “ compress a great mass of critical information “ into as narrow a compass as possible, in “ order to bring it within the reach of those, “ who could not afford either the time, the “ labour, or the expense, which would be necessary to collect it from those numerous and “ expensive volumes in which it was diffused.” At the same time, however, I hold it requisite



not to take too much from any critic upon trust, particularly from one, whose great merit consists in *the compression* of more bulky materials. Compression, we know, necessarily includes some sort of omission, and omissions too often give rise to erroneous conceptions. Besides, may not the very compressor, by too hastily adopting a general conclusion, without sufficiently examining the particular premises, occasionally err himself, and consequently mislead others? This, I contend, is precisely the case with Griesbach, in the text under consideration. Griesbach, in the short note given above, manifestly borrows from Wettstein, intending to give the same references as that critic, but to suppress the quotations themselves. Wettstein states, that this verse was wanting in Marcion's Gospel according to Epiphanius, and to Origen on John, p. 421. "—(Wettstein's sign of deficiency,) Marcion ap. Epiphanium, et Origenem in Joh. p. 421," and quotes the passage from Origen. He then adds, without any sign prefixed, "Chrysostomus T. V. 7. Οἱ Μανιχαῖοι ἐπιλαβόμενοι τὰ τοιαῦτα φασιν, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος, ἀμὴν καὶ τ. λ. ἔκταν ἀντιδόσεις ἡδὴ γεγόνε τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ περιττὴ ἡ ἀνάστασις" — αἱ γὰρ ἦν σώματων ἀνάστασις; ἔκ αν εἶπεν σήμερον καὶ τ. λ. ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς συν-

“τελειας, όταν σωμάτων αναστασις.” Whether Wetstein meant to affirm, that the Manichæans, according to Chrysostom, denied the validity of the text, or simply to remark that they particularly noted it, I will not pretend to determine. It seems certain, however, that Griesbach conceived him to have the former object in view, and therefore observed, that the verse was rejected by the Marcionites according to Epiphanius, and *by the Manichæans according to Chrysostom*, without ever reading, or, if he read, without understanding, the passage in Chrysostom alluded to: for, had he correctly understood it, he would have found the very reverse of what he states to have been the fact. As the correction of an error in Griesbach may be deemed a point of some importance, I shall give the whole extract in dispute, which seems to have been taken from the professed writings of the Manichæans, in the words of Chrysostom himself: Οὗτοι (οἱ Μανιχαῖοι) τοίνυν ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ χωρίου τούτου φασιν· εἶπεν ὁ Χριστός, ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, σήμερον μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· οὐκ οὖν ἀντιδόσεις ἡδὴ γέγονε τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡ ἀναστασις· εἰ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπελαβὲν ὁ ληστής τὰ ἀγαθὰ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀνέστη οὐδέπω, καὶ τήμερον, οὐκ ἐστὶ σωμάτων λοιπὸν ἀναστασις. ἀρὰ ἐνοήσατε τὸ λέχθαι, ἢ δευτερον

αὐτο πάλιν εἰπεῖν ἀναγκή; ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐσὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. εἰσηλθὲν ἔν, φησὶν, εἰς τὸν παραδείσον ὁ ληστὴς οὐ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος. πῶς γάρ, ὅποτε ἔκ ἐταφῆ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ διελυθῆ, καὶ κόνις ἐγένετο; καὶ ἡ δαμὰ εἰρήται, ὅτι ἀνεστήσεν ὁ Χρῆστος αὐτον. εἰ δὲ εἰσηγαγὲ τὸν ληστὴν, καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος ἀπηλάυσεν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, εὐδὴλον ὅτι σώματος οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνάστασις· εἰ γὰρ ἦν σώματος ἀνάστασις, ἔκ ἂν εἶπε· σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐσὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ καιρῷ συντελείας, ὅταν σωμάτων ἀνάστασις ἦ. εἰ δὲ ἡδὲ εἰσηγαγὲ τὸν ληστὴν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ φθάρειν ἐμείνεν ἐξῶ, εὐδὴλον ὅτι σωμάτων ἀνάστασις ἔκ ἐστὶ. ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι<sup>h</sup>. Such

<sup>h</sup> Chrysostomi Opera, vol. iv. p. 680. Ed. Montfaucon, Paris. 1721. Art. Sermo in Genesim. 7. The following is the translation of Montfaucon: “*Iste locum hunc arripientes aiunt: Dixit Christus, ‘Amen, amen, dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso.’ Igitur jam facta est bonorum retributio, et superflua erit resurrectio. Si enim illo die latro bona recepit, corpus autem ejus nondum ad hunc usque diem resurrexit, non erit deinceps corpus resurrectio. Numquid intellexistis, quod diximus, an vero iterum illud dici necesse est? ‘Amen, amen, dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso.’ Ingressus est igitur, inquit, in paradysum latro non cum corpore. Quo enim pacto cum sepultum non esset corpus ejus, neque dissolutum, et in cineres redactum? Neque dictum usquam fuit, resuscitatum illum à Christo fuisse. Quod si latronem introduxit, et absque corpore bonis potitus est, manifestum est corporis resurrectionem non esse. Nam si corporis esset resurrectio, non dixisset, ‘Hodie mecum*

then was the argument of the Manichæans ; from which it appears, that, instead of rejecting this text, they highly appreciated it, and even grounded upon it a favourite doctrine, that there would be no resurrection *of the body*, but that, when we died, every thing material in our nature perished everlastingly. In further proof also that this sect acknowledged its legitimacy, I might refer to a passage in Augustin, in which Faustus the Manichæan is thus introduced expressly quoting it : “ Neque  
 “ enim quia et latronem quendam de cruce liberavit idem noster Dominus, et *ipso eodem*  
 “ *die secum futurum dixit eum in paradiso patris sui*, quisquam inviderit, aut inhumanus  
 “ adeo esse potest, ut hoc ei displiceat tantæ  
 “ benignitatis officium. Sed tamen non idcirco

“ eris in paradiso,’ sed *in tempore consummationis*, quando  
 “ resurrectio corporum erit. Quod si jam latronem introduxit, corpus autem ejus foris corruptum remansit,  
 “ planè liquet corporum resurrectionem non esse. Atque  
 “ hæc quidem illi.”

How widely these reputed heretics differed in opinion from the Unitarians ! The Manichæans believed that the soul survived the body, and that the body died never to exist again. The Unitarians maintain the reverse of both propositions. For an account of the distinction between paradise and heaven, see Wetstein’s note on this text.

“ dicimus et latronum vitas ac mores nobis probabiles esse debere, quia Jesus latroni indulgentium dederit <sup>i</sup>.”

It is evident therefore that Griesbach completely misrepresents the fact, when he asserts, that the Manichæans disowned the verse in question. Whether, glancing his eye cursorily over the partial quotation of Wetstein, and forgetting the tenets of the sect, he conceived that the Manichæans disclaimed the verse altogether, because it seemed inconsistent with the doctrine of a corporeal resurrection, or whether he spared himself the trouble of considering the quotation at all, is not very important. It is certain that he erred, drawing into the vortex of his error writers, who repose an implicit confidence in the accuracy of his statements.

But to proceed; we are also told, that this verse was wanting “ in some of the older copies in the time of Origen.” Is not this however advancing one step, at least, further than the position of Griesbach, who only remarks, that *some persons* rejected it according to Origen, *Aliqui* apud Originem? Upon what ground then rests the assertion, not that *some*

<sup>i</sup> Contra Faustum Manichæum, vol. vi. lib. xxxiii. p. 490. Ed. 1569.

*persons* disowned it, but that it was wanting in some of the *older copies*, in the time of that Father? And does not Griesbach too go a little beyond his predecessor Wettstein, in representing the *aliqui*, the *some persons* alluded to by Origen, as distinct from the *Marcionites* spoken of by Epiphanius? The words of Wettstein are these: “ — Marcion apud Epiphanium et Origenem in Joh. p. 421.” Surely the rejection here noted, upon the testimony of Epiphanius and Origen, is precisely one and the same; viz. that by Marcion, and not by two different sects. Nor is this all. As the new Translators misconceive Griesbach, and Griesbach misconceives Wettstein, so Wettstein also misconceives Origen, and makes for him a declaration which he never meant. The assertion of Origen, so strangely mistaken, is comprised in the following short extract from his Commentary on John, as given by Wettstein himself: Οὕτω δὲ ἐταράξε τινὰς ὡς αὐτομψωνον τὸ εἰρημενον, ὥστε τολμησαι αὐτοὺς ὑπονοησαι, προσεθηθαι τῷ Ευαγγελίῳ ἀπο τινῶν ῥαδιουργῶν αὐτὸ τὸ, σημερον μετ’ ἐμῶς ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ θεῶν<sup>k</sup>. As the same passage is quoted by

<sup>k</sup> “ Sic autem perturbavit hoc dictum nonnullos, ceu absonum, ut suspicari ausi fuerint hæc verba, *hodie me-*

Lardner, I will subjoin his English translation, rather inelegant indeed, but sufficiently correct.  
 “ This saying has so disturbed some people,  
 “ as appearing to them absurd, that they have  
 “ *ventured to suspect* that it has been added  
 “ by some that corrupt the Gospels: *To-day*  
 “ *shalt thou be with me in the paradise of*  
 “ *God*<sup>1</sup>.”

Now there is certainly nothing in Origen, either antecedent or subsequent to this passage, from which it can be inferred, that he had the Marcionites in his eye. Nor does he say that any sect or sects whatsoever repudiated the verse in question ; but simply, that some persons were so *disturbed* at what appeared to them its absurdity, that they dared (*τολμησαι*) to *suspect* it as an interpolation. Surely the distinction must be obvious between the position of *suspecting*, and that of *avowing*, its illegitimacy ; so that Wetstein was clearly inaccurate, not only in fixing the allusion upon the Marcionites, but also in representing, as a *direct repudiation*, what was at most but a

“ *cum eris in paradiso Dei, addita fuisse Evangelio ab aliquibus illud adulterantibus.*” Opera, v. ii. p. 421. Ed. Huetii.

<sup>1</sup> Credibility, vol. iii. part ii. p. 375. Ed. 1738.

*daring suspicion.* To suspect a text which may be disliked, is certainly not new, either on the Heterodox or the Orthodox side of a question. To suspect it however is one thing, and to disclaim it another; nor will the Unitarians, I presume, dispute the difference, when they recollect, that some Trinitarians have suspected the authenticity of the words, “*neither the Son,*” in Mark xiii. 32. where it is said, “Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, *neither the Son,* but the Father.” Can it be hence argued, that certain Trinitarians have rejected them? And if it could, would even this be deemed a circumstance sufficiently important to be recorded in disparagement of their validity? I rather think it would not; because a much stronger evidence has indeed been adduced against them, which is not permitted to throw the slightest shade of doubt upon their authenticity. The Translators themselves remark, “Ambrose *cites manuscripts which omit* this clause<sup>m</sup>, and complains that it was in-

<sup>m</sup> The words of Ambrose are, “*Veteres codices Græci non habent, quod nec filius scit. Sed non mirum, si et hoc falsarunt, qui Scripturas interpolavere divinas.*” De Fide, lib. v. c. 7. How are the *older copies*, the *veteres co-*



“ introduced by the Arians. But all manuscripts  
 “ and versions now extant retain it, and it is  
 “ cited by early writers.” It is by no means  
 my intention to invalidate this favourite clause  
 of the Unitarians ; but I will venture to ask,  
 upon what principle can it be consistently  
 maintained, that the omission of this clause in  
 some ancient Greek manuscripts of St. Mark’s  
 Gospel, alluded to by *Ambrose*, is not to be  
 considered as at least of equal weight with the  
 omission of the two first chapters of St. Mat-  
 thew in the Gospel of the Ebionites, or of  
 the two first chapters of St. Luke in the Gos-  
 pel of the Marcionites, alluded to by *Epipha-*  
*nus* ; admitting that all manuscripts and ver-  
 sions now extant, as well as all citations of  
 early writers, retain the respective passages in  
 the contemplation of both ?

On the whole, if Wettstein and Griesbach  
 err in giving the sense of Origen, the Transla-  
 tors of the New Version deviate still more  
 widely, when they represent him as stating the  
 controverted verse to have been wanting in

*dices*; here expressly referred to by *Ambrose*, of such con-  
 temptible authority in comparison with the *older copies*  
 supposed to be, but certainly not, referred to by *Origen* ?

some of the older copies in his time. Had they consulted on the occasion an authority which they highly respect, that of Lardner, they would not have fallen into so gross a blunder, as they would have found his deduction from the same passage of Origen precisely opposite to their own. Lardner observes; “ It “ may be concluded from what Origen says, “ that these words were *in all copies* ; and “ that they who objected against them had *no* “ *copy* to allege in support of their *suspicion*, “ but only the absurdity of the thing itself in “ *their* opinion. For that is *all* that Origen “ mentions <sup>n</sup>.” Leaving them however to digest the position of Lardner, in flat contradiction to their own, as they can, I shall conclude this long discussion with a short remark upon the singularity, that such distinct results should be deduced from the same premises. The Translators of the New Version consider Origen as asserting, that the verse in dispute was wanting in some of the older copies in his time ; Griesbach, that some persons, (*aliqui*,) not the Marcionites, repudiated it; and Wetstein, that it was repudiated by the Marcionites. Now

<sup>n</sup> Credibility, ut supra.

it is remarkable, that in these respective statements each should differ from the other, and all materially from the very author, on whose sole testimony they rely. To what, except to the most culpable negligence, can we impute this strange perversity ?

I have been the more particular in my notice of this and the preceding point, not in order to create an invidious distrust of critics so justly distinguished as Wettstein and Griesbach, but to prove the necessity of carefully examining ourselves the authorities cited by them, before we presume privately to question, much more, publicly to arraign, the authenticity of any text whatsoever. And this necessity, I trust, has been sufficiently proved to those, whose only object is the simple investigation of truth.

Having endeavoured to demonstrate, that the first part of the Unitarian argument for the rejection of Luke xxiii. 43. rests on no solid foundation, I come now to consider the second part of it.

