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OF

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OF

NEW TESTAMENT

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THE NEW TESTAMENT OF THE GOSPEL OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST  
AND THE APOSTLES AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES  
AND THE EPISTLES OF THE APOSTLES

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OF

AN  
INQUIRY  
INTO THE  
INTEGRITY  
OF THE  
GREEK VULGATE,  
OR  
RECEIVED TEXT  
OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT:

IN WHICH

THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS ARE NEWLY CLASSED, THE INTEGRITY OF  
THE AUTHORISED TEXT VINDICATED, AND THE VARIOUS  
READINGS TRACED TO THEIR ORIGIN.

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BY THE REV.

FREDERICK NOLAN,

A PRESBYTER OF THE UNITED CHURCH.

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Ἡμεῖς καὶ τὰ ὅλα Εὐαγγέλια νεμηδῶμεν, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῶν πατήσωμεν,  
καὶ πάντα τὰ Ἀποστολικά τηρήσωμεν καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀπιστία  
ταρασσύνει τὸς ἐκ εἰδότας συνέναι τῶν λεγομένων, ταραξώμεν.

ORIGEN.

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1815.





TO THE

**REV. H. H. NORRIS.**

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MY DEAR SIR,

IN inscribing the Inquiry into the state of the Hebrew Text, the learned authour offered a tribute to friendship, while he repaid a literary obligation. As I have some ambition, that the following Inquiry into the integrity of the Greek Text, should be considered supplementary to that work; I would emulate the authour, in dedicating the following pages to you.

From the possession of that valuable library, for which I am indebted to your friendship,

and which is referred to in every page of the following work, the undertaking in which I engaged has been brought to a close: in that literary retirement, from the more laborious duties of my profession, has it been prosecuted, which you have enabled me to enjoy. You, who have so largely contributed to the success of my labours, have some right to partake of the fruits which they produce. Let me, however, present them; not as a return for kindnesses which no acknowledgment can repay, but as an account rendered of the means entrusted to me; and which would then indeed become oppressive, should you have reason to believe them misapplied.

I can have no need to bespeak your favour for a work, which has been undertaken at your suggestion, and completed by the facilities which you have placed in my power. And with whatever success it may be ultimately attended, it cannot fail in attaining one important object, with which it was undertaken, while it affords me the oppor-



tunity of thus publicly avowing, with what  
gratitude and sincerity I profess myself,

My dear Sir,

Your truly obliged friend,

And devoted servant,

**FRED. NOLAN.**

*Cambridge Street,*

*July 10, 1815.*

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# PREFACE

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## PREFACE.

THE notion of a literal identity between the present copies of the inspired text, and the original edition, which was published by the sacred writers, is a vulgar error, which finds as little foundation in reason, as justification in fact. It would require no labour of deduction to prove that notion unreasonable, which pre-supposes, that every person who undertakes to copy the Sacred Writings, should be withheld from wilful or inadvertent error, by preternatural power; were it not demonstrably refuted by the publication of one hundred and fifty thousand various readings, which have been collected against the authorised text. But setting aside the idea of its literal purity, as repugnant to reason, the belief of its doctrinal integrity is necessary to the conviction of our faith. For a proof of its general corruption in important points being once admitted, that character for fidelity is necessarily involved, which is inseparable from the notion of a perfect rule of faith and manners.



With a view to the distinction which thus arises between verbal and doctrinal errors, it has been usual to reply to the objections raised to the integrity of the sacred canon, from the multiplicity of various readings, by insisting not only on the immense number of the authorities consulted, and the scrupulous accuracy with which they have been examined, but on the small importance of the readings noted, as rarely affecting the sense of the varying passages.

From the principles thus laid down, the conclusion would legitimately follow in favour of the doctrinal integrity of the sacred text; if it might be assumed that the immense number of various readings forms a floating medium, in which the genuine text might be in all instances discovered. But this is a concession which, though founded in reason, and deducible from experiment, the objector cannot feel inclined to make, who proscribes passages, and objects to chapters, as interpolated in the Scripture canon. It is indeed a position so far from established by the theories of those critics, who have undertaken to recover the genuine text, that it may be fundamentally subverted from the principles on which they proceed. Those systems, consequently, are so far from having established the integrity of any particular text, that they have unsettled the foundation on which the entire canon is rested.

Such are objections to which the most elaborate of those theories seems to be inevitably exposed. If we must receive the Corrected Text of M. Griesbach, to the exclusion of the Greek Vulgate, we must accept it as a demonstrative proof of the general corruption of the sacred text, and of the faithlessness of the traditionary testimony on which it is supported, for a period extending from the apostolical to the present age. One of the first positions laid down in his critical theory, and implied in the conclusions which it involves, is, that the two principal Classes of Text out of which his edition is formed, have been interpolated in every part of them for that period<sup>a</sup>. One of the last consequences which that theory tends to establish, is, that the only remaining Class of Text existing in the Greek Vulgate, and against which the immense number of 150,000 various readings has been collected, has existed in its present state of corruption nearly 1400 years<sup>b</sup>. If these conclusions are unavoidable, there seems to be no reservation by which the doctrinal integrity of the sacred Scriptures can be saved. If the apostolical age has thus erred in its testimony, and its evidence has been further corrupted in the primitive age; whatever be the text, which is gathered out of the

<sup>a</sup> Vid. infr. pp. 334, 335. np. 52 et 53.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. infr. p. 348, n. 81.

On these grounds the first notion was formed by the authour of the following pages, that an Inquiry into the history of the sacred text would most probably lead to the perfect vindication of the vulgar edition. He was encouraged in this expectation, by the effect which he perceived a few facts had in solving some of the greatest difficulties which embarrassed its history. At two periods only could he perceive the possibility of the ecclesiastical tradition having been interrupted; during the ascendancy of the Arian party under Constantine, and on its suppression under the elder Theodosius. The destruction of the sacred books in the Dioclesian persecution, and the revival of the sacred text by Eusebius, furnished an adequate solution of the greatest difficulty which arose, from the varieties in the copies of the original text, and of the translations which differ from the Greek Vulgate.

To this point, of consequence, his first attention is turned; and it forms the subject of the first section of the following Inquiry. He has thence endeavoured to show, that the coincidence between the Eastern and Western texts, on which the credit of the Corrected Edition is rested, must be attributed to the influence of Eusebius's revival, which was published under the auspices of the Emperour Constantine.



Thus far, however, a negative argument is deduced in favour of the Received Text. The character of this text still remains to be investigated: to this point the authour next directs his attention, and he prosecutes it through the two following sections. As the integrity and purity of the Greek and Latin Churches render their testimony of the highest authority in ascertaining the genuine text; on their joint authority he has consequently ventured to distribute the Greek Manuscripts into Classes; and to vindicate that particular class of text which exists in the vulgar edition.

From the ground thus taken up, the whole subject may be commanded almost at a glance. In the following sections, the tradition of the Greek and Latin Churches is carefully traced, from the apostolical age; and on the concurring or relative testimony of those witnesses, the general and doctrinal integrity of the Received Text is established. In vindication of the verbal integrity of this text, the evidence of the Syriack Church is called in; and on the joint testimony of the primitive Version of this Church, and the primitive Italick, a decisive argument is finally deduced in favour of the antiquity of the Greek Vulgate.

In the last section, the authour has endeavoured to point out the particular manner in which the remaining Classes of Text, into which the Greek

Manuscripts are distributed, have originated, from a corruption of the vulgar edition. The whole of the diversities in those manuscripts are traced to three revisals of the sacred text, which were published in Egypt, Palestine, and Constantinople. The number of various readings is thence easily accounted for; and a solution offered of some objections which are raised to the doctrinal and verbal integrity of the Received Text or Vulgar edition.

From this brief sketch of the plan of the following work, the reader will easily comprehend in what manner the authour has avoided those consequences which he charges on the systems of his opponents: and how the integrity of the Received Text may be established independent of the objections which lie against the Corrected Edition. An interruption in the tradition, by which the former text is supported, is admitted to have taken place; when the scripture canon was revised by Eusebius, and the Church became subject to the dominion of the Arians. But the tradition is carried *above* this period, which did not exceed forty years, and the Received Text proved to have existed previously, by its coincidence with those Versions of the Oriental and Western Churches, which were made *before* the text was revised by Eusebius. So that, although the tradition has been interrupted for this inconsiderable period, it has remained as unsophisticated



in the two centuries, which preceded Constantine's age, as in the last fourteen, during which it has confessedly remained uncorrupted.

In the course of this Inquiry, it has been a principal object with the authour to rescue the history of the text from that obscurity in which it is involved; and to attain some determinate notion of the state of critical and religious opinion in the primitive ages; with a view to ascertain the causes which led to the corruption of the text, and produced the different classes into which it is distributed.

An attention to these points has consequently enabled him to give a different direction to the question respecting the authenticity of those passages in which the Received and Corrected Texts differ; and has thrown the preponderance of the internal evidence on the side of the former. In determining between spurious and genuine readings, respect must be paid to the peculiar opinions of the persons by whom the original text is revised or translated: but it is a curious fact, that since the time when the different editions, which comprize the varieties discoverable in the sacred text, were published, the state of religious opinion has undergone a total revolution. The scepticks of the present age, however they reject Christ's divinity, are fully disposed to admit his humanity. But in the earlier ages the

case was precisely reversed; the generality of heretics having easily admitted the divinity of our Lord, while they denied his humanity. Those sects, from whose opinions the notion of heresy was defined<sup>f</sup>, conceived, that Christ descended from heaven in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, and having merely assumed the appearance of a man, entered on his ministry in Judæa<sup>g</sup>. A religious system was devised in coincidence with this fundamental tenet; and the Scriptures were soon accommodated to the opinions of its founders. To the first disturbance which was thus given to the sacred text, we easily trace the principal varieties which are discoverable in the different editions into which the Greek text may be divided<sup>h</sup>. Instances consequently occur, in which passages, that are challenged by the heretics in the primitive ages, disappear in the Eastern and Western texts, which form the basis of M. Griesbach's system, and are now found in the vulgar edition<sup>i</sup>. One or two instances of this kind are sufficient to enable us to decide upon similar passages; and afford an adequate criterion, by which we may determine the relative merit of those different texts which have produced the Received and Cor-

<sup>f</sup> Vid. infr. p. 466. n. 70.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. infr. p. 463. n. 60.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. infr. p. 468. sqq. conf. p. 475. n. 83. p. 495. n. 96.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. infr. p. 498. n. 90.

rected Editions, and discover the total insufficiency of the critical systems which have been devised for the correction of the Greek Vulgate.

Another point to which the authour has directed his attention, has been the consideration of the old Italick translation. Notwithstanding the labours of M. M. Blanchini and Sabatier, much remains to be done with this version, the history of which is so little known, that the very propriety of *its name* has been questioned. In considering the strange error into which Dr. Bentley has led Abp. Potter, Dr. Mosheim, and Prof. Michaelis, on this subject, the authour perceived, without any labour of inquiry, that it derived its name from that diocese, which has been termed the Italick, as contradistinguished from the Roman\*. This is a supposition, which receives a sufficient confirmation from the fact,—that the principal copies of that version have been preserved in that diocese, the metropolitan church of which was situated in Milan. The circumstance is at present mentioned, as the authour thence formed a hope, that some remains of the primitive Italick version might be found in the early translations made by the Waldenses, who were the lineal descendants of the Italick Church; and

\* Vid. Cave, Governm. of Ant. Church. ch. iii. p. 127.  
Comp. Allix, Rem. on Ant Ch. of Piedmont. ch. i. p. 1.



who have asserted their independence against the usurpations of the Church of Rome, and have ever enjoyed the free use of the Scriptures. In the search to which these considerations have led the authour, his fondest expectations have been fully realized. It has furnished him with abundant proof on that point to which his Inquiry was chiefly directed; as it has supplied him with the unequivocal testimony of a truly apostolical branch of the primitive church, that the celebrated text of the heavenly witnesses was adopted in the version which prevailed in the Latin Church, previously to the introduction of the modern Vulgate<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Of the old versions which have been published in French, two were made by the Waldenses; vid. Le Long. Bibl. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 313. col. 2. e. Morland on the Church of the Valleys. p. 14. But one copy of this version has fallen into my hands, which was printed at the native place of Peter Waldo; "Au Lyon, l'an de grace 1521." The following is the reading of 1 Joh. v. 7. 8. fol. clxiv. b. "Trois choses sont qui donnent tesmoing au ciel, le pere le filz et le saint esperit, et ces trois sont une chose. Et trois choses qui donnent tesmoing en terre, esperit eaue et sang." This testimony would be of little importance until the character of the translation was investigated, by a comparison with other French Versions and the old Italick and modern Latin Vulgate; were it not for the following considerations: (1.) It differs from the Latin Vulgate; as it reads "le filz" for "Verbum." (2.) It agrees in this reading with an ancient Confession of Faith, used by the Waldenses. Leger. Hist. Gen. des Eglis. Vaudois. P. I. ch. viii. p. 50. ed. Leyd. 1669. "Eschant. v. de la Doctrine des Vaudois, contenant la fidele traduction de l'Exposition qu'ils ont donné au Symbole des Apôtres—où ils en prouvent tous les Articles par passages exprés de la S. Ecriture.—"Lequel Dieu est un Trinité, comme il est écrit en la Loy, 'O Israel écoute,' &c.—Et S. Jean, 'Il y en a trois qui rendent témoignage au ciel,

The result of the Inquiry, which has been prosecuted through these subjects, the authour hoped to have taken an earlier opportunity of laying before

*le Pere, le Fils, et le S. Esprit, et ces trois sont un."* The original of this passage, as far as I can gather from M. Leger, may be found in *le Sieur du Perrin, Hist. des Vaudois et Albigeois*, chap. v. p. 201. sqq. The proof appears to me to be so far complete, that this passage was adopted in the authorised text used by the Waldenses. The following considerations seem adequate to evince, that it existed in the Latin Version revised by St. Eusebius of Verceli, who published the old translation which prevailed in the Italick Diocese. (1.) In reading "*Filius*," it agrees with Tertullian and Cyprian, against the common testimony of the Modern Vulgate, and the Latin Fathers; vid. *infr.* p. 291. n. <sup>23</sup>. sqq. (2.) St. Eusebius might have hence adopted this reading, as he has adopted other readings from those fathers, in his revisal; vid. *infr.* p. 146. n. <sup>37</sup>. (3.) The French Version agrees with the old Italick in possessing other readings derived from the same source: in the Lord's Prayer, we find, instead of "*ne inducas nos in temptationem*," *Lat. Vulg.* "*ne nous mene mye en temptation, cest a dire ne souffre mye que nous soyonz tempte*:" conformably to Tertullian and Cyprian: vid. *infr.* p. 330. n. <sup>44</sup>. (4.) The disputed passage, as read in the Waldensian Confession, and French Version, is accommodated to the state of religious opinion which prevailed in the age of St. Eusebius. By changing *Verbum* to *Filius*, in vers. 7. the Sabellian evasion of the passage was obviated: vid. *infr.* p. 539. n. <sup>189</sup>. By cutting off "*et hi tres (in) unum sunt*," in vers. 8. the Arian evasion of the passage was equally obviated. For this phrase furnished some countenance to the notion of those hereticks who asserted, that "*unum sunt*" signified an unity, not of substance, but of will and testimony. As these are coincidences which the Waldenses cannot be supposed to have created, I thence conclude, that 1 Joh. v. 7. not only existed in the revisal of the old Italick Version made by Eusebius Vercellensis; but that the peculiar reading of this text, which is found in the French Version, and which has excited M. Porson's notice, has been thus remotely adopted from St. Cyprian: vid. Porson. Lett. to Trav. p. 377. It thus easily made its way into Wicklef's translation, through the Lollards, who were disciples of the Waldenses; vid. Pors. *ibid.* Morl. ub. *supr.* p. 184.



the Publick. But his unexpected exclusion from the library of Sion College, during the time it has been under repair; and the attention which he has been obliged to devote to the Boyle's Lecture, which he has been appointed to preach, since he first announced his intention of delivering himself at large on the present subject, have created obstacles to the accomplishment of his design, which he could not anticipate. The delay which he has thus experienced in bringing his inquiries to a close, he has endeavoured to turn to the best account; by enlarging and filling up the outline within which his subject was circumscribed, in the three papers in which it originally appeared, in the "British Critick."

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## SECTION I.

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**ALTHOUGH** the art of printing was applied, at an early period, to the purposes of sacred learning ; the slow progress which Greek literature made in Europe, from the difficulties of acquiring the Greek language, prevented an edition of the New Testament from being attempted, until a comparatively late period. At nearly a century subsequent to the invention of printing, the Complutensian Polyglot was undertaken, under the patronage of Cardinal Ximenes, which contained the first printed copy of the Greek Testament. From the edition which was then prepared for publication, the subsequent editions varied little. Erasmus, who anticipated the publication of this work by his third edition, formed his fourth on similar principles ; Stephens and Beza adopted his text with scarcely any variation ; and Elzevir, in whose edition the Received Text is properly contained, very closely followed the steps of his learned predecessors<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Griesb. Proleg. in Nov. Test. sect. iv. p. xxxiii. " Editiones recentiores sequuntur Elzevirianam, hæc compilata est ex editionibus Bezæ et Stephani tertia. Beza itidem expressit Stephanicam tertiam, nonnullis tamen pro lubitu fere ac absque

From the text, which has thus grown into general use, all those deviations are calculated, which constitute *the various readings* of the Greek manuscripts. Stephens, in his splendid edition, which forms the basis of the Received Text, had noted a variety of those in his margin; having collated fifteen manuscripts, besides the Complutensian edition, for the purpose of rendering his text more pure and perfect. In the editions of Carcellæus and Bishop Fell, the number was considerably augmented, from a collation of additional manuscripts. But in the elaborate edition of Dr. Mills they received an infinitely greater accession; being computed to amount to thirty thousand. The labours of subsequent collators are asserted to have augmented the number with more than an hundred thousand; though on what grounds I am not at present acquainted.

So great a number of various readings as has been collected by the labours of these editours, has necessarily tended to weaken the authority of the Received Text; as it is at least possible that a great proportion of them may constitute a part of the original text of Scripture. And various expedients have been, in consequence, devised, in order to determine the authentick readings from the spurious, and to fix the character of those manuscripts which are chiefly deserving of credit, in ascertaining the

*idonea auctoritate mutatis; Stephani tertia presse sequitur Erasmicam quintam, paucissimis tamen locis et Apocalypsi exceptis, ubi Complutensem Erasmicæ prætulit."*



genuine text of the sacred canon. The most ingenious and important of these expedients is decidedly that suggested in the classification of manuscripts which originated with the German critics; which had been suggested by MM. Bengel and Semler, but reduced to practice by the learned and accurate M. Griesbach <sup>2</sup>.

It is not to be conceived that the original editours of the New Testament were wholly destitute of plan in selecting those manuscripts, out of which they were to form the text of their printed editions. In the sequel it will appear, that they were not altogether ignorant of two classes of manuscripts; one of which contains the text which we have adopted from them, and the other that text which has been adopted by M. Griesbach. A project had been also conceived by Dr. Bentley <sup>3</sup>, to dispose of the immense number of various readings which had been collected by Dr. Mills; to class his manuscripts by

<sup>2</sup> Griesb. Præf. Nov. Test. p. 5. "Ego vero doctis nonnullis Bengelii observationibus admonitus eam viam quam Semlerus ingredi cœperat, quamque diuturno studio edoctus unice veram esse perspexeram, longius et ad metam usque persequi me debere autumabam."

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bentley's plan is thus briefly stated in one of his letters; p. 237. ed. Lond. 1807. "About a year ago reflecting upon some passages of St. Hierom, that he had adjusted and castigated the then Latin Vulgate to the best Greek exemplars, and had kept the very order of the words of the original: I formed a thought *à priori*, that if St. Jerome's true Latin exemplar could now be come at, it would be found to agree exactly with the Greek text of the same age; and so the old copies of each language, (if so agreeing) would give mutual proof and even demonstration of each other."

the Vulgate, and to form a Corrected Text, which should literally accord with that translation as corrected by the hand of St. Jerome.

But these schemes have been surpassed and superseded by the more highly laboured system of M. Griesbach. His project for classing the Greek manuscripts, in order to form a more correct text, is not only formed on more comprehensive views, but rested on a higher basis. Instead of the authority of St. Jerome, who flourished in the fifth century, he builds upon that of Origen who flourished in the third<sup>4</sup>. Instead of the existence of two species of text, one of which corresponds with the Vulgate, and the other with the generality of Greek manuscripts, he contemplates the existence of three, which he terms the Alexandrine, the Western, and the Byzantine, from the different regions in which he supposes them to have prevailed<sup>5</sup>. According to this division, he has formed his classification of manuscripts, which he consequently distributes into three kinds. A choice among their respective texts he determines by the authority of Origen<sup>6</sup>; whose testimony seems entitled to this respect, from the attention, which he, above all the

<sup>4</sup> For this purpose he applied himself to a more exact scrutiny of Origen's peculiar readings, and, with this view, underscored the scripture quotations in his copy of that antient father, in order to discover the text which was used by him. After describing this process he adds, *Symboll. Critt. Tom. I. p. lxxvii.* "Hoc igitur exemplar nobis instar est fragmentorum illius ipsius codicis quem Origenes usurpavit."

<sup>5</sup> Griesb. Proleg. in Nov. Test. p. lxxiii.

<sup>6</sup> Id. *Symbb. Critt.* passim.

antients, bestowed upon biblical criticism. Finding a striking coincidence to exist between his scripture quotations and the celebrated manuscript brought from Alexandria, which was the scene of Origen's literary labours, he thence determines the manuscripts, which belong to that class which he distinguishes as the Alexandrine<sup>7</sup>. The manuscripts, which differ from this class, and coincide, in their characteristick peculiarities, with those which have been directly imported to us from Constantinople, he distinguishes as the Byzantine. His third class, which contains the Western text, consists of a set of manuscripts, which have been principally found in Europe, and which possess many coincidences with the Latin translation, where they differ from the peculiar readings of both the preceding classes.

To the manuscripts of the Alexandrine class, it may be easily conceived, the highest rank is ascribed by M. Griesbach: the authority of a few of these outweighing in his estimation that of a multitude of the Byzantine<sup>8</sup>. The peculiar readings which he selects from the manuscripts of this class, he confirms by a variety of collateral testimony, principally drawn from the quotations of the antient fathers, and the versions made in the primitive ages<sup>9</sup>. To

<sup>7</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. clxiv. seq.

<sup>8</sup> Id. *Proleg.* in *Nov. Test.* lxxii.

<sup>9</sup> Id. *ib.* p. lxxix. Itaque textus ipsius potius quam librarii ætas indaganda est. Hæc vero judicatur e crebro consensu cum aliis testibus, (*in primis cum versionibus et Patribus*) de quorum ætate nobis constat, et e copia talium lectionum," &c.



the authority of Origen he however ascribes a paramount weight, taking it as the standard by which his collateral testimony is to be estimated ; and using their evidence merely to support his testimony, or to supply it when it is deficient. The readings which he supports by this weight of testimony, he considers genuine ; and introducing a number of them into the sacred page, he has thus formed his *Corrected Text of the New Testament*.

The necessary result of this process, as obviously proving the existence of a number of spurious readings in the *Received Text*, has been that of shaking the authority of our *Authorized Version*, with the foundation on which it is rested. Nor have the innovations of M. Griesbach become formidable, merely on account of their number, but their nature ; as his corrections have extended to proscribing three important texts, in the fate of which the doctrinal integrity of the inspired text becomes necessarily implicated : for, a proof of the partial corruption of the sacred canon being once established in important matters, its character for general fidelity is necessarily involved. And what heightens the alarm which may be naturally felt at the attempts thus made to undermine the authority of the *Received Text*, is the singular ability with which they have been carried into execution. The deservedly high character which M. Griesbach's elaborate work has attained, affords the justest cause of apprehension from its singular merit. The comprehensive brevity of his plan, and the scrupulous accuracy of his execution, have long and must ever

command our respect. Such are concessions which I frankly make to M. Griesbach, while I withhold my applause from his critical emendations. However divided the opinions may be which are held on the purity of his text, the merit of his notes is not to be denied. As a general and correct index to the great body of Greek manuscripts, they are an invaluable treasure to the scholar, and necessary acquisition to the divine. Indeed, admitting his classification of manuscripts to be erroneous, as I am inclined to believe his text is corrupt, yet from the clear and comprehensive manner in which the various readings are disposed, by merely varying the principle of arrangement, they may be applied to any system of classification, whenever a better is devised.

But these observations are strictly limited to the accuracy of his execution ; to the merit of his plan I have many objections to make. In his predilection for the Alexandrine text, which he conceives he has discovered in the works of Origen, I am far from acquiescing. For I cannot see that M. Griesbach has evinced, by the production of characteristic affinities, that the text used by Origen was rather the Alexandrine than the Byzantine. There is in fact an indecision in Origen's testimony, arising from those readings, termed inconstant, in which he quotes as well against, as with the Alexandrine text, that destroys the force of his partial testimony in its favour. Did they merely consist in occasional deviations from this text, they would be of little moment ; for Origen, like every divine, in quoting

from memory, and by accommodation, must have constantly deserted the letter of the text. But when his deviations from one text prove to be coincidences with another, there is something more than accident in the variation. There seem, indeed, to be three modes of accounting for this circumstance ; any one of which being admitted, destroys the weight of his testimony, wherever it is placed. He either quoted from both texts, or one of them has been interpolated from his writings, or his writings interpolated from it. Until the possibility of these cases is disproved, it seems vain to appeal to his testimony in favour of any one to which he but generally and occasionally conforms.

But on whatever side his testimony is placed, there seems at first sight to be little reason to doubt, that it cannot be the Alexandrine. It is, indeed, true, that he was a catechist of Alexandria<sup>10</sup>, but this circumstance goes but a short way to prove that the text which he used was that which, in the German mode of classification, is termed the Alexandrine. The fact is, that he lived and died in a state of excommunication<sup>11</sup> from that church,

<sup>10</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. iii. p. 260. l. 15. p. 261. l. 15.

<sup>11</sup> As Origen was excommunicated by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, Pamphil. ap. Phot. Biblioth. n. cxviii. and was never formally restored, it must be concluded, that he never returned to that city. The causes of his flight from Alexandria were such as to preclude the possibility of his return, under circumstances which could be grateful to his feelings. Much of this sad and disgraceful part of his history will not bear the recital; the following facts may be stated on the authority of



in which his principles were execrated, and his

Cedrenus and Suidas; Cedren. Hist. Compend. P. I. p. 254. d. ap. Scripp. Byzant. Par. 1647.—*ἵππει δὲ τῷ καθωμολόγησε [Ὁριγένους] θῦσαι, βαλόντες ἐπὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ λίθον, εἰς τὴν τῷ βωμῷ πυρὰν καθήκει, καὶ ἔτω τῷ μαρτυρίᾳ ἀπὸ τῶν κρινάτων ἀπεβλήθη, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξώσθη. τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν δὲ λιπὼν διὰ τὸ ὕναιδος τὴν Ἰερσαίαν κατέλαβεν.* Conf. Suid. v. Origen. Tom. II. p. 766. l. 44. ed. Cant. 1705. MM. Huet and Du Pin are consequently right in asserting that he never returned to Alexandria; Vid. Origenian. Lib. I. cap. ii. § xiii. p. 14. b. ed. Rothom. 1668. Nouv. Biblioth. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. II. p. 379. ed. Par. 1688. The opinion delivered by the learned M. de Valois, in his notes to Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xxxiii. n. 4. p. 287. ed. Cant. is perfectly reconcilable with this representation. He mentions two sentences as having been pronounced against Origen; one of excommunication, and another of deprivation: the latter only he considered void, which does not affect the point in question.

The Alexandrine church during the time that Origen flourished, was governed by Demetrius, Heraclas, and Dionysius; as may be collected from Euseb. *ibid.* Lib. VI. cap. xxxix. p. 294. l. 18. Lib. VII. cap. i. p. 321. l. 16.—compared with Lib. V. cap. xxii. p. 241. l. 7. Lib. VI. cap. xxvi. p. 292. l. 12. cap. xxxv. p. 298. l. 23. The first of those bishops denounced him excommunicate; and the second was avowedly his enemy: Vid. *infr.* n. <sup>12</sup>. conf. Huet. Origenian. *ibid.* p. 14. e. M. Huet indeed conceives that Dionysius indulged a more favourable disposition towards him; but on grounds from whence I believe we must deduce the directly opposite conclusion. This friendly disposition is inferred by M. Huet, from the circumstance of Dionysius having addressed a letter to him on the subject of martyrdom. Euseb. *ibid.* cap. xlvi. p. 319. l. 16.: but those who remember that the cause of Origen's flight from Alexandria was apostacy, must perceive, that advice on this subject must have been the most cruel insult that could be offered to Origen. And the known severity of Dionysius on the subject of apostacy, seems to place the matter out of dispute; he obstinately refused to receive persons who had been

writings condemned<sup>12</sup>: and the principal part of his commentaries were published in Palestine<sup>13</sup>, instead of Alexandria. From the former circumstance we may infer, that in adopting a text, the Alexandrine church was not influenced by him; from the latter, that, on the same subject, he was

guilty of this sin, until they were reduced to the last agonies of death; Euseb. *ibid.* cap. xliv. p. 317. l. 9. We must therefore conclude with MM. Huet and Du Pin, that Origen never returned to Alexandria, during the administration of those Bishops: and consequently never during his life-time.

The penitential letter which he addressed to Fabianus, (not long previously to the time of his death, as I collect from Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. xxxvi. p. 299. l. 5, 23. Lib. VII. cap. i. p. 322. l. 1.*) seems to evince that he was in no higher repute at Rome than Alexandria. S. Hieron. *ad Pammac. et Ocean. Ep. lxx. cap. iv. Tom. ii. p. 231. ed. Vict.* “ Ipse Origenes in Epistola quam scribit ad Fabianum, Romanæ urbis Episcopum, *pœnitentiam agit, cur talia scripserit; et causæ temeritatis in Ambrosium refert, quod secreta edita in publicum protulerit.*”

<sup>12</sup> Epist. Synod. Alexandrin. ap. Baluz. *Nov. Collect. Concill. Tom. I col. 100.* Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ προκείμενος Ωριγένης, καθάπερ τὸ τῆς ἱερμώσεως βδέλυγμα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐκκλησίας γεγένηται. καὶ πρεσβύτερος χειροτόνηδεις ὑπὸ τῆς κανονικῆς τε καὶ μιᾶς χειρὸς ἀληθινῆς, εἶχετο ἀξίωμα τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου φίλον τε καὶ μόνον. Καθάπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς εἶχεν ὁ κλέπτης καὶ ποροδότης Ἰούδας. Ἀρξαμένους γὰρ αὐτοῦ βλασφημίας ὁμιλίας ὁμιλεῖν, ὁ κατ’ ἐκεῖνο μακαρίτης Ἡρακλᾶς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὡς ἀρσιτὴρ καὶ ἀμπελοργὸς φιλαλήδης τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χωρὶς τυγχάνων, ἐκ μέσῳ τοῦ καλοῦ σίτη τοῦτον ἐξέτιλεν, ὡς τοῦ ποτηρῆ ζιζανίᾳ ὅσα ἀληθῶς καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα ἐκπεσόντων ἐν ἔλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔρανόθει ὡς ἀστραπὴ, καθάπερ ὁ τότε πατήρ ὁ διάβολος, θυμοῦ πνέων πολλῶ καὶ δεινοῦ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐπὶ τὴν καλυμένην Παλαιστίνην χώραν ἔπλευσε· καὶ καθίσας ἐν τῇ Καισαρέων μετροπόλει, — σκολεῖνόν τε καὶ μέλινα βίβη ἰὺν ἐξεμέσας ἐκεῖσε ἰγγράφως ἀπεισπώσατο.

<sup>13</sup> Euseb. *Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. xxi. p. 287. l. 17. cap. xxiv. p. 288, l. 10, &c.*

not influenced by it ; but followed the copies of the country in which his writings were published and dispersed. And this deduction is confirmed in an extraordinary manner by internal and collateral evidence. We are assured, on the highest authority, that while Palestine adopted the text of Origen, Alexandria adopted that of Hesychius <sup>14</sup>. And an extraordinary proof of this assertion exists in the manuscript termed the Alexandrine, as brought from that city. It contains a complete copy of the version of the Septuagint, which, it is well known, Origen corrected, and inserted in his Hexapla ; yet while a nearly perfect copy of his revisal is preserved in the Vatican manuscript, it is found to be different from that which is contained in the Alexandrine <sup>15</sup>.

It is indeed with little appearance of justice that Origen's authority can be claimed in favour of the Alexandrian text. At an early period he settled at Cesarea in Palestine <sup>16</sup> : here he was ordained pres-

<sup>14</sup> S. Hieron. adv. Ruffin. Lib. II. cap. viii. Tom. II. p. 249. "*Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. mediæ inter has Provinciæ, Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origine elaboratos, Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt, totusque orbis inter se trifaria varietate compugnat. Et certe Origenes non solum exempla composuit quatuor editionum, e regione singula verba describens, &c.*"

<sup>15</sup> Birch. Proleg. in Nov. Test. p. xix. Blanchin. Evangel. Quadr. P. I. f. cdxvii.

<sup>16</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. xxvi. p. 292. Ἔλος δ' ἦν τοῦτο δέκαλον τῆς δηλωμένης ἡγεμονίας [τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου] καὶ ὁ τὴν ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας μεταγάσασιν ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν ὁ Ὀριγένης ποι-



byter, and had a special license to expound the scriptures<sup>17</sup>: and here the principal part of his commentaries were composed and published<sup>18</sup>; which were subsequently collected by Pamphilus and Eusebius his professed apologists and imitators, and deposited in the library of Cesarea<sup>19</sup>. By those works the latter extraordinary person, when bishop of that city, was assisted<sup>20</sup> in revising that edition of the scripture at the command of Constantine; which, it is a curious fact, became the basis of the Byzantine text, instead of the Alexandrine<sup>21</sup>. As to the churches of Rome and Alexandria, they respectively convened councils, in which he was condemned; and in the sentence which was pronounced against him, all the churches acquiesced, except those of Palestine, Phœnicia, Achaia, and Arabia<sup>22</sup>:

ησάμενος κ. τ. εἰ. This event is fixed by M. Huet to A. D. 231. Origenian. Lib. I. cap. ii. § xiii. p. 14. b.

<sup>17</sup> Euseb. *ibid.* cap. kxiii. p. 287. l. 23.—πρεσβυτερίῃ χειροθεσίαν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ πρὸς τῶν τῇδε ἐπισκόπων [ἐ' Ὀριγένης] ἀναλαμβάνει. *Id.* *ibid.* cap. xxvii. p. 292. l. 25. Ὁ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων προεσὼς Ἀλέξανδρος, Θεόκτις τε ὁ κατὰ Καισάρειαν, τὸν πάντα χρόνον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν προσανέχοντες αὐτῷ οἷα διδασκάλῳ, μόνῳ τὰ τῆς τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐρμηνείας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ λόγῃ πράττειν συνεχώρουν.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.* *ib.* cap. xxxii. p. 296. l. 4.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* *ibid.* p. 296. l. 15. seq.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* *ibid.* conf. nn. <sup>14</sup> and <sup>19</sup> ut *supr.*

<sup>21</sup> *Id.* Vit. Constantin. Lib. III. cap. xxxvi. p. 646. l. 13—37. conf. n. <sup>20</sup> ut *supr.*

<sup>22</sup> Hieron. ap. Ruffin. in Apol. “*Damnatur a Demetrio Episcopo. Exceptis Palæstinæ, et Arabiæ, et Phœnicæ, atque Achaïæ sacerdotibus, in damnationem ejus consentit orbis. Roma ipsa contra hunc cogit senatum*—Conf. Baluz. Nov. Col. Concill. ut. *supr.* col 99—102.

From the authority of Origen, little support can be consequently claimed to the Alexandrine text, or to the German method of classification. And deserted by it, that text must be sustained by the character and coincidence of the manuscripts, in which it is preserved. This, it cannot be dissembled, is the natural and proper basis, on which this system of classification rests. The extraordinary agreement of those manuscripts, not only with each other, but with the western and oriental versions of the scriptures, is so striking and uniform as to induce a conviction with many, that they contain the genuine text of scripture.

Nor can this conformity, which appears at first sight extraordinary, be in reason denied. It is asserted with one consent, by all who have inspected the principal of those manuscripts that contain the Alexandrine text, and who have compared their peculiar readings with the Old Italick and Syriack versions. It had been observed by M. Simon<sup>23</sup> before the German classification had existed even in conception; and it has been confirmed by Prof. Michaelis<sup>24</sup>, since it has been formed. The latter

<sup>23</sup> Simon Hist. Crit. des Vers. chap. xv. p. 187. Comme cette traduction [la Version Syriaque] est tres-ancienne, il n'est pas suprenant, qu'elle s'accord aussi quelquefois avec le manuscrit de Cambridge, et par consequent avec l'Italique. Mais on peut dire en general, qu'elle s'accord plus souvent avec les exemplaires Grecs sur lesquels St. Jérôme retoucha l'ancienne Vulgate, qu'avec ceux aux quels elle étoit conforme.

<sup>24</sup> Introd. to New Test. by Dr. Marsh. Vol. II. p. i. ch. vii. sect. v. p. 27.

profound orientalist has formed those deductions, which have been already made, from the conformity of the witnesses, who are thus coincident, though remotely situated; that, as currents preserve, by their uniform tenour, the purity with which they have descended from their common source, we may learn from the united testimony of those witnesses, what is to be considered the genuine text of Scripture <sup>25</sup>.

Such is the ground-work of M. Griesbach's system, which is so broad and deep, as not to be shaken by the destruction of its outworks. If it is susceptible of any impression, its very foundation must be sapped: and we must commence by accounting for the extraordinary affinities by which it is held together. A simpler principle must be in fact suggested to account for those affinities, than that which traces them to the original publication of the sacred text, by the inspired writers.

And on descending to a closer view of the subject, and considering the affinity observed to exist between *the Old Italick version* and the original Greek, there is at the first glance something suspicious in the conformity, which betrays an alliance of a recent date. For this affinity was not discoverable in the Italick version of St. Jerome's days. At the command of Pope Damasus, he undertook the revisal of the Latin translation, on account of

<sup>25</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 28. "A reading therefore supported by the connected authority of *the Syriac, the Coptic, and the Latin versions, by a quotation of Origen, and the antient Greek manuscripts of the Alexandrine and Western editions, is not only of great importance, but may in general be regarded as genuine.*"



its *deviation* from the original <sup>26</sup>. This undertaking alone would sufficiently declare St. Jerome's opinion of this dissimilarity, which he undertook to remedy ; if he had not in numerous places pointed it out <sup>27</sup>. And his declarations are fully supported by the testimony of St. Augustine <sup>28</sup>, who was no friend to innovation, and who to the last declined using the version retouched by St. Jerome.

<sup>26</sup> S. Hier. Marcel. Ep. cii. Tom. II. p. 336. “ Ne nos superbiæ ut facere solent, arguant, ita responsum habeant ; non adeo me hebetis fuisse cordis, et tam crassæ rusticitatis,—ut aliquid de Dominicis verbis aut corrigendum putaverimus, aut non divinitus inspiratum, sed *Latinorum codicum vitiositatem* quæ ex *diversitate librorum omnium comprobatur*, ad Græcam originem unde et ipsi translata non denegant, voluisse revocare.” Conf. Damas. Epist. cxxiii. Tom. III. p. 349. “ Adversus quam invidiam duplex causa me consolatur : quod et tu qui summus sacerdos es, fieri jubes : et verum non esse quod *variat* etiam maledicorum testimoniis comprobatur. Si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus : tot enim sunt exemplaria pene, quot codices. Sin autem veritas est quærenda de pluribus : cur cur non ad Græcam originem revertentes, ea quæ vel à *vitiosis interpretibus male reddita*, vel a *presumptoribus imperitis emendata perversius*, vel a *librariis dormitantibus aut addita sunt aut, mutata*, corrigimus.—De Novo nunc loquor Testamento, quod Græcum esse non dubium est.—Hoc certe cum in nostro sermone discordat, et in diversos rivulorum tramites ducit, uno de fonte quærendum est.”

<sup>27</sup> Vid. Sim. Hist. des Vers. chap. v. p. 40. seq.

<sup>28</sup> S. August. S. Hieron. Epist. lxxi. Tom. II. c. 161. c. ed. Bened. “ Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo, quod *Evangelium ex Græco interpretatus es* : quia pene in omnibus nulla offensus est, cum scripturam Græcam contulerimus. Unde, si quisquam *veteri falsitati* contensiosus faverit ; prolatis collatisque codicibus vel docetur facillime, vel refellitur.

To approach, somewhat nearer, to the source of the difficulty, we must look from the period which produced the Vulgate of St. Jerome, to that which brought it into general use. About the middle of the sixth century, this mystery begins to clear up. At that period, Cassiodorus, who observed *the dissimilarity* still existing between the original Greek and Latin translation, which Pope Damasus had in vain undertaken to remedy by publishing a more correct version, took a more effectual mode of curing the evil. Calling in the aid of the Greek original, and taking St. Jerome's version as its best interpreter, he undertook the correction of the Old Italic by the Vulgate and Greek <sup>29</sup>. And the method in which he performed this task effectually removed the dissimilarity between them, which had so obstinately continued to his times. The monks who were employed in this work, were commanded to erase the words of the former translation, and to substitute those of

<sup>29</sup> Simon. ib. p. 93. Cassiodore, dont le principal dessein étoit de donner une Bibliothèque des Auteurs Latins ou traduits en Latin, y plaça pour cette raison quelques ouvrages Grecs, et entre autres la Bible Grecque des septante divisée en LXXV livres. Ce qu'il fit comme il le témoigne lui même, *pour suivre la maxime de St. Augustine, qui croyoit qu'on devoit corriger les exemplaires Latins tant du Vieux que du Nouveau Testament, sur les exemplaires Grecs.* 'Sed quoniam,' dit Cassiodore, 'Pater Augustinus in Lib. II. de Doctrina Christiana commonet ita dicens: "Latini codices Veteris Novique Testamenti, si necesse fuerit, Græcorum auctoritate corrigendi sunt, unde et nobis post Hebræum fontem translatio cuncta pervenit," ideoque vobis et Græcum Pandecten reliqui comprehensum in libris 75.'

the latter ; taking due pains to make the new writing resemble the old <sup>30</sup>. The manuscripts thus corrected, in which, on the basis of the old translation, the corrections of the new were ingrafted, he had incorporated with the Greek original in the same volume. To the bibles which contained this text he gave the name of Pandects, causing some of them to be copied in the large, or uncial character ; and some of them, for the convenience of general readers, to be copied in a smaller <sup>31</sup>.

Here therefore I conceive, the main difficulty before us finds an easy solution. To this cause is to be attributed the affinity discoverable between the Greek and Latin text, in which the patrons of the German method of classification seem to have discovered the marks of a high original, ascending to the apostolical days ; but which really claim no higher authours than the illiterate monks of a barbarous age. And here it is likewise conceived no improbable origin is traced for that peculiar class of manuscripts termed *Codices Græco-Latini* <sup>32</sup>, which

<sup>30</sup> Cassiod. de Div. Lect. cap. xiv. xv. Precor enim vos qui *emendare* presumitis, ut *superadjectas literas* ita pulcherrimas facere studeatis, ut *potius ab antiquariis scriptæ fuisse* judicentur. Ce qu'il étoit difficile de pratiquer, lors qu'on changeoit plusieurs mots à la fois pour les rendre conformes aux exemplaires de St. Jérôme, comme il est arrivé souvent dans les manuscrits de Clermont et de St. Germain des Prez, et même dans plusieurs autres qui ne sont pas si anciens. Simon. ib. chap. viii. p. 97.

<sup>31</sup> Simon. ibid. p. 94, 95.

<sup>32</sup> Id. ib. p. 92. Il y avoit par exemple, en ce tems-là des exemplaires Latins du Nouveau Testament de la manière qu'ils avoient été retouchés par St. Jérôme. Les reviseurs qui étoient



are now found of such utility in correcting or in corrupting the sacred text. Every circumstance <sup>31</sup>

persuadés qu'ils étoient plus exacts que les anciens, *les reformoient sur cette édition* : ce qu'ils faisoient également dans le Grec et dans le Latin. Car c'étoit alors la coutume de recourir à l'Original, sur lequel on prenoit même la liberté de corriger le Latin. *Cela a donné apparemment occasion à ces vieux Exemplaires du Nouveau Testament, où l'on voit le Grec d'un côté, et le Latin de l'autre.*"

<sup>31</sup> Simon. Hist. des Vers. ib. p. 96. Mais cette règle qui étoit bonne d'elle même apporta dans la suite une grande confusion dans les exemplaires de la Bible qui ont été copiés par les Latins. Ceux qui firent le métier de critiques dans les Monastères, d'où l'on a tiré presque tout ce qui nous reste des anciens manuscrits, n'ayant pas la capacité que cet emploi demandoit, les ont plutôt corrompus que corrigés en plusieurs endroits. C'est à quoi il faut bien prendre garde dans les diverses leçons qu'on rapporte de ces anciens manuscrits. Je ne dirai ici du Vieux Testament : mais ceux qui voudront examiner les deux anciens exemplaires de S. Paul, dont l'un est dans la Bibliothèque du Roi, et l'autre dans celle de St. Germain des Prez, les trouveront tout défigurés par les différentes corrections, qu'on a faites, tant dans le Grec que dans le Latin. On y a suivi la règle que Cassiodore prescrit à ses moines, sçavoir qu'il faut réformer hardiment la vieille édition sur les exemplaires de Saint Jérôme. Ce sçavant homme ne pretendoit pas qu'on les dût refondre, comme l'on a fait. Il vouloit seulement qu'on corrigeât les fautes manifestes qui étoient dans l'orthographe, ou dans les noms propres : ce qu'il appelle verba absurde posita. The latter part of this observation does not accord with that immediately preceding or with the state of the manuscripts as they now appear on inspection. Though orthographical errors were those against which Cassiodorus found it principally necessary to guard ; his express reference to *the Greek* and to *St. Jérôme*, which were supposed to coincide, and his main object, which was to procure perfect copies, sufficiently evince that his corrections extended to words as well as letters : vid. supr. n. <sup>29</sup>. The above remark may be extended, from *the Clermont*, and *St.*

connected with their history seems to identify them with that part of the Pandects of Cassiodorus, which contained the New Testament. Their age is nearly that of the sixth century, the places from whence they have been taken, the French monasteries. And with these circumstances their general appearance comports. The text is nearly obliterated with corrections; the margin defaced by notes; the orthography abounding with barbarisms; and the Greek original and Latin translation aiming at a literal affinity, yet frequently at variance, not only with each other, but with themselves<sup>34</sup>. Such, or I am grossly deceived, is the true pedigree of the Cambridge, the Laudian, the Clermont, and St. Germain manuscripts, &c. which occupy a principal rank in the new classification. The first of these manuscripts appears to have been brought out of Egypt, where it was seemingly composed for the use of some convent of Latin asceticks: this appears probable not only from some internal evidence in its margin, but from its ancient and barbarous orthography; the former of which seems to indicate, that it was not composed for domestick purposes; the latter, that it was not written in a country where

*Germaine, to the Cambridge MS. Id. Nouv. Observ. sur le Texte et les Vers. chap. ii. p. 18. Je lui [M. Arnaud] ai déjà indiqué en général que les Retractations de Bede sur les Actes des Apôtres, un des manuscrits de Robert Etienne, et quelques autres, d'où il peut connoître que le manuscrit de Beze n'est pas le seul exemplaire du Nouveau Testament, qui ait été retouché expres, et d'un si étrange manière.*

<sup>34</sup> Vid. Mill. Prolegom. in Nov. Test. n. 1272. seq. ed. Kust.

Greek or Latin was the vernacular, at least the primitive, tongue.

Submitting these observations to the consideration of my readers, I now leave them to estimate what authority they leave to the testimony of *the old Italick version*, quoted in favour of the German method of classification. To me it appears a matter capable of demonstration, that it can be entitled to none. The undertaking of Jerome and Cassiodorus, had they been silent upon this subject, would prove a dissimilarity once existing between the old Italick and the Vulgate and Greek of the Alexandrine recension. That dissimilarity has now disappeared, and they are found to coincide<sup>35</sup>. To what therefore, but the correction of those pious fathers, is the affinity now to be attributed?

But it will be objected, the affinity of the *Old Italick* with *the Syriack*, which cannot be traced through the Greek, as not discoverable in it, still

<sup>35</sup> This is a point which received a demonstrative proof from the celebrated Dr. Bentley. On collating *the Alexandrine* and other MSS. of the same recension with the oldest copies of *the Vulgate*, he was surprised at their extraordinary coincidence, not only in the peculiar readings, but the order of the words: see his Letters p. 229. seq. Comp. not.<sup>32</sup>. supr. p. 17. and Garbel. ap. Blanchin. Evang. Quadrupl. Proleg. pp. 9, 10. Of some of the principal MSS. of the old Italick Version, Sabatier declares; Bibl. Sacr. Tom. III. p. xxxiv. “uterque [Cod. Corbeiens. et Sangerm.] antiquam sapit versionem, non secus ac Colbertinus; —aliquando etiam ita *Novæ Vulgatæ similis est*, ut ovum ab ovocitius discernas. Exemplum esse possunt priora MS<sup>l</sup>. Corbeiensis capita quæ sic cum *Vulgata conveniunt* ut vix ullam animadvertat discrepantiam,” &c.



stands in support of the original position; and while it remains otherwise unaccounted for, the evidence of an affinity derived from the apostolical age is sufficiently apparent to support the German classification. Yet even this difficulty is not too stubborn to be conquered. And, turning to the consideration of the next revision, which the sacred text underwent, it seems to supply us with an easy solution.

It has been asserted, and we shall see upon good authority, that Charlemagne directed his attention not only to the revision of the text of the Vulgate, but to the correction of the Gospels after the Syriack and Greek <sup>36</sup>. This, it will appear in the sequel, was in his days no impossible task, from the veneration in which Jerusalem was held, and the pilgrimages undertaken to the Holy Land. We have, however, internal evidence of the matter in dispute <sup>37</sup>. For the Latin and Syriack translations are observed to have some literal coincidences, particularly in the

<sup>36</sup> Thegan de Gest. Lud. Pii ap. Duch. p. 277. Quatuor Evangelia quæ intitulantur nomine Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ et Joannis in ultimo, ante obitus sui diem, cum Græcis et Syris optime correxerat. Vid. Sim. Hist. des Vers. chap. ix. p. 100. See Michael. ut sup. ch. vii. § 5. p. 27. and Dr. Marsh's notes, p. 550.

<sup>37</sup> Dr. Marsh's Michael. ch. VII. § v. p. 24. "The readings of the Syriack version coincide very frequently with the Latin, in cases where our printed editions of the Greek Testament, or the MSS. of particular countries deviate from both.—By the Latin I understand at present—the common version as corrected by Jerome, ratified by papal authority, and known under the name of the Vulgate."

Gospels, which are alone said to have been retouched, while the Greek original is not found to partake of the affinity. Professour Alter, in a letter to Professour Birch, describing the version of the Jerusalem Syriack, specifies five places in St. Matthew, in which it agrees literally with the old Italick, while it dissents from the Greek <sup>38</sup>. And Professour Michaelis has observed of the Montfort manuscript, which has been confessedly corrected by the Latin, that in the short space of four chapters of St. Mark, it possesses three literal coincidences with the old Syriack, two of which agree with the old Italick, while they differ from every known manuscript extant in Greek <sup>39</sup>.

The inferences which follow from these circumstances, are sufficiently obvious. And the affinities thus traced between the Oriental and Western text contained in the old Italick and Syriack versions are seemingly to be attributed, not to the original autographs of the apostles and evangelists, but to the corrected translations of Jerome, Cassiodorus, and Charlemagne <sup>40</sup>. Indeed the existence of affi-

<sup>38</sup> In Matt. vii. 25. viii. 9. ix. 17, 28. xxvii. 40. Vid. Epist. Alter. ap. Birch. Prolegom. in Nov. Test. p. lxxxv.

<sup>39</sup> Mar. iii. 20, 34. vi. 48. Vid. Michael. Intr. to N. Test. by Dr. Marsh. Vol. II. p. I. ch. viii. §. 6. p. 286.