This verse then, we must observe, is to be found in *all the manuscripts* as well as *versions* extant, and is quoted by *Fathers innumerable*; but it is not cited, it seems, by one or two

early Fathers, and therefore doubts are to be entertained of its legitimacy. "It is not "cited," we are told, "by *Justin, Irenæus, or Tertullian*, though the *two former* have "quoted almost every text in Luke which relates to the crucifixion, and Tertullian wrote "concerning the intermediate state."

Before I proceed to the particulars of these confident assertions, may I be permitted to ask, if the writers alluded to had really quoted the passage in dispute, whether that circumstance would have been admitted as conclusive upon the point of its authenticity? The question, I conceive, must be answered in the negative; for all three<sup>o</sup> have distinctly quoted texts from the first and second chapters of St. Matthew, and from the first and second chapters of St. Luke: yet we find that the Unitarians persist in marking for rejection those very portions of both Evangelists. They will not surely main-

<sup>o</sup> Justin. in *Dialog. cum Tryphone*, Ed. Paris 1636. p. 303, 304. and in *Apol. ii.* p. 75; Irenæus, lib. iii. c. 18. Ed. Grabe, p. 239. and lib. iii. c. 11. p. 214; and Tertullian in *Arg. adversus Judæos* Ed. Rigalt. Paris 1664. p. 193. and *De Carne Christi*, p. 321. Nor are these the only places where the disputed chapters are referred to by the same writers.

tain, that the direct testimony of an early writer is to be considered as of no decisive weight in favour of the received text, although his silence may be construed into sufficient evidence against it ?

But I may be told, that they object not to admit the testimony of these writers upon points solely connected with the generally received copies of St. Matthew and St. Luke, when it is uncontradicted in the first instance by the Gospel of the Ebionites, and in the second by that of the Marcionites ; Gospels of higher reputation than the common copies, because of more remote antiquity. Shew us, they may say, a text quoted by either of these writers, which is omitted in manuscripts of a more recent date, and is not discredited by the fragments above alluded to, and we will instantly acknowledge its validity. I might observe in reply, that the disputed chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, even upon the very ground of antiquity alleged, ought to be deemed genuine, because they are referred to by writers, who, living in the *second* century, quoted from copies which must have been more ancient than the supposed copies of the Ebionites and of the Marcionites, from which Epiphanius

quoted, who lived in the *fourth* century. But, to meet every possible objection, I will bring forward an instance, in which only copies of the same precise nature are concerned.

In Luke xxii. verses 43, 44. are printed in italics as of dubious authority, and we are told in a note, that “these verses are wanting in “the Vatican, the Alexandrian, and other manuscripts,” (it should have been stated, in *three* other manuscripts of the same class with the Vatican, and neither of them of any higher antiquity than *the eleventh or twelfth centuries* P,) “and are marked as doubtful in some “in which they are inserted.” Now admitting all this in its fullest extent, still I apprehend it must follow, that the verses are nevertheless genuine, if they are clearly cited by writers who could only have been conversant with manuscripts which were long prior in date to

P It should likewise have been added, that in the *first* of the three, the commencement of these verses,  $\omega\phi\theta\eta\ \delta\epsilon$ , is notwithstanding written by the same hand which originally transcribed the MSS. the remainder being supplied by another and more recent hand in the margin; and that in the *second*, although the verses are evidently wanting here, they yet occur in another Gospel, viz. after Matthew xxvi. 39. See Griesbach.

the Vatican and Alexandrian, or indeed any others. And they are certainly cited both by Justin and Irenæus. That they were acknowledged by Justin, Irenæus, and many later fathers, Griesbach might have informed them, had they been disposed to consider both sides of the evidence, although he would not have referred them to the particular passages. Justin remarks : *Εν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονευμασιν, ἃ φημι ὑπο τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολούθησαντων συντεταχθῆναι, ὅτι ἰδὼς ὥσει θρόμβοι κατεχειτο αὐτῶν εὐχομένους καὶ λεγοντός, παρελθὲτω, εἰ δυνατόν, το ποτήριον τῆτο.* “ Nam in libris, qui sunt ab ejus  
 “ discipulis, ipsorumque sectatoribus compositi,  
 “ memoriae mandatum est, *sudorem ipsius tam-*  
 “ *quam guttas sanguinis defluxisse in terram,*  
 “ eo deprecante et dicente, *Transseat, si fieri*  
 “ *poteat, poculum hoc.*” Dial. cum Tryphone in Oper. p. 331. So also Irenæus : — *ἐδ’ ἀν*  
*εδακρυσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Λαζάρῳ· ἐδ’ ἀν ἰδὼς τε θρόμβους αἵματος*  
 “ — *nec lacrymasset super Lazarum nec judaf-*  
 “ *set globos sanguinis.*” lib. iii. c. 32. p. 260. Since therefore the Gospel of Marcion is not recorded to have omitted these verses, and as

† Agnoscunt Justin, Hippol. Epiph. Chryf. Tit. bostr. Cæsarius. Iren. Hier.

they are expressly cited by such early writers as Justin and Irenæus, how is it that they are marked for excision upon the sole authority of manuscripts confessedly written at a later period ?

But to return to the principal text in controversy : we may surely admit that it is not quoted by Justin, Irenæus, or Tertullian, without at all impeaching its authenticity ; for if no texts are to be deemed genuine, upon which these Fathers are wholly silent, many of considerable importance in the judgment of different parties must be expunged from the canon of Scripture. Aware perhaps of this, the Translators attempt to assign a particular reason, why silence on this occasion is to be necessarily construed into ignorance. They say, that the omission is the more remarkable, because “ *the two former* have quoted almost “ every text in Luke which relates to the crucifixion, and *Tertullian* wrote concerning “ the intermediate state.” But are these assertions true ? The first most certainly is not ; nor is the last in that sense in which alone it can bear upon the argument. Justin is so far from quoting every text in St. Luke which relates to the crucifixion, that from the whole of this



twenty-third chapter, consisting of fifty-six verses upon the subject, I have been able to discover only *one* (the 46th<sup>r</sup>) which is clearly cited by him. I allude of course to his genuine writings, and not to others incorrectly imputed to him; for if the latter are to be brought forward, we shall find perhaps two more verses quoted<sup>s</sup>, but one of these will be *the very verse in question*. Irenæus also, it is remarkable, refers but once to the same chapter, and that is to the 34th verse<sup>t</sup>. As to Tertullian, he certainly wrote a distinct treatise upon the intermediate state, or rather, upon the subject of Paradise; for he himself thus expressly informs us: “Habes etiam de paradiso à nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem Domini<sup>u</sup>.” but the Translators forget to add, (a little circumstance of some importance to the question,) that this treatise is not now extant. What therefore it might, or might not, have contained in the way of quo-

<sup>r</sup> Dial. cum Tryphone in Oper. p. 333.

<sup>s</sup> Viz. v. 34. and v. 43. Quæstiones et Respon. ad Orthodox. in Operibus, p. 463. and p. 437.

<sup>t</sup> Lib. iii. c. 20. p. 247.

<sup>u</sup> Opera, p. 204.

tation, it must be as useless to conjecture, as it is absurd to urge.

The only general reflexion which I shall make upon this singular tissue of strange misconceptions, and stranger misrepresentations, is this ; that, if their metaphysical arguments upon the nature of the human soul, and its sleep after death, be founded upon no better reasoning than that which is here exhibited to discredit a passage of Scripture countenancing an opposite doctrine, the philosopher must despise, and the critic deride them.

## CHAP. V.

*Perplexing Anomalies in the Theory of Articles.*

**H**ITHERTO I have considered the attempts of these Translators to get rid of particular passages of Scripture which cannot well be explained in conformity with their own Creed, by discarding them as unauthentic. I come now to notice another exercise of their ingenuity, by which, for similar theological purposes, they give to certain undisputed texts meanings directly the reverse of those which are usually affixed to them. With this view they render Θεός ην ὁ Λόγος, John i. 1. “the Word was *a* God;” and ἐαυτὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν, John xix. 7. “made himself *a* Son of God;” contemplating the insertion of the English indefinite, as necessarily resulting from the omission of the Greek definite, Article. Their object, both here and in other instances of the same kind, clearly is to divest our Saviour of every claim to divinity which a peculiar title

might be supposed to give him, and to represent him not as *God*, or as *the* Son of God emphatically, but as *a* God, or *a* Son of God metaphorically. The rule indeed, which they have thus adopted, is not properly their own; it was originally a fruit of Arian growth: but, not being suited to the general taste, it hung for a time mellowing and neglected. As the Unitarians however seem disposed, if possible, to establish its credit, let us examine a little its pretensions to public approbation.

If it be really the produce of sound criticism, and not of mere theological conceit, it must not only appear correct in one or two solitary instances, but prove of general application. Upon this principle let us try it.

In the last clause then of John i. 1. Θεός ην ὁ Λόγος is rendered, as I have observed, “the Word was *a* God,” because the article ὁ is not annexed to Θεός. But why do not these Translators, for the same reason, also render ἐν ἀρχῇ ην ὁ Λόγος, in the first clause of the verse, “in *a* beginning,” that is, at some indefinite commencement, “was the Word,” instead of “in *the* beginning,” in conformity with the common translation? The true cause perhaps it is easy to conjecture. This would com-

pletely militate against the only sense in which they will allow the expression to be taken ; the words “ in *the* beginning ” meaning, as they choose to say after Socinus, “ from the “ commencement of the Gospel dispensation, “ or of the ministry of Christ.”

But, concealing the secret motive, they may urge in their defence, that the phrase “ in *a* “ beginning ” would be an obscure sort of expression, while the other, “ *a* God,” is sufficiently intelligible. This is true ; but it only serves to shew, at the very outset, the general inapplicability of their favourite rule. That the phrase “ *a* God ” is sufficiently intelligible cannot indeed be disputed ; yet may the rule itself be justly controverted, which uniformly supplies the absence of the Greek Article by the English indefinite Article. For if we proceed with a consistent translation of the same word Θεός, in the same chapter of St. John, we shall find it necessary either immediately to abandon the rule altogether, or to represent the Evangelist as establishing a plurality of Gods. When, for example, in v. 6. it is said, “ there was a man sent from God, *παρὰ Θεοῦ*,” if we translate this “ from *a* God ; ” when also in v. 13. the faithful are described as children

of *God*, τέκνα Θεῶν, if we translate this “children of a God;” and when in v. 18. it is affirmed, that “no man has at any time seen *God*, Θεόν,” if we render this too “a God,” shall we not introduce the Evangelist as countenancing the opinion, that there are more Gods than one? To avoid so manifest an absurdity, as well as impiety, we here find the Unitarians departing from their own principle, and translating Θεός, in all these instances, *God*, without an Article. Is not this a specimen of polemical legerdemain rather than of rational criticism, which conjures up a little convenient Article for a particular deception, and then instantly, in a subsequent display of skill, commands its absence?

To what subterfuge can they fly in order to escape the imputation of inferring a plurality of gods? *A* is an article which evidently relates to number, as the French *un*. And thus perhaps they themselves intend it should be taken, when they put into the mouth of the Centurion the words, “Truly this “was a son of a God;” Matt. xxvii. 54. because the Centurion may be supposed to have been an heathen. But how will they explain, consistently with the doctrine of the Divine

Unity, the following declaration, which they ascribe to our Saviour; “ God is not *a* God of “ the dead, but of the living ?” Matt. xxii. 32. Were we correctly to express the proposition, that the Gentiles, and not the Jews, acknowledge the messiahship of our blessed Lord, instead of saying, that Christ is not *a* Christ, should we not rather say, that Christ is not *the* Christ of the Jews, but of the Gentiles ? Or, to use a more familiar illustration, were we, when alluding to the hands in which the sovereignty of this kingdom is lodged, to describe an exalted individual, not as “ *the*,” but as “ *a* King of England,” would it not imply, that England is governed by more kings than one ? It is impossible however for a moment to suppose, that they mean to insinuate a polytheism abhorrent from their creed, particularly when we reflect, that their creed uniformly rules the text, and not the text their creed.

Had they indeed pursued their own rule, as consistency required, in every instance, numerous absurdities would have arisen, against which common sense must have instantly revolted. I shall instance one out of many. Our Saviour says, in reply to the Tempter, “ It is “ written ; Man shall not live by bread alone,

“ but by every word which proceedeth from  
 “ *the* mouth of God, *δια στοματος Θεου*,” Matt. iv.  
 4. Now these words, upon the principle of  
 supplying our Article *a*, whenever the Greek  
 Article is omitted, should have been translated,  
 “ from *a* mouth of *a* God;” a phrase which  
 would have implied, not only that there are  
 more gods than one, but that every god has  
 more mouths than one; and thus would they  
 have represented our blessed Saviour as teach-  
 ing a polytheism, not less wild and gross than  
 the polytheism of India.

If I am asked, “ What line then would you  
 “ pursue? Would you, when you translate a  
 “ Greek noun without the Article, reject the  
 “ use of the English Article *a*, and admit that  
 “ of the English Article *the*, or would you  
 “ translate it in English, as in Greek, without  
 “ any Article at all?” My answer is, that in  
 every instance of the kind, we should commit  
 ourselves to the guidance, not of a supposed  
 infallible canon, but of common sense and the  
 context. On different occasions different modes  
 of translation must be adopted: and instances  
 may be quoted in which all three modes occur  
 in the same passage. Thus, *Εγενετο ανθρωπος*  
*απεσταλμενος παρα Θεου ονομα αυτω Ιωαννης*, John i.



6, when fully and correctly rendered, will be, “There was *a* man sent from *God*; *the* name of whom (or *the* name to him) was John.” Is it possible for any Translator, how much soever influenced by a bigoted attachment to self opinion, and by a fond affectation of singular theory, to contend, that the words *ανθρωπος*, *Θεος*, and *ονομα*, in this verse, all without the Article, are all to be translated in one and the same way?

But it may perhaps be said, if such uncertainty exists on these occasions, how are we to ascertain the precise import of a Greek noun so circumstanced? This question however is easily answered by asking another, How do we ascertain the precise import of a Latin noun under similar circumstances? The Latin noun, it is plain, must be used, not occasionally, but always, without an Article, because the Latin language has none; yet we contrive to settle what we conceive to be its genuine sense in all cases, without stumbling upon any difficulty of this description. Why should more perplexity arise in the Greek language?

Whatsoever pointed peculiarity of meaning the presence of the Greek Article may be supposed sometimes to indicate, no uniform ana-

logy of construction, I presume, can be argued from its absence. Its ellipses are perpetual; and a thousand instances may be adduced, in which neither its omission, nor its addition, appears to create the slightest difference. It is not however my intention, nor does the subject require me, to enter into an elaborate discussion upon its philological importance or insignificance. Nothing perhaps is more difficult than to define the exact nature and legitimate use of Articles in a living language, as they frequently give birth to anomalies which depend upon an usage, bidding defiance to the shackles of system. And if this be the case in a living language, in a dead one the difficulty must be incalculably augmented. I shall nevertheless venture to consider a little more minutely, yet as briefly as I can, the question of the correspondence between the English and Greek modes of expressing nouns, in order to point out the impossibility of restricting that correspondence by any rule or rules universally applicable.

In English there are evidently three distinct modes of expressing nouns; one, without an Article, *absolutely*; another, with the Article *a*, which refers to number, *indefinitely*; and a

third, with the Article *the*, *definitely*. An instance of all three modes occurs in the use of the word *light*; of the first, when God said, "Let there be *light*," Gen. i. 3; of the second, when the Messiah is declared to be "*a* light to lighten the Gentiles," Luke ii. 32; and of the third, when our Saviour terms himself "*the* light of the world," John viii. 12. So also the word *sin* in the following passages: "All unrighteousness is *sin*," John v. 17; "There is *a* sin unto death," ib. 16; "Rebellion is as *the* sin of witchcraft," 1 Sam. xv. 23. Few nouns however admit the three modes; most only the two latter; and some the last alone; as the noun *sun*, which is always denominated *the* sun; for although it may be sometimes used with the Article *a* prefixed, yet it can then only be taken hypothetically with reference to other suns, which we conceive to exist in the boundless expanse of creation.

If we fancy that in this diversity we still perceive something of invariable system, that fancy, as we proceed, must soon forsake us, when we turn to the perplexing anomalies introduced by the caprice of usage. *A man*, for instance, and *a horse*, are both indeed to be considered as belonging to one genus, viz. ani-

mal; yet we use the word *man* absolutely, in order to denote the species, as “ God made *man*,” while it would be incorrect to use the other word in the same manner. How too shall we account for the following peculiarities? We never say *a* thunder, but always *thunder*; while, on the contrary, we never say *hurricane*, but always *an* hurricane; so that of two nouns apparently similar, one is found to be deficient in the second, and the other in the first mode of expression.

An ellipsis likewise of the Article *the* frequently occurs, for which we can seldom assign a satisfactory reason. We may indeed sometimes attribute it to colloquial brevity, as when “ the house *top*” is used for *the top* of the house, and when “ *horse-hair*” is used for *the* hair of *the* horse: but how shall we account for it on more important occasions, as when *earth* is put for *the* earth which we inhabit, and not for the mere element so denominated? For although we cannot in the sense alluded to correctly term God the Creator of *earth*, yet may we term him the Creator of *heaven and earth*; and we also daily pray, that his will may be done *in* or *on* *earth*. Upon what principle is this variety to be explained?

And, if no happy twist of logical dexterity can wreath stragglers of this nature into the fantastical chaplet of our system, what success can we promise ourselves with others still more rambling and perverse? We apply, for example, the terms *heaven* and *sky* synonymously to designate the vaulted expanse above our heads; yet we express them differently, for we use the former always without, but the latter always with, the definite Article. Again, before the name of that which possesses an existence unlike to all others, and which is of so peculiar a nature as not to admit the idea of number, it is usual to place the definite Article, as *the* sun, *the* moon, and *the* world. And to what other class can the word *God*, as signifying the one supreme and self-existing Being, be properly assigned? Yet we do not, under this application of the term, say, *the* God, as we say *the* sun, definitely, but *God*, absolutely.

It seems then, that, in explanation of such incongruities, we must have recourse, not to any infallible code of philological laws, but to an usage disdainful of all restriction. Nor is even this principle to be considered as uniform in its operation, and constant in its character. Fickle, fluctuating, unstable, it subverts and re-

establiſhes, erects and demolishes, at pleasure, and sometimes abandons even its own innovations. A style of expression to which we are not habituated we are apt to pronounce abhorrent from the genius of our language ; but that supposed genius, particularly in the case before us, too often mocks description : when we attempt to seize and examine it, it assumes so shadowy and flitting a form as to elude our grasp. To what, for example, but to the flux of fashion, and the caprice of usage, can we ascribe the various modes of expression adopted in the different translations of the tenth verse of the thirty-second Psalm ? The Common-Prayer-Book Version renders it thus : “ Be ye  
 “ not like to *horse* and *mule*, which have no  
 “ understanding, whose mouths must be held  
 “ with *bit* and *bridle*.” The Bible Version thus : “ Be ye not as *the* horse and *the* mule,  
 “ which have no understanding, whose mouth  
 “ must be held in with *bit* and *bridle*.” We here perceive, in the first instance, a total omission of the definite and indefinite Articles ; then subsequently a restoration of the former, but not of the latter ; while, in the present day, propriety would require a restoration of both : for instead of “ whose mouth must be held in

“ with *bit* and *bridle*,” we should now rather say, “ whose mouth must be held in with *a* bit and *a* bridle.” Nor, in proof that our idea of correctness depends more upon habit than system, ought the provincialism of counties to be overlooked : for, to an ear familiar only with the dialect of Cumberland, the perpetual insertion of Articles does not sound less harsh and uncouth than the perpetual omission of them to a more polished ear.

If therefore the English language be in its use of Articles so irregular, how are we precisely to point out, and to restrain by certain unerring laws, its correspondence in this respect with the Greek language ? It is well known, that in Greek there is only one Article, which is in general correctly translated by our definite Article *the* ; yet on some occasions must we translate it indefinitely, and on others absolutely. With regard to its indefinite acceptance, should a prejudice for system induce us to suspect the meaning of το ορος, Matt. v. 1. and το πλοιον, Matt. ix. 1. we must surely render το μωδιον, Matt. v. 15. *a* measure ; ο διδασκαλος, John iii. 10. *a* teacher ; τον ανθρωπον, John vii. 51. *a* (or, as the New Version has it, *any*) man ; and το ψευδος, John viii. 44. *a* lie. Nor

will the absolute sense in which the noun connected with it is occasionally taken, appear doubtful, when we observe, that *την δικαιοσύνην*, Matt. v. 6. can only signify *righteousness*, not *the* or *a* righteousness; *ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀληθεια*, John i. 17. *grace and truth*; and *ἐκ τῆς θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν*, John v. 24. from *death to life*. I use the strong terms *must* and *can* without fear of contradiction, because the New Version itself sanctions their application.

But further, as a Greek noun *with* the Article must be variously rendered, so also, as I have already remarked, *without* the Article, must it be understood sometimes definitely, sometimes indefinitely, and sometimes absolutely. Having previously however adverted to these points, I shall not fruitlessly multiply examples, only subjoining, with respect to the first mode of expression alluded to, a single passage, which, even if it stood alone, would, I conceive, prove decisive upon the subject. St. John says, *ὥρα ἦν ὡς δεκάτῃ*, c. iv. 6. Would it not be nonsense to translate this “*an hour*” instead of “*the hour was about the tenth?*”

When these different circumstances are contemplated; when we consider that in our own language the addition or omission of an Article



is often attributable to no other cause than to the predominance of a paramount usage; when we perceive similar irregularities to exist in the Greek language; and the correspondence between both to be regulated by no fixed and determinate principles; who will boast of reducing to the subjection of rule forms of expression superior to all rule? We are indeed too apt, on every occasion, to represent pleonasm and ellipses as systematical ornaments, instead of what they often are, unsystematical blemishes, of language; and to dream of indescribable elegancies, where little perhaps is really discoverable except the negligence of habit, or the peculiarity of custom: but as well may we attempt to chain the wind, as to restrict diversity of usage in the redundance or suppression of Articles, by any thing like an invariable uniformity of construction.

## CHAP. VI.

*Existence of an Evil Being. Translation of  
the words Σαταν and Διαβολος.*

ANOTHER effort to regulate Scripture by the standard of Unitarian faith occurs in the singular mode of occasionally translating the words Σαταν and Διαβολος, not as proper names, but as nouns appellative. They are therefore thus rendered in the following passages: “ Get  
“ thee behind me, *thou adversary*, Matt. xvi. 23.  
“ Have I not chosen you twelve? And yet one  
“ of you is *a false accuser*, John vi. 71 : There  
“ hath been given to me a thorn in the flesh,  
“ an *angel-adversary* to buffet me, 2 Cor. xii. 7.  
“ Give not advantage to *the slanderer*, Ephes.  
“ iv. 28. Lest the *adversary* should gain ad-  
“ vantage over us ; for we are not ignorant of  
“ his devices, 2 Cor. ii. 11. Have been taken  
“ captive by *the accuser*, 2 Tim. ii. 26.”

The object proposed by this translation, and explicitly avowed in various explanatory notes, introduced at almost every possible opportunity, evidently is, to exclude from the Chris-

tian creed, in conformity with the sentiments of the Unitarian school, the doctrine of an evil Being superior to man. They think it, I presume, irrational to suppose, that a Being of this description exists, because such an existence falls not immediately under the cognizance of the human faculties; and what they do not think it rational to conceive, they will not allow to be contained in holy Scripture. Hence they tell us more than once, that the term *devil* means only “the principle of evil personified,” Matt. xiii. 39. John viii. 44. 1 John iii. 8.

To enter into a philosophical discussion of this subject would be foreign to my design, as well as irrelevant to the true point which can be correctly said to be in controversy. The point in dispute is rather a question of fact than one of philosophy: it is simply, whether Jewish opinions and Jewish phraseology will warrant us in concluding, that by the expressions *Σαταν* and *Διαβολος* our Saviour and his Apostles meant a real person, or merely a personified quality.

Truths universally admitted require no formal definition; they are usually introduced in the way of allusion, and in most instances are

solely deducible from some opinion stated, or from some fact recorded, by inference. If then the existence of an evil spirit be no where directly asserted in the Old Testament, we must not on that account imagine, that it is not expressly implied there; for a similar remark may be made respecting the doctrine of a future state; and yet are we forbidden by Christ himself to deny that it is there distinctly taught, Matt. xxii. 32.

In the book of Job, a book to which critics coincide in imputing the highest antiquity<sup>a</sup>, an

<sup>a</sup> Carpzovius, if not the last, doubtless not the least, of biblical critics, gives the following opinion, as the result of his reflexions upon the subject of its antiquity: “ Sic  
 “ divinus jam *ante Moysen* extabat Jobi liber poeticus, ad  
 “ instructionem fidelium lectus quidem, et asservatus, sed  
 “ Canonico nondum ἀξιωματικῇ insignis. Postquam autem  
 “ divinis auspiciis Moysis opera condendi Canonis sacri  
 “ factum esset initium, diu post, circa Samuelis fortè æta-  
 “ tem, ejusdemque ni fallor manu, divini numinis jussu,  
 “ canonicis ille libris additus et ad latus Arcæ in Sanc-  
 “ tuario publicè repositus videtur, cum Prologo ac Epilogo  
 “ historico θεοπνευστός ornasset auxissetque illum Samuel,  
 “ ut quæ sermonum à Jobo exaratorum occasio, quis  
 “ scopus, quis historiæ nexus, quæ rerum gestarum series,  
 “ et catastrophe fuerit, ad communem Ecclesiæ omnium  
 “ temporum notitiam et edificationem, ad oculum pateret.  
 “ Ut adeo *geminum* agnoscat liber *scriptorem, Jobum*, quæ

evil Being, under the designation of Satan, is directly noticed as appearing in the divine presence, and as obtaining permission to attack the integrity of Job by the severest temporal inflictions. This character, it is true, is considered by some as merely ideal, as nothing more than an elegant embellishment of a sublime poem. Those, however, who thus consider it, do not perhaps sufficiently reflect, that poets are not philosophers; that the celestial Beings usually described by them are not the sole creatures of their own imagination, but such as are to be found in the popular creed of their times; and that the gods of Homer and Virgil, not less than the angels and devils of Milton, were supposed to exist in nature. Besides, if we are at liberty to presume that Satan is an ideal character, are we not at equal liberty to

“fui parte metro est adstrictus, et *Samuelem*, quod ad capita priora duo, et postremum, attinet. Ad *Samuelem* vero eâ de causâ referre malui, quod loquendi modus, in priore *Samuelis* libro adhibitus, ex affe illi respondet, quo profaica in libro *Jobi* capita personant. *Tam plane tam perspicue tam pure utrobique sermo se habet Ebræus, tam ordinate porro, ac succincte, narrationis series ut ovum vix ovo similis videatur.*” *Introductio ad Lib. Poet. Bibl. p. 58. Ed. 1731.*

presume the same of the other party in the dialogue, even of God himself?

But, in truth, it is impossible for the character of Satan to be here contemplated as a mere poetical embellishment; and that for the plainest of all reasons; because the chapters in which it is introduced contain nothing bearing the slightest resemblance to poetry. The two first chapters of Job are manifestly prosaical, and are expressed after the manner of the simplest and purest narrative. No metrical composition occurs until the third chapter, and then commences a style wholly dissimilar to the preceding, not only as being poetical, but as appearing, in the judgment of the best critics, to be replete with Arabisms, and an obsolete Hebrew phraseology anterior to the times of Moses. Since therefore the preparatory narrative, in which alone any mention is made of Satan, is perfectly prosaical, and bespeaks a different author, as well as a later period, it is absurd to throw out crude conjectures about poetical imagery, where neither metre nor poetry exists.