<sup>40</sup> The conclusiveness of these deductions will directly appear, on considering the age of the most antient MSS. now extant, which contain the Western text. With the exception of the Cambridge and Verceli MSS. none of them can claim an antiquity *prior to the age of Charlemagne*. It is therefore at least possible, that any coincidence discoverable between the text of

nities between those versions, which the originals do not acknowledge, ought to be taken as definitive in establishing the fact. For surely it is of all suppositions the most improbable, that the latter, which descended immediately from the common source of the whole, should want that conformity to the original, which was discoverable in two branches, which flowed from it, in collateral channels, and by a devious course.

And probably these considerations which seem to reduce the distance placed between the Montfort manuscript and those manuscripts which occupy the first rank in the new classification, will entitle the former to somewhat more serious attention than it has latterly received. The general opinion entertained of that manuscript, is, that it was written in the interval between the years 1519 and 1522, for the purpose of furnishing Erasmus with an authority for inserting the text of the three heavenly witnesses in his third edition of the Greek Testament. But this notion, which is rendered highly improbable by the appearance of the manuscript, is completely refuted by the literal affinities which have been already observed to exist between it and the Syriack. The knowledge of that oriental version in Europe was not earlier than 1552, when it was brought by Moses Mardin to Julius III, and even then there was but one person who could pretend to any knowledge of the language, and who was

those MSS. and the Syriack version and original Greek, may not be more antient than the era of that prince; of course, assigned on most inconclusive grounds to *the age of the apostles*.



obliged to receive instruction in it from the foreigner who imported it from the East, before he could assist him in committing it to print <sup>41</sup>. Yet admitting, that the knowledge of this version and language existed thirty years previously, which is contrary to fact, still, an attempt to give an appearance of antiquity to this manuscript, by interpolating it from the Syriack is a supposition rendered grossly improbable by the state of literature at the time. For no fabricatour could have ever calculated upon these evidences of its antiquity being called into view. Notwithstanding the curiosity and attention which have been latterly bestowed on these subjects, and which no person, in the days of Erasmus, could have foreseen; they have been but recently observed. These affinities, which cannot be ascribed to accident, consequently claim for this manuscript, or the original from which it was taken, an antiquity which is very remote. But its affinities with the Syriack are not the only peculiarities, by which it is distinguished. It possesses various readings in which it differs from every known Greek manuscript, amounting to a number, which excited the astonishment of Prof. Michaelis and Dr. Mills <sup>42</sup>. Some of them, we have already seen, are coincident with the Syriack and old Italian version; but as it has other readings which they do not acknowledge, we cannot so easily account for these peculiarities, as by admitting its relation to some other source, which, as not immediately

<sup>41</sup> Simon Hist. des Vers. ch. xv. Michael. Introd. *ibid.* ch. vii. §. 2 p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> Michael. *ibid.* ch. viii. §. 6. p. 286.

connected with them, is probably very remote. And if this source be traced by the analogy which it preserves to the old Italick, it must be clearly of the very highest kind.

Though the testimony of the old Italick version cited in favour of the German classification must be given up, still it may be contended, that the concurrence of *the Syriack* and *the Vulgate* with the Greek of the Alexandrine recension, is adequate to support the entire weight of this system. To this I reply ; that with respect to both translations, they must stand and fall with the original text, and that of a very late edition. The origin of the Vulgate is well known ; and not long previous to the commencement of the fifth century. Nor can the Syriack claim a much higher original ; the oldest proofs of its antiquity are found in the quotations of St. Ephrem<sup>43</sup>, who flourished near the close of the fourth. Near the beginning of this century, an edition of the original Greek was published by Eusebius, of Cesarea, under the sanction of Constantine the Great. A brief examination of this point will probably enable us to account for the coincidence, between the original Greek and those translations, on which the German mode of classification now rests its entire support.

<sup>43</sup> Vid. Michael, *ibid.* ch. vii. §. 6. p. 32. I add Dr. Marsh's note 12. p. 554. " That the old Syriac Version is quoted by Ephrem, no one will deny. It is certain therefore that it existed in the fourth century, but as Ephrem is the oldest evidence, that can be produced of its antiquity, it must remain a matter of uncertainty, whether it was made one, two or three centuries previous to that period."

The authority with which Eusebius was vested, to prepare this edition, was conveyed in the following terms, as nearly as the original can be literally expressed <sup>44</sup>. “ It seemeth good unto us to submit to your consideration, that you would order to be written, on parchment prepared for the purpose, by able scribes, and accurately skilled in their art, fifty codices, both legible and portable, so as to be useful; namely, of the sacred scriptures, whereof chiefly, you know, the preparation, and use to be necessary to the doctrine of the church.”

If we now compare the authority thus committed to Eusebius, which seems to have vested him at least with a discretionary power, of selecting chiefly those sacred scriptures which he knew to be useful and necessary to the doctrine of the church, with the state of the sacred text as it is now marked in the corrected edition lately put forth by M. Griesbach; we shall perhaps discover how far it is probable he acted to the full extent of his powers, and removed those parts of scripture from the circulated edition, which *he* judged to be neither conducive to use nor doctrine, and which are now marked as probable interpolations in the Received Text. They amount principally to the following; the account of

<sup>44</sup> Constant. Epist. ap. Euseb. Vit. Const. Lib. IV. Cap. xxxvi. p. 646. l. 13.—σρέπον γὰρ κατεφάνη, τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συνέσει, ὅπως ἂν πεντήκοντα σωματίαι ἐν διφθέραις ἐγκατασκευοίς, εὐαναγνωσά τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὐμετακόμισα, ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν καλλιγράφων καὶ ἀκριδῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπισαμένων, γραφῆναι κελεύσεαι τῶν δείων δηλαδὴ γραφῶν, ὧν μάλιστα τὴν τ' ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λογῶ ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι γινώσκεις.



the woman taken in adultery, John vii. 53.—viii. 11. and three texts which assert in the strongest manner the mystery of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, and Redemption, 1 John v. 7. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Acts xx. 28.

If two points can be established against Eusebius, that he wanted neither *the power*, nor *the will*, to suppress these passages, particularly the latter, there will be fewer objections lying against the charge, with which I am adventurous enough to accuse him; in asserting that the probabilities are decidedly in favour of his having expunged, rather than the catholicks having inserted, those passages in the sacred text.

There will be less reason to dispute his *power* over the copies of the original Greek, when we know that his high reputation for learning, aided by the powerful authority of the emperor<sup>45</sup>, tended to recommend his edition to the exclusion of every other; and when it is remembered, that the number of the copies of scripture was in this reign above all others considerably reduced on account of the destruction made of them in the preceding<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Antipat. Bostrens. Serm. I. adv. Euseb. Apol. pro. Orig. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. v. Ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν πολυτῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἕθεν τι τῶν παλαιότερων συγγραμμάτων τὴν ἐκείνῃ διέλαθε γινῶσιν, σύμφημι καὶ ὁμολογῶ· βασιλικῇ γὰρ συνεργίᾳ χρώμεται, ῥαδίως τὰ πανταχῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν συνάγειν ἠδύνατο.

<sup>46</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VIII. cap. ii. p. 377. l. 35. Συνήλειπται δὴτα καθ' ἡμᾶς ἅπαντα, ὁπηνίκα τῶν μὲν προσευκτηρίων τὰς οἰκὰς ἐξ ὕψους εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις καταρρίπτειν, τὰς δὲ ἐνθέους καὶ ἱερὰς Γραφὰς κατὰ μέσας ἀγορὰς περὶ παρδιδομένας αὐτοῖς ἐπείδομεν ὀφθαλμοῖς. The effects of this destruction of the sacred books, under Dioclesian and Maximian extended even

Let us add to these considerations, these further circumstances ; that the pious emperor who had employed him to revise the text, had been at considerable pains and expence to multiply copies of the scripture<sup>47</sup> ; and that the edition thus dispersed, as altered by Eusebius, was peculiarly accommodated to the opinions of the Arians<sup>48</sup>, who from the

to Britain. Vid. Usser. Britt. Eccless. Antiquitt. cap. vii. p. 90. “ Atque hæc dira illa fuit a Diocletiano et Maximiano adversus Christiani nominis professores mota persecutio : de qua, recentior Scotorum historicus Hector Boëthus, [Scot. Hist. Lib. VI.] ‘ Evagata est rabies illa, non modo ab Oriente in Occidentem, sed etiam per alterum orbem Britanniam :’ &c.—eâque ‘ fere deletam fuisse Christianitatem in tota insula,’ Galfridus Mone-muthensis asserit ; non aliâ et ipse autoritate quam Gildæ nixus, ex quo hujus persecutionis historia ad verbum, pene ab illo est transcripta. In ea enim, ut apud Gildam habetur, ‘ subversæ per totum mundum Ecclesiæ, et cunctæ Sacræ Scripturæ quæ inveniri potuerunt in plateis exustæ,’ &c.

<sup>47</sup> Id. Vit. Constant. Lib. III. cap. i. p. 566. l. 15. Οἱ μὲν τὰ θεόπνευστα λόγια ἀφανῆ ποιῆσαι πρὸς φλεγέντα προσέτατον· ὁ δὲ [Κωνσταντῖνος] καὶ τὰυτὰ πληθύνειν ἐκ βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν μεγαλοπρεπεῖ παρὰσκευῇ πολυπλασιαζόμενα ἐνομοθέτει.

<sup>48</sup> This is a point which may be established from the declaration of the council of Philippopolis, after the schism which took place, in the council of Sardica, between the Eastern and Western churches ; when the orientalists declared for the opinions of Arius. The strongest protest of that council was directed against the doctrine of *one substance* which is asserted in the forementioned verses, 1 John v. 7. 1 Tim. iii. 16., &c. which I conceive were suppressed in Eusebius's edition. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. xx. p. 104. l. 23.—καὶ γενόμενοι [οἱ ἀνατολικοὶ] ἐν τῇ Φιλίππῃ πόλει τῆς Θράκης, ἰδίαζον ποιῶντες συνίδριον· καὶ φανερῶς λοιπὸν τὸ μὲν ὁμοῦσιον ἀναθηματίζουσι· τὴν δὲ τῷ ἀγομοίῳ δόξαν, ἐπιστολὰς συγγραψάμεναι, πανταχῶς διαπέμπονται.

reign of Constantine to that of Theodosius<sup>49</sup>, held an unlimited sway over the church ; and there will arise something more than presumptive proof in favour of the opinion which I have advanced ; that at this period an alteration was made in the sacred text, of which it still retains a melancholy evidence ; particularly in the translations made from the edition of Eusebius.

With respect to the influence which his edition had upon the sacred text at large, it is most strongly evinced in the early *translations*. If it can be shewn that it affected these, its more powerful operation upon the original cannot be reasonably disputed.

On reviewing the translations of *the eastern text*, and considering the Coptick, in the first place, which reads, in the disputed passages, 'against the Received Text, and with the Corrected, the fact is not to be denied. For it possesses the divisions<sup>50</sup>,

<sup>49</sup> For at least forty years, from the translation of Eusebius from the see of Nicomedia to Constantinople, A. D. 340, to the convening of the fourth Council of Byzantium, under Theodosius, A. D. 381. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. vii. p. 268. l. 27. "Οὕτω μὲν ἔν οἱ ῥησανοὶ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τῶν εὐκληρίων τόπων κληθήσαντες τῇ τῷ βασιλείῳ Θεοδοσίῳ ὁμόνοιαν φεύγοντες, ὑπεξῆλθον τῆς πίστεως ἐν ὑπαθείᾳ Γραβιανῷ τὸ πέμπτον, καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ Ἀυγέστῳ τὸ πρῶτον, μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ, εἰκάδι ἔκλη. ἀλεισθήσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπειλάμβανον οἱ τῆς ὁμοουσίας πίστεως τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Conf. Theodorit. Lib. V. capp. vi. vii. p. 200. l. 10. seq.

<sup>50</sup> Wetsten. Prolegom. in Nov. Test. Sect. i. § 11. Tom. I. p. 6. "Eosdem [τίτλης et κεφάλαια Eusebíanos] habet et Versio Coptica, uti in MSS. vidi, quod editor de industria suppressisse videtur, ne scilicet paulum dubitarem, versionem N. T.



which Eusebius applied to the scripture, in inventing his celebrated canons, with the aid of Ammonius's harmony, and accommodating them to the Gospels. And this remark may be in some measure extended to the Syriack<sup>51</sup>, which, in possessing an affinity to the Vulgate, on which incontestably Eusebius's edition had some influence, betrays very decisive evidence of having directly proceeded from the same original. But as more immediately to our purpose, it may be stated, that a copy of this version preserved in the Laurentian library, bearing date as far back as the year five hundred and eighty-six, has subjoined to it the canons of Eusebius, and the epistle to Carpianus<sup>52</sup>, describing their use in finding the correspondent passages of scripture.

With these versions, those of the Ethiopick, the Armenian, the Arabick, and Persian, must stand

‘in linguam Ægypti primis a Christo seculis, scil. vel secundo, vel tertii initio factam esse,’ ut ipse in Præfatione pag. v. asseruit; Eusebii enim tempora nos ad quartum seculum deducerent.” Conf. Simon Hist. des Vers. ch. xvi. p. 191. Les Manuscrits Coptes ont conservé, comme il a été déjà remarqué les distinctions des Exemplaires Grecs, sur lesquels la Version Copte du N. T. a été fait.—Ils marquent deux sortes de Sections, comme dans les MSS. Grecs, sçavoir les grandes qu'ils nomment κεφάλαια, et les petites, qui sont indiquées aux marges.”

<sup>51</sup> The Syriack version possesses divisions in the text at least similar to those of Eusebius. In some of the copies of the old version the Eusebian sections and epistle to Carpianus are found if we may believe Mr. Travis Let. to Gib. p. 190.

<sup>52</sup> Vid. Gor. ap. Blanchin. Evangel. Quadrupl. Tom. II. P. II. p. dlxxxiii.

or fall ; in admitting its influence upon the former, we must admit it upon the latter, as made after them, instead of the original<sup>53</sup>. Indeed the Coptick and Syriack have long become dead languages, being superseded by the Arabick, which is the learned language of the East, as being that of the Mohammedan scriptures. The Coptick and Syriack versions are consequently attended, in general, with an Arabick translation, added in a separate column ; out of which the priests, having first read the original which they rarely understand, then repeat the translation to the people<sup>54</sup>.

Great as the influence which it thus appears, the edition of Eusebius possessed over the Eastern text, it was not greater than it possessed over *the Western*. If a doubt could be entertained that St. Jerome, revising that text at Bethlehem, (in the heart of Palestine, -where Eusebius revised the original), would not have neglected his improvements ; the matter would be placed beyond controversion by the epistle which he has prefixed to the work, and addressed to Pope Damasus<sup>55</sup>. It places beyond all doubt, that, in correcting the text, the edition of Eusebius was before him ; as it describes his canons which are consequently represented, as applied to the text by St. Jerome. We consequently find, that the manuscripts of the Vulgate, of which seve-

<sup>53</sup> M. Du Pin deduces the Ethiopick from the Syriack, vid. Dissert. Prelim. p. 82 : Renaudot deduces it from the Coptick, vid. Wetsten. Proleg. p. 110.

<sup>54</sup> Sim. ut supr.

<sup>55</sup> Vid. S. Hieron. Epist. Damas, Tom. IV. in init.

ral of the highest antiquity are still preserved in England and France, have the text accurately divided by the Eusebian sections <sup>56</sup>.

The influence of the Vulgate upon the Old Italic, which formed another branch of the Western text, has been already noticed. In the age of St. Augustine, it was making a sensible encroachment upon the antecedent translation. Rufinus first followed it, and Cassiodorus brought it into general usage. In some of the oldest copies of the Italic, notices appear, declaring that they had been collated and corrected by the Vulgate <sup>57</sup>. Bibles of

<sup>56</sup> Cassiod. de Div. Lect. cap. xii. *Meminisse autem debemus, Hieronymum omnem suam translationem in auctoritate divina, sicut ipse testatur, propter simplicitatem fratrum colis et continatibus ordinasse, ut qui distinctiones secularium literarum comprehendere minime potuerunt, hoc remedio suffulti inculpabiliter pronunciarent sacras literas.* En effet on voit toutes ces distinctions, dans les plus anciens manuscrits Latins qui nous ayons de la Bible de St. Jérôme. Simon ib. chap. x. p. 122.—Id. ib. p. 126. St. Jérôme avoit mis dans son Edition Latine une autre sorte de division qu'il avoit prise des exemplaires Grecs. Cette celle qui regarde les dix Canons d'Eusebe, et qui a été d'une grand utilité pour ôter la confusion qui étoit avant St. Jérôme dans les exemplaires Latins.

<sup>57</sup> Simon ibid. p. 106. "On lit de plus dans ce même manuscrit [de Saint Germain des Prez] ces autres paroles à la fin de l'Épître aux Ébreux, où finit le Nouveau Testament selon l'ancienne disposition des Bibles Latines; 'Bibliotheca Hieronymi Presbyteri secundum Græcum ex emendatissimis libris conlatus.' Ce qui montre non seulement l'exactitude du Copiste, mais l'opinion commune de ces tems là, qui étoit que St. Jérôme avoit retouché tout le Nouveau Testament sur les exemplaires Grecs. On ne parloit plus alors de l'ancienne Version appelée Italique. Les copistes ne devoient plus d'autre Bible



this description, written in the age of Hugue de S. Chair, are still preserved, with marginal references to St. Jerome and to the Greek<sup>58</sup>; the readings of the latter were probably taken on the authority of the Vulgate, which possessed the reputation of maintaining a scrupulous adherence to the original. After this period the new translation gradually superseded the old; and the former is now adopted by the Romish Church, as of paramount authority to the original<sup>59</sup>.

If the influence of the edition of Eusebius extended thus wide, embracing both extremes of the Roman Empire, as affecting the eastern and western *translations*; it is not to be disputed that its operation on *the original Greek* must have been more powerful, where it was aided by his immediate reputation, supported by the authority of Constantine. I have already stated the reasons which have induced me to ascribe such influence to the first edition of the Scriptures published with the royal authority. But a circumstance which tended to extend this influence, besides the great reputation of the person by whom it was revised, was the

*Latine que l'Edition de St. Jérôme. C'est pourquoi ils les marquoient ordinairement à la fin de leurs livres."*

<sup>58</sup> Simon, *Nouv. Observ. sur le Text et les Vers.* ch. i. p. 130.

<sup>59</sup> Simon *Hist. des Vers.* ch. x. p. 124. "Les Latins ont eu une si grande estime pour ce pere [St. Jérôme] *que depuis mille ans ils ne se sont servis que de sa version.* Les copistes les plus exactes ont suivi entierement pour la disposition des livres la methode qu'il prescrit dans ses Prefaces," &c. *Vid. sup. n. 57. conf. Præf. Bibl. Clem. VIII.*

mode of dividing the text, which was introduced with the sections that were adapted to Eusebius's Canons. This division of the text, as we have seen, St. Jerome was aware, in adopting it in the Vulgate, was of infinite service to those who had to struggle with great inconveniences in reading, from the want of a systematick mode of punctuation. But the advantage of it was even more sensibly felt in reciting; for the practice of chanting the service, introduced into the Greek Church from the antient Synagogue, was greatly facilitated, from its portioning out the text in a kind of prosaick metre. It can be therefore little matter of surprize that we find those divisions introduced into the whole body of Greek manuscripts<sup>60</sup>; and that the stated number of *εἵχαι*, or verses, into which they are subdivided, is generally subjoined at the end of each of the books of Scripture<sup>61</sup>. The bare existence of those divisions, particularly those of the former kind, in the manuscripts of the original Greek, which, as we have already seen, extended to the Eastern and Western translations, contains a stand-

<sup>60</sup> Such is the declaration of one whose authority, on this subject, ranks, in the opinion of M. Griesbach, *Symbb. Critt.* Tom. I. p. xvii. above all others. Wetsten. *Prolegom.* Sect. i. §. 11. Tom. I. p. 6. "*Omnes etiam vetustissimi Codices habent κεφάλαια et εἵχαι; Eusebianos, a prima manu, excepto Vaticano et Cantabrigiensi.*" These MSS. however can be scarcely termed exceptions, as will appear in the sequel.

<sup>61</sup> Rob. Stephan. *Præf. in Nov. Test.* ed. Lut. 1550. "*Nec tamen omisimus Eusebii Cæsariensis Canones—Sed ne numerum quidem εἵχων, quum is in nostris prope omnibus codicibus inveniretur, in calce cujusque Evangelii et Epistolæ.*"

ing evidence of their partial descent from the edition set forth by Eusebius. They are found in the oldest of those which have descended to us; some of which contain declarations that they were adopted from older <sup>62</sup>.

As it is thus apparent that Eusebius wanted not *the power*, so it may be shewn that he wanted not *the will*, to make those alterations in the sacred text, with which I have ventured to accuse him.

In one or two instances I am greatly deceived, or the charge may be brought absolutely home to him. St. Jerome informs us <sup>63</sup>, that the latter part of St. Mark's Gospel was wanting in most copies of the Evangelist extant in his times; the beginning of the fifth century. As the passage is absolutely necessary to bring the Evangelist's narrative to a close, and as it introduces an apparent contradiction between the accounts which St. Matthew and St.

<sup>62</sup> In a beautiful illuminated copy of the Gospels, formerly in the Vatican, which was apparently written for the use of the Emperor, John II., who succeeded Alexius in the year 1118, a marginal note appears, which, while it declares that the manuscript was a transcript from older copies preserved at Jerusalem, adds the number of the sections and subsections, after the usual manner. Ἐυαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐγράφη καὶ ἀνελήθη ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀνιγράφων, τῶν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει ἀποκειμένων, ἐν εἰχοῖς βυπθ, κεφαλαίοις τριακοσίοις πενήκοντα ἑπτα κ. τ. ε. in Cod. Urbino-Vatican. 2. ap. Birch Proleg. in Nov. Test. p. xxvii.

<sup>63</sup> S. Hieron. Epist. cl. quæst. iii. Tom. III. p. 416. Aut enim non recipimus Marci testimonium, quod in raris fertur Evangeliiis omnibus Græciæ libris pene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus; præsertim cum diversa atque contraria evangelistis cæteris narrare videatur.



Mark give of nearly the same incident, it is a moral certainty that it must have been expunged from the original text, and not a modern interpolation; for the contradiction affords a reason as conclusive *for* the former, as *against* the latter, supposition. As it existed in some copies in St Jerome's day, it necessarily existed in more in the days of Eusebius; for we shall see that it evidently lost the authority to be derived from his powerful sanction. But though it contains many striking coincidences with the other Evangelists, Eusebius wholly omitted it in his Canons<sup>64</sup>: there seems to be consequently no other reasonable inference, but that his edition agreed with them, and with the copies extant in the times of St. Jerome, in omitting this passage. Now those Canons, compared with the passage in question, convey all the certainty which can be derived from presumptive evidence that he omitted this passage, not on the testimony of antecedent

<sup>64</sup> It is not found in the original copies of the Canons prefixed to the manuscripts of the Greek, nor in the translation of them prefixed to the manuscripts of the Vulgate; it is wanting in the marginal references of the Cambridge and Alexandrine MSS., and is omitted by R. Stephens in his Greek Testament, and by Victorius in his edition of St. Jerome. Several scholia occur in the MSS. of the original Greek, some of which assert that Eusebius did not refer in his Canons to this passage. I shall subjoin one or two which are quoted by P. Simon, and Prof. Birch. Schol. MS. Reg. n. 2868. ap. Sim. Hist. Crit. du Texte. ch. xi. p. 121. "Εν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἕως ᾧδε πληρῆσαι ὁ εὐαγγελιστῆς. Schol. MS. Venet. ap. Birch. Proleg. p. xxi. "Εν τισι μὲν ἀντιγράφων ἕως ᾧδε πληρῆσαι ὁ εὐαγγελιστῆς, ἕως ἧς καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλος ἐκατόντισεν.

copies, but as unsuitable to his harmonical tables : for while *they* point out those passages in which each of the Evangelists relates something peculiar, as well as those in which they relate something in common with others, *it* contains, at first sight, an apparent contradiction, which would be only likely to strike a person employed in the task of composing such tables as those of Eusebius. The inference seems to be as strong as the establishment of the point requires, that *he* first omitted this passage of St. Mark in the sacred text, as he has omitted it in his Canons.

Nor is the case materially different with respect to John viii. 1—11., which contains the account of the woman taken in adultery. That this narrative constituted a part of the original text of St. John, there can be little reason to doubt. The subject of the story forms as convincing a proof, in support of this supposition, as it does in subversion of the contrary notion, that it is an interpolation. There could be no possible inducement for fabricating such a passage ; but one obvious reason for removing it from the canon. It has besides internal evidence of authenticity in the testimony of the Vulgate, in which it is uniformly found ; and external, in the express acknowledgement of St. Chrysostome, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose, that it is genuine<sup>65</sup> ; St. Augustine having specified the

<sup>65</sup> Vid. Croii Observv. in Nov. Test. cap. xvii. pp. 130, 131. I shall subjoin the testimony of St. Jerome, as in point ; S. Hieron. adv. Pelag. Lib. II. cap. vi. Tom. II. p. 286. "In

reasons of its having been withdrawn from the text of the Evangelist <sup>66</sup>. Eusebius has however omitted all reference to it in his canons; for it is neither discoverable in the copies of the Greek, nor in those of the Vulgate. And in his “Ecclesiastical History <sup>67</sup>”, he has obliquely branded it with some other marks of disapprobation; apparently confounding it with a different story. From these circumstances, I conceive, we may safely infer, that Eusebius’s copies agreed with his canons in omitting this passage: from which it was withdrawn by him, in strict conformity to the powers with which he was vested by Constantine.

As it is probable that he omitted those passages, it is not less probable that he omitted at least one of those verses, 1 John v. 7, the authenticity of which has been so long a subject of controversy. Indeed, the whole three inculcate a doctrine, which is somewhat at variance with what we know, on the most indisputable testimony, to have been his peculiar opinions. The doctrine of Christ being of *one substance* with the Father is asserted in all of

Evangelio secundum Joannem, in *multis et Græcis et Latinis codicibus invenitur de adultera muliere*, quæ accusata est apud Dominum.”