With the passage alluded to in Job may be compared another in 1 Kings xxii. 19. in which the prophet Michaiah describes an

almost similar transaction in almost similar terms. The hosts of heaven are represented in both instances as standing in the presence of God, and a particular spirit is noticed as introducing himself into the angelical assembly, and as counselling, and subsequently executing, evil against an individual among men. This spirit is in Job denominated השטן *the Satan*, a word usually considered as derived from a root signifying to *hate* or *oppose*; in the book of Kings he is denominated הרוח *the spirit*; the former being a designation taken from the malignity of his disposition, the latter one taken from the immortality of his nature. That the prophet Michaiah meant by the expression הרוח a superior Being *of a particular description*, seems evident from the demonstrative prefix ה; and as a superior Being *of a particular description* is directly pointed out, is not his identity with the Satan of Job apparent from the nature of his counsel and agency, from his becoming “a *lying spirit*” רוח שקר in the mouths of the prophets of Ahab, to lead that prince on to destruction? Although we were to admit that the inspired writers might in neither instance intend to represent the celestial council as an actual occurrence, adopting

the form of dialogue, that prominent feature of all oriental composition, because it was the most usual and most impressive; yet would it be one thing to suppose the dialogue, and another to suppose the characters, to which it is ascribed, fictitious. Nor does it appear more reasonable to make a partial selection among those characters at pleasure; to consider God and the angels as real beings, and Satan, the principal agent in both transactions, as an imaginary one; to introduce the Deity himself conversing with an absolute non-entity. Besides, even in the boldest style of prosopopœia, it would be anomalous, because it would be unintelligible, to affix any other denomination to the thing or quality personified, than its true and appropriate one. Thus had Solomon, in his elegant personification of *wisdom*, (Proverbs viii.) substituted for *wisdom* the term *friendship*, because *wisdom* is *friendly* to the best interests of man; or, what would have been still more obscure, the term *friend*; would not his allusion have been utterly incomprehensible? And yet must we say, according to what Unitarians consider as the only rational exposition of the passage, that the author of the two first chapters of Job, when he wished



to personify *evil*, sufficiently marked his meaning by adopting the expression *השטן* *the enemy*, solely because *evil* is *inimical* to man.

To the preceding quotations from Job and Kings may be subjoined another of a similar import. It is this: "And he shewed me Joshua the high-priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and *Satan* *השטן* standing at his right hand to *resist* him, *לשטן*. And the Lord said unto *Satan*, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan." Zech. iii. 1, 2. Here some have conjectured, that the word *Satan* means only those adversaries who opposed the high-priest in the rebuilding of the temple, after the return of the Israelites from captivity. It is remarkable, however, that St. Jude gives the precise form of reproof mentioned by Zechariah on this occasion; "The Lord rebuke thee," as one used by Michael the archangel in a contention with something more than a mere *human* adversary. Indeed most commentators are disposed to think, that St. Jude alludes to this very passage in Zechariah; and much ingenuity has been exhibited<sup>b</sup> in reconciling the

<sup>b</sup> Certainly not the least ingenious conjecture on this subject is that of Stofch, which Schleusner gives in the

texts. But for my present purpose it is not perhaps material. If St. Jude really alludes to it, the meaning of the word Satan, at least as he understood it, will be evident. If he does not, but refers to another author and a different transaction, this, instead of diminishing, will be only adding to, the testimony; for even apocryphal testimony, in corroborating the usual acceptation of a particular phrase, must be deemed admissible. If therefore the style of the angelical reproof be the same in Zechariah, in St. Jude, and in a preceding apocryphal author, and if the party reproved be

following terms: "Jude 9. ad quem locum tamen aliam  
 "eamque ingeniosam conjecturam protulit Stofsch in Ar-  
 "chæol. Œconom. N. T. p. 41. qui *σωμα Μωυσεως* reddit  
 "servum Moſis, ipsumque adeo pontificem maximum Jo-  
 "suam intelligit, simulque monet *σωμα* in notione man-  
 "cipii, servi, etiam honoratiori sensu adhiberi *de militibus*  
 "*cujuscunque ordinis.*" Lexic. Art. *σωμα*. For the accep-  
 "tation of *σωμα* in the sense of a servant, see Wetstein in  
 Apoc. xviii. 13.

Schoetgen, in his *Horæ Talmud.* vol. i. p. 1080. offers another conjecture. He considers *σωμα Μωυσεως* as a Hebraism, meaning only *Moses himself*: but he does not make out his point. In Rabbinical Hebrew indeed *נפשו* is used reciprocally, but always, I conceive, with a pronominal affix, and not in construction with another substantive.

in each instance described under the same appellation, will it not follow, that in each instance also the same character is designated?

So general indeed was the persuasion among the Jews of this reproof being uttered to an infernal spirit, that in the Talmud we find the repetition of the very words alluded to proposed as the most effectual protection against the attacks of Satan. The superstitious Talmudists<sup>c</sup> caution their timid disciple, a warning said to have been given by *Sammael*, who is elsewhere termed *Satan*, the angel of death, not to stand in the way of a female procession returning from a funeral, “because,” saith the angel of death, “because I, with sword in hand, leap exulting before it, and I possess the dominion of torture. מפני שאני מרקד ובא לפניהן וחרבי בידי ויש לי רשות לחבל.” But if,” continues the Gemara, “the meeting be unavoidable, what is his remedy? Let him recede some paces from the spot. If a river be near, let him ford it; or if a road in another direction, let him proceed that way; or if a wall, let him stand behind it. But if

<sup>c</sup> Ordo זרעים Codex ברכות cap. vii. Gemara. Bartolocci Bib. Rabbin. v. iii. p. 369. A passage of a similar tendency is also quoted by Wagenfeil in his *Seta*, p. 484.

“ no retreat appear, then let him turn his face  
 “ and exclaim, ‘ *The Lord said to Satan, The*  
 “ *Lord rebuke thee, Satan;*’ and the danger  
 “ shall depart from him.”

Would you then, perhaps the Unitarians will say, with that contempt which generally characterizes the conceit of superior wisdom, would you then revive the obsolete extravagance of Rabbinical reverie? Certainly not. But my argument surely will not suffer by the proof, that the Jews themselves, who manifestly could not have been influenced by Christian expositions, have always understood the text of Zechariah precisely as I do, and precisely indeed as the generality of Christians have always done. To establish the fact is one thing; but to approve of every absurdity which a superstitious imagination may deduce from it, is clearly another.

In addition also to what has been said, it may be remarked, that the expression *השטן*, with the demonstrative *ה* prefixed, occurs but twice in the Old Testament, in Job and in Zechariah; and that in both cases the Being so denominated appears in the presence of, and is addressed by, God himself. Is it not therefore highly improbable, that the same expres-

sion, thus distinguished, should, in the first instance, signify the personification of an abstract idea, that of *evil*; and in the second, a mere *human being*?

Were the foregoing observations insufficient to prove the ancient belief in a superior order of evil spirits, an additional argument might be brought from Deuter. xxxii. 17. where it is said, "They sacrificed to *devils*, שדים, not to "God." For it seems indisputable, that the word שדים, whatsoever difference of opinion may be entertained respecting its derivation, must mean detested objects of heathen worship, which were supposed to possess a real existence, because it is translated *Δαίμονια*, not only in the Septuagint, but by the author of the apocryphal book Baruch, c. iv. 7. and by the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. x. 20; and the spiritual nature also of the *Δαίμονια* is strongly asserted both in the Apocrypha and in the New Testament.

Apocryphal testimony indeed is inadmissible in settling a point of doctrine; but it may at least be received in determining the currency of an opinion. It should be therefore noticed, that in the Wisdom of Solomon the fall of man is directly imputed to the envy of *the devil*; "For God created man to be immortal,

“ and made him to be an image of his own  
 “ eternity ; nevertheless through *envy of the*  
 “ *devil*, φθονῶ Διαβολᾶ, came death into the  
 “ world, and they who *hold to his side*, οἱ της  
 “ *εκεινης μεριδος οντες*, do find it.” c. ii. 23, 24. Is  
 not the personality of the Devil, Διαβολος, here  
 pointed out in terms, the meaning of which it  
 is impossible to mistake ?

Having thus considered the principal traces  
 of the subject before me discoverable in the  
 Old Testament, I shall now turn to the New.

The authors of this Version affirm, that the  
 word *Satan*, whatsoever might have been the  
 vulgar opinion, certainly, in the contemplation  
 of Christ and his Apostles, indicated not a real  
 but a fictitious being.

It is natural however to ask, upon what  
 proof do they ground their argument, that the  
*private* opinion of our Saviour was in direct  
 opposition to his *public* testimony ; that when  
 he spoke of *Satan* he meant by that expression  
 no more than a symbolical existence, the mere  
 personification of an abstract quality ? They  
 will perhaps answer, upon the presumption  
 that he could not, consistently with reason,  
 have meant otherwise. But why should it be  
 deemed irrational to conceive, that intellectual

beings of a superior order may have transgressed the laws of their Creator, as well as those of an inferior order; that there should be bad angels as well as bad men? And what is this rule of human reason, from which revelation itself must never be supposed to swerve? If they will listen to a critic of character, whose occasional aberrations from received opinion at least must recommend him to their esteem, he will tell them, that “what we call *reason*, “and by which we would new model the “Bible,” (he is speaking of theological conjecture in the emendation of the text,) “is frequently nothing more than *some fashionable system of philosophy*, which lasts only for a “time, and appears so absurd to those who “live in later ages, that they find it difficult to “comprehend how rational beings can have “adopted such ridiculous notions <sup>d</sup>.” And he instances the example of the Gnostics. In the days of Gnosticism indeed every thing was spiritualized, and credulity carried to an extreme one way; but now, it seems, every thing is to be materialized, and incredulity pushed to an extreme the other. Truth, however, I am

<sup>d</sup> Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. part i. p. 415.

persuaded, may still be found in the middle system ; in a system equally remote from the fantastical reveries of the Gnostics, and from the negative hypotheses of the Unitarians.

But let us more attentively consider the proofs of this supposed Christian philosophy. We must understand then, that a professed object of our Saviour's mission was to abolish the superstitious doctrine of evil spirits ; to eradicate from the popular mind the ideal empire of darkness. Conceiving this therefore to have been an object of his mission, how, we may ask, did he effect it ? Was it, as in the case of Pharisaical superstition, by attacking the offensive creed in bold and disdainful language, and in terms exposing it, without reserve, to merited contempt and infamy ? Indisputably not. But, on the other hand, by adopting it on every occasion as his own, by temporizing with his hearers, by fostering their prejudices even to satiety, and by ultimately leaving them to correct their own errors ! Surely if such were our Saviour's object, his mode of accomplishing that object was rather singular<sup>e</sup>. Nor should

<sup>e</sup> See Mr. John Jones's " Illustrations of the four Gospels," p. 172, 173.



it be forgotten, that the Unitarians, on other occasions, withhold at pleasure their belief in every thing which is not expressly and repeatedly declared : yet on this occasion would they wish us to believe that which is not declared at all ; which is solely deducible from an assumed paramount rule of reason, and from principles of scriptural interpretation too refined for vulgar comprehension.

If it were one avowed object of our Saviour's mission to annihilate the received doctrine of an evil Being, we might conjecture, that some very early indication of it would appear in the Evangelical history. But, on the contrary, we are informed, that at the very commencement of his ministry he was " led up of " the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted " by *the devil*," Matt. iv. 1 ; and this is stated with various particulars of the event, without the slightest collateral or ulterior explanation. The authors of the New Version indeed say, " This form of expression (viz. ' Jesus was led ' up by the Spirit') denotes that the historian " is about to describe a *visionary* scene, and " not a real event." And so said *Farmer* before them. But what is the reply of another favourite writer of the same school ? " When

“ this is the case,” observes Mr. John Jones, “ it  
 “ is *always declared* that the scene is *visionary*,  
 “ and not *real*. \* \* \* \* \* Do the Evangelists  
 “ then say, that the temptations of Christ, or  
 “ the scenes which he saw, were a *vision*? Not  
 “ a word, nor the slightest intimation of the  
 “ kind is given by them ; and there is as good  
 “ reason for supposing that he was *baptized*,  
 “ or *announced* by a voice from heaven as the  
 “ Son of God, in a *vision*, as for thinking he  
 “ was *tempted in a vision*,” p. 630. Again,  
 “ With the New Testament in our hands, we  
 “ feel ourselves surrounded with the mild and  
 “ benignant splendour of *truth and reality* ;  
 “ but this critic (viz. *Farmer*) would envelope  
 “ our hemisphere in gloom at the moment the  
 “ Sun of righteousness sheds his purest, sereneest  
 “ rays on our horizon ; and *with preposterous*  
 “ *officiousness* would reflect on our path the  
 “ livid light of a midnight taper, when the Son  
 “ of God himself stands before us clothed with  
 “ the luminary of day.” p. 632. It seems, then,  
 that it must not be a *vision*. Still however, al-  
 though “ we feel ourselves surrounded with the  
 “ mild and benignant splendour of *truth and*  
 “ *reality*,” it may only be, according to the se-  
 cond hypothesis of our Translators, “ a figura-

“tive description of the train of thoughts which “ passed through the mind of Jesus.” And this is the opinion of Mr. Cappe, and *Mr. John Jones himself*. I shall not however waste my time in attempting to split the hair of reality between writers whose only difference of opinion seems to be, that, while one represents our Saviour as foreseeing, in a *vision at Nazareth*, the future scene of his sufferings, and, “ in “ order to qualify him for death, as dreaming “ that he should die,” the other represents him as foreseeing the same scene *with his eyes open in the wilderness*; but shall pass on to other considerations, simply noticing “ the *confirmation* (as it is termed) of his interpretation,” given by Mr. John Jones, who, without any particular comment, refers for this purpose to a well known allegory of Xenophon, denominated “ *the Choice of Hercules* ;” and adds, that “ nothing in all antiquity can “ be found more similar to the temptation of “ our Lord, both in sentiment and language !” p. 633.

To examine therefore with a little more accuracy this new idea, that the assertion of an affirmative is sometimes the most effectual mode of proving a negative, when our blessed

Saviour, certainly not at the moment very anxious to avoid "alienating and inflaming his countrymen<sup>f</sup>," thus addresses the Jews; "Ye are of your father *the devil*, and the lusts of your father ye will do: he was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth," John viii. 44, is it possible to conceive, that he was playing with their prejudices, and merely alluded to a *personified quality*? When likewise, in his description of the day of judgment, he uses the terms "everlasting fire, prepared for *the devil* and his angels," Matt. xxv. 41. can we, consistently with common sense, suppose that, by the words *the devil and his angels*, he meant and wished his hearers to understand him as meaning nothing more than metaphorical existences? If it be nevertheless still insisted, that, when speaking to the people at large, he had a purpose to answer in humouring popular prejudice by the adoption of popular language, it will scarcely, I presume, be argued, that he had any purpose to serve in adopting a similar language when addressing his own disciples. And yet we find him frequent in the use of it. To them he says, even

<sup>f</sup> Illustrations of the four Gospels, p. 171.

in explanation of a parable, "The enemy  
 " that sowed the tares is *the devil*," Matt. xiii.  
 39 : a most singular assertion indeed by way  
 of proving the non-existence of such a being.  
 When also they tell him, that " even the de-  
 " vils, *Δαίμονια*, are subject to him," Luke x. 17.  
 instead of correcting their error, if error he  
 conceived it to be, he replies, " I beheld Satan  
 " like lightning fall from heaven." In another  
 place, addressing himself to Peter, he exclaims,  
 " Simon, Simon, behold, *Satan* hath desired to  
 " have you," Luke xxii. 31. And even after  
 his resurrection, when he appeared in a vision  
 to St. Paul, he calls him " to turn men from  
 " darkness to light, and *from the power of Sa-*  
 " *tan* unto God," Acts xxvi. 18.

Nor are the Apostles, in their Epistles both  
 to Jews and Gentiles, more scrupulous in the  
 free use of language, which, if they had not  
 learned, they at least had heard, from their di-  
 vine Masters. To reconcile their phraseology  
 to the Unitarian hypothesis is a task which no

§ See John xiii. 2. Acts xiii. 10. Rom. xvi. 20. 1 Cor.  
 v. 5. vii. 5. 2 Cor. ii. 11. xi. 14. xii. 7. Ephes. iv. 27.  
 vi. 11. 1 Theff. ii. 18. 2 Theff. ii. 9. 1 Tim. i. 20. iii. 6,  
 7. v. 15. 2 Tim. ii. 26. Heb. ii. 14. James iv. 7. 1 Pet.  
 v. 8. 2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude 6.

effort and straining will ever satisfactorily accomplish. One would conceive that, when St. Paul speaks of “delivering such a one to “*Satan*,” 1 Cor. v. 15. and of “Satan’s transforming himself into an angel of light,” 2 Cor. xi. 14. he meant the same person. But our new Interpreters tell us, that in the first instance *Satan* is to be considered as a sort of ideal sovereign over an ideal kingdom of darkness: in the latter, as a false Apostle, the leading adversary of St. Paul. I shall quote the last passage. Speaking of false teachers, St. Paul observes, that “they transform themselves into “the Apostles of Christ. And no wonder: for “*Satan* also transformeth himself into an angel “of light. It is therefore no great thing if his “ministers also transform themselves as ministers of righteousness.” What can possibly be more simple in its import? This however is to be thus perplexed; As the *leading adversary* of St. Paul, denominated *Satan*, transforms himself into *an angel of light*; that is, “arrogates to himself the character of *a messenger from God* ;” so also *the ministers of this adversary* transform themselves into the ministers of righteousness, that is, “pretend to “be *the Apostles of the Messiah*.” But where

do we find any mention of this *leading adversary*, who arrogated to himself the character of *an angel*, (for the words *angel of light* cannot, I maintain, be lowered into the direct sense of *a mere messenger from God*, such as were all the prophets,) and who, in pursuance of his divine mission, had *his appropriate ministers*, *διδασκαλοι*? Did St. Paul ever term his fellow labourers in the Gospel *his ministers*? The ministers of Satan contrasted with the ministers of Christ is sufficiently intelligible. But where is the contrast in opposing the ministers of a false apostle to the ministers of Christ, unless we can also suppose a contrast in the principles; viz. between the false apostle himself and our Saviour? Besides, the word *Satan* is Hebrew, not Greek; and as being therefore in all probability only known to the Corinthians in a peculiar sense, was scarcely used by St. Paul to express the general idea of *an adversary*.

But a still more singular exposition occurs in a comment, which they adopt from another writer, upon a passage of St. Jude. In order to point out the dreadful judgments of God against the disobedient, the Apostle instances the punishment of the fallen angels, the de-

struction of the world by water in the days of Noah, and the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrha by fire from heaven. The case of the fallen angels he thus describes: "The angels  
 " who kept not their first estate, but left their  
 " own habitation, he hath reserved in eternal  
 " chains to the judgment of the great day,"  
 ver. 4. In explanation of this the following  
 paraphrase is given: "The messengers who  
 " watched not duly over *their own principa-*  
 " *lity*, but deserted their proper habitation, he  
 " kept with perpetual chains under darkness  
 " (*punished them with judicial blindness of*  
 " *mind*) unto the judgment of a great day, i. e.  
 " *when they were destroyed by a plague.* Al-  
 " luding to the falsehood and punishment of  
 " the spies, Numb. xiv. 36, 37!" Were we  
 however disposed to try the experiment of con-  
 verting the word *angels* into *messengers*, and  
 to consider these as the spies sent out by Moses  
 and the Israelites to investigate the land of  
 Canaan, what possible sense can be made of the  
 crime imputed to them; viz. "that they watch-  
 " ed not duly over their own principality?"  
 Nor can those with any propriety be said to  
 have "deserted their proper habitation," *απολι-*  
*ποντας το εαυτων οικητηριον*, who had no proper



habitation to desert. Besides, could we suppose that the phrase, "*judgment of the great day*," is synonymous with that of *destruction by the plague*, still would it require the talent of Œdipus himself in the solution of metaphorical ænigma to demonstrate how the words, "*he kept in eternal chains under darkness*," δεσμοῖς αἰδιότοις ὑπὸ ζοφὸν τετήρηκεν, can possibly mean, *he punished with judicial blindness of mind*; particularly as St. Peter, who adduces the same example, adds the participle ταρταρωσας, σαρραις ζοφῶ ταρταρωσας παρεδωκεν, "*having cast them down to hell*, he delivered them into chains "*of darkness*," 2 Pet. ii. 4. And with what propriety can *judicial blindness of mind*, the act, I presume, of forming an erroneous judgment of the promised land, which constituted the crime of the spies, be termed their punishment?

On the whole then; if the existence of a spiritual enemy to man, under the denomination of *Satan*, is discoverable in the Scriptures of the Old Testament; if this were confessedly the popular creed at the period of the promulgation of Christianity; if our Saviour himself adopted it as his own creed without any ulterior explanation, not only when publicly ad-

dressing the people, but also when privately conversing with his own disciples ; and if the Apostles likewise expressed themselves in similar language, it seems reasonable to conclude, that *Satan* is described as a real, and not as a fictitious being. That translation therefore of the word *Σαταν* cannot be correct, which, by rendering it *adversary*, deprives it of the peculiar sense which was usually affixed to it. It admits indeed in Hebrew as well the general sense of *adversary* or *accuser*, as the particular sense of *a fallen angel*. But it should be recollected, that the question turns upon its meaning in the Greek, and not in the Hebrew Scriptures. Had the Apostles intended to express the general idea of *an adversary*, they would doubtless have used *αντιδικος*, or some other equivalent Greek expression ; because otherwise they would have been unintelligible to those, for whose instruction they wrote. *Satan*, as a term appropriated to an evil Being of a superior nature, could only be understood, we may presume, by the Greeks as it still is by us in English : but had St. Luke, for example, instead of *ὡς γὰρ ὑπάγεις μετὰ τῶ ἀντιδίκῳ σὺ ἐπ' ἀρχόντῃ*, c. xii. 58. written *ὡς γὰρ ὑπάγεις μετὰ τῶ Σατανᾷ σὺ ἐπ' ἀρχόντῃ*, that is, instead of, “ when thou

“ goest *with thine adversary* to the magistrate,” had he written, “ when thou goest with thy *Satan* to the magistrate,” would not both Greek and English have appeared a little nonsensical? The appropriate name of a person or thing, or of a class of persons or things, before unknown, may be naturally borrowed from another language in which it is familiarly used; but to suppose that the inspired writers of the New Testament, when addressing those who were ignorant of Hebrew, unnecessarily adopted from that tongue words expressive only of general ideas, would be to convert them into a sort of conceited triflers, whose object was rather to puzzle than to instruct. That the Greek language contained no term peculiarly appropriated to the name of a being, respecting whose existence the Greeks had no knowledge, must be evident. Hence therefore appears the reason why the Apostles on such occasions used an Hebrew expression. But even this, it may be said, would not have been intelligible, without a previous explanation. Most certainly it would not; and that very circumstance tends to prove the specific sense in which it was meant to be understood. For if the Apostles, as well as the Jews in general,

believed in the real existence of *Satan*, it is obvious that they would inculcate the same opinion on their heathen converts, and would consequently explain to them the meaning of that term ; but if they did not believe in it, no possible necessity could arise for their explaining it at all. Would they not rather have abstained from every allusion to it, than have run the risk of appearing to countenance a creed which they disclaimed ; and this solely for the puerile pleasure of sporting with a tortured metaphor ? That they proceeded still further, and previously explained the general meaning of a certain Hebrew expression, without any particular object of the kind alluded to in view, is surely a position which should shock even the conjectural credulity of the new school.

## CHAP. VII.

*Translation of the word Ἀγγέλους, Heb. i. Disputed books. Griesbach. Conclusion.*

ALTHOUGH the Translators take every possible opportunity to represent a belief in the existence of fallen angels as irrational, and therefore unscriptural, they do not altogether deny the existence of angels themselves. This they seem to admit; yet, as the word *ἄγγελος* means both *a messenger* and *an angel*, they sometimes attempt, for certain theological purposes, to give it the former in preference to the latter signification, in direct opposition to the context. When St. Stephen states the law to have been received “by the ministry of angels,” we are informed in a note, that “thunder, lightning, and tempest, may be called *angels*, like the plague of Egypt, Psalm lxxviii. 49; and the burning wind, Isaiah xxxvii. 36<sup>h</sup>,” or that these angels may

<sup>h</sup> But the illustrations here adduced are defective in proof. The *evil angels*, or *angels inflicting evils*, men-

only mean “ Mofes, Aaron, Jofhua, and a fuc-  
 “ ceflion of authorized prophets and *messen-*  
 “ *gers of God.*” But a more ftriking inftance  
 of their perverting the obvious import of this  
 word occurs in feveral paffages of the firft  
 chapter of the Hebrews, in which they uni-  
 formly tranflate it *messenger*; and it is this  
 tranflation which I propofe particularly to con-  
 fider.

Their object is fufficiently evident. Through-  
 out the whole of the chapter in queftion the

tioned Pfalm lxxviii. 49. ought rather perhaps to be  
 taken literally, in allufion to Exodus xii. 23. where the  
 המושחית *the deftroyer* (τον ολοθρευοντα in the Septuagint) is  
 introduced as only permitted to ftrike the firft-born of the  
 Egyptians; and this fenfe, it fhould be remarked, is evi-  
 dently given to the phrafe in the Greek Verſion of Sym-  
 machus, who renders it αγγελων κακεντων, *angels afflicting*  
*them with evils.* See alfo 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. in which Da-  
 vid is ftated to have *feen* the angel who fmote the people  
 with peftilence. With refpect to the paffage in Ifaiah,  
 that which is termed a *burning wind* is exprefly ftated in  
 the text to have been *the angel of the Lord*, who is repre-  
 ſented as having *gone out* (סצ) and ſmitten in the camp  
 of the Affyrians a hundred fourſcore and five thouſand.  
 Why muſt we attribute to natural cauſes alone what is  
 plainly deſcribed in Scripture as effected by the agency of  
 ſupernatural beings? It cannot be becauſe we diſbelieve  
 the exiſtence of ſuch beings.

superiority of Christ to the angels is too distinctly asserted to be explained away. In imitation therefore of Wakefield, they endeavour to get rid of the difficulty at once (a difficulty which might otherwise prove a stumbling-block to their creed) by rendering *αγγελοι* *messengers*, and by giving us at the same time to understand, that the messengers alluded to are the prophets of the Old Testament. The authority of Wakefield I admit to be respectable; a writer certainly of classical taste, and of elegant attainments; but by no means ranking high on the list of biblical critics; whose translation of the New Testament is, like theirs, deeply tinged by his creed, and whose professed attachment to truth and candour was too often biased by prejudice, and disgraced by sarcasm. Those however who boast the habit, and experience the pride, of dissent, will not, I presume, expect others to adopt, without examination, the opinion of any man whatsoever; particularly an opinion, the credit of which, unsupported both by reasoning and precedent, solely rests upon the critical acumen of Wakefield.

In the two first chapters of this Epistle the word *αγγελοι* occurs no less than nine times; in

the first fix of which it is translated *messengers*, but in the remaining three, *angels*. This incorrectness of style, however, it is observed, to which the ambiguity of the word gives rise, is not uncommon in the sacred writers, but no parallel case specifically in point, or indeed any at all, is alleged in proof of the assertion. Surely this, as Mr. Nares justly remarks, “ is an  
 “ extraordinary mode of reconciling matters ;  
 “ for it is not the Apostle, but the Editors  
 “ themselves, who give these different senses  
 “ to the term *angel*, and then censure the sa-  
 “ cred writers for an *incorrectness of style*.”

I shall not, I trust, be accused of mistating their argument, if I reduce it to this simple assertion ; that, as the word *angel* is sometimes used in the Old Testament to denote a *prophet*, so also is the same signification to be annexed to it in the particular passage under consideration.

The term indeed is doubtless applied to the prophets in some, but not in many passages of the Old Testament ; yet ought we to remark, that it is never so applied without a pronoun, or a genitive case connected with it, indicative of



him whose messengers they were. Often however it stands alone, and is then only used to designate those superior beings, of whom it is the sole characteristical appellation, to whom it is exclusively a name descriptive, specific, and appropriate. Thus, to quote one out of many instances, it is said, 1 Kings xix. 5. that, when Elijah, flying from the vengeance of Jezebel, and exhausted with fatigue, lay under a juniper tree, *an angel* מלאך touched him, and said, Arise and eat. Here we perceive the term occurring alone, without even the prefix (or definite article) ה, and distinctly pointing out a being, well known under that particular denomination. But the construction is wholly dissimilar when it is applied to the prophets: for then we read, “The Lord sent to them by *his* messengers, “ \* \* \* but they mocked the messengers of “ *God*, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16; The Lord, “ who performeth the counsel of *his* messengers, Isaiah xlv. 26; Then spake Haggai *the* “ *Lord’s* messenger, Hag. i. 13; He is the messenger of *the Lord of Hosts*, Malachi ii. 7; “ And I will send *my* messenger, Malachi iii. 1:” and these are the only texts in which it is to be found in the latter signification. The reason of the difference I apprehend to be obvious.