<sup>66</sup> S. August. de Adultt. Conjugg. Lib. II. cap. vii. Tom. VI. c. 299. “nonnulli modicæ fidei, vel potius inimici veræ fidei, credo, *metuentes, peccati impunitatem dari mulieribus suis*, illud quod de adulteræ indulgentia Dominus fecit, *auferrent de codicibus suis*.”

<sup>67</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. xxxix. p. 138. l. 5. Ἐκτίθειαι δὲ [Παπίας] καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ· ἣν τὸ κατ’ Ἑβραῖος Ἐυαγγέλιον περιέχει.



them ; though most particularly in St. John's Epistle. But on the subject of this doctrine, it is notorious that Eusebius shamefully prevaricated in the celebrated Council of Nice. He first positively excepted against it, and then subscribed to it <sup>68</sup> ; and at length addressed a letter to his Church at Cæsarea, in which he explained away his former compliance, and retracted what he had asserted <sup>69</sup>. On a person of such versatility of principle no dependence ought to be placed ; not that I am inclined to believe what has been often laid to his charge <sup>70</sup> ; that he was at heart an Arian. The

<sup>68</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. viii. p. 22. l. 34. Τῷ δὲ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ, Ἐυσέβιος ὁ τὴν Παμφίλῃ προσωφυμίαν ἔχων, καὶ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Καισαρείας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος, μικρὸν ἐπισήσας, καὶ διασκεψάμενος εἰ δεῖ προσδέξασθαι τὸν ὅρον τῆς πίστεως, ὥτως ἅμα τοῖς πολλοῖς πᾶσι συνήνεσέν τε καὶ συνυπέγραψεν. Theodorit. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. vii. p. 30. l. 22. Καὶ τῷτο ἐγίνωσκεν Ἐυσέβιος ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καισαρείας, πρότερον μὲν συνιέχων τῇ Ἀρειανῇ αἰρέσει ὕστερον δὲ ὑπογράφας τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ. Conf. Theodorit. ib. p. 28. l. 2—7. Socrat. ib. p. 23. l. 3.

<sup>69</sup> Euseb. Epist. ap. Socrat. ib. p. 24. l. 29. Καὶ δὴ ταύτης τῆς γραφῆς ὑπαγορευθείσης, ὅπως εἶρηται αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἐσίας τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τὸ τῷ πατρὶ ὁμοούσιον, ἐκ ἀνεξέταστον αὐτοῖς καταλιμπάνομεν.—καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἐσίας ὁμολόγητο πρὸς αὐτῶν, δηλωτικὸν εἶναι τῷ ἐκ μὲν τῷ πατρὶ εἶναι, ὃ μὲν ὡς μέρος ὑπάρχειν τῷ πατρὶ· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἰδὲ καλῶς ἔχειν συγκαταλίθισθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ τῆς ἐσβεῖς διδασκαλίας, ὑπαγορευθείσης ἐκ τῷ πατρὶ εἶναι τὸν υἱόν, ὃ μὲν μέρος τῆς ἐσίας αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν. διόπερ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνιδέμεθα ἐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν τῷ ὁμοούσιῳ παραγιόμενοι κ. τ. εἰ. Conf. Sozom. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xviii. p. 68. l. 20—30.

<sup>70</sup> This accusation which Dr. Cave, Hist. Litter. Tom. I. p. 177, has endeavoured to set aside, is founded on the above

truth is, as indeed he has himself placed beyond a doubt,—he erred from a hatred to the peculiar notions of Sabellius <sup>71</sup>, who, in maintaining that Christ was the First Person incarnate, had confounded the Persons <sup>72</sup>, as it was conceived he divided the substance. Into this extreme he must have clearly seen that the Catholicks were inclined to fall <sup>73</sup>, in

cited exposition given by Eusebius, of the doctrine of one substance; which is precisely such an explanation as an Arian would propose and subscribe to without hesitation: vid. Epiphan. Hær. lxi. p. 732. d. In this light the epistle of Eusebius was regarded by the best judges of antiquity. Phot. ad Constant. Patr. Epist. cXLIV. p. 201. ed. Lond. 1651. Ἐυσέβιος ὁ τῷ Παμφίλῳ, εἴτε δοῦλος, εἴτε συνήθης ὅτι μὲν Ἀρειανισμῷ ἐάλω, βοῶσι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μίσηται μέλλομενος δῆδεν, καὶ ἀκῶν, τὴν νόσον ἀνομολογεῖ· καὶ τῇ μίσησει δὲ μᾶλλον ἐαυτὸν δείκνυσιν ἀμεταμέλητον. Ὁ γὰρ ἐαυτὸν ἐκστῆναι τῆς προτέρας, δι' ὧν ἔδοξε ἀπολογεῖσθαι, συνέστη· ἐδὲ τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συμφωνῇ συνόδῳ· ἀλλὰ τὰς τοῦ ὁμοουσίᾳ πρεσβείας αὐτοῦ συνέλθειν τῷ φρονήματι, καὶ συνδιαεδήναι τῇ γνώμῃ, τετρατεύεται· καὶ τῆτο σαφῶς ἄλλα τε πλείονα παριστάωσι, καὶ ἡ τοῖς Καίσαρεῦσιν αὐτῷ γραφεῖσα ἐπιστολή.

<sup>71</sup> Sozom. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. xviii. p. 68. l. 31. Καὶ Ἐυστάθιος μὲν ἐπηλίαστο τὸν Ἐυσέβιον, εἰς τὰ ἐν Νικαίᾳ δόξαντα περὶ τοῦ δόγματος καινοποιοῦντα· ὁ δὲ, ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαινεῖν φησὶν· Ἐυστάθιος δὲ τὴν Σαβελλίαν οἰκιστὴν δόξαν. Conf. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. xxiii. p. 58. l. 2—7.

<sup>72</sup> Damas. Epist. ap. Theodorit. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. xi. p. 209. l. 17.—τὰς τῇ Σαβελλίᾳ ἀκολουθοῦντας πλάγην, τὸν αὐτὸν λέγοντας καὶ Πατέρα εἶναι καὶ Υἱόν. Conf. Epiphan. Hær. lxi. Tom. I. p. 513. Hær. lxxii. p. 834. b.

<sup>73</sup> Sozom. ibid. p. 68. l. 20. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε, πάλιν πρὸς ἑαυτὸς ἐξασιάζον οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, ἀκριβολογούμενοι περὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον ὄνομα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, τὰς τῆτο προσδεχομένους, βλασφημεῖν ᾤοντο, ὡς ὑπάρξεως ἐκτὸς τὸν υἱὸν δοξάζοντας, καὶ τὰ, Μονιανοῦ καὶ Σαβελλίου φρονήσας.—Κατ' ἐτρίβοντο δὲ μάστιγα περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, Ἐυσέβιος τε ὁ Παμφίλος, καὶ Ἐυστάθιος ὁ Ἀντιοχεύς. Vid. supr. nn. <sup>71</sup> et <sup>72</sup>.

combating the opposite error in Arius ; and on this very point he consequently maintained a controversy with Marcellus of Ancyra<sup>74</sup>, who was however acquitted of intentional error, by St. Athanasius<sup>75</sup> and the Council of Sardica<sup>76</sup>. Whoever will now cast but a glance over the disputed texts, as they stand in our authorised version, will directly perceive that they afford a handle by which any person might lay hold who was inclined to lapse into the errors of Sabellius. Will it be therefore thought too much to lay to the charge of Eusebius to assert ; That in preparing an edition of the Scriptures for general circulation ; he provided against the chance of that danger which he feared, by cancelling one of those passages, 1 Joh. v. 7 ; and altering the remainder, 1 Tim. iii. 16. Acts xx. 28 ?

Let the most prejudiced of the advocates of the German method of classing the Greek manuscripts, according to the coincidences of their respective texts, now take a retrospective view of their descent, as it has been traced from the edition of Eusebius. Let him compare the alterations which have been recently made on their authority in the

<sup>74</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xx. p. 105. l. 16. Ὁυκ ἀγνοήσαντες μέντοι ὅτι τὸ Μαρκέλλου βιβλίον ὁ Παμφίλος Ἐυσέβιος ἀνεσκεύασεν ἐν ὅλοις τρισὶ βιβλίοις πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλεγόμενος, ἃ πρὸς Μάρκελλον ἐπέγραψε καὶ τίθησι μὲν τὰ ῥήματα Μαρκέλλου πρὸς αὐτὰ δὲ διαγωνίζεται, ὡς ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Κύριον, καθὰ Σαβέλλιος ὁ Λίβυς καὶ Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσαίνειος, τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ εἰσάγοντες.

<sup>75</sup> S. Epiphan. Hær. LXXII. p. 837. b.

<sup>76</sup> Socrat. Lib. II. cap. xx. p. 105. l. 9.



text of Scripture, with his peculiar opinions. Let him then answer how far their collective authority ought to decide against the truth of any doctrine, or the authenticity of any verse which is at variance with the peculiar opinions of him by whom it was revised and published.

In this impeachment of the original reviser of that edition of the Scriptures, from which there is more than a presumption, that all manuscripts of character have, in some measure, descended, its last feeble support seems to be withdrawn from the German system of classification. If any force be allowed to what has been hitherto advanced, the affinities on which it is founded are to be traced to a very different cause than a coincidence with the original text of Scripture, as published by the inspired writers. Nor will it be thought that I presume too far in explicitly denying,—That it acquires any support from the authority of Origen: That it receives any from the original testimony of the eastern and western versions: That it derives any from the best and most ancient manuscripts, or is countenanced in its important deviations from the Received Text, by any which have not been altered from the times of Eusebius.

Having thus removed the buttresses, and drawn out the braces which uphold this vast and uncemented pile, we need no further earnest of its falling to the ground, than the hollowness of its foundation. The same materials, when reduced to a heap, may be employed in raising a new structure. Hitherto we have brought the integrity of the Received Text

barely within the verge of probability. The only positive argument on which it is impeached has been indeed disposed of; and a negative consequently established, by which it is covered. To entitle it to stand as authority, positive evidence, however, must be cited in its favour. With this object it shall be my endeavour to suggest a new principle of classification, and to determine what rank the Received Text may be assigned, according to the proposed system. But more particularly it shall be my object to vindicate those important passages of the Received Text which have been rejected from the Scripture Canon, on the principles of the German method of classification.

## SECTION II.

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**BY** an analysis of the texts of different manuscripts, we may be enabled to distribute them into different classes according to the coincidences of their peculiar readings. But we are thus afforded no means of determining which of those various readings existed in the sacred text, as dictated by the inspired writers. The difficulty which originates from hence naturally suggested the expediency of an appeal to the writings of the early divines, and to the versions of the primitive ages, in order to ascertain upon their authority, the probable state of the text at an early period. For this purpose a choice has been made of Origen, and an affinity traced between his quotations and the readings of a peculiar class of manuscripts; which readings as confirmed by the concurrence of the eastern and western versions, were supposed to possess sufficient evidence, in this united testimony, of their having formed a part of the original text of Scripture.

The objections to this method of investigating the genuine text of Scripture, have been stated at large in the last section. It was then my object to trace



the coincidences on which this mode of classification is founded to a comparatively recent source ; and to refer them to the first edition of the sacred text revised by Eusebius, and published under the auspices of the Emperour Constantine.

The peculiar objections lying against an appeal to the testimony of Origen were then generally specified. Nor can an appeal be admitted to that of any of the Christian fathers, unless on particular occasions, where they deliver an explicit testimony, and expressly refer to the text of Scripture. Their collective testimony, though highly calculated to establish the doctrinal integrity of the sacred text, is wholly inadequate to determine its literal purity. This is an assumption, from which no one will find it secure to dissent, who is acquainted with their general mode of quotation <sup>1</sup>. But if any person is still sceptical on this point, let him review the state of the text as preserved in their quotations, as it has been extracted from their works by Dr. Mills, and is inserted in his elaborate Prolegomena <sup>2</sup>. And if he yet fails of conviction, let him examine the peculiar readings of Origen and Chrysostome, who of all the ancients are most entitled to attention, as their testimony has been collected by M. Matthæi, in the notes of his Greek Testament <sup>3</sup>. The fact

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Croii Observ. in Nov. Test. cap. xviii.—xxviii. p. 134; seq. Blanchin. Vind. Can. Script. Tom. I. p. xxvii. Sabat. Præf. Bibl. Ital. Tom. I. p. xxviii. § 64, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Mill. Proleg. Nov. Test. n. 368. seq. ed. Kust.

<sup>3</sup> Matthæi Nov. Test. Tom. I. p. 43, ed. Rig. In his locis ergo præferatur auctoritas Codicum Græcorum Novi Testamenti

is, they were so constantly exercised in the Scriptures, which they had nearly committed to memory, that they quote, not by reference, but from recollection. However scrupulously, of course, they adhere to the sense of the text, they frequently desert its letter. As they constantly quote by accommodation, and in explanation; as they frequently complete their expositions, by connecting different parts

*lectionibus Sanctorum Patrum. Eadem est ratio variantium lectionum, quæ in Origine, Chrysostomo, et aliis reperiuntur. Nec enim isti Patres ita diligentes erant in laudandis et explicandis litteris sacris, ut nunc sunt critici, ac facilius etiam quam nos, cum Græci essent, vocabula similia inter se permutabant. Haud raro etiam Græcitatem secuti, neglexerunt verba contextus sacri. Conf. not. in Matt. xvi. 13. p. 328, &c. Garbellius delivers himself in similar terms respecting the Latin Fathers and the old Italick version, speaking of the Codex Brixianus; Garb. ap. Blanchin. Proleg. in Evang. Quadrupl. P. I. p. 37. "Ego sane cum Argentei Codicis nostri collationem cum Tertulliano, ac Cypriano instituissem; quod inter Latinos scriptores ad ea Ecclesiæ tempora proprius accederent, quibus puriora veterum interpretum exemplaria esse debuerant, locis omnibus, quos illi ex Evangeliiis eduxerant, mature perpensis, fundum mihi aliquem parasse putabam, unde lectiones dicti Codicis illorum autoritate firmare possem. Ast ubi aliquando dies diei illuxit, falsum me, et fundum nullum certum labore illo mihimet comparasse tandem cognovi. Ita easdem pericopas (uti observatum est) haud iisdem verbis, et nunc pluribus, modo paucioribus efferrunt.—Sed nihil certius, quam sacrorum librorum Novi præsertim Fœderis locos plerumque e memoriæ penu, aliquando etiam tumultuario, ut res ipsa, aut tempus ferrent Ecclesiæ Patres attulisse. Nisi si forte ad assertum aliquod probandum præcisa sacri textus autoritate opus foret. Tunc enim exacte, ac per partes efferebant; quod in laudatis aliquibus Tertulliani locis observabamus."*

of Scripture, which do not succeed in the order of the context; they necessarily deviate from its exact phraseology <sup>4</sup> These and other justifiable liberties which they have taken with the sacred text, as having been occupied in explaining its sense, not in preserving its readings, consequently render their testimony, unless in very peculiar passages, of little further use, than, as I have already stated, to establish its doctrinal integrity.

Deprived of the testimony of the primitive divines, our last appeal lies to the early Translations. But few of these are of sufficient authority to entitle them to any attention in deciding the matter at issue. With the exception of the old Italick version, they are destitute of the external evidence, which arises from the testimony of those early divines, who might have appealed to them in their theological writings. Nor are the probabilities of the case much in favour of their antiquity. The Macedonian conquests had rendered the original language of the New Testament so general throughout the east <sup>5</sup>, that the absolute necessity of a Sy-

<sup>4</sup> See Croius and Matthæi, ut supr.

<sup>5</sup> It is not my intention here to espouse the opinion of Is. Vossius that Greek and Latin were the *only* languages spoken in Palestine in the Apostolical age. The Jews, at that period; as it is observable at present, adopted the language of their conquerors, but taught their children their vernacular tongue. This is evident from the following authorities: 2 Maccab. vii. 21, 24, 25, 27. S. Hieron. Præf. in Com. ad Gal. Tom. VI. p. 134. c. Unum est quod inferimus—Galatas, excepto *Sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur*, propriam linguam eandem pene habere, quam Treviros, &c. Hence, P. Simon, reason-



riack and Coptick version was not immediately experienced in the countries where those languages were spoken. And if we except those versions, there are none which can support any pretensions to a remote antiquity. The Ethiopick possesses the fairest claims ; but if we must admit it to have been more than corrected from the Greek <sup>6</sup>, it must have been made at a comparatively recent period, as appears from the time at which Christianity was established in Ethiopia <sup>7</sup>. With respect to the Syriack

ing on the foregoing passage from the Maccabees, in answer to Vossius, declares; Hist. Crit. du Nouv. Test. chap. vi. p. 60.—“ Ce qui prouve manifestement que *le Grec étoit la langue vulgaire du pays*, et que les Juifs outre le Grec avoient conservé la langue Caldaïque qu'ils avoient rapportée de Babylone, et qu'ils appelloient la langue de la nation.”

By parity of reasoning we might conclude the same to have been the case in Egypt, which, not less than Syria, was under the dominion of the Greeks. We consequently find, that the principal authours of this country wrote in Greek as the learned language ; and that inscriptions and coins of this country are written in the same language. The Coptick abounds in Greek terms, as I have particularly occasion to remark of the Sahidick, one of its oldest and least corrupted dialects ; which is a sufficient proof of the prevalence of Greek in the Thebais where that dialect was spoken.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. Mill. Proleg. in Nov. Test. n. 1191. Conf. n. <sup>53</sup>. supr. p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> This event cannot be antedated to the reign of Constantine, as appears from the impression which was made by the preaching of the Gospel upon the neighbouring countries, which, though visited by the apostles, did not fully embrace the faith until the times of the first Christian Emperour, when they were visited by Ædesius and Frumentius. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib.

and Coptick, which have those strong presumptions against their antiquity, that have been already suggested ; the antiquity of the latter is confessedly worse than suspicious, as it is accommodated with the sections and canons of Eusebius<sup>8</sup>. The pretensions of the Syriack are scarcely less equivocal. As it is composed in different styles<sup>9</sup>, and was thus possibly made at different periods, the probabilities are, that the more antient part of the version was retouched, when the translation was completed. The bare probability of this circumstance, corroborated by the want of positive evidence in favour of the antiquity of this version, destroys its authority as a testimony to which we may appeal in determining the genuine text of Scripture.

The little satisfaction which is to be derived on this subject from the Syriack and Coptick versions, has entitled the Sahidick to a proportionable degree of respect. In support of the remote antiquity of

I. cap. xix. p. 49. l. 31. \*Αυθις ἔν μνημονευτέον καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν τῷ βασιλείῳ ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς ἐπλατύνετο· τηνικαῦτα γὰρ Ἰνδῶν τε τῶν ἐνδοτέρῳ καὶ Ἰβήρων τὰ ἔθνη, πρὸς τὸ χριστιανίζειν ἐλάμβανε τὴν ἀρχήν· τίνος δὲ ἕνεκεν τῇ προδηκῇ τῶν ἐνδοτέρῳ ἐχερσάμην, διὰ βραχείων ἐρῶ. ἡνίκα οἱ Ἀπόστολοι κλήρω τὴν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πορείαν ἐποιήσω, Θωμᾶς μὲν τῶν Πάρθων ἀποστολὴν ὑπέδεχετο· Ματθαῖος δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν· Βαρδολομαῖος δὲ ἐκκληρεῖτο τὴν συνημμένην αὐτῇ Ἰνδίαν· τὴν μέντοι ἐνδοτέρῳ Ἰνδίαν ἧ προσοικεῖ Βαρβάρων ἔθνη πολλὰ, διαφόροις χρώμενα γλώσσαις, ὑδὲ πω πρὸ τῶν Κωνσταντίνου χρόνων ὁ τῷ Χριστιανισμῷ λόγος ἐφώτιζε. τίς δὲ ἡ αἰτία τῷ καὶ αὐτῷ Χριστιανίσαι ἵν' ἔρχομαι καταλέξω. Conf. p. 50. l. 11. seq.

<sup>8</sup> Vid. supr. p. 29, n. 50.

<sup>9</sup> Simon, Hist. des Vers. chap. xv. p. 187.

this version, which is written in that peculiar dialect of the Coptick which is spoken in Upper Egypt, a work has been cited, in which it is principally preserved, and which, as supposed to be written by the heretick Valentinus, who flourished *in the second century*, necessarily supports its pretensions to at least an equal antiquity <sup>10</sup>.

To the species of evidence on which this work is thus recommended to us as antient, I have much to object <sup>11</sup>. The foundation on which the conclusion

<sup>10</sup> Version. Sahid. Fragmentt. a Woid. et Ford. Oxon. 1799. Prolegg. pp. 136, 139. "Sed ulterius progredior, et vetustatem Versionis Sahidicæ factis probabo. Valentinum Ægyptium anno circiter vicesimo secundo vel vicesimo tertio seculi secundi floruisse, et librum "Sophiæ" scripsisse novimus.—Ex his colligo "*Sophiam*" esse librum Gnosticorum antiquissimum qui seculo secundo jam extiterit. Et cum Tertullianus "*Sophiam*" Valentino adscribat, nullam video rationem cur non potius Valentino, quam alii Gnosticorum attribuiam quorum voces familiarissimas πληρωμα, αιων, μυστηριον, γνωσις, βαρβηλω, ιαλδαβαωδ, &c. sæpissime exhibet. Cum vero plures Psalmi Davidici, et quædam Veteris Testamenti ac plura *Novi Testamenti loca in hoc MS<sup>to</sup>. Codice recitentur*, quæ cum reliquiis Versionis Bibliorum Ægyptiacæ, exceptis quibusdam varietatibus conveniunt; recte inde mihi videor conjicere: *Interpretationem Bibliorum Sahidicam seculo secundo jam extitisse.*

<sup>11</sup> I take no account of the argument of M. la Croze and Dr. Wilkins, Prolegom. in Vers. Copt. p. v. drawn from the case of the ascetick Antonius, who, though said to have been not versed in Greek literature, is yet admitted to have read the scriptures, and to have heard them read in the church; from whence it is concluded, he must have heard and read them in a Coptick translation. Let us however suppose him able to understand and to read Greek, though not able to speak or write it, and we shall see that the authority which supports this argument concludes nothing.



in favour of its antiquity, is built, is in the first place, weakened if not destroyed, by the doubtfulness of the fact, that any work of the kind has been really ascribed by Tertullian to Valentinus <sup>12</sup>. And this objection is considerably strengthened by the further consideration, that many works, under similar titles have been ascribed to his disciples <sup>13</sup>. The circumstance of this work being written in Sahidick, which was the vulgar language of the Thebais, seems to conclude not a little against the origin which it is ascribed, in being referred to Valentinus. This heretick, who was a person of no ordinary qualifications <sup>14</sup>, could not be ignorant

<sup>12</sup> Massuet. Dissert. Præv. in S. Iren. Art. I. Sect. iv. § 9. p. xvi. ed Bened. "Sunt qui putant scriptum ab eo [Valentino] librum sub titulo "Sophia," nixi his Tertulliani verbis adv. Valent. cap. 11. 'Docet ipsa Sophia non quidem Valentini sed Salomonis.' Sed hæc perperam explicant. Alludit enim Tertullianus, non ad aliquem Valentini librum, sed ad Sophiam novissimum eorum quos excogitavit Æonum; ut legenti patebit." Conf. § 12, 15. 48.

<sup>13</sup> Id. ibid. § 9. "*Discipulos quidem Valentini* 'existentes extra omnem timorem, suas conscriptiones proferentes, *plura* habere gloriari, *quam sint ipsa Evangelia*' narrat Irenæus Lib. III. cap. xi. n. 8. 'In tantum siquidem processerant audaciæ, ut Novum Evangelium, quod "Veritatis" nuncupabant, confinxissent.' *At ipsi Valentino nihil simile usquam adscribit,*" &c.

<sup>14</sup> Id. ibid. p. xiii. "Alexandriam profectus Valentinus, ibi Græcorum artibus non mediocriter institutus est doctissimum enim fuisse scribit Hieronymus in Ose. cap. x. et Dialog. contr. Marcionitas, qui Origeni vulgo adscribitur, οὐκ εὐτελὴς ἀνὴρ, vir minime vulgaris dicitur. Quin saltem ingenio peracri, et in lectione veterum Philosophorum non parum versatus esset non

of Greek, which was in his age the learned language of Egypt, as he adopted most of his peculiar tenets from the mythology of Hesiod and the philosophy of Plato<sup>15</sup>. It is in the last degree improbable, that Tertullian could have understood him, had he written in any other language; and wholly inconceivable, that he should omit all mention of so extraordinary a circumstance as his having read Valentinus in his vernacular tongue. Admitting all that can be claimed for this work, that it was really composed by the early heretick to whom it is ascribed, it is thus only probable that it is but a translation from the Greek, and of course, for any thing we can decide, one of a very recent period. In this form it is as probable, as the contrary, that it incorporates in its text a version of the New Testament which has been made in *the fourth century* instead of the second. The fact, however, is, that the internal evidence of the work before us, seems very sufficient to refute the notion of its having been written by the heretick Valentinus; if we are to believe the

negabit quisquis ad ejus systema—attenderit. *In primis Philosophiæ Platoniciæ*, ad quam potissimum mentem appellabant Gnostici omnes, operam dedisse, testis est Tertullianus [De Præser. cap. 7. 30.] pluraque ab ea accepta dogmata demonstrant. Cum in Ægypto, et præsertim Alexandriæ, plurimi Judæorum eo tempore vixerint, hinc verosomile putat Joan. Francisc. Buddæus, in Dissertat. de Hæresi Valentin.—Valentinum eorum *Philosophiæ*, qualis eo tempore erat, fuisse imbutum.

<sup>15</sup> Id. ibid. §. 25. “ Id ipsum ante Tertullianum [De Præser. cap. vii. De An. cap. xvii.] monuerat Irenæus [Adv. Hær. lib. ii. cap. 14.] Valentinianos ex *Ethnicis Poetis* systematis formam, e *Philosophis* materiam eruisse. vid. sup. n. <sup>11</sup>.

testimony of Tertullian, on whose authority it is assigned to him. The passages of scripture, introduced into this work are often misquoted in order to favour the Gnostick tenets; but we are assured that those contained in the works of Valentinus, were faithfully cited, though perversely interpreted to support his heretical doctrines<sup>16</sup>. We must therefore conclude, not merely from the external evidence, which is at best equivocal, but from the internal, which seems to establish all that I labour to prove, that the work imputed to Valentinus, has been ascribed to him on inconclusive grounds.