In the first case, it is sufficiently declarative of its own meaning ; but in the last, not being so declarative, it requires some adjunct to determine the precise sense of its synonymous application. Had Haggai, for instance, described himself as *a* messenger, instead of *the Lord's* messenger, would not the phraseology have been incomplete, if not unintelligible ?

In opposition however to every legitimate principle of construction, these Translators contend with Wakefield, that when the Son is described, Heb. i. 4. as “ being made so much “ better than *the angels*, κρείττων των αγγελων, as “ he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they,” the expression των αγγελων signifies not *the angels*, but “ *the prophets*, who are mentioned in the first verse.” Yet that αγγελος generally means *angel*, in the usual acceptation of the term, they seem themselves to admit, because they thus translate it *sixty-three* out of *seventy-four* times<sup>k</sup>, in which

<sup>k</sup> I have observed it in the following texts: Matt. iv. 11. xiii. 39, 49. xxvi. 53. Mark i. 13. Luke xvi. 22. John v. 4. xii. 29. Acts vi. 15. vii. 35, 38. xii. 8, 9, 10. xxiii. 8. Rom. viii. 38. 1 Cor. iv. 9. xi. 10. xiii. 1. Gal. iii. 19. Col. ii. 18. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Heb. i. 4, 5, 6, 7, 13. ii. 2, 5, 7, 9, 16. xii. 22. xiii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 12. iii. 22. 2 Pet. ii. 4,

it occurs unconnected with every other word capable of determining its precise sense. And of the eleven instances, in which they render it *messenger*, six will be found in the very passages under consideration. This circumstance alone surely proves on which side the general presumption of its import lies.

But I maintain that the word *αγγελοι* must here necessarily mean *angels*, a class of beings to whom it is peculiarly appropriated, because, although the prophets may be described, as I have already pointed out, under the title of “the messengers of God,” they cannot be correctly termed “*the messengers.*” We readily comprehend how they are said to be the messengers of God, in common with others; but we do not well understand how they can be denominated *the messengers* emphatically and exclusively. I may likewise remark, that they

II. Rev. i. 20. vii. 1, 2, II. viii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. ix. 1, II. x. 1, 5, 7, 8. xi. 15. xiv. 6, 8, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, 19. xv. 1, 6, 7, 8. xvi. 1, 3, 5. xviii. 1. xix. 17. xxi. 9, 12.

It is translated *messenger*, 1 Cor. xi. 10. Gal. iii. 19. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Heb. i. 4, 5, 6, 7, 13. ii. 2. xiii. 2. 1 Pet. iii. 22 : and we are told that in Gal. iii. 19. the *messengers* mean *officers*, that is, *Priests and Levites* ; in 1 Tim. iii. 16. the *Apostles* ; and in Heb. i. 4, 5, 6, 7, 13. ii. 2. the *Prophets* of the Old Testament.

are called *the servants*, as well as *the messengers*, of God, and even that more frequently<sup>1</sup>. But should we not condemn the phraseology as strangely incorrect, which, when it is meant to assert the superiority of Christ over *the prophets*, should simply represent him as superior to *the servants*?

To take off, however, as much as possible from the manifest incongruity of the expression, and to introduce a sort of reference to the prophets incidentally mentioned in the first verse, as the agents by whom God had formerly revealed his will to mankind, the Translators adopt the Version of Wakefield, and render τῶν ἀγγέλων, which does not occur till the fourth verse, “*those messengers.*” It may appear too harsh to denominate this a perversion of the sacred text; but it must be admitted to be an unauthorized addition of a not insignificant pronoun<sup>m</sup>, for the express pur-

<sup>1</sup> The phrases *my*, *his*, or *thy servants the prophets*, occur no less than sixteen times in the Old, and twice in the New Testament; 2 Kings ix. 7. xvii. 13, 23. xxi. 10. xxiv. 2. Ezra ix. 11. Jerem. vii. 25. xxv. 4. xxvi. 5. xxix. 19. xxxv. 15. Ezek. xxxviii. 17. Dan. ix. 6, 10. Amos iii. 7. Zech. i. 6. Revelations x. 7. xi. 18.

<sup>m</sup> The Article *ὁ* in Greek is indeed sometimes used em-

pose of supporting a favourite exposition. Yet, if we even conceded to them all the advantage to be derived from such a translation, (a concession which, as in a similar case, they would not be disposed to grant; so in this, I presume, they will not expect to receive,) still would it be impossible for them to establish the propriety of a phrase, which, in spite of all their efforts, could not but remain a palpable solecism.

Nor are we solely left to conjecture respecting the true import of the word *αγγελοι*; for the context distinctly furnishes us with a clue to its meaning. We subsequently read, “Of his angels he saith, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire,” ver. 7; and again, “Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?” ver. 14.

Προς τας αγγελους λεγει, ‘Ο ποιων τας αγγελους αυτες πνευ-

phatically, as *ὁ προφητης ει συ*, John i. 21; but so also is the English Article *the*, as “Art thou *the* prophet?” which is the reading of the New Version. Must it not therefore be as incorrect to confuse the English Article *the* with the pronoun *this* or *that*, as it would be to confuse the Greek Article *ὁ* with the pronoun *εστος* or *εκεινος*? Of this the new Translators themselves seemed aware when they rendered *ὁ προφητης* not *that*, but *the* prophet.

ματα, και τας λειτουργους αυτου πυρος φλογα. \* \* \* \*  
 Ουχι παντες εισι λειτουργικα πνευματα, εις διακονιαν  
 αποσελλομενα, δια τας μελλοντας κληρονομειν σωτηριαν;  
 The translation given in the New Version runs  
 thus: "Of *these* messengers the Scripture faith,  
 "Who maketh the winds his messengers, and  
 "flames of lightning his ministers. \* \* \* Are  
 "they not all servants, sent forth to serve the  
 "future heirs of salvation?" I shall consider  
 these passages separately.

Of the first it seems difficult to speak without an unusual expression of surprize. Admitting for a moment that *αγγελοι* means *messengers*, and *πνευματα* *winds*, instead of "Who  
 "maketh *his messengers the winds*, and *his*  
 "ministers flames of lightning;" can we possibly render the words, "Who maketh *the*  
 "*winds his messengers*, and *flames of lightning*  
 "*his ministers*," by a transposition, the principle of which is utterly inconceivable? And yet such is the rendering of the New Version. The Translators surely will never argue, that the transposition produces not the slightest difference in the sense; that it is, for example, precisely the same thing to say, "Inhumanity  
 "makes *a monster a man*," as it is to say, "In-  
 "humanity makes *a man a monster*." Nor,

although they may be themselves persuaded, that an unprejudiced investigation of truth must make a *Trinitarian an Unitarian*, will they therefore, I presume, admit, that an unprejudiced investigation of truth must make an *Unitarian a Trinitarian*. And how came they on this occasion so rashly to turn their backs upon their favourite Wakefield? How too could they overlook the severe censure of “that eminent scholar” upon the very translation of the passage which they choose to adopt? “Some,” he remarks, “reverse the translation  
“ here given, and render, *who maketh winds his  
“ messengers, and flaming fire his ministers:*  
“ which makes the passage *just nothing at all  
“ to the writer’s purpose*; and, not to speak  
“ harshly of these Translators,

“ ——ignoratæ premit artis crimine turpi<sup>n</sup>.”

But leaving them to exculpate themselves as they can from the disgraceful charge of ignorance, pronounced by a celebrated leader of their own party, and giving them, at the same time, the full advantage of his superior information, I still contend, that, arrange the passage as you please, the signification of *αγγελος* must be *angel*, and not *prophet*. For in what

<sup>n</sup> Translation of the New Testament, vol. iii. p. 209.

possible sense can *the prophets* be characteristically described as *winds* and as *flames of lightning*? Yet this may be consistently stated of *the angels*, who may be said to resemble *the wind in activity*, and *the lightning in velocity*. And if too, on the other hand, we translate πνευματα (perhaps more correctly) *spirits*, and πυρος φλογα a *flaming fire*, not a shadow of doubt will remain upon the subject. Indeed, that the authors of the Septuagint so understood the original word רוחות, is evident from their translating it here πνευματα, after having in the last clause of the preceding verse rendered it ανεμων, the more appropriate Greek term for *winds* °.

° In this sense also the passage alluded to in the Psalms was always taken by the most ancient Jewish writers. Schoettgen observes, “Plerique Judæorum verba hæc de “angelis eodem modo explicant, quorum omnia loca “proferre nimis prolixum foret.” Horæ Heb. et Talm. in loc. In the Pirke R. Eliezer, or *Chapters of R. Eliezer*, chap. iv. where an allusion is made to the creation of angels, this verse of the 104th Psalm is particularly referred to: המלאכים שנבראו ביום שני כשחן נשלחין בדברו נעשין רוחות &c. וכשחן משרתים לפניו נעשין של אש שנאמר עשה. “The an- “gels who were created on the second day, when they “are sent by his word, become spirits; and when they “minister before him, become fiery, (של אש of fire) as it “is written, He made his angels spirits, and his ministers



With respect to the latter part of the description, in which the *αγγελοι* are said to be *ministering spirits*, *λειτουργικα πνευμαλα*, one might have conceived this to be a discriminating characteristic of the angelical nature impossible to be mistaken. But the Translators of the New Version, it seems, think differently, and render the word *servants*. Here however they

“a flaming fire.” Four classes of *ministering angels* מַלְאָכֵי הַשָּׁרֵת are then described as praising him, who alone is holy and blessed, and surrounding the throne of his glory.

Some critics have conceived, that the *πνευματα ιεροχω* *spirits*, mentioned in the first part of the verse in question, mean the *Cherubim*, and the *fiery* ministers in the second part the *Seraphim*. The very name *seraph* sufficiently elucidates the latter conjecture. And the former perhaps may be corroborated by the following remark of Drusus: “Ignorari videor, cur nomen masculinum *Cherubim* γο viri, Aq. et alii interpretes Græci genere neutro τα Χερουβιμ transtulissent. \* \* \* Ego arbitror τα Χερουβιμ comprehendio dici pro eo, quod est τα πνευματα Χερουβιμ, i. e. “*spiritus, qui Cherubim nuncupantur*.” Observ. Sac. lib. x. c. 21.

It should likewise be particularly observed, that the word *πνευμα* occurs in other passages of the New Testament more than *three hundred and fifty times*; and yet is capable only in *one* instance, viz. John iii. 8. (an instance however disputed by Wakefield himself) of being translated *wind*. The term generally used for *wind* is, as I have remarked above, *ανεμος*.

do not, as in other instances, rest upon the prop either of the Primate's or of Wakefield's Version, but boldly venture at a little criticism of their own. They tell us in a note, that the phrase is a *Hebraism*; a convenient sort of term equally calculated for the display of knowledge, and the concealment of ignorance. They say, "The word *spirit* is a *Hebraism* to express a person's self, *v. g.* "1 Cor. ii. 11. the spirit of a man is a man, "is a man himself; the spirit of God is God himself, 2 Tim. iv. 22. The Lord Jesus Christ "be with thy spirit, i. e. with thee." But how do they prove the supposed *Hebraism*? Instead of pointing out those passages where the corresponding term רוח is thus used in the Old Testament, they merely produce two texts from the New, in which they state πνευμα itself to bear the alleged signification. But if they could demonstrate so peculiar an acceptance of the word in Greek, this would not constitute it an *Hebraism*. I have examined Vortius, Olearius, and other champions of *Hebraisms*, to ascertain, if possible, the grounds of their assertion, but in vain.

It seems not however very material, whether the phrase be an *Hebraism*, or not, if we

can but settle its genuine import. If I understand them correctly, they contend that the term *πνευμα*, in the passages referred to, is put, not for the *spirit* alone, but by synecdoche for *the whole man*. This, I presume, is all they mean, when they say, “that *the spirit of a man* “is a man, is a man himself;” for I cannot conceive them to insinuate here the existence of a reciprocal, abhorrent from oriental usage<sup>p</sup>, and inapplicable to the object in view. Taking it then as an instance of synecdoche, and that *the spirit of a man*, in the first passage quoted, means only *the man*, we must understand the verse thus: “What man knoweth the things “of a man, but *the man which is in him*?” Without being fastidious however upon the singularity of such a mode of expression, I presume that the words *το εν αυτω*, *which is in him*, plainly indicate, that *πνευμα*, with which they are connected, is taken in the sense of *spirit*, its usual acceptation. Nor, in the second passage quoted, is there the slightest ground for supposing that it bears a different meaning.

<sup>p</sup> *نفس* in Arabic, *ܢܦܫܐ* in Syriac, and *נפש* in Rabbinical Hebrew, which are used as reciprocals, do not govern the substantive to which they relate, but constantly assume a *pronoun affix*. See Dissertation on the Logos, p. 10, 11.

The phrase, “with thy spirit,” cannot, I apprehend, be considered as synonymous with “with thee,” because it has an appropriate application to the context, which the other phrase has not; for the grace of Christ is only communicable to the *spirit* or soul of man. The pronoun *thee*, therefore, which implies the whole individual, cannot be correctly substituted for *thy spirit*, which implies only a peculiar part of that individual. To be sensible of this, we need only turn to another epistle of the same Apostle, where we shall find a distinction of the kind indisputable. “I know,” he elsewhere remarks, “that *in me*, that is, *in my flesh*, ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου, dwelleth no good,” Romans vii. 18. It is impossible, I conceive, to doubt of his intending here to qualify the general expression, *in me*, by the particular limitation which instantly follows; “that is, *in my flesh*.” Ought we not then to understand the word πνεῦμα in an equally restricted sense, when under a similar construction?

But what, to sift the question a little more accurately, is really meant by this proposed instance of synecdoche? Are we, when it is recorded, that “Christ was led up *by the Spirit*,” Matt. iv. 1. to suppose that Christ was led up

*by himself*; or, when it is said, that “God is a “spirit,” John iv. 24. to understand the text as implying, that God is *himself*? It may perhaps be replied, that the cases are widely different, because the term *spirit* in 1 Cor. ii. 11. and 2 Tim. iv. 22. is connected with the genitive case of a noun, or pronoun, denoting *a person*, to which person alone it relates; but it is not so in these texts. I admit the justice of the remark; but still I ask, How then, upon this very principle, can the supposed synecdoche be applicable to Heb. i. 14. the particular text in view? Instead of being here joined to a genitive case expressive of a person, it is solely connected with an adjective, declarative of nothing but a mere quality. Had λειτουργικά πνεύματα been λειτουργων πνεύματα, it might have been possible to have dreamt of a synecdoche; but one would have imagined, that, as the words stand, the very dream of so inapplicable a trope must have been precluded.

But whatsoever meaning we may affix to the words λειτουργικά πνεύματα, it is plain, from the tense of the verb in the same sentence, that they were not meant to be applicable to the ancient prophets. Had the writer intended these words so to be, instead of “*Are they*

“not,” he would doubtless have said, “*Were* they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?” and that for this obvious reason; because the prophets alluded to were dead some ages before the author of the Epistle was born. If however, on the other hand, we apply the words in question to the angels, every thing then becomes instantly clear and consistent. Perhaps also it may not be unimportant to add, as the writer appears, from internal evidence, to have been himself of the Hebrew nation, and as those whom he addressed indisputably were, that in the Talmud, and other Rabbinical compositions, the epithet *ministering* perpetually recurs in connexion with the term *angels*, as one descriptive of their peculiar office. It is unnecessary to quote instances of a phraseology, which he who runs may read: “Nihil in scriptis Rabbinicis frequentius est hac locutione, quod angeli dicuntur מלאכי השרת *angeli ministeriales*, adeo, ut non opus sit loca quædam adscribere.”

I have omitted, as superfluous, to notice an argument on this topic deducible from the

¶ Schoettgen Horæ Heb. in loc.

contrast drawn between the Son and the ἀγγελῶν; but I cannot help alluding to one passage, from the singularity of the translation: “To which of those messengers,” it is said, “spake God at any time, Thou art my Son, this day I have *adopted* thee?” This is an extract from the second Psalm, which nevertheless they elsewhere translate, “Thou art my Son, this day I have *begotten* thee.” Acts xiii. 33. Why this change in the translation? And what authority have they for rendering מְבָרָךְ in the Hebrew, and γενναῖον in the Greek, *to adopt*? I may perhaps be told, that there is a metaphorical as well as natural filiation, and that the Psalm referred to evinces a metaphorical filiation to have been intended, because in its primary sense it must be considered as applicable to *David*, and to *Christ* only in its secondary sense. But this expedient will by no means answer the end proposed, because by the adoption of it we represent the writer of the Epistle as advancing an argument which carries with it its own refutation. For when, from a confident presumption that the question is unanswerable, he asks, “To which of those messengers, i. e. *prophets*, spake God at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I be-

“ gotten thee ? ” may we not instantly reply,  
*The prophet David ?*

It would be foreign to my purpose, if not unimportant to the particular point at issue, were I to enter into the long agitated controversy respecting the author of this Epistle. It seems admitted on all sides, that it was composed at the apostolical period, and may therefore, I presume, be taken as evidence, upon general topics at least, of the sentiments then entertained by orthodox Christians. The Translators themselves, in c. ii. 8. give what they deem “ a presumptive proof, that it was either “ written by St. Paul, or by some person, perhaps Barnabas, or Luke, who was an associate “ with him, and familiarly acquainted with the “ Apostle’s style of thinking and reasoning ; ” although they subsequently represent this as very uncertain. Lardner, after a full discussion of the subject, concludes in favour of the probability, that St. Paul was the author of it ; and Sykes strenuously contends for the same position. I omit the mention of other critics, from a persuasion, that the opinion of all, when added to the weight of that advanced by Lardner and by Sykes, can only prove, in the judgment of Unitarians, light as atoms of dust



on the preponderating balance. Although, therefore, we cannot positively, we may at least, I trust, presumptively, ascribe it to St. Paul.

Having alluded to the uncertainty which has been supposed to exist respecting the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, I shall slightly notice some little inconsistency to be found in the account given of the other books of the New Testament, which have not been at all times, and in all countries, acknowledged as works indisputably of apostolical composition. These are, the Epistle of St. James, the second of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Revelation ; which are represented as books, “ whose genuineness was disputed by the early “ Christian writers.” And yet we are afterwards informed, that the Epistle of St. James “ is not unworthy of the Apostle, to whom it “ is generally ascribed ;” that the second and third Epistles of St. John so much resemble the first in subject and language, as not to leave “ a doubt of their having the same author ;” and that the Revelation cannot be read by any intelligent or candid person, “ without his being convinced, that, considering the age in

“ which it appeared, none but a person *divinely inspired* could have written it.” Nothing therefore remains absolutely to be discarded, except the second of St. Peter, and the unfortunate Epistle of St. Jude, neither of which are admissible under the friendly shelter of the Unitarian wing. By these reflexions, however, I am far from meaning to censure the Translators for their laudable attempt at<sup>r</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Why is so marked an exception made of St. Peter's second Epistle, and the Epistle of St. Jude? Lardner, after a detailed examination of the arguments alleged against their authenticity, concludes strongly in favour of it. Of St. Peter's two Epistles he says, “ If we consult them, and endeavour to form a judgment by internal evidence, I suppose it will appear very probable, that both are of the same author. And it may seem somewhat strange, that any of the ancients hesitated about it, who had the two Epistles before them. \* \* \* I conclude therefore, that the two Epistles generally ascribed to the Apostle Peter are indeed his. \* \* \* \* *Certainly* these Epistles, and the discourses of Peter recorded in the Acts, together with the effects of them, are monuments of a *divine inspiration*.” History of the Apostles and Evangelists, chap. 19. Of the Epistle of St. Jude he says, “ I have been thus prolix in rehearsing the passages of Clement; for they appear to me to be a sufficient proof of the antiquity and *genuineness* of this Epistle; or that it was writ by *Jude, one of Christ's twelve Apostles*.” Ibid. chap. 20. Such was the opinion of Lardner.

even partially rescuing from suspicion the controverted books ; the sole object which I have in view being simply to note, with what facility and prompt decision they here, as elsewhere, repudiate or verify, subvert or reestablish, the generally received canon of Scripture at pleasure.

Before I conclude my remarks upon this production, I shall slightly advert to a circumstance incidentally alluded to in another place, viz. that it is not what it professes to be, a translation scrupulously adhering to the text of Griesbach, “ the most correct which has “ hitherto been published<sup>s</sup> ;” but one, in some instances, made from a text which exists nowhere but in the imagination of the Translators ; who, although they generally indeed fol-

The Translators however, although in points of this nature they seem principally to build their faith upon his critical deductions, choose to think differently. With respect indeed to the *first* and *third* chapters of St. Peter’s disputed Epistle, they express themselves rather doubtfully ; but the *second* chapter they condemn without reserve, printing it in italics. And yet Lardner, as we have seen, maintained the divine authority of the whole, and Michaelis states what he terms “ positive grounds for believing it genuine.” *Introduct.* vol. iv. p. 350, &c.

<sup>s</sup> *Introduct.* p. 8.

low Griesbach, yet occasionally innovate even on his innovations. In the course of my reflexions I have pointed out many passages of considerable length undisputed by him, the authenticity of which they represent as extremely dubious. Nor is this all. For, completely in the teeth of an intimation formally given, that “the words, which in the judgment of Griesbach should probably, though not certainly, be expunged, are included in brackets<sup>t</sup>,” they sometimes take the liberty themselves of expunging words of this description upon the superior decision of their own judgment<sup>u</sup>. Timid, cautious, circumspect, Griesbach weighed over and over again, with anxious sollicitude, the credit of a textual variation, experience having taught him wisdom; for he candidly confesses, that in his first edition he had admitted several readings into the text, which in his second, uncorroborated by more recent collations, he felt himself under the necessity of removing to the margin: “Nullas lectiones, quæ olim in margine interiore fuissent repositæ, jam, plurium testium

<sup>t</sup> Explanation of marks, Introd. p. 33.

<sup>u</sup> See Mark ii. 26. v. 15. Luke ix. 56.

“ auctoritate confirmatas, in textum recepi;  
 “ sed contra etiam alias, quibus in textu olim  
 “ locum suum assignassem, nunc, testibus nuper  
 “ productis nil novi præsidii afferentibus, in  
 “ marginem amandavi<sup>x</sup>.” But they, less exact  
 and more intrepid, in passages where he could  
 only discover the appearance of a probable, de-  
 termine the existence of a certain, omission;  
 and by an easy dash of the pen obliterate them  
 altogether.

On one occasion indeed they hazard a bolder  
 step; and, where Griesbach adopts, without ob-  
 servation, the common reading, they, upon the  
 sole authority of the Cambridge manuscript <sup>y</sup>,

<sup>x</sup> Prolegomena, p. 86.

<sup>y</sup> It would be too widely digressing from my subject  
 to discuss here the authority of the Cambridge manu-  
 script, which has already been sufficiently prolific in dis-  
 cussions of this nature; nor indeed is it necessary, as no  
 biblical critic of eminence (for I do not so estimate the  
 late Archbishop Newcome) would dream of altering the  
 sacred text, upon the single credit of this manuscript. I  
 will, however, extract a passage or two from Mill and  
 Michaelis, declarative of their respective judgments upon  
 it: “ Hujus certe,” observes Mill, “ de quo agimus,  
 “ Græca quod attinet, vix dici potest, quam *supra omnem*  
 “ *modum* in iis digerendis *licenter* se gesserit, ac plane *las-*  
 “ *civierit* interpolator, quisquis ille. In animo ipsi fuisse  
 “ prima fronte credideris, non quidem textum illum exhi-

venture upon a little interpolation, which directly converts an affirmative into a negative

“ bere, quem ediderant ipsi Evangelistæ, sed observato  
 “ duntaxat S. Textus ordine et historia, singula Evangelia  
 “ absolutiora et pleniora reddere. Huc enim faciunt in-  
 “ tromissæ in cujusque Evangelii textum particulæ variæ,  
 “ integræque periodi reliquorum : huc transposita in uno-  
 “ quoque plurima, ob historiæ claritatem : huc traductæ  
 “ ex Evangeliiis et Apocryphis περικοπαι : huc interpola-  
 “ tiones aliæ innumeræ. Verum et *in aliam plane sen-*  
 “ *tentiam* pertrahunt nonnulla. Vocabula pro genuinis  
 “ alia, neutiquam σημαντικωτερα, adeoque ad historiæ cla-  
 “ ritatem ac ubertatem nihil conferentia : mutationes nu-  
 “ merorum, casuum, generum, temporum, passim factæ  
 “ absque omni causa : transpositiones infinitæ, quarum  
 “ nulla idonea ratio vel fingi poterit : contracta denique  
 “ plurima, et excisæ hic inde partes, et quidem totæ sen-  
 “ tentiæ, quæ mirifice ad historiæ Evangelicæ integritatem  
 “ faciunt. Neutiquam enim hujusmodi prætermiserit, cui  
 “ constitutum fuerit ex unoquoque Evangeliorum confi-  
 “ cere integram historiam Evangelicam, et quasi Diatessa-  
 “ ron. Imo vero certum illud unum, Digestorem hujus  
 “ textus, in hisce libris Evangeliorum et actuum grassa-  
 “ tum fuisse pro arbitrio ; addidisse, sustulisse, mutasse,  
 “ planè uti ferebat animus ; multoque, ut verbo dicam,  
 “ labore illud egisse, ut textus ipsorum Evangelistarum,  
 “ magnâ sui parte, in alium quendam transformatus ince-  
 “ deret.” Prolegomena, p. 132. Wettstein and others  
 considered it as nothing more than a Greek translation  
 from some old Latin manuscript ; and Storr pointed out  
 its singular coincidence with the Syriac Version, by which

sentence. It is recorded of St. John, who visited, with St. Peter, the sepulchre of our Lord,

he conceived it to have been corrected. It is in opposition to these opinions that Michaelis makes the following reflexions. "After a due consideration of all these circumstances, we shall hardly conclude, that a Greek-Latin MS. written in the west of Europe, where Latin only was spoken, has been altered from the Syriac: and the natural inference to be deduced is, that its readings are *for the most part* genuine, and of course preferable to those of modern manuscripts. On the other hand, I will not deny, that several appear to be *faulty*, being either *scholia*, or a substitution of an *easy* for a *difficult* reading, or the result of an alteration made to remove *some unfavourable doctrine*. \* \* \* \* The result of the preceding remarks is, that the MS. in question cannot possibly have been altered from the Latin, according to the charge which has been usually laid against it. The transcriber appears to have acted like a *critic*, to have corrected the text from the best help which he could procure, to have derived assistance from many ancient MSS. some of which perhaps had admitted *scholia* into the text, and at times to have ventured a *critical conjecture*." Vol. ii. p. 232. 235. Contemplating therefore this manuscript in the most favourable point of view, we must admit, that liberties were taken in the construction of its text, which render its sincerity dubious. Indeed Dr. Kipling, in his printed edition of it, makes the following candid confession: "Notissimum est Bezæ Codicis textum non modo *scholiis* hic illic fœdari, verum etiam *spuriis quibusdam* amplificari pericopis." Præf. p. 5.

when Mary Magdalene had communicated to them her suspicions respecting the removal of the body, that, after he had inspected the sepulchre, "he saw and believed." Now this passage, in direct contradiction to every other manuscript, they render, "he saw and believed *not*," adding the following note from Newcome; "So the Cambridge MS. in the Greek, "but not in the Latin, translation of it. The following verse assigns a reason for the unbelief of St. John and St. Peter." The precise value of this sort of half authority, contradicted by its other half, for the manuscript in question contains a Latin, as well as a Greek text, it is for them to calculate and explain; but as the consistency of the narrative is urged by way of proving the necessity of their interpolation, I cannot help remarking, that the common sense of the context, by which alone, I apprehend, the consistency of the narrative can be preserved, requires no such addition. The point applicable to the credence of the Apostle was, not the resurrection of our Saviour, for nothing upon that head had yet been surmised, but evidently the report of Mary Magdalene, that the body had been stolen away. When therefore St. John was in-



formed of the circumstance, and, examining the sepulchre, perceived the linen clothes, which had wrapped the body, lying on the ground, and the napkin, which had been bound about the head, folded together in a place by itself, can we possibly conjecture that he believed *not*?