The Sahidick version quoted in the book of "Wisdom," may, consequently, for any thing which this argument concludes, be as well ascribed to the fourth century as to the second. And many weighty reasons may be, I conceive, urged to prove, that the former was the period which produced this translation; several learned and pious persons having been at that time exiled in the

<sup>16</sup> Fragmentt. Vers. Sahid. ub. supr. p. 135. "Versionem autem Sahidicam, seu Superioris Ægypti, jam primis post Christum natum seculis incuria Scribarum et levitate ac licentia Gnosticorum fuisse depravatam, e pluribus locis Codicis Askewani manifestissime adparet, præcipue Matt. vi. 21. xviii. 21. xx. 16. Luc. xiii. 25—28. xxii. 30. Rom. xiii. 7." Massuet. Dissert. ubi supr. sect. iv. §. 9. p. xvi. "Certe ne longius a proposito deflectam, genuinus Tertullianus hujus libri [De Præscrip.] cap. xxxviii. *Valentinum a crimine suppositionis novi Evangelii palam absolvit.*—*Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur.*—*Marcion enim exerte et palam machæra, non stylo usus est: quoniam ad materiam suam cædem Scripturarum confecit: Valentinus autem pepercit,* &c.



Thebais <sup>17</sup>, who could have found no better mode of employing their leisure, than in procuring the Scriptures to be translated for the purpose of enabling them to diffuse Christianity more generally among the natives, with whose vulgar tongue they were unacquainted. And this supposition is not a little strengthened by the consideration, that they were apparently the persons <sup>18</sup>, who brought into Europe the

<sup>17</sup> S. Hilary, Eusebius Vercellensis, and Lucifer Calaritanus; Theodorit. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. iv. p. 125. l. 23.—καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξελαθέντας ἐπισκόπους καὶ τὰς ἰσχυρίας τῆς οἰκουμένης οἰκῶντας, εἰς τὰς οἰκείας ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκκλησίας προσέταξε [Ἰβλιανός.] τότε δὲ ἔν τῷ νόμῳ τιθέντος, εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανῆλθεν ὁ θεῖος Μελέτιος, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν ὁ πολυέμνητος Αθανάσιος. Ἐυσέβιος δὲ καὶ Ἰλάριος, ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Λακίφερ ὁ Σαρδῶν τὴν νῆσον ποιμαίνειν λαχὼν, ἐν τῇ Θηβαίων τῇ πρὸς Αἰγυπτὸν διήγον. ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Κωνσταντῖος ἐξωστράκισεν. Conf. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. v. p. 177. l. 2. Sozom. Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. xii. p. 197. l. 39. seq.

<sup>18</sup> The rarity of these manuscripts in Europe, and the care with which they have been preserved, enable us to refer them to their respective owners with little comparative difficulty. Eusebius's manuscript is supposed to be still preserved at his church in Verceli, vid. *infr.* n. <sup>28</sup>: and the coincidence between it and the Cambridge manuscript enables us to assign the latter to a similar source with it. Hilary's text may be ascertained from the Colbert manuscript; vid. Sabatier. Vers. Ital. SS. Bibl. Tom. III. p. xxxv. and the Laudian manuscript, which, it is next to certain belonged to the venerable Bede, vid. Woid. Præf. Cod. Alexandr. §. 78. as brought out of Sardinia, may be thence traced to Lucifer; vid. Wetsten. Proleg. in Nov. Test. Tom. II. p. 449. These deductions are not only confirmed by the history of those christian Fathers, who were versed in Greek, and had been exiled in the Thebais, from whence these MSS. were brought; but by this known circumstance

Cambridge, and other manuscripts of the same description, which resemble the oldest manuscripts<sup>19</sup> of the Sahidick version, not merely in their form, as attended with a translation; but in their peculiar readings<sup>20</sup>, and the character in which they are written<sup>21</sup>. The general prevalence of the Greek

—that a knowledge of that language, if not confined to them, was a rarity in Europe: vid. infr. n. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Such is the fragment of St. John's Gospel which contains the Greek text opposed to a Sahidick translation, in the same manner as the Cambridge and Clermont MSS. contain the Greek opposed to a Latin translation. It has been published under the following title: *Fragmentum Evangelii S. Johannis Græco-Copto-thebaicum sæculi iv. Opera et studio F. Augustini Antonii Georgii Eremitæ Augustiniani Rom. 1789.*

<sup>20</sup> Kipling. Præf. Cod. Cantab. p. vi. *Cognitum nunc habemus Codicis Bezae Græca non tantum cum versionibus tum Syriacis tum Latina, verum etiam cum versionibus Hierosolymitana, Sahidica, Coptica, &c. mirum in modum convenire.* Conf. Fragmentt. Vers. Sahid. a Woid. ut supr. p. 131—135. where a variety of examples are collected, in which the Sahidick Version is proved to coincide with the Vulgate and the Cambridge and Clermont manuscripts.

<sup>21</sup> Kipling. Præf. Cod. Cantab. p. xv. *Observârunt eruditi quidam aberrationes [Cod. Bezae] a sueta Græcorum orthographia pronuntiationi Ægyptiacæ admodum congruere, et in omnibus fere occurrere ex Ægypto allatis codicibus. Quas ob causas consuerunt Wetstenius, Woidius, et Spohn, Codicem Alexandrinum, cui nimirum aberrationes istæ cum Bezae exemplari communes sunt in Ægypto fuisse scriptum—Quid igitur obstat, cur non credamus eum qui Bezae exscripsit exemplar Ægyptium fuisse? Talem esse video quidem Antonii Georgii sententiam, quo uberius nemo, quod sciam, doctiusve hanc rem tractavit. Cujus argumentis meum hoc qualecunque subjungere liceat, Quod Græca nostri codicis non tantum Ægyptiaco scripta sunt more, sed lectionibus præterea scatent, quas in Ægyptiacis*

language, I again repeat, renders it highly improbable, that this version should be ascribed to a much higher period. And the version itself, as abounding with Greek terms, contains a demonstrative proof of the fact, by proving the general prevalence of that language in the Thebais. It was the former circumstance which seemingly determined the inspired writers in the choice which they made of that language, as the medium through which the sacred canon was to be published. To this circumstance we are to attribute the republication of the Jewish Scriptures in Greek, under the Ptolemies; and we consequently find, in the apostolical age, that the Greek translation had nearly superseded the oriental original.

The matter under discussion is thus reduced within a narrow compass. Deprived of the assistance of the primitive divines, and of the oriental versions, in ascertaining the original text of Scripture, our last dependence is rested on the old Italick translation. Here, however, it may be as securely as naturally placed. The Scripture was not less

quibusdam, nec in ullis aliis libris compertas habemus. Quibus argumentis, quibusque gravissimis auctoribus, ad credendum tandem adducor, *Ægyptum esse Bezae exemplaris patriam.*" Woide, Præf. Cod. Alexandr. Sect. vi. §. 76. "Rationes autem, cur in Oriente potius scriptus esse videatur Codex Laudianus hæc sunt. Eadem est orthographia in eo ac in Alexandrino, et pro ï, et ε pro α; ponit, &c. easdem habet breviactiones: frequentissime ny ἡμελυσικον; eandem interpunctionem: voces antiquo scriptas, ἱνατην pro ἰννατην, ἑλημψεν pro ἑληψεν: et quod præcipuum, eosdem ductus literarum, sed pinguiore, et festinanter, nec intra-lineas scriptos."



committed to the keeping of the Latin than of the Greek church, as the witnesses of its authenticity, and the guardians of its purity ; and the knowledge of the languages spoken by those churches, was nearly commensurate with the Roman and Macedonian conquests. The former church possessed a translation, which, as generally quoted by the Latin fathers previously to the council of Nice, was consequently made previously to any alterations which the original might have undergone under Constantine. This translation has been celebrated for its literal fidelity <sup>22</sup>, and we have this security of its having long continued unaltered <sup>23</sup>, that the Latins were not sufficiently instructed in the language of the original, to undertake the correction of the translation. So very rare was the humble qualification of reading Greek, that we have every reason to believe, it was possessed by few of the Latins, Tertullian excepted <sup>24</sup>, until the age of Constantine ; when the councils convened against the Arians, opened that intercourse between the eastern and western churches, which familiarized the latter with the original language of the sacred canon <sup>25</sup>. After

<sup>22</sup> Vid. S. August. De Doctrin. Christ. Lib. II. cap. xv. Tom. III. p. 27. g. ed. Bened. " In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala cæteris præferatur ; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ."

<sup>23</sup> Hilar. Diac. Com. in Rom. v. " Constat autem quosdam Latinos porro olim de veteribus Græcis translatos codicibus quos incorruptos simplicitas temporum servavit, et probat," &c.

<sup>24</sup> Vid. Pamel. Vit. Tertul. ad An. Chr. 197. ed. Franc. 1597.

<sup>25</sup> Twenty years after this intercourse had commenced, the Latin fathers made this avowal of their ignorance of the Greek,

that period, Hilary, Lucifer, and Eusebius of Vercelli arose, who are represented as possessed of learning sufficient to revise the old Italick translation<sup>26</sup>. St. Jerome was of a later period, who undertook that thorough revision of the text which has produced the present Vulgate: yet even in the same age, St. Augustine appears to have been but moderately versed in the Greek language.

In proceeding to estimate the testimony which the Latin translation bears to the state of the Greek

in declining to subscribe to the confession proposed to them by the Orientalists; Socr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xx. p. 103. l. 3. Ταῦτα οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἱσπέρια μέρη ἐπίσκοποι, διὰ τὸ ἀλλογλώσσους εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ συνιέναι, ἐ προσδέχοντο, ἀρκεῖν τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίσιν λέγοντες.

<sup>26</sup> This must be inferred from the part which Eusebius Vercellensis, Hilary, and Lucifer took in the affairs of the Greek church; the return of those bishops to their dioceses, after the council held at Alexandria, under St. Athanasius, is recorded by the ecclesiastick historians; Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. ix. p. 184. l. 33. cap. x. p. 185. l. 8.—ἔλλα Λύκιφερ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀποπληρῶσαι ἐκ ἴσχυος ἐδίδετο γὰρ ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἀπολογίαις, δι' ὧν ἀποστείλας τὸν διάκονον, εἰρξέειν τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου τυπόμενα κάθυπείσχετο. διόπερ αὐτὸς μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φρονῶν, εἰς τὴν Σαρδανίαν ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον θρόνον ἀπεχώρει. οἱ δὲ πρότερον συλλυπηθέντες αὐτῷ, ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐκκλησίας χωρίζονται. Ἐυσέβιος μέντοι δίκην ἀγαθῆ ἰατρῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τὰς πορείας ποιῶμενος, τὸς ἡσθενηκότας περὶ τὴν πρίν ἀνελάμβανε, φοιχειῶν καὶ διδάσκων τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κηρύγματα· μεταβὰς δὲ ἐκεῖθεν, ἐπὶ τε Ἰλλυριῆς παραγίνεται, καὶ Ἰταλίας ἐπιβὰς, τὰ αὐτὰ διεπράττετο. Ἐφθάκει δὲ καὶ Ἰλάριος, ὁ Πυκτάβιων ἐπίσκοπος, πόλιν δὲ αὕτη δευτέρας Ἀκυτανίας, προκαταβεβλημένος τὰ τῆς ὁμοδόξης πίστεως δόγματα, τοῖς τε ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Γαλλίᾳ ἐπισκόποις· καὶ γὰρ πρότερος τῆς ἐξορίας ἐπανιών, κατελήφει τὸς τόπους. ἅμφω μὲν ἐν γενναίῳ τῇ πίστει συνηγωνίσαντο. Conf. Sozom. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. xiii. p. 119. l. 11.

text, it is necessary to premise, that this translation exhibits three varieties :—As corrected by St. Jerome at the desire of Pope Damasus <sup>27</sup>, and preserved in the Vulgate ; as corrected by Eusebius of Verceli, at the desire of Pope Julius, and preserved in the Codex Vercellensis <sup>28</sup> ; and as existing previously to the corrections of both, and preserved as I conceive, in the Codex Brixianus <sup>29</sup>. The first of these three editions of the Italick translation is too well known to need any description ; both the last are contained in beautiful manuscripts, preserved at Verceli, and at Brescia, in Italy. The curious and expensive manner in which at least the latter of these manuscripts is executed, as written on purple vellum

<sup>27</sup> Vid. supr. p. 15. n. <sup>26</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> F. H. Rugger. Cod. Vercel. Descrip. ap. Blanchin. Evang. Quadr. Proleg. p. 57.—“ exstant et documenta plurima certæ fidei, monumentisque publicis consignata, ex quibus ediscimus, *librum quatuor Evangeliorum* a magno sancto Patre nostro *Episcopo et Martyre Eusebio ex Græcanicis litteris* ante Divum Hieronymum *esse redditum*. Hac ipsa igitur facultate Græcarum litterarum lectionis ea perfectione Romæ potiebatur, *ut Julius Pontifex* Maximus Marci successor, qui Eusebium sacro presbyterali caractere insignivit, existimavit illum non sibi soli vacare, sed etiam Christianæ Reipublicæ prodesse debere ; ut habetur ex antiquissimis tabulis, in quibus eundem *Eusebium interpretem sacrorum voluminum designatum a Summo Pontifice fuisse traditur*. Græcas enim literas non alio proposito sibi fine didicerat, quam ut perfectius Sacrarum Litterarum arcana dignosceret.”

<sup>29</sup> The description of this MS. which may, as I conceive, be referred to Philastrius Brixianus, as I shall endeavour to shew hereafter, is given in Blanchin. Evang. Quadrupl. Proleg. Tom. I. p. 5.



in silver characters<sup>30</sup>, would of itself contain no inconclusive proof of its great antiquity; such having been the form in which the most esteemed works were executed in the times of Eusebius, Chrysostome, and Jerome<sup>31</sup>. The former is ascribed, by immemorial tradition, to Eusebius Vercellensis, the friend of Pope Julius and St. Athanasius, and, as supposed to have been written with his own hand; is deposited among the relicks, which are preserved with a degree of superstitious reverence, in the authour's church at Verceli in Piedmont<sup>32</sup>. By these

<sup>30</sup> P. Garbel. Descr. Cod. Brix. ap. Blanchin. ibid. p. 10. "Forma Codicis [Brixiani] oblonga est ita, ut latitudinem ferme quadrante superet. Ejus membranæ, licet *purpura tinctæ fuerint*, plurimæ tamen, vetustate temporis, cærulei speciem præse-ferunt. *Characteres*,—*argenteo quodam pigmento sunt liti*: cujus tamen color, multis in locis evanidus, *aureum simulat*, fallitque, nisi intente inspiciatur. Unde et nos olim *Codicem Aureum* vocabamus."

<sup>31</sup> Barret. Cod. Rescript. Dublinens. Proleg. p. 9. "Membranæ, super quas describitur [Cod. Dublinens.] videntur primitus *purpurei fuisse coloris*: quod indicium est *magnæ vetustatis*. Sic Chrysost. in Joh. Hom. xxxii. καὶ ἡ πᾶσα αὐτοῖς σπεδὴ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὑμένων λεπτότητα, καὶ τὸ τῶν γραμμάτων κάλλος—ὅτι χρυσοῖς ἔχει γραμμασιν. Tom. II. ed. Savil. p. 686. Testatur vero Capitolinus in Vit. Maximini; omnis imperii in loco illi fuisse, quod omnes libri Homerici, qui illi puero porrigerentur, fuerunt *purpurei, literis aureis inscripti*."

<sup>32</sup> Rugger. Cod. Vercel. Descrip. ubi supr. "De vero possessore hujus sacri voluminis præter antiquam constantissimam venerationem, quam semper erga illud, Capitulum et Ecclesia professæ est, *illud asservando in ipsomet sacro Reliquiarum deposito*, ubi sanctorum, prophetarum, apostolorum, plurimorumque martyrum ossa custodiuntur, exstant et documenta plurima certæ fidei, &c. vid. supr. n. <sup>28</sup>.

three editions of the translation, we might naturally expect to acquire some insight into the varieties of the original. And this expectation is fully justified on experiment. The latter, not less than the former, is capable of being distributed into three kinds; each of which possesses an extraordinary coincidence with one of a correspondent kind, in the translation. In a word, the Greek manuscripts are capable of being divided into three principal classes, one of which agrees with the Italick translation contained in the Brescia manuscript; another with that contained in the Verceli manuscript; and a third with that contained in the Vulgate.

In ascertaining the particular Greek manuscripts which, as possessing this coincidence with the Latin, may be taken as the exemplars of each class, we have few difficulties to encounter. The affinity existing between the Vatican manuscript and the Vulgate is so striking, as to have induced Dr. Bentley, and M. Wetstein to class them together<sup>33</sup>. And

<sup>33</sup> Wetsten. Proleg. in Nov. Test. Tom. I. p. 26. Neque vero cur eorum testimonium in dubium vocari debet; cum confirmetur et per R. Bentleyum, qui sæpe inter amicos narrare solebat, *Vaticanum Codicem* in omnibus fere cum Alexandrino, adeoque etiam, ut supra demonstravimus, *cum versione Itala*, convenire: et re ipsa, nam Mat. v. 22. non habet εἰς, 1 John iv. 3. non habet *χρῆσθον ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα*; ut *alia passim in var. lect. nostris annotata taceam.*" The collation of the Vatican MS. made for Dr. Bentley is published by Dr. Ford at the end of his Fragmentt. Vers. Sahidic. Oxon. 1799. by its assistance, the affinity between the Vulgate and Vatican manuscript may be directly discovered on comparison.

I proceed to offer some proof, that the affinity of the Harleian and Moscow manuscript<sup>34</sup>, with the Brescia manuscript; and that of the Codex Cantabrigiensis with the Verceli manuscript, is not less striking and extraordinary. So that the Harleian and Moscow manuscript, the Cambridge manuscript, and the Vatican manuscript, (as respectively coinciding with the Brescia manuscript, the Verceli manuscript, and the Vulgate) may be taken as exemplars of the three principal classes into which the Greek manuscripts may be distributed.

The subjoined specimen, taken from the first chapter of the Sermon on the Mount, will furnish a tolerably just idea of the nature and closeness of this coincidence. I shall prefix the readings of the Received Text, and authorized English version, in order to evince their coincidence with that text, to which the preference appears to be due, on account of its conformity to the Italick translation contained in the Brescia manuscript.

<sup>34</sup> These MSS. are designated by M. Griesbach, "G, and Mt. V." The former is preserved in the British Museum, where it is marked Harl. 5684: it is assigned to the tenth century, and is described by M. Griesbach *Symbb. Critt.* Tom. I. p. lxiv.—The latter is a manuscript of the S. Synod at Moscow, which has been described by M. Matthæi *Nov. Test.* Tom. IX. p. 265. and is conceived by him to be of the eighth century. It remains to be observed, that the various readings of this MS. in the annexed collation are taken from M. Matthæi's text and notes. The Harleian MS. wants the five first chapters of St. Matthew; its various readings have been consequently omitted in the annexed collation of texts.



4. μακάριοι οἱ πενθῦντες. κ. τ. εἰ. *Rec.*

— blessed are they that mourn, &c. *Auth.*

μακάριοι οἱ πραιεῖς κ. τ. εἰ. *Cant.* beati mites, &c. *Verc.*

μακάριοι οἱ πενθῦντες. κ. τ. εἰ. *Vat.* beati mites, &c. *Vulg.*

μακάριοι οἱ πενθῦντες κ. τ. εἰ. beati qui lugent, &c. *Brix.*

*Mosc.*

5. μακάριοι οἱ πραιεῖς κ. τ. εἰ. *Rec.*

— blessed are the meek, &c. *Auth.*

μακάριοι οἱ πενθῦντες. κ. τ. εἰ. beati qui lugent, &c. *Verc.*

*Cant.*

μακάριοι οἱ πραιεῖς κ. τ. εἰ. *Vat.* beati qui lugent, &c. *Vulg.*

μακάριοι οἱ πραιεῖς. κ. τ. εἰ. *Mosc.* beati mansueti. *Brix.*

11. καθ' ὑμῶν ψευδόμενοι ἔνεκεν ἐμῷ. *Rec.*

— against you *falsely* for my sake. *Auth.*

καθ' ὑμῶν ἔνεκεν δικαιοσύνης. adversum vos propter *justitiam.*

*Cant.*

*Verc.*

καθ' ὑμῶν ψευδόμενοι ἔνεκεν ἐμῷ. adversum vos mentientes prop-

*Vat.*

ter me. *Vulg.*

καθ' ὑμῶν ψευδόμενοι ἔνεκεν ἐμῷ. adversum vos mentientes prop-

*Mosc.*

ter me. *Brix.*

12. ἐν τοῖς ἑρανοῖς. *Rec.*

— in heaven. *Auth.*

ἐν τῷ ἑρανῷ. *Cant.*

in cælo. *Verc.*

ἐν τοῖς ἑρανοῖς. *Vat.*

in cælis. *Vulg.*

ἐν τοῖς ἑρανοῖς. *Mosc.*

in cælis. *Brix.*

13. εἰς ἃδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι. *Rec.*

— it is *thenceforth* good for nothing. *Auth.*

εἰς ἃδὲν ἰσχύει. *Cant.*

ad nihilum valet. *Verc.*

εἰς ἃδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι. *Vat.*

ad nihilum valet *ultra.* *Vulg.*

εἰς ἃδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι. *Mosc.*

ad nihilum valebit *ultra.* *Brix.*

22. ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτῆ εἰκῇ. *Rec.*

— angry with his brother without a cause. *Auth.*

ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτῆ εἰκῇ. *Cant.* qui irascitur fratri suo sine causa. *Verc.*

ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτῆ. *Vat.* qui irascitur fratri suo. *Vulg.*

ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτῆ εἰκῇ. *Mosc.* qui irascitur fratri suo sine causa. *Brix.*

27. ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. *Rec.*

— it has been said by them of old time. *Auth.*

ἐρρέθη. *Cant.* dictum est. *Verc.*

ἐρρέθη. *Vat. Mosc.* dictum est. *Brix.*

ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. *Corb.* dictum est antiquis. *Vulg.*

30. βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν. *Rec.*

— be cast into hell. *Auth.*

ἀπέλθῃ εἰς γέενναν. *Cant.* eat in gehennam. *Verc.*

εἰς γέενναν ἀπέλθῃ. *Vat.* eat in gehennam. *Vulg.*

βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν. *Mosc.* mittatur in gehennam. *Brix.*

32. λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι. *Rec.*

— I say unto you that. *Auth.*

λέγω ὑμῖν. *Cant.* dico vobis. *Verc.*

λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι. *Vat.* dico vobis quia. *Vulg.*

λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι. *Mosc.* dico vobis quia. *Brix.*

32. ὃς ἐὰν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ μοιχᾷται. *Rec.*

— whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery. *Auth.*

..... desunt. *Cant.* ..... desunt. *Vercel.*

ὃ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾷται. *Vat.* qui dimissam duxerit adulterat. *Vulg.*

ὃς ἐὰν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ μοιχᾷται. *Mosc.* qui dimissam duxerit mœchatur. *Brix.*

38. καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. *Rec.*

— and a tooth for a tooth. *Auth.*

ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. *Cant.*

dentem pro dentem. *Verc.*

καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. *Vat.*

et dentem pro dente. *Vulg.*

καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. *Mosc.*

et dentem pro dente. *Brix.*

41. ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτῷ δύο. *Rec.*

— go with him twain. *Auth.*

ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτῷ ἔτι ἄλλα δύο. *Cant.*

vade cum illo adhuc alia duo. *Verc.*

ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτῷ δύο. *Vat.*

vade cum illo et alia duo. *Vulg.*

ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτῷ δύο. *Mosc.*

vade cum illo duo. *Brix.*

44. εὐλογεῖτε τὰς καταραμένους ὑμᾶς. *Rec.*

— bless them that curse you. *Auth.*

εὐλογεῖτε τὰς καταραμένους ὑμᾶς. *Cant.*

..... desunt. *Verc.*

..... desunt. *Vat.*

..... desunt. *Vulg.*

εὐλογεῖτε τὰς καταραμένους ὑμᾶς. *Mosc.*

benedicite maledicentibus vos. *Brix.*

44. προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς,

καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. *Rec.*

—pray for them who despitefully use you  
and persecute you. *Auth.*

προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων

orate pro calumniantibus et

καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. *Cant.*

persequentibus vos. *Verc.*

προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑ-

orate pro persequentibus et

μᾶς. *Vat.*

calumniantibus vos. *Vulg.*

προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόν-

orate pro calumniantibus vobis

των ὑμᾶς, καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. *Mosc.*

et persequentibus vos. *Brix.*



This short specimen <sup>35</sup> will sufficiently evince the affinity which the Greek and Latin manuscripts bear to each other, throughout the different classes, into which they may be divided. It will also illustrate the dissimilarity which those classes exhibit among themselves, in either language, regarded separately. In order to evince the affinity which in other respects they possess among themselves, it will be necessary to view a connected portion of the sacred text, in the original and the translation. For this purpose I shall subjoin the opening of the same chapter from whence the fore-cited various readings have been extracted; including that part of the Sermon on the Mount which contains the beatitudes.

<sup>35</sup> These examples may be augmented to any required extent, with very little trouble to the undertaker. The principal coincidences of *the Received Text* and *Brescia MS.* in readings which differ from the Vulgate, have been collected by M. Blanchini, and may be seen in his *Evangel. Quadr. P. I. fol. cdlxxxv. seq. P. II. cdlxix. seq.* On comparing the list of texts there collected from *the Vulgate*, with the collation of *the Vatican MS.* made for Dr. Bentley, see n. <sup>33</sup>; the striking coincidence of their respective texts will be directly apparent. For a proof of the coincidence of the *Cambridge* and *Verceli* MSS. the reader may be referred to the lower margin of M. Blanchini's *Evangelium Quadruplex* who has noted the coincident readings with much pains.

It may be necessary to observe, that in the above list of texts, those selected from the *Vatican MS.* are taken from the various readings published by Dr. Ford, as already referred to n. <sup>33</sup>. The *Moscow MS.* is defective in *Mat. v. 44.* but the reading of this text may be taken from the other MSS. of *M. Matthæi*; as they harmonize with this *MS.* in an extraordinary manner.

## Class I.

## Cod. Cant.

1. Ἰδὼν δὲ τὸς ὄχλους, ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ καθίσαντι αὐτῷ, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ·

2. Καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς λέγων·

3. Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ἑρρανῶν.

5. Μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς· ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.

4. Μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.

6. Μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην· ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.

7. Μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.

8. Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ· ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται.

9. Μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί· ὅτι υἱοὶ Θεοῦ κληθήσονται.

10. Μακάριοι οἱ διωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ἑρρανῶν.

11. Μακάριοί ἐστε, ὅταν διώξωσι, καὶ διεδίσωσι καὶ εἰπωσὶ πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥῆμα καθ' ὑμῶν, ἕνεκα δικαιοσύνης.

12. Χαίrete καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε· ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ ἑρρανῷ· ὅπως γὰρ ἐδίωξαν τὸς προφῆτας, τὸς ἐναντίους ὑμῶν ὑπάρχοντας.

## Cod. Ver.

1. Videns autem Jesus turbam, ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset, accesserunt ad eum discipuli ejus;

2. Et aperuit os suum, et docebat eos dicens:

3. Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.

5. Beati mites: quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram.

4. Beati qui lugent: quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.

6. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam: quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.

7. Beati misericordes: quia ipsis miserebitur Deus.

8. Beati mundo corde: quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.

9. Beati pacifici: quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur.

10. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.

11. Beati estis, cum vos maledicent, et persequentur, et dicent omne malum adversum vos propter justitiam.

12. Gaudete et exultate: quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in cœlo. Sic enim persecuti sunt prophetas qui erant ante vos.

## Class II.

## Cod. Vat.

## Vers. Vulg.

1. ἰδὼν δὲ τὰς ὄχλους, ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ καθίσαντες αὐτοῦ, προσῆλθον [αὐτῷ] οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ·

2. Καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὰς λέγων.

3. Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ἑρραῶν.

4. Μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.

5. Μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς· ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν.

6. Μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην· ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.

7. Μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.

8. Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ· ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται.

9. Μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί· ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ Θεοῦ κληθήσονται.

10. Μακάριοι οἱ διωγόμενοι ἕνεκα δικαιοσύνης· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ἑρραῶν.

11. Μακάριοί ἐστε, ὅταν ἐνειδίσωσιν, καὶ διώξωσιν, καὶ εἰπωσιν καθ' ὑμῶν πᾶν πονηρὸν ψευδόμενοι ἕνεκεν ἡμοῦ.

12. Χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι ἡ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς ἑρραῖς· οὕτω γὰρ ἐδίωξαν τὰς προφῆτας, τὰς πρὸ ὑμῶν.

1. Videns autem turbas ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset accesserunt ad eum discipuli ejus :

2. Et aperiens os suum, docebat eos dicens :

3. Beati pauperes spiritu : quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.

5. Beati mites : quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram.

4. Beati qui lugent : quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.

6. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam : quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.

7. Beati misericordes : quia ipsi misericordiam consequentur.

8. Beati mundo corde : quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.

9. Beati pacifici : quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur.

10. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam : quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.

11. Beati estis, cum maledixerint vobis et persecuti vos fuerint, et dixerint omne malum adversum vos, mentientes propter me.

12. Gaudete et exultate : quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in cœlis. Sic enim persecuti sunt prophetas, qui fuerunt ante vos.



## Class III.

## Cod. Mosc.

1. Ἰδὼν δὲ τὰς ὄχλους, ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.

2. Καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὰς λέγων·

3. Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ἑρραῶν.

4. Μακάριοι οἱ πενθεῖντες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.

5. Μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς· ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν.

6. Μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην· ὅτι, αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.

7. Μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.

8. Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ· ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται.

9. Μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί· ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ Θεοῦ κληθήσονται.

10. Μακάριοι οἱ διωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ἑρραῶν.

11. Μακάριοι ἐσεὶ ὅταν ἐνειδίσωσιν καὶ διώξωσι καὶ εἴπωσι πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥῆμα καθ' ὑμῶν, ψευδόμενοι ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ.

12. Χαίριτε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν ποτὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑρανοῖς οὕτω γὰρ ἐδίωξαν τὰς προφῆτας, τὰς περὶ ὑμῶν.

## Cod. Brix.

1. Videns autem turbas ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset accesserunt ad eum discipuli ejus;

2. Et aperiens os suum, docebat eos dicens:

3. Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.

4. Beati qui lugent: quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.

5. Beati mansueti: quoniam ipsi hereditabunt terram.

6. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam: quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.

7. Beati misericordes: quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur.

8. Beati mundi corde: quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.

9. Beati pacifici: quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur.

10. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.

11. Beati eritis cum exprobrauerint vos, et persequentur, et dixerint omne malum adversum vos mentientes propter me.

12. Gaudete et exultate: quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in cœlis. Sic enim persecuti sunt prophetas qui fuerunt ante vos.

A few general observations will suffice on the subject of those different classes of manuscripts in the Greek and Latin, as preliminary to further deductions.

That the manuscripts in both languages possess the same text, though evidently of different classes, must be evident on the most casual inspection ; they respectively possess that identity in the choice of terms and arrangement of the language, which is irreconcilable with the notion of their having descended from different archetypes. And though these classes, in either language, vary among themselves, yet, as the translation follows the varieties of the original, the Greek and Latin consequently afford each other mutual confirmation. The different classes of text in the Greek and Latin translation, as thus coinciding, may be regarded as the conspiring testimony, of those Churches which were appointed the witnesses and keepers of Holy Writ, to the existence of three species of text in the original and the translation.

On this conclusion we may however found another deduction relative to the antiquity of this testimony. As the existence of a translation necessarily implies the priority of the original from which it was formed ; this testimony may be directly referred to the close of the fourth century. The Vulgate must be clearly referred to that period, as it was then formed by St. Jerome<sup>36</sup> ; in its bare exist-

<sup>36</sup> This period is antedated by St. Jerome, to the fourteenth year of the emperor Theodosius ; A. D. 393. S. Hieron. Ca-

ence of course the correspondent antiquity of the Greek text with which it agrees, is directly established. This version is, however, obviously less antient than that of the Verceli or Brescia manuscript; as they are of the old Italick translation, while it properly constitutes the new. In the existence of the antient version, the antiquity of the original texts with which it corresponds is consequently established. The three classes of text which correspond with the Vulgate and Old Italick Version, must be consequently referred to a period not less remote than the close of the fourth century.

In attaining the testimony of the Greek and Latin Churches, at a period thus antient, we have acquired some solid ground to proceed upon. But this testimony is of still greater importance, as it affords a foundation on which we may rest the testimony of St. Jerome, who flourished at that period. To his authority the highest respect is due, not merely on account of his having then lived, and formed one of the versions of the Latin church, but his great reputation in biblical criticism. His testimony, while it confirms the foregoing deductions, made from the internal evidence of the Greek and Latin manuscripts, affords a clue which will guide us through this obscure and intricate subject. He bears witness to the existence of three editions of the sa-

talog. Scriptt. Ecclesiass. sub. fin. Tom. I. p. 132. "Usque in præsentem annum, id est, *Theodosii decimum quartum* hæc scripsi—*Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi, Vetus juxta Hebraicam transtuli.*"



cred text, in his own age, which he refers to Egypt, Palestine, and Constantinople<sup>37</sup>. This testimony is the rather deserving of attention, as it confirms, in an extraordinary manner, the previous assumption relative to the existence of three classes of text: and, as on the same broad distinction of the country where they are found<sup>38</sup>, the Greek manuscripts have been distinguished, by modern criticks into *three* different classes, two of which are referred to *Egypt and Constantinople*.

The result of the investigation to which this view of the subject leads, will, I trust, end in deductions not less important than certain. It will, I am fond enough to hope, prove beyond all reasonable ground of objection, that the three classes of text, which are discoverable in the Greek manuscripts, are nearly identical with the three editions, which

<sup>37</sup> S. Hier. Præf. in Paralipomm. Tom. III. p. 343. "Si Septuaginta interpretum pura, et ut ab eis in Græcum versa est, permaneret; superflue me, Chromati, Episcoporum sanctissime, atque doctissime, impelleres, ut Hebræa volumina Latino sermone transferrem.—*Nunc vero*, cum pro *varietate regionum*, *diversa ferantur exemplaria*; et germana illa antiquaque translatio corrupta sit atque violata: nostri arbitrii putas, aut *e pluribus* judicare *quid verum sit*; aut novum opus *in veteri opere* cudere, illudentibusque Judæis, cornicum, ut dicitur, oculos confingere. *Alexandria et Ægyptus* in septuaginta suis *Hesychium* laudat auctorem. *Constantinopolis* usque ad Antiochiam *Luciani martyris exemplaria* probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ *Palæstinos codices* legunt, quos ab *Origine* elaboratos *Eusebius* et *Pamphilus* vulgaverunt. Totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat." Conf. p. 11. n. <sup>14</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 4, 5.

existed in the age of St. Jerome: with which they are identified by their coincidence with the Latin translation, which existed in the age of that christian father.

### *Of Class I.*

That the Cambridge manuscript, which is the exemplar of the First Class, contains the text which St. Jerome refers to Egypt, and ascribes to Hesychius, seems to be sufficiently established by the following considerations :

1. It is next to certain, that this manuscript was originally imported from Egypt into the west of Europe. It not only conforms in the style of its characters to the form of the Egyptian letters, but in its orthography to the Egyptian mode of pronunciation<sup>39</sup>. It also possesses the lessons of the Egyptian church noted in its margin. In proof of which those passages may be specified, which occur in St. John, relative to our Lord's interview with the Samaritan woman, and his walking on the sea ; which were appointed to be read in the Egyptian church at the period when the Nile was retiring from its channel. We consequently find both places distinguished by that mark, which declares them to have been lessons read at that period<sup>40</sup>. And agreeably

<sup>39</sup> Vid. supr. p. 55. n. <sup>21</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Kipling. Præf. in Cod. Cantab. p. xvi. " Denique anagnostæ solebant Ægyptiaci, instante annua Nili exundatione,

to this representation, we find this manuscript referred to Egypt, by the generality of criticks who have undertaken its description<sup>41</sup>. As it was thus authoritatively read in the church, it evidently furnishes a specimen of the text which from a remote period prevailed in Egypt.

2. The same conclusion is confirmed, in an extraordinary degree by the coincidence of this manuscript with the vulgar translation of the Egyptians. Of the different species of text which modern criticks discover in the Greek manuscripts, that of the Cambridge manuscript is observed to coincide, to a degree surpassing all expectation, not only with the common Coptick translation<sup>42</sup>, but particularly the Sahidick version<sup>43</sup>. As Greek was ma-

Sabbatis apud populum legere, quæ Joannes tradidit Evangelista *de muliere Samaritana*, diebusque simul Dominicis, quæ scriptis idem mandavit *de Jesu Christo supra mare ambulante*. Reperies autem, in nostro codice, cum hanc tum illam sectionem; verbo ΑΝΑΙΝΟΣΜΑ insignitam.”

<sup>41</sup> Vid. supr. p. 55. n. <sup>21</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Vid. supr. p. 55. n. <sup>20</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> The affinity between the Cambridge manuscript and the Sahidick version is pointed out by Münter, Dissert. de Indol. Vers. Sahidic. pp. 10—16. A table of their coincident readings is given by Dr. Woide, Fragmentt. Vers. Sahid. pp. 132, 133: and every page in the antecedent collation of texts contained in the same work, abounds in examples. I shall present the reader with a specimen, taken from a single chapter of St. Matthew, of the coincidence of this MS. and version, in additions, contractions, alterations, &c. of the sacred text. Matt. xviii. 10. ἐνὸς τῶν μικρῶν τέλων *Rec. Mosc.* unum ex his pusillis. *Brix*: but this clause is thus *enlarged*, ἐνὸς τῶν μικρῶν τέλων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμὲ. *Cant. Sahid.* unum ex his pusillis *qui credunt in me*.



nifestly the current language of Egypt<sup>44</sup>, and manuscripts in that language were as obviously prevalent in Egypt<sup>45</sup>; we must conceive that the vulgar translations of this country were accommodated to the generality of those manuscripts with which the natives were acquainted. The conformity of the Codex Cantabrigiensis to those versions consequently proves, that this manuscript contains the text, which in St. Jerome's age, when the Sahidick version was apparently formed<sup>46</sup>, was generally prevalent in Egypt.

3. In the extraordinary coincidence of the Cambridge manuscript with the old Italick version preserved in the manuscript of Verceli, we have a further proof, which establishes the same conclusion. This version was corrected by St. Eusebius of Verceli<sup>47</sup>, who was exiled in the Thebais, where the Sahidick dialect is spoken, during the period that the Christian church was under the dominion of the

*Veron.* Ibid. 29. *πρὸς τὸν εἰς τὰς πόδας αὐτοῦ*, *Rec. Mosc.* *Pro-*  
*cidens ad pedes ejus*, *Brix*: but this clause is thus contracted,  
*πρὸς τὸν εἰς Cant. Sahid.* *Procidens. Verc.* Ib. 35. *τὰ παραπλῶμα*  
*αὐτῶν* is omitted in *Cant. Sahid. Verc.* though retained in *Rec.*  
*Mosc. Brix.* Ibid 17. *ὡς περ ὁ ἐθνικός καὶ ὁ τελώνης*, *Rec. Mosc.* *si-*  
*cut ethnicus et publicanus*, *Brix*: but this clause is thus altered,  
*ὡς ὁ ἐθνικός καὶ ὡς ὁ τελώνης. Cant. Sahid.*

<sup>44</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 48. n. 5.

<sup>45</sup> Woid. Præf. in Cod. Alexandrin. sect. II. § 33. p. vi.—  
“*In Ægypto circa Alexandriam plurimi erant librarii et calligra-*  
*phi, et Eusebius quinquaginta codices Constantino magno, et*  
*Athanasius totidem Constantino curaverat adferri.*”

<sup>46</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 53. seq.

<sup>47</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 59. n. 23.

Arians <sup>48</sup>. The active life of St. Eusebius will scarcely admit of our conceiving, that he performed this task, at any other period, than during the time of his exile. And the attachment of those hereticks whom he unremittingly opposed, to the edition of Eusebius <sup>49</sup>, most probably induced him to yield to a natural bias in favour of the church which admitted him into its communion, and thus led him to follow the Received Text of Egypt, as revised by Hesychius. The affinity between the Verceli and Cambridge manuscripts, thus furnishes an additional proof, that the latter is of Hesychius's edition, which, from St. Jerome's account, must in St. Eusebius's age have continued in Egypt; as it remained to the age of St. Jerome. It is indeed inconceivable, that St. Eusebius, in forming his translation, would have followed any text, which was of an equivocal character, or in less repute than that of Hesychius: his version consequently adds another and convincing testimony, to prove, that the Cambridge manuscript contains the text which in his age was current in Egypt.

4. We possess a collation of the manuscripts of Egypt, made in the year 616, which establishes the same conclusion, almost beyond controversion. At that period Thomas of Heraclea, who revised the Syriack version, published under the auspices of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug, collated that translation with some Greek manuscripts, which he

<sup>48</sup> Vid. supr. p. 54. n. <sup>17</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Vid. supr. p. 28. n. <sup>43</sup>.

found in a monastery in Egypt, and has noted their various readings in the margin of his edition <sup>50</sup>. So extraordinary is the coincidence of these readings, with the peculiar readings of the Cambridge manuscript <sup>51</sup>, that some criticks have been induced to believe it was the identical copy used in the collation <sup>52</sup>. This notion is however refuted, by the in-

<sup>50</sup> Adler. de Versionn. Syriacc. Nov. Test. Lib. II. p. 49. ed. Hafn. 1789. "Post seculum elapsam Thomas Heraclensis novam hujus versionis [Syr. Philoxen.] editionem curavit Alexandria, ad duo vel tria exempla Græca castigatam, nimirum anno Græcorum DCCCXXVII, h. e. Christi DCXVI.—Cum nonnullis Codicibus Græcis eam contulit; quorum præcipuas varietates, et passim etiam versionis simplicis consensum vel dissensum, in margine editionis suæ adnotavit, simulque ubi versio ambigua vel intellectu difficilior videbatur, verba Græca appossuit." This information is derived from a notice, annexed to the Philoxenian version, by Thomas Heraclensis himself; Adler. ibid. p. 46. "Collatus est liber iste cum duobus exemplis probatis. Translatus autem fuit hic liber quatuor Evangelistarum Sanctorum e lingua Græca in Syriacam cum accuratione multa et labore magno, primo quidem in urbe Mabug, in diebus Sancti Domini Philoxeni confessoris [et] episcopi ejus urbis. Collatus autem postea, multa cum diligentia, a me Thoma paupere, cum tribus exemplis Græcis, valde probatis et correctis in Antonia Alexandria, urbis magnæ, in monasterio sancto Antoniano." —e Cod. Biblioth. Angelic. S. August. de Urb. f. 139.

<sup>51</sup> Adler. ibid. p. 133. "Quicquid sit, illud tamen extra omnem dubitationem ponitur, Codices Thomæ simillimos fuisse Cantabrigiensi."

<sup>52</sup> This notion is espoused by M. Wetsten. Prolegg. in Nov. Test. Tom. I. p. 28. but opposed by Dr. Gl. Ridley Dissert. in Syriac. Vers. sect. vi. p. 61. The question is debated by Dr. Kipling. Præf. in Cod. Cant. pp. xvi, xvii. Adler. Verss. Syriacc. Nov. Test. Lib. II. p. 132. and other criticks.



ternal evidence of the manuscript compared with the readings in question<sup>53</sup>. From the conformity of those readings to the Cambridge manuscript, not merely in texts which are common to it with other manuscripts, but in texts peculiar to itself<sup>54</sup>, we must infer its conformity to the text, which even to a late period was current in Egypt.

Now as it is absurd to conceive that the peculiar readings alluded to in the last three instances can have proceeded from the one manuscript named in the first; or that they have been corrupted from each other<sup>55</sup>: as St. Jerome has ascribed a peculiar

<sup>53</sup> Vid. infr. n. <sup>55</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> Adler. *ibid.* p. 132. "Itaque, inter 180 circiter varietates, 130<sup>ies</sup> fere consentiunt Codices, B. C. D. L. 1. 33. 69. Urb. 2. Vind. 31. al. et 19<sup>ies</sup> solus D." Id. *ibid.* p. 130. "In reliquis igitur consentit criticus noster cum solo Cantabrigiensi (Wetst. cod. D.) undevigesies; nimirum, Matt. i. 7. viii. 28. ix. 15. xv. 6. xx. 28. Marc. i. 3. iv. 9. vii. 13. Luc. vii. 1, 41. xii. 1, 2. xviii. 30, 34. xx. 36. xxii. 34. Joh. vi. 1. vii. 40. ix. 37. et accedente codice Vaticano sexies, Mat. i. 22. xvi. 8. xxiv. 37. Luc. viii. 26. x. 17. Joh. xii. 34." One or two examples taken from St. Luke, chap. xx. will evince, that these coincidences cannot be accidental. We read in Luke xx. 13. τῶν ἰδόντων ἐντραπήσειναι Mosc. Harl. 'cum hunc viderint verebuntur,' &c. Brix: but ἰδόντες is omitted in Cant. Verc. and the margin of Charkel. On the other hand, we read in Luke ib. 34. γαμῶσι καὶ ἐκγαμίσκονται Mosc. Harl. 'nubunt et traduntur ad nuptias.' Brix. Vulg: but this phrase is interpolated with γεννῶνται καὶ γεννώσι γαμῶσι καὶ γαμοῦνται, Cant. 'generant et generantur, nubunt et nubuntur.' Verc. on which Charkel observes, "in priori exemplo [Vers. Syr. Vet.] 'gignunt et gignuntur' sed in Græco non est." Marg. Philox.

<sup>55</sup> The latter of the two examples quoted from Luke xx. 34. *supr.* n. <sup>54</sup>. is supposed to contain a proof that the Cambridge

text to Hesychius, which is no where to be found, unless it can be identified in some one of the forementioned sources : and as in speaking of this text, he delivers himself in terms, which accurately agree with the text of the Cambridge manuscript<sup>56</sup> : we must from these premises infer, that the text of this manuscript is virtually the same with that which St. Jerome refers to Egypt and ascribes to Hesychius.

### *Of Class II.*

That the Vatican manuscript which forms the exemplar of the Second Class, contains the text which St. Jerome refers to Palestine, and ascribes

MS. was not used by Thomas Heraclensis in forming his collation. It contains a reading, which though found in the Cambridge MS. that critick declares was *not in the copies* of the Greek which he collated. Vid. Ridl. ut supr. pp. 62, 63. Adler. ut supr. p. 132. On the other hand the collation contains readings which are not found in the manuscript, though said by the collatour to exist in the Greek ; these would be indeed of little consequence, if they were not confirmed by the coincidence of the old Italick version. I add an example, from the next chapter of St. Luke, to that which has been last cited. We read Luc. xxi. 11. σημεῖα μεγάλα ἔσται, *Cant. Mosc. Vat.* : signa 'magna erunt,' *Cant. Brix. Vulg.* : but we read "*et hiemes*" *Marg. Philox.* : and "*signa magna erunt et hiemes*" *Verc.* These instances will sufficiently exemplify the assertion made above, that the texts before us cannot be corrupted from the Cambridge MS.

<sup>56</sup> S. Hier. Præf. in iv Evang. Tom. VI. p. i.

to Eusebius, seems to be clearly established by the following circumstances :

1. This manuscript possesses a striking coincidence in its peculiar readings with another manuscript, which is preserved in the Vatican library, where it is marked *Urb. 2*<sup>57</sup>, and which, we are enabled, by the internal evidence of its margin, to refer directly to Palestine, and to identify with the edition of Eusebius. At the end of the Gospels it contains a notice, specifying that it had been transcribed, and collated with antient copies, in Jerusalem, which were deposited in the holy mountain<sup>58</sup>. As the text is thus directly allied to the text of Palestine, it is identified with the edition of Eusebius, in having his Canons prefixed to it, and his sections and references accurately noted in its margin<sup>59</sup>. The affinity of the celebrated Vatican ma-

<sup>57</sup> Birch. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. p. xxix. “*Insignem hunc codicem, [Urbino-Vatic. 2.] quod singularem ipsius cum optimis et probatissimis exemplaribus convenientiam observarem, bis omni diligentia et intentione contuli. Ubi enim a Recepto Evangeliorum textu recedit, plerumque codicibus Vaticano 1209, &c. se adjungit.*

<sup>58</sup> Id. *ibid.* Ad antiquissima exemplaria exaratum esse [Cod. Urb. 2.] testantur subscriptiones ad calcem Evangeliorum. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀνιγράφων, τῶν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει ἀποκειμένων, ἐν σίχοις βυπῶν, κεφαλαίοις TNZ. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον ἐγράφη ἐκ τῶν ἐστυδασμένων, ἐν σίχοις αφξ κεφαλαίοις ΣΑΔ. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνιγράφων ἐν σίχοις βψξ, κεφαλαίοις TMB. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνιγράφων, ἐν σίχοις αῖλ, κεφαλαίοις ΣΑΜ.

<sup>59</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. xxvii. “Codex [Urb. 2.] est octavæ formæ,



manuscript, thus traced through this manuscript to the oldest copies of Jerusalem, furnishes of course a sufficient warrant for our referring its text to the edition of Eusebius, which was published in Palestine.

2. This deduction receives a direct confirmation from the vulgar translations which were current in the same country from an early period. The striking affinity of the Urbino-Vatican manuscript to the three translations extant in the Syriack, is expressly asserted by Prof. Birch; by whom that manuscript was twice carefully collated<sup>60</sup>. That existing between the celebrated Vatican manuscript and the Jerusalem-Syriack is even more striking<sup>61</sup>; and it is observed to extend to the Philoxenian version likewise<sup>62</sup>, and, by the intervention of the Vulgate,

membranaceus, foliorum 325, et Quatuor complectitur Evangelia, quibus præfiguntur Canones Eusebii. Nitide et eleganter exaratus est. Prima cujusque Evangelii pagina, litteræ majores in sectionum initiis, interpungendi signa, ut et τίτλοι Eusebiani in margine Evangeliorum obvi.

<sup>60</sup> Id. ibid. p. xxix. "His adde consonantiam nostri [Cod. Urb. 2.] cum *Versione Syra Philoxenis, Syra Veteri, Hierosolymitana,*" &c.

<sup>61</sup> Adler. ut supr. p. 201. "Generatim igitur ad eandem Codicum Græcorum familiam referenda est [*Vers. Syra Hierosolym.*] cui libros Græcos, quibus in castiganda *Versione Philoxeniana* usus est Thomas, supra vindicavimus. Sed tamen ut exempla Thomæ affinitate proxime accedent ad Cod. Cantab, et ut nostra *Versio cum Vaticano*, omnium forte quos ætas tulit præstantissimo, propinqua sit cognatione conjuncta."

<sup>62</sup> Birch. ut supr. p. xix. "Insignem Codicis nostri [Vat. 1209.] præstantiam, ipsa varietatum collectio huic operi inserta satis superque demonstrabit.—*Mira in lectionibus quoque*

may be ultimately traced to the old Syriack or Peshito<sup>63</sup>. On its affinity to the Philoxenian and Jerusalem versions, I rather insist, as the former is divided into sections<sup>64</sup>, and has the Eusebian canons and sections carefully inserted in some of the oldest copies<sup>65</sup>; and as the latter was apparently made in the fourth century, when the edition of Eusebius was published in Palestine<sup>66</sup>. As it is more than merely probable, that the vulgar translation was formed from the current edition of the

*singularibus convenientia cum—illa antiqua Versione Syra, quas seculo post C. N. sexto, sub auspiciis Philoxenis facta, insequentis seculo, cura et studio Thomæ Heraclensis ad Græcos codices correcta et perfecta fuit.*"

<sup>63</sup> Comp. p. 61. n. <sup>33</sup>. p. 13. n. <sup>23</sup>. p. 21. n. <sup>37</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Adler. ut supr. p. 50. "Idem Thomas Evangelia in capitula vel sectiones distribuit, et pericopas diebus festis recitandas constituit."