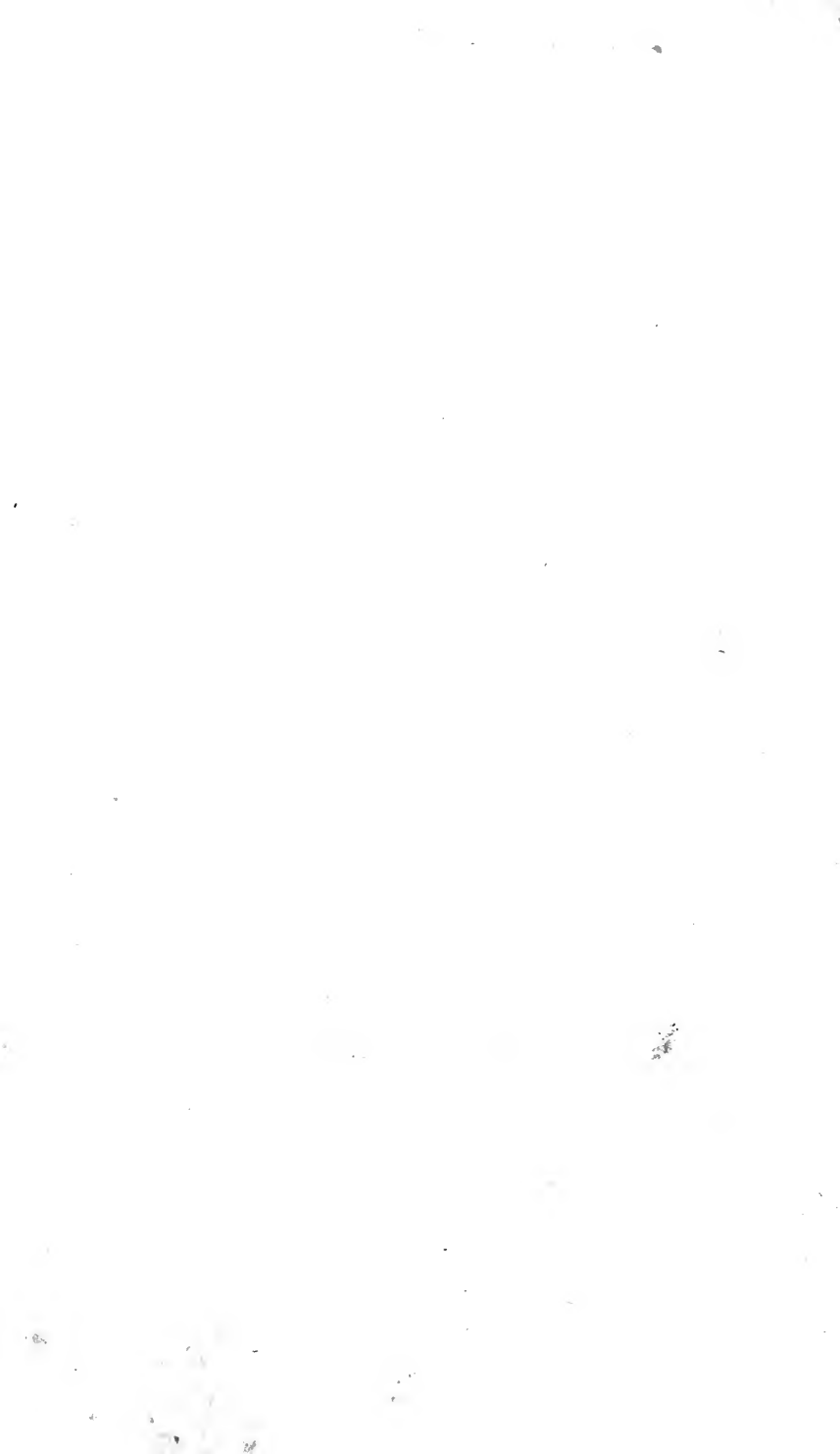
Upon the whole then, it is, I presume, incontrovertible, that they have not uniformly adhered to the text of Griesbach. I do not indeed dispute their right to deviate from the judgment of that, or any other critic; but I complain of their holding out false colours to the public. If they flattered themselves that they possessed talents capable of improving “the most correct text of the original which “has hitherto been published,” they were doubtless at liberty to have made the experiment; but they should have undertaken the task openly and undisguisedly. Were they apprehensive, that in such a case their competency might have been questioned, and their presumption censured?

Nor can I take a final leave of the subject, without again alluding to another deception practised upon the general reader. From the style of the title-page, the prolegomenal parade

of the Introduction, and the perpetual attempt at manuscript erudition in the notes, he is naturally induced to consider the Version as one conducted upon principles rigidly critical, while, in truth, it is nothing more than a mere patchwork translation, solely manufactured to promote the cause of Unitarianism. When a passage occurs, which in its obvious sense threatens fatality to the Unitarian Creed, its sting is instantly and ingeniously extracted; what exposition the language of Scripture *can*, not what it *ought* to bear, becomes the object of investigation; and the context is twisted into subserviency to the gloss, and not the gloss made consistent with the context. The Translators indeed unreservedly confess, that they have studied “to preclude many sources of error, by divesting the sacred volume of the technical phrases of a systematic theology;” but they forget to add, that it was only in order to supersede one system by another. If a clause admits the slightest pliability of meaning, every nerve is strained to give it a peculiar direction. Instead of enquiring, with Christian simplicity, what really *are*, they presume with philosophical arrogance upon what *must be*, the doctrines of Scripture; and substitute the

deductions of reason for the dictates of revelation. Averse from established opinion, fond of novelty, and vain of singularity, they pride themselves upon a sort of mental insulation, and become captivated at every magic touch with the effluent brilliance of their own intellect. The profound researches of the most distinguished commentators and philologists they either slight or despise, unless convertible by a little dexterity of application to the aggrandizement of some favourite theory ; and satiate us with the flimsy refinements and loose lucubrations of Lindsey, or of Priestley. Immoderately attached to particular doctrines, and deeply prejudiced against all others, they modify every expression in the text, and every exposition in the notes, to a sense sometimes directly favourable, but never even indirectly unfavourable, to Unitarianism ; so that in reality, always indifferent, though apparently sometimes anxious, respecting the true philological import of scriptural language, and ever restless with the gad-fly of theological conceit, they prove themselves to be wholly incapacitated, from a defect, if not of talent, certainly of temper, for the patient task of critical rumination.

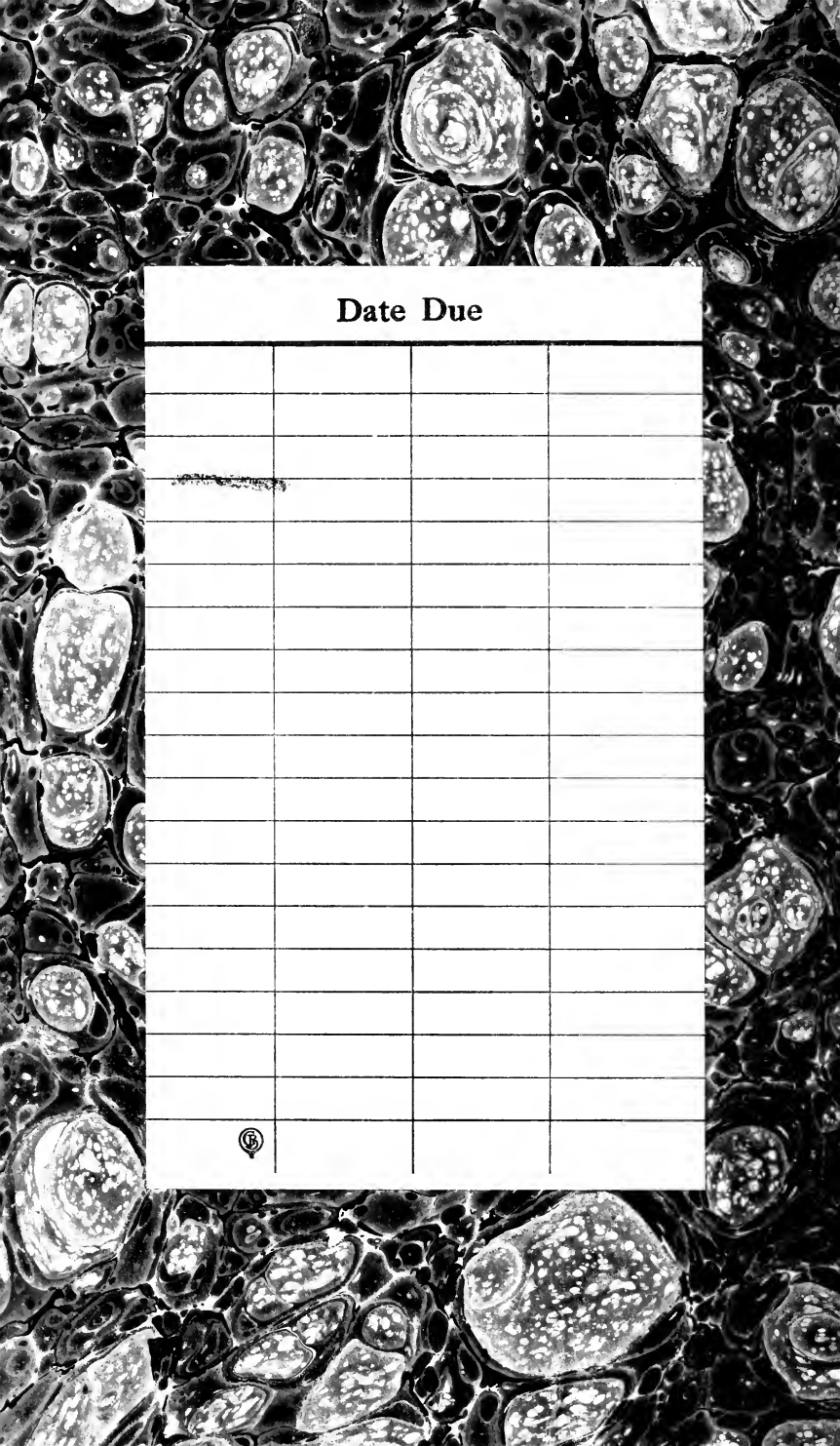
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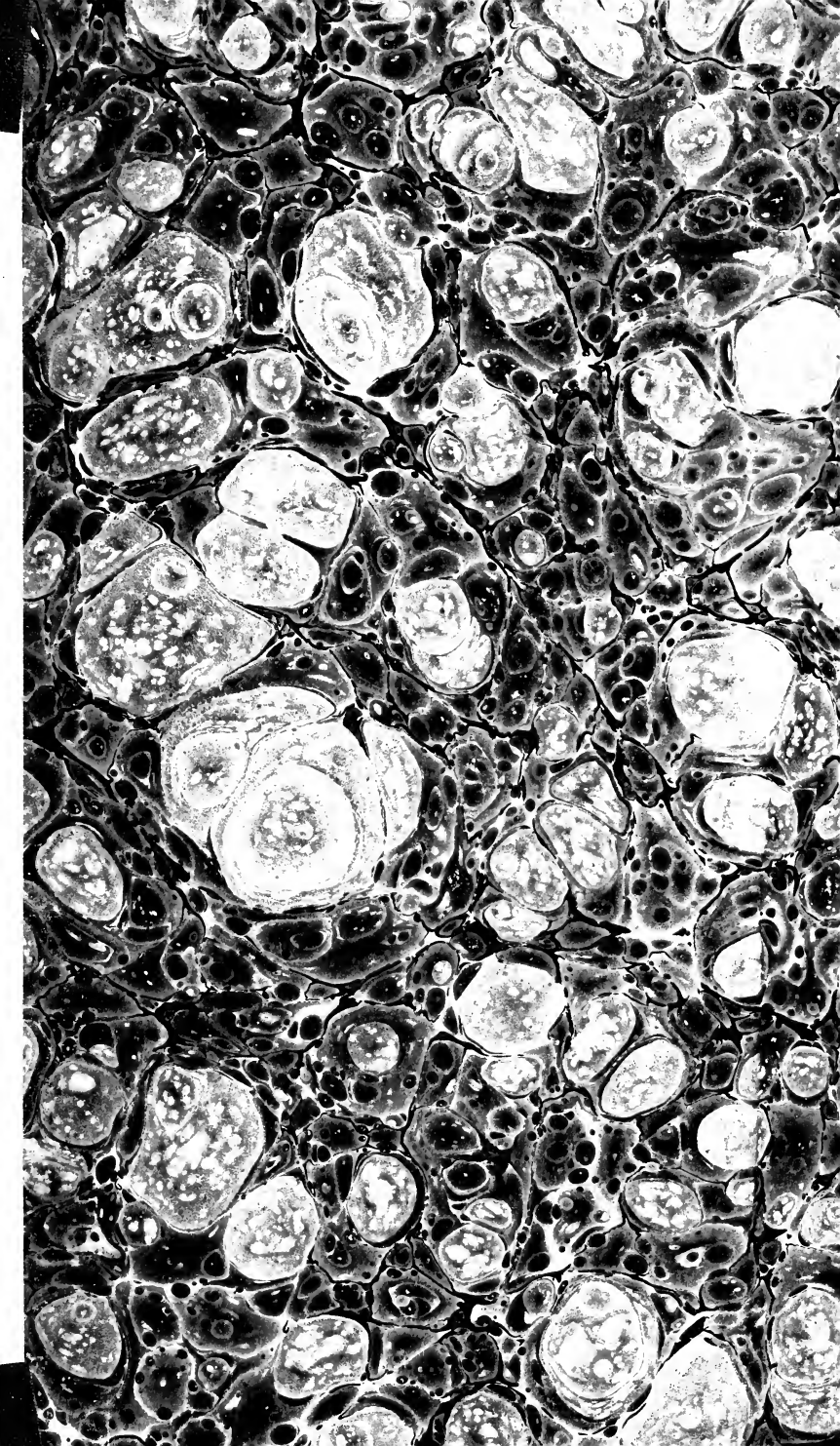






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