<sup>65</sup> Adler. ut supr. p. 52. "Præmittuntur Codici [Mediceo Florent. Vers. Philoxen.] index pericoparum diebus dominicis et festis in cœtu sacro recitandarum, *Epistola Eusebii ad Carpianum, et tabulæ decem Canonum harmonicorum Eusebii et Ammonii*.—*Margini Evangeliorum præter titulos pericoparum dominicalium, minio scriptos, et argumenta capitum vel κεφαλαιων atramento exarata, adscripti quoque sunt minio numeri Ammoniani pericoparum, et sub singulis indicatur tabula ad quam illud capitulum referendum sit.*"

<sup>66</sup> Id. ibid. p. 201. "Sed tamen, cum eandem dialectum reperiemus in Hierosolymitano, qui ex plurimorum, ni fallimur, eruditorum consensu, circa sæculum quartum absolutus fuit, (libris enim Cabbalisticis Baher et Zohar immerito tam remota antiquitas a Judæis tribuitur :) non impedit, quo minus interpretationem nostram eodem circiter tempore, vel saltem intra quartum et sextum sæculum Hierosolymis editam fuisse statuere audeamus."

country; the affinity which the Vatican manuscript possesses to that translation contains a very convincing proof, that it possesses the text of Eusebius and of Palestine<sup>67</sup>.

3. The striking coincidence of the Greek of the Vatican manuscript with the Latin of the Vulgate<sup>68</sup> leads to the establishment of the same conclusion. This version received the corrections of St. Jerome during his abode in Palestine<sup>69</sup>; it is thus only probable that the Greek copies, after which he modelled it, were those, which from being current in Palestine, were used in the monastery, into which he had retired: but these he assures us were of the edition of Eusebius<sup>70</sup>. For this edition he had imbibed an early partiality, through Gregory of Nazianzum, who first put the Scriptures into his hands<sup>71</sup>, who had been educated

<sup>67</sup> It is thus probable that this MS. preserves this text even in a purer state than the Urbino-Vatican MS. The latter having been collated with more copies than one, thus adopted their respective peculiarities: and as the transcriber was evidently not a native of Jerusalem, but an inhabitant of some region situated more westerly, he adhered to the text which prevailed in his native country. We may thus naturally account for the approximation of this MS. to the Byzantine text, where it deviates from the Palestine.

<sup>68</sup> Vid. supr. p. 61. n. <sup>33</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Vid. S. Hier. ad Lucin. Ep. xxviii. Tom. I. pp. 82, 83. Id. adv. Ruffin. Lib. III. cap. vii. Tom. II. p. 257.

<sup>70</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. <sup>37</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> S. Hieron. Scriptt. Eccless. Catal. Tom. I. p. 131. "Gregorius, primum Sasimorum deinde Nazianzenus Episcopus, vir eloquentissimus *præceptor meus, quo Scripturas explanante didici.*"



at Cæsarea in Palestine<sup>72</sup>, with Euzoius, who had been at considerable pains with Acacius, to restore the decayed library of Pamphilus and Eusebius in that city<sup>73</sup>. With this library St. Jerome was certainly acquainted, having found the Gospel of the Hebrews in it, which he afterwards turned into Latin<sup>74</sup>. He has besides avowed his predilection for Eusebius's edition, in revising that part of the Scripture Canon which contains the Old Testament; having expressly followed Origen's revisal of the Septuagint<sup>75</sup>, which, as he informs us, was incor-

<sup>72</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 131. "*Euzoius* apud Thespesium rhetorem, cum Gregorio Nazianzeno episcopo, adolescens Cæsareæ eruditus est: et ejusdem postea urbis episcopus, plurimo labore corruptam bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili in membranis instaurare conatus est," &c.

<sup>73</sup> Id. ad. Marcel. Ep. cxli. Tom. III. p. 398. "Beatus Pamphilus—cum Demetrium Phalareum et Pisistratum in sacræ bibliothecæ studio vellet æquare—Origenis libros impensius persecutus, Cæsariensi Ecclesiæ dedicavit: quam ex parte corruptam, Acacius dehinc et Euzoius, ejusdem Ecclesiæ sacerdotes, in membranis instaurare conati sunt."

<sup>74</sup> Zaccagn. Col. Monum. Vet. Eccl. Præf. p. lxxv. § 54. ed. Rom. 1698. "Etenim magno in pretio semper fuere Cæsariensis Bibliothecæ codices, utpote ab Origine primum, deinde a Pamphilo Martyre, ac demum ab Eusebio Cæsariensi, viris doctissimis congesti fuerant. Sanctum enim *Hieronimum* iisdem codicibus usum fuisse argumento est, quod Nazarenorum Evangelium in Bibliotheca Cæsariensi se reperisse testatur." Conf. S. Hier. Scriptt. Eccl. in Matt. Tom. I. p. 120. Comment. in Matt. Tom. VI. p. 21. b.

<sup>75</sup> S. Hier. Sun. et Fretel. Ep. cxxxv. Tom. III. p. 377.—"Septuaginta interpretum [editio] quæ in ἐξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur,—a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versa est, et Hierosolymæ atque in Orientis ecclesiis decantatur," &c.

porated in the edition published by Eusebius <sup>76</sup>. And he has clearly evinced his acquaintance with the same edition, in revising that part of the Canon which contains the New Testament, by adopting Eusebius's sections in dividing the text of the Vulgate, and prefixing his canons to that version, together with the epistle addressed to Carpius <sup>77</sup>. These considerations, added to the known respect which St. Jerome possessed for Eusebius's critical talents <sup>78</sup>, fully warrant our adding the testimony of the Vulgate to that of the Syriack version ; as proving, that the Vatican manuscript, which harmonizes with those translations, contains the text, which in St. Jerome's age was current in Palestine.

4. We possess in the present instance, not less than the preceding, a collation of texts, expressly made with the edition of Eusebius, about the year 458 <sup>79</sup>, which decisively establishes the same conclusion. Euthalius, who at that period divided the Acts and Catholick Epistles into sections, as Euse-

<sup>76</sup> Id. *ibid.* conf. ut *supr.* p. 72. n. <sup>37</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> Id. *Præf.* in *iv. Evangell.* Tom. VI. p. i. "*Canones quoque, quos Eusebius Cæsariensis Episcopus, Alexandrinum secutus Ammonium, in decem numeros ordinavit, sicut in Græco habentur, expressimus.*" Vid. *supr.* p. 32. n. <sup>56</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> Id. *Apol. adv. Ruffin.* Lib. I. cap. ii. Tom. II. p. 234. *Præf.* in *Jos.* Tom. III. p. 341. *Epist. ad Sun. et Fretel.* Tom. III. p. 377.

<sup>79</sup> Zaccagn. *ubi supr.* p. 402. Floruit enim Euthalius—Anno CCCCLVIII quo Pauli Epistolas versibus distinxit, vixitque ultra annum ccccxc, cum lucubrationes suas Athanasio juniore, Alexandrino Episcopo dicaverit, qui eo anno sacris infulis decoratus fuit."

buis had divided the Gospels<sup>80</sup>, expressly collated his edition with correct copies of Eusebius's edition, preserved in the library of Cæsarea in Palestine<sup>81</sup>. Of the peculiar readings of this edition an accurate list has been published, from a collation of manuscripts preserved in Italy<sup>82</sup>. But so extraordinary is the affinity which they possess to the readings of the Vatican manuscript<sup>83</sup>, that some criticks have not

<sup>80</sup> Euthal. Ed. Actt. Apostt. in Procem. p. 409. ed. Zaccagn. —ἐπαγγ<sup>80</sup> ἐμοί γε τῇ τε τῶν Πράξεων βίβλον ἅμα καὶ Καθολικῶν Ἐπιστολῶν ἀναγνῶναι τε καὶ ἀποσφῶδιαν καὶ πῶς ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, καὶ διελθεῖν τῶν ἐκείνης τὸν νῦν λεπτομερῶς, προσέταξας, ἀδελφεὶ Ἀθανάσιε προσφιλέσσι—

<sup>81</sup> Id. Ed. Catholl. Epistt. p. 513. ed. Zaccagn. Ἀντιελήθη δὲ τῶν Πραξεῶν καὶ Καθολικῶν Ἐπιστολῶν βιβλίον πρὸς τὰ ἀκριβεῖς ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης Ἐυσεβίου τῷ Παμφίλῳ. Id. Subscr. Epistt. Paul. e Cod. Coisl. 202. ἀντιελήθη δὲ ἡ βίβλος πρὸς τὸ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ἀντίγραφον τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῷ ἁγίῳ Παμφίλῳ· χειρὶ γεγραμμένον αὐτῷ.

<sup>82</sup> Zaccagn. ubi supr. pp. 402, 403. n.

<sup>83</sup> This affinity is pointed out by Zaccagni, ubi supr. p. 443. seq. who specifies the concurrence also of the Alexandrine MS. which harmonizes in the Acts and Catholick Epistles with the Vatican MS. Vid. supr. p. 61. n. <sup>33</sup>. Zaccagn. Adm. ad Varr. Lectt. Euthal. p. 441. “Deinde varias Regio-Alexandrini codicis lectiones contulimus cum aliis modo memorati *Alexandrini Codicis* variis lectionibus, quæ in *Anglicanis Bibliis Polyglottis* sacro textui subjiciuntur, et ubi cum *Regio-Alexandrino* in omnibus conveniunt indicavimus,” &c. I shall subjoin a specimen of the coincidence of the text of Euthalius and the Vatican MS. in readings which differ from the Received Text: taken from the two first chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, Acts i. 14. καὶ Μαρία Rec. καὶ Μαριάμ. Euth. Vat. ib. 19. Ἀρελδαμά Rec. Ἀρελδαμάχ. Euth. Vat. Alex. ib. 24. ἀνάδειξον τῶν τῶν δύο ἕνα ὃν ἐξελέξω λαβεῖν. Rec. ἀνάδειξον ὃν ἐξελέξω ἐκ τῶν τῶν δύο ἕνα λαβεῖν. Euth. Vat. Alex. ii. 6. ὅτι ἤκειν Rec. ὅτι ἤκεσεν Euth. Vat.



scrupled to assert, that this manuscript has been interpolated with the peculiar readings of Euthalius's copies.<sup>84</sup> The coincidences existing between them admit of a more simple and certain solution, by considering Eusebius's text, to which they are respectively allied, as the common source of the resemblance. The affinity between Euthalius's readings and the Vatican manuscript consequently forms an additional proof, that the latter contains the text of Eusebius, as it was preserved in Euthalius's age, in the library of Cæsarea in Palestine.

Now as it is wholly inconceivable, that the coincidences observable between those different texts, translations and copies can be the effect of accident, or of intentional alteration: as St. Jerome has ascribed a peculiar text to Palestine, which can be found no where, if it is not identified in the manuscripts and translations of that country: and as the text of the Vatican manuscript, in the opinion of no ordinary judge, is of that kind which renders it par-

ib. 13. χλευάζουσις. *Rec.* διαχλευάζουσις *Euth. Vat. Alex.* ib. 14. Πέτρος. *Rec.* ὁ Πέτρος *Euth. Alex.* ib. 17. ἐνύπνια *Rec.* ἐνυπνίοις *Euth. Vat. Alex.* ib. 22. καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ. *Rec.* καθὼς αὐτοὶ *Euth. Vat. Alex.* ib. 27. ἄδα *Rec.* ἄδην *Euth. Vat.* ib. 38. ἁμαρτιῶν *Rec.* τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν *Euth. Vat. Alex.* ib. 40. προεκάλει λέγων *Rec.* προεκάλει αὐτὲς λέγων *Euth. Vat. Alex.* ib. 43. ἐγένετο. δι' πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος. *Rec.* ἐγένετο ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ. φόβος τε ἦν μέγας ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτὰς. *Euth. Alex.*

<sup>84</sup> Wetsten. Prolegg. in Nov. Test. p. 11. § 3. " Illud etiam observo, verosimile videri Codicis nostri [Alexandr.] scriptorem opera Euthalii usum fuisse—quin et lectiones Euthalii (quales L. A. Zaccagnius edidit) sapissime secutum fuisse." Conf. p. 26. ut supr. p. 61. n. <sup>33</sup>.

ticularly worthy of Eusebius<sup>35</sup>: we may hence certainly conclude that the manuscript, in which all these characteristick marks are combined, contains the text which St. Jerome traces to Palestine, and ascribes to Eusebius.

### *Of Class III.*

That the Moscow and Harleian manuscripts, which form the exemplars of the Third Class, contain the text which St. Jerome attributes to Lucianus, and refers to Constantinople, is sufficiently established by the following considerations.

1. It is no where disputed that those manuscripts contain the text, which uniformly exists in the manuscripts brought from Constantinople. These manuscripts, which far exceed in number those containing the Egyptian and Palestine text, contain the Vulgar Greek, which constitutes the Received Text, and exists in our printed editions. Such however were the characteristick marks of the Byzantine edition in the age of St. Jerome: in that age, *a Lucianus*, (as the copies of the edition revised by that learned person were termed) contained the Greek Vulgate<sup>36</sup> and possessed the text

<sup>35</sup> Vid. Dr. Bentr. Lett. p. 233.

<sup>36</sup> S. Hier. Sun. et Fretel. Ep. cxxxv. Tom. III. p. 377.—  
“breviter illud admoneo, ut sciatis, aliam esse editionem quam Origines et Cæsariensis Eusebius omnesque Græciæ tractatores *κοινὴν* id est *communem* appellant atque *Vulgatam*, et a plerisque

which was current at Constantinople<sup>87</sup>. As the priority of the text of our printed editions to that age is evinced by the coincidence which it possesses with the old Italick version<sup>88</sup>; the circumstance of this text being still the Greek Vulgate, and still found at Constantinople, very decidedly proves, that it is identical with that which St. Jerome ascribes to the same region, and assigns to Lucianus.

2. The text of the manuscripts which contain the Byzantine edition, is observed to differ materially from the oriental versions<sup>89</sup>; which involves an argument, though one it must be confessed, that is merely negative, which corroborates the same conclusion. The whole of the texts in St. Jerome's age were reducible to three<sup>90</sup>. Two of them are referred to Egypt and Palestine, and are easily identified, by their coincidence with the vulgar translations, which still exist in these regions. The third

*nunc Ασκιανός dicitur; aliam Septuaginta interpretum, quæ et in ἐξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur, et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versa est, et Hierosolymæ atque in Orientis ecclesiis decantatur."*

<sup>87</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. <sup>37</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> Vid. supr. p. 70.

<sup>89</sup> Adler. de Verss. Syrr. p. 132. "Itaque inter 180 circiter varietates, 130<sup>ies</sup> fere consentiunt codices B. C. D. L. 1. 33. 69. Urb. 2. Vind. 31. al. et undevigesies solus D. E quo manifeste patet Codices Thomæ [Heraclensis] a recensione Constantinopolitana, quam exhibent plurimi Codices Mosquenses, longissime abesse," &c. Conf. ut supr. p. 55. n. <sup>20</sup>. p. 74. n. <sup>43</sup>. p. 81. n. <sup>60</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. <sup>37</sup>.



is assigned to Constantinople, where no language but Greek was vernacular. Consequently, as this text differs from those versions, and cannot of course be ascribed to Egypt or Palestine; we are left no alternative but to ascribe it to Constantinople, which directly identifies it with the text revised by Lucianus.

3. The striking coincidence observed to exist between the text of the Moscow and Harleian manuscripts, and that of the Brescia manuscript, contains a further proof of the same conclusion. There seems to be no alternative left us, but to conclude, that the latter contains a version, which had been made from the text revised by Lucianus; or that it has been corrected by the Byzantine text, since the time of St. Jerome. The latter is a supposition, however, which must be clearly set out of the case. The orthographical peculiarities of the text of this manuscript prove it at least antecedent to the age of Cassiodorus. It possesses the errors<sup>91</sup> which existed in the copies that preceded his times, and which he undertook to remove from the text of Scripture<sup>92</sup>;

<sup>91</sup> Garbel. *Descrip. Cod. Brix. ap. Blanchin. Prolegg.* p. 6. "Nihil autem frequentius in Codice isto quam litterarum permutatio: O pro V, T pro D, sed præ cæteris B pro V, et vice versa usurpatis. Aliquando etiam V pro Y, et e contra sed parce usurpatum inveni."

<sup>92</sup> Cassiod. *de Inst. Div. Lit.* cap. xv. "Nunc dicimus in quibus litteris sunt librariorum vitia corrigenda.—B. pro V, V pro B, O pro V, N pro M, contra orthographiæ præcepta vitiose positas non relinquant.—Sed in his emendatorum codicum servetur exemplum.—Quod pronomen est, per D litteram non per T scribendum est."

and it differs in its peculiar readings from the Vulgate<sup>93</sup>, which, from the same age, wholly superseded the old Italick translation<sup>94</sup>. The strongest negative argument may be urged, from the circumstance of its thus differing from the Latin translation, that it is totally free from alteration. But as strong a positive argument may be urged, from its coinciding with the Byzantine text, that it is equally free from antecedent correction. If we must admit, that the text of this manuscript has undergone alterations, it must be granted, that it is as much a new translation as the Vulgate; as it differs as much from that translation as the Byzantine text from the Palestine<sup>95</sup>. Nor is it to be disputed that it possesses that literal closeness to the original Greek<sup>96</sup>, which, we are assured, was characteristick of the old Italick translation<sup>97</sup>. This character of literal fidelity seems to place out of dispute the possibility of its having been corrected since the age of the elder Eusebius. In the period intervening between his times and those of St. Jerome, the western world seems not to have possessed a person who was capable of forming such a translation<sup>98</sup>. It is unnecessary to except here those learned persons who have been specified on a former occasion<sup>99</sup>; as they were attached to a

<sup>93</sup> Vid. supr. p. 63. seq.

<sup>94</sup> Vid. supr. p. 16. n. <sup>29</sup>. p. 33. n. <sup>59</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> Conf. supr. pp. 68, 69, 70.

<sup>96</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 63, 64, 65.

<sup>97</sup> Vid. supr. p. 57. n. <sup>22</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> Vid. supr. p. 57. n. <sup>25</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> Vid. supr. p. 54. n. <sup>17</sup>.

different text from that contained in the common edition <sup>100</sup>. If the text <sup>101</sup> of the Brescia manuscript has been altered, it must have been consequently corrected previously to the age of Eusebius <sup>102</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> Vid. supr. p. 54. n. <sup>18</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> This expression must be strictly taken, as applied to the whole body of the text; for the Brescia manuscript has suffered some mutilations. It thus wants Luke xxii. 43, 44. Joh. v. 4. viii. 1—11. vid. Garbel. ap. Blanchin. Prolegg. pp. 19, 22, 23. We must evidently ascribe these corrections to the influence of "the rectified copies" which are mentioned by St. Epiphanius, vid. infr. p. 93. n. <sup>103</sup>. and which prevailed towards the close of the fourth century. But while these *corrections* clearly support the claims of *the text* to an antiquity as remote as this period, they do not affect the arguments by which it may be proved to be more antient; since it evidently required no reference to the Greek to make those omissions, nor more than a knowledge of the fact, that they were made in the rectified copies. And this information might be attained without having ever seen one of those copies, by merely looking into the fathers; vid. Hilar. de Trin. Lib. X. § 41. August. de Adultt. Conjugg. Lib. II. cap. vii. It is, on the contrary, evident, that between the period which is thus ascribed to this MS., and the times of Eusebius, the western world possessed no person who was adequate to make so faithful a translation. Hence the conclusion of Garbelius, who *antedates* THE TEXT of this MS. *at least to the age of St. Jerome*, seems to be undeniable; Discr. Cod. Brix. ubi supr. p. 10. "Exemplar autem hoc nostrum ex anti-graphis illis manasse, quæ non solum Hieronymi tempora, sed Hilarii Pictaviensis præcesserant, cum facies ipsa, tum loci aliquot quos postea excutiemus, manifestissime evincunt." Vid. infr. p. 93. n. <sup>103</sup>. supr. p. 37. n. <sup>65</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> I take no account of some more modern corrections which have been made in the text of this MS. from the Vulgate of St. Jerome, as they are easily distinguished from the original writing, by means of the different liquid in which they are ex-



And as it was manifestly formed by the Byzantine text, it consequently evinces the priority of that text to the Palestine, which was formed by Eusebius. As it thus proves, that, at this early period, this text existed, which prevails at Constantinople ; it clearly identifies it with that which is referred by St. Jerome to the same place and period, and ascribed by him to Lucianus.

4. This deduction is further confirmed by the positive testimony of St. Epiphanius. In reasoning on a particular passage of Scripture, he distinguishes two species of text ; one of which was rectified, and the other left unrectified, by the orthodox : and he represents the copies of the former, as those which omitted the passage in question <sup>103</sup>.

cuted ; the former being written in ink, the latter executed in a silver pigment. Garbel. *ibid.* p. 10. “ Quod vero Codicibus olim accidere solebat, nempe ab imperitis criticis ut perperam corrigerentur, huic quoque nostro in pluribus contigit. Non equidem quod corrector ille, quicumque is demum fuerit, aut adjecerit aliquid, aut immutaverit. Sed abrais, quæ vitiosa censebat, ut recta non semel pervertit, sic mendosa supinus præteriit. *Supersunt enim ubique litterarum vestigia, unde nativam scripturamprehendamus.*”

<sup>103</sup> S. Epiphan. *Ancor.* § xxxi. Tom. II. p. 36. b. Ἄλλα καὶ ἐκλαυσε, κείται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λεκάων Εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν τοῖς ἀδιορθώτοις ἀντιγράφοις, καὶ κέχρηται τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ ὁ ἅγιος Ἐιρηναῖος ἐν τῷ μετὰ αἰρέσεων, πρὸς τὴν δοκῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν πεφηνέναι λέγοντας (ὁρῶντες οὖν δὲ ἀφελόντες τὸ ῥῆδον, φοβηθέντες, καὶ μὴ νοήσαντες αὐτὲ τὸ τέλος, καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον,) “ καὶ γεόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἴδρωσε, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἰδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὡς θρόμβοι αἱματος καὶ ὥσπερ Ἄγγελος ἐπισχύων αὐτόν.” These last words are quoted from Luke xxii. 43, 44. Conf. S. Hilar. de Trinit. Lib. X. § 41. p. 1062. a. Non sane ignorandum a nobis

Of the two species of text which were published at Constantinople, by Lucianus and Eusebius<sup>104</sup>, that revised by the latter certainly retained the passage : for it is expressly referred to in his canons<sup>105</sup>, and is retained in the Vulgate, which was formed after the text of his revisal<sup>106</sup>. The edition of Eusebius consequently differed from the corrected copies of the orthodox, published in the days of St. Jerome and St. Epiphanius. But this passage is wanting in the Alexandrine manuscript, as well as in the Latin translation, which accords with it, and which is preserved in the Brescia manuscript. The text of these manuscripts is thus clearly identified with that which had received the corrections of the orthodox revisers ; and as they possess the Byzantine text, their joint testimony consequently proves

est, et in Græcis et in Latinis codicibus complurimis, vel de adveniente angelo, vel de sudore sanguineo, nil scriptum reperiri.

<sup>104</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. 37. p. 26. n. 44.

<sup>105</sup> It is thus marked in the margin of the Harleian MS. and in that of the Cambridge MS. ΣΙΙΓ; and in the margin of the Verona MS. cclxxxiii X: this being the proper reference to Eusebius's Canon x, which consequently contains No. 283, referring to Luke xxii. 43, 44.

<sup>106</sup> It is consequently marked in the margin of the manuscript and printed copies of the Vulgate, 283 X: and set against the following words: " Apparuit autem illi Angelus de cælo, confortians eum. Et factus in agonia prolixius orabat. Et factus est sudor ejus sicut guttæ sanguinis decurrentis in terram." These words are also found in the Verceli and Verona MSS., which contain the old Italick version: both, however, read "sudor illius quasi guttæ;" the former also reads "decurrentis super terram," while the latter reads "*decurrentes in terra.*"

the antiquity of that text to be as remote as the times of St. Epiphanius <sup>107</sup>; and of consequence evinces its identity with that text, which St. Jerome, who lived in the same age, assigns to Constantinople, and ascribes to Lucianus.

Now, as the text preserved in the Harleian and Moscow manuscripts is that which exists in the manuscripts, which are brought from Constantinople; as it differs from the text of the Oriental translations, and therefore cannot be assigned to Egypt or Palestine; as it harmonizes with the text of the Latin translation preserved in the Brescia MS., which preceded the times of Cassiodorus and Jerome; and as it corresponds with the state of the Byzantine text, as described in the writings of St. Epiphanius; we may from these premises summarily conclude, that it is identical with the text which St. Jerome attributes to Lucianus, and assigns to Constantinople.

If the proofs which have been thus adduced at length are not deemed adequate to evince the iden-

<sup>107</sup> It is necessary to explain here, that St. Epiphanius was the acquaintance of St. Jerome, and bishop of a see under the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. As he lived when St. Jerome's three classes of text existed, and speaks in general terms of one, he must be supposed to mean that which prevailed in the region where he lived. He has, however, placed this matter beyond mere conjecture, in referring to Joh. i. 28. Hær. LI. p. 435. a. He quotes *ἐν βεδαβαραῖς* as the reading of his own copy; *ἐν βεδαρίαις*, as the reading of "other copies." The former is found in the *Byzantine* text; the latter in the *Palestine*; the former consequently contained the text of St. Epiphanius.



tity of the different classes of text which are still preserved in the Cambridge, Vatican, and Moscow manuscripts, with those which formerly existed in the editions of Egypt, Palestine, and Constantino-  
ple ; it is difficult even to conceive what mode of proof will be deemed adequate to that purpose. In every instance where that coincidence, which is alone calculated to prove such an identity, could be expected, it has been sought, and found to exist. It has been traced in the manuscripts and vulgar translations prevalent in those countries ; and in the collations of texts and occasional versions which were made from those manuscripts and translations. And as this mode of proof is most full ; so it appears to be most satisfactory. That the different texts of St. Jerome's age, and of the present times, should amount exactly to three, must surely convey no slight presumption in favour of their identity. But when, through the medium of the old Italick version, (which corresponded with some of the copies of the former period, and which corresponds with those of the present,) those extremes, however remote, are directly connected ; the mode of proof which evinces the identity of the text which existed at both periods, must be allowed to carry the force of demonstration.

Independently even of the laboured proof by which I have endeavoured to establish this conclusion, nothing appears to be more probable, than that we should possess copies of the different texts, which existed in the age of St. Jerome. The manner in which all manuscripts, that have de-

scended to us, have been preserved, would of itself render this point more than probable. It is however a matter, not merely of probability, but of fact, that at least one copy and one version has been preserved for that period; for, the Vulgate and Alexandrine manuscript are both assigned to the era of Jerome<sup>108</sup>. Even the latest of those manuscripts which contain the exemplars of our different classes of text is not ascribed to a period less remote than the eighth century; for this is the date assigned to the Moscow manuscript, which contains the Byzantine text<sup>109</sup>; the Vatican manuscript, which contains the Palestine text, lays claim to much greater antiquity. As those manuscripts have thus certainly existed for *ten* centuries, it is not to be disputed, that those from which they were copied might have existed for the remaining *four*, which intervene to the times of St. Jerome. And if this reasoning evince the permanence of the Byzantine text, it must, by parity of reasoning, evince that of the Palestine and the Egyptian.

When we weigh this probability against the only possibility which the question appears to admit, the result must clearly evince the exclusive stability of the grounds on which we have proceeded, in arriving at the present conclusion. If it is denied that those three texts have descended to us, from the

<sup>108</sup> Woid. Prolegg. in Cod. Alex. p. xvii. § 56. "Scriptus est itaque Codex Alexandrinus antequam vir doctus teste Euthalio, anno 396, in sectiones Epistolas diviserat." Conf. supr. p. 70. n. 35.

<sup>109</sup> Vid. supr. p. 62. n. 34.

times of St. Jerome ; it must be granted that one or more of them has been formed since the age of that father. But taking up the question, as reduced to this alternative, can there be a shadow of doubt, that the latter is a supposition, not merely less probable in itself, but involved in difficulties which are wholly inexplicable ? For what supposition can be more irreconcilable to probability, than that which implies, that the Latin translation, after having undergone such a change, should ultimately acquire the characteristick peculiarities of the different versions which existed in the age of St. Jerome ? I will not insist at present on this circumstance, that some of those characteristick marks consist in a resemblance to the oriental versions <sup>110</sup> ; which implies, that those who created it in the Greek possessed an acquaintance with the eastern languages, which certainly was not possessed by the most learned of the christian fathers. But the bare fact, that one of those versions which is contained in the Brescia manuscript agrees both with the Greek and Latin copies of St. Jerome's age <sup>111</sup>, in omitting at least two remarkable passages, which are nevertheless still found in the Greek and Latin Vulgate <sup>112</sup> which have generally, if not exclusively, prevailed from *that time to the present day* <sup>113</sup>, seems to place beyond all reasonable doubt, that this version claims an alliance to the text of the former period, in-

<sup>110</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 74, 81.

<sup>111</sup> Vid. supr. p. 37. n. <sup>65</sup>. p. 93. n. <sup>103</sup>. Conf. p. 92. n. <sup>101</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> Vid. supr. p. 94. n. <sup>16</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> Vid. supr. p. 32. n. <sup>57</sup>. Conf. Simon. Nouv. Obs. sur le Texte et les Vers. p. 145.



stead of the latter. Nor is it to be disputed that we still retain two of the texts which in St. Jerome's age existed in the Greek Septuagint; however it may be denied that we possess those, which at the same period existed in the Greek Testament. For the Vatican manuscript possesses the text which Eusebius published from Origen; as unquestionably appears from its coincidence with the remains of the Hexapla<sup>114</sup>, and the Vulgate of Jerome<sup>115</sup>. And the Alexandrine manuscript, as possessing a different version, must preserve the revisal of Hesychius or Lucianus; most probably that of the former, as it was originally brought from Alexandria<sup>116</sup>. From this matter of fact, we may surely conclude, that, as the copies of the New Testament were infinitely more numerous than those of the Old, the three classes of text which are preserved in the former are not less antient than those which are preserved in the latter: and consequently must be referred to the age of St. Jerome.

In the course of the above reasoning I have considered St. Jerome's testimony, on the existence of three classes of text<sup>117</sup>, as extending to the New Testament, though it is strictly applicable to the Septuagint. Whether his declaration may be taken in this latitude, or not, is of little importance to the foregoing conclusions; as all that I have endeavoured to prove has been established, independent of

<sup>114</sup> Vid. Blanchin. Evang. Quadr. P. I. f. cdxci. cdxcvii.

<sup>115</sup> Id. ibid. f. cdxci.

<sup>116</sup> Negot. of Sir T. Roe. f. 414. 460. 618. Conf. supr. p. 72. n. 37.

<sup>117</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. 37.

his testimony. The reader will easily perceive, that the existence of three classes of text in St. Jerome's age has been proved from the coincidence of the Greek with the Latin translations which existed in the age of that father <sup>118</sup>; and the identity of those classes with the three editions which I conceive to be his, has been proved from the affinity which they possess to the oriental translations <sup>119</sup>. But even independent of this circumstance, a sufficient warrant may be found, in his own authority, for taking his testimony, in the more enlarged sense, and applying it to the Old and New Testament. It was obviously not his intention to limit his declaration to the latter; that he speaks only of it is manifestly to be imputed to his having been exclusively engaged on the subject of the Septuagint. Of consequence, when he speaks of the New Testament, he explicitly admits that it was revised by Hesychius and Lucianus <sup>120</sup>. That it had been revised by Eusebius is not to be denied <sup>121</sup>; and St. Jerome has professed himself acquainted with his edition <sup>122</sup>. While this learned father has likewise made a similar declaration, with respect to the editions of Hesy-

<sup>118</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 70, 71.

<sup>119</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 74. 81.

<sup>120</sup> S. Hier. Præf. in iv Evangg. p. i. "Prætermitto eos codices quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio: quibus utique nec in toto Veteri Instrumento emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse, cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt."

<sup>121</sup> Vid. supr. p. 26. n. 44. p. 34. n. 60.

<sup>122</sup> Vid. supr. p. 85. n. 77.

chius and Lucianus ; he clearly intimates that they were in use in his days ; and expressly declares, that they had their respective admirers <sup>123</sup>. Now, it is obvious, that the same causes which recommended *any part* of these different editions in any particular church, must have tended to recommend *the remainder*. St. Jerome has, however, informed us, respecting the Septuagint, that the different editions of it, as revised by Hesychius, Lucianus, and Eusebius, prevailed not merely in particular churches, but in different regions <sup>124</sup> ; we must of course form a similar conclusion respecting the New Testament, which had equally undergone their revisal. As the whole bible was received in all churches, and different countries adopted different editions ; nothing can be more improbable, than that their copies of it could have been composed of a mixed text ; or that the region which adopted one part of the Canon from Hesychius, would take another from Lucianus. We are indeed informed by St. Jerome, that the pertinacity with which the different churches adhered to the ancient and received text, was almost invincible <sup>125</sup> ; and in his Preface to the Latin Vul-

<sup>123</sup> Vid. supr. p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. 37.

<sup>125</sup> Such is the constant complaint of St. Jerome in his Prefaces ; vid. Præf. in Pentateuch. Tom. III. p. 341. Præf. in Jos. Ib. p. 341. Præf. in Paralipomm. Ib. p. 343. Præf. in Esdr. Ib. p. 344, &c. Hence St. Jerome delivers the following injunction to his friends ; Ibid. p. 344. “ Accedunt ad hoc invidiorum studia ; qui omne, quod scribimus, *reprehendendum* putant ; et interdum, contra se conscientia repugnante, *publice lacerant*, quod occulte legunt.—Itaque obsecro vos Domnion et



gate, he has declared, that the effects of this laudable prejudice against innovation were really experienced, with respect to the editions of Hesychius and Lucianus : though the copies edited by these learned persons had every thing to contend with, from the rivalry of later editions, which had been published by Eusebius, Athanasius, and other orthodox revisers. This declaration of St. Jerome, and the reflexion which he deemed necessary to cast on the editions of Hesychius and Lucianus<sup>126</sup>, contain a sufficient proof, that the copies of those editions were generally prevalent in his age. In fact, a minute examination of the text of the Vulgate, which he published, enables us to determine, that, in forming that translation, he made use of versions formed from the editions of Lucianus and Hesychius. The proof of this last point I shall hereafter give in detail, as it contains the strongest confirmation of the main conclusion, which it is my object to establish, that *the three classes of text*, which exist in the present age, *existed in the age of St. Jerome*. The bare prevalence of those editions till the latter period, involves a proof, that they could have only *obtained in Egypt, in Palestine, and Constantinople* ; since, solely and respectively, over those regions extended the influence of Hesychius, Eusebius, and Lucianus<sup>127</sup>.

Rogatiane carissimi, ut privata lectione contenti, libros non efferatis in publicum; nec fastidiosis cibos ingeratis:—Si qui autem fratrum sunt, quibus nostra non displicent, his tribuatis exemplar,” &c. vid. infr. p. 119. n. <sup>18</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> Vid. supr. p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. <sup>37</sup>.

I shall now beg leave to assume, as proved, that the three classes of text which exists in the Cambridge, Vatican, and Moscow manuscripts, are identical with the three editions of Hesychius, Eusebius, and Lucianus, which existed in the age of St. Jerome. Other diversities are indeed apparent in the Greek manuscripts, but they do not seem to be sufficiently important or marked, to form the grounds of a separate classification. A peculiar order of manuscripts is thus observed to exist, which differ very materially from the preceding, as they agree with each other in possessing many interpolations from the writings of later commentatours<sup>128</sup>. But as they are consequently of partial authority, and are evidently formed on the basis of the Byzantine text, they may be directly referred to the third class, and ranked under the edition revised by Lucianus.

The same observation may be likewise extended to several manuscripts of a different character: some of which are observed to partake of the peculiarities of a different class from that to which they principally conform. We thus frequently discover the influence of the Palestine text upon the Byzantine; which, doubtless, is to be attributed to the publication of Eusebius's edition, at Byzantium, under the auspices of the first Christian Emperour. It is certain, that the orthodox, little satisfied with this edition, republished a revival<sup>129</sup>, on the death of Eusebius and Constantine. In this manner St. Athana-

<sup>128</sup> Such are the Moscow MSS. denoted by M. Matthæi and M. Griesbach, Mt. a, d, e, g, 10, 11, &c.

<sup>129</sup> Vid. supr. p. 93. n. <sup>103</sup>.

sus and St. Basil retouched some copies, of which, by an extraordinary chance, we seem to possess specimens in the celebrated Alexandrine and Vatican manuscripts<sup>130</sup>. But these copies rather contained *revisals* of the edition which preceded their times, than constituted new *editions* of the text of Scripture. If published by their respective authours, they appear not to have passed into general use. The text of St. Basil never received the royal authority, and was therefore probably dispersed among a limited number of readers, and confined to a particular region. The revisal of St. Athanasius received that sanction, having been expressly prepared at the command of the Emperour Constans; but its authority expired with the influence of its authour, on the death of that prince, and his brother, the younger Constantine. The revisals of both these learned persons may be therefore directly referred to the editions of Palestine and Constantino-ple, out of which they arose, and into which they subsequently merged: and as they are contained in the Vatican and Alexandrine manuscripts, which are respectively allied to those texts, we may consider them as little more than a repetition of the different editions which had been previously published by Eusebius and Lucianus.

The whole of the Greek manuscripts may be consequently reduced to three classes, which are iden-

<sup>130</sup> In the course of the following investigation, these MSS. will be particularly described: and the probabilities of their alliance to the corrected text of St. Athanasius and St. Basil, will be examined.



tical with the editions of Egypt, Palestine, and Constantinople, as revised by Hesychius, Eusebius, and Lucianus. And the adequacy of this distribution may be established, with little comparative difficulty. As modern criticks, after a careful analysis, are enabled to reduce all manuscripts to three classes; and distribute the Cambridge, Vatican, and Moscow manuscripts in separate classes: hence, as these manuscripts are likewise the exemplars of the different texts in the present scheme of classification, this scheme must necessarily embrace every variety, and mark every characteristick distinction which modern diligence has discovered in the manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

Hence also it becomes possible to reduce every manuscript to its proper class in the new scheme, on knowing the class in which it was placed in the old mode of classification. As the Western, Alexandrine, and Byzantine texts in the former method, respectively coincide with the Egyptian, Palestine, and Byzantine text in the latter; we have only to substitute the term Egyptian for Western, and Palestine for Alexandrine, in order to ascertain the particular text of any manuscript which is to be referred to a peculiar class or edition. The artifice of this substitution admits of this simple solution; the Egyptian text was imported by Eusebius, of Verceli, into the West<sup>131</sup>, and the Palestine text, republished by Euthalius at Alexandria<sup>132</sup>, the Byzan-

<sup>131</sup> Vid. supr. p. 59. n. <sup>28</sup>. conf. p. 54. n. <sup>17</sup>. p. 58. n. <sup>25</sup>.

<sup>132</sup> Vid. supr. p. 86. nn. <sup>80</sup> et <sup>81</sup>.

tine text having retained the place in which it was originally published by Lucianus. In a word, a manuscript which harmonizes with the Codex Cantabrigiensis must be referred to the first class, and will contain the text of Egypt. One which harmonizes with the Vatican manuscript must be referred to the second class, and will contain the text of Palestine. And one which harmonizes with the Moscow manuscript must be referred to the third class, and will contain the text of Constantinople<sup>133</sup>.

It must be now evident almost at a glance, that the present scheme corresponds with the different methods of those who have undertaken the classification of the Greek manuscripts, and that it derives no inconsiderable support from their respective systems.

In the first place it accords with the plan of Dr. Bentley, whose object was to confront the oldest copies of the Latin Vulgate, and of the original Greek<sup>134</sup>, in order to determine the state of the text in the age of St. Jerome. And, conformably to his plan, it ranks the Vulgate and Vatican manuscript

<sup>133</sup> To the first class we may consequently refer the Cambridge, Clermont, St. Germain, Augéan, et Bœrnerian MSS. which are critically denoted by the letters, D, D, E, F, G. To the Second Class, we may refer the Vatican, Alexandrine, (in the Acts and Epistles), Ephrem, and Stephens's eighth MS. which are denoted by the letters B, A, C, L. And to the Fourth Class, we may refer the Alexandrine (in the Gospels), the Harleian and Moscow MSS. which are denoted by the letters A, G; Mt. V, H, B.

<sup>134</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 3. n. 3.

in the same class ; which constituted the basis of Dr. Bentley's projected edition. But it proceeds on a more comprehensive view of the subject, and confronts two other classes of the original Greek with correspondent classes of the Latin translation. And thus it leads not only to a more adequate method of classification, but to the discovery of a more ancient text; by means of the priority of the old Italick version to the new or Vulgate of Jerome.

It in the next place falls in with the respective schemes of M. Griesbach and M. Matthæi, and derives support from their different systems. It adopts the three classes of the former, with a slight variation merely in the name of the classes ; deviating from that learned critick's scheme in this respect, on very sufficient authority<sup>135</sup>. And in ascertaining the genuine text, it attaches the same authority to the old Italick translation, which the same learned person has ascribed to that version<sup>136</sup>. It agrees with the scheme of the latter critick, in giving the preference to the Greek Vulgate or Byzantine text over the Palestine and the Egyptian<sup>137</sup>: but it sup-

<sup>135</sup> Vid. supr. p. 105.

<sup>136</sup> M. Griesbach, speaking of the aids which were used by the first editours of the Greek Testament, in compiling their edition, thus observes, Prolegg. Sect. ii. § i. p. viii. "*Latina certe usi sunt translatione fateor; sed partim innumeris gravissimisque mendis corrupta, partim Recentiore tantum illa Vulgata, non vero longe præstantiore Antehieronymiana, quæ Itala vulgo dicitur.*"

<sup>137</sup> M. Matthæi, who frequently asserts the extraordinary coincidence which existed between his MSS. gives the following comparative estimate of the merit of his principal manu-



ports the authority of this text on firmer grounds than the concurrence of the Greek manuscripts. Hence, while it differs from the scheme of M. Matthæi, in building on the old Italick version; it differs from that of M. Griesbach, in distinguishing the copies of this translation, which are free from the influence of the Vulgate, from those which have been corrected since the times of St. Eusebius, of Verceli, of St. Jerome, and Cassiodorus<sup>138</sup>. And it affords a more satisfactory mode of disposing of the multitude of various readings, than that suggested by the latter, who refers them to the intentional or accidental corruptions of transcribers; or that of the former, who ascribes them to the correction of the original Greek by the Latin translation<sup>139</sup>: as it traces them to the influence of the text which was published by Eusebius, at the command of Constantine.

As a system, therefore, that which I venture to propose, may rest its pretensions to a preference over other methods, on the concessions of those who have suggested different modes of classification.

scripts, H, V, and those denoted by the letters A, D, E, G, D. Nov. Test. Tom. IX. p. 254. “ Hic Codex [H,] scriptus est litteris quadratis, *estque eorum omnium qui adhuc in Europa innotuerunt et velustissimus et præstantissimus*. Insanus quidem fuerit, qui cum hoc aut Cod. V, comparare, aut *æquiparare voluerit Codd. Alexandr. Clar. Germ. Bærn. Cant.* qui sine ullo dubio pessime ex scholiis et Versione Latina Vulgata interpolati sunt. *Per totum hunc Codicem vix quinque errores offendi, quos etiam suis locis sedulo notavi. Hunc et Codicem V in primis secutus sum.*”

<sup>138</sup> Vid. supr. p. 59. sqq. Conf. p. 90. sqq.

<sup>139</sup> Vid. supr. n. <sup>137</sup>.

Independent of its internal consistency, and the historical grounds on which it is exclusively built, its comprehensiveness may, I hope, entitle it to a precedence: as it embraces the different systems to which it is opposed, and reconciles their respective inconsistencies.

### SECTION III.

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HAVING distributed the Greek manuscripts into three Classes, the next object of inquiry is, to ascertain the particular class, in favour of which, the clearest and most conclusive evidence can be adduced, that it preserves the genuine text of Scripture. The main difficulty in such an undertaking, is, I believe, overcome, in referring these texts to the different regions in which they were edited. As we acknowledge no authority, but the testimony and tradition of the Church, in determining the authenticity and purity of the Scripture Canon<sup>1</sup>; that text must be entitled to the preference, which has been preserved in a region, where the tradition has continued unbroken, since the times of the evangelical writers. It is this circumstance which adds so much weight to the testimony of the Latin Church, as it preserved its faith unimpaired<sup>2</sup>, during the pe-

<sup>1</sup> XXXIX ART. § vi. "In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never *any doubt in the Church.*" Ib. Art. xx. "Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and keeper of Holy Writ," &c.

<sup>2</sup> Theod. Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. vi. p. 200. l. 15. Ἄυτη γὰρ μόνη [ἡ ἀνατολή] τῆς Ἀρμενικῆς ἐνιπέπληστο λώβης. ἡ γὰρ ἐσπέρα τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἐλευθέρα διέμεινε. Κωνσταντῖνος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν Κωνσταντίνου παίδων πρεσβύτατος, καὶ Κώστας ὁ νεώτατος, τὴν πατρῶαν πίσιν ἀκήρατον, διτήρησαν· καὶ αὖ πάλιν Ὁυαλεντινιανὸς, ὁ τῆς ἐσπέρας βασιλεὺς ἀκραιφνῇ διφύλαξε τὴν εὐσίβειαν.



riod of forty years, when the Greek Church resigned itself to the errors of Arius<sup>3</sup>. In addition to the joint testimony of those Churches, various direct and collateral lights arise on this subject, to determine our choice in the different classes, among which we are to make our election. From possessing a knowledge of the different persons by whom these texts were revised, we derive considerable support in choosing a particular class, or in selecting a peculiar reading. A comparative view of the classes of the Greek, or even of the Latin translation, regarded either relatively or apart, will frequently enable us to determine, by the principles of just criticism, the genuine Scripture text from the corrupted.

On the most casual application of these principles to the different classes of text, they directly mark out the Byzantine edition, as that which is entitled to a preference over the Egyptian and Palestine. In the region occupied by that text, the apostolical writings were deposited; and they were here combined in a code, by the immediate successors of the apostles. Here St. Paul, and his companion St. Luke, published the principal part of the Canon. From hence the great apostle addressed his Epistle to the Church at Rome<sup>4</sup>; and hither he directed his Epistles to the Churches of Corinth, Galatia, Ephe-

<sup>3</sup> Vid. supr. p. 29. n. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Origen. Præf. in Epist. ad Rom. Tom. IV. p. 459. ed. Bened.—“ Etiam illud haud absurde admonebimus, quod videtur hanc *Epistolam de Corintho scribere*, et aliis quidem pluribus indiciis, evidentius tamen ex eo quod dicit: ‘Commendo autem vobis Phœben sororem nostram *ministram Ecclesiæ, quæ est Cenchris.*’ Cenchris enim dicitur *locus Corintho vicinus imo portus ipsius Corinthi,*” &c.

sus, Philippi, Colosse, and Thessalonica<sup>5</sup>; which were situated in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Hither St. John returned from banishment: here he remained until the times of Trajan<sup>6</sup>, exercising the functions of an Ordinary<sup>7</sup>; and here, having completed the sacred Canon, by composing his Gospel and Apocalypse, he collected the writings of the other Evangelists, which he combined in a code, and sanctioned with the apostolical authority<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> This is evident from the superscriptions of the Epistles. Vid. infr. p. 115. n. <sup>14</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. xxiii. p. 112. l. 10. "Ἐπὶ τέτοις κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔτι τῷ βίῳ, περιλειπόμενος, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἡγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Αποστόλος ὁμῶ καὶ Ἐυαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης, τὰς αὐτῷ διέπειν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς, κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανῷ τελευτῇ, ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς. ὅτι δὲ εἰς τέτοις ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιῆν, ἀπὸ δύο πισώσασθαι τὸν λόγον μαρτύρων. πιστὸν δ' ἂν εἶεν ἔτοι—Ἐιρηναῖος καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Αλεξανδρεὺς. ὧν ὁ μὲν πρότερος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς Αἰρέσεις ὠδέπως γράφει κατὰ λέξιν, "Καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰωάννῃ τῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότις, παραδεδωκέναι τὸν Ἰωάννην, παρήμεναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραιανῆ χρόνων." Conf. S. Iræn. adv. Hær. Lib. II. cap. xxii. p. 148. ed. Bened.

<sup>7</sup> Clem. Alexandr. quism. div. salv. poss. p. 112. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῷ τυράννῳ [Δομετιανῷ] τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμος τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν [ὁ Ἰωάννης] εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἰθιῶν, ὅπως μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπως δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπως δὲ κλήρω ἑναγέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Πνεύματος σημαιομένων. Conf. Euseb. ub. supr. p. 112. l. 1—8.

<sup>8</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. xxiv. p. 116. l. 35. Ἰωάννην φασὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀγράφῳ κεχηρημένοι κηρύγματι, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν τοιαῦται χάριν αἰτίας. τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἤδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν διαδεδομένων, ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν φασὶν, ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα. μόνον δὲ ἄρα

And here every facility was afforded Linus, the first Bishop of Rome, and Timothy, the first Bishop of Ephesus<sup>9</sup>, from their connexion with St. Paul<sup>10</sup>, St. Luke, and St. John<sup>10</sup>, to form perfect copies of the New Testament Canon, which had been partly collected by the last surviving apostle.

The peculiar text which exists in this region, is not merely supported by the consideration of the place in which it is found : it is also supported by the concurring testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches. It is that text which we adopted immediately from the Greeks, on forming our printed editions and vernacular versions. And it is that which is exclusively used by the only learned branch of the Greek Church, which now exists ; and which is established in Russia. It is also the text which is supported by the concurring testimony of the old

λείπεσθαι τῇ γραφῇ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ κατ' ἀρχὴν τῆς κηρύγματος ὑπὸ τῆς Χρῆστῆς πεπραγμένων διήγησιν. καὶ ἀληθὴς γε ὁ λόγος.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ib. cap. iv. p. 91. l. 15. Τιμόθεός γε μὲν τῆς ἐν Εφέσῳ παροικίας ἰσορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι.— Λῖγος δὲ ὃ μένεται [ὁ Παῦλος] συνόντος ἐπὶ Ρώμης αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολὴν, πρῶτος μετὰ Πέτρον τῆς Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἤδη πρότερον κληρωθεὶς δεδλωται. Vid. infr. p. 115. n. <sup>14</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11. iv. 11, 12. 21. The facts alluded to in this passage are illustrated by the Evangelist St. Luke, in Acts xiii. 14, 50. xiv. 1, 2. xix. 22. On this subject we may particularly note the command given to Timothy on the subject of the Scriptures, 2 Tim. iii. 14, 15, 16. iv. 9. 13. It was given by the Apostle shortly before his death, and with a perfect foresight of his approaching dissolution, 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7, 8. Act. xxv. 25. 38.



Italick version, contained in the Brescia manuscript<sup>11</sup>; which is obviously free from the innovations of St. Eusebius of Verceli, of St. Jerome, and Cassiodorus<sup>12</sup>. Consequently, it is the only text of the three editions which challenges the general testimony of the Eastern Church, and the unadulterated testimony of the Western, in favour of its integrity.

The particular manner in which the Western Church delivers its testimony, in confirmation of that of the Greek Church, seems almost decisive in evincing the permanence and purity of the text of Byzantium. The Brescia manuscript, which contains this testimony, possesses a text, which, as composed of the old Italick version, must be antedated to the year 393, when the new version was made by St. Jerome<sup>13</sup>. It thus constitutes a standing proof, that the Byzantine text, with which it agrees, has preserved its integrity for upwards of 1400 years; during which period it was exposed to the greatest hazard of being corrupted. This proof, it may be presumed, affords no trifling earnest, that it has not been corrupted during the comparatively inconsiderable period of two hundred and ninety years, which intervene between this time and the publication of the inspired writings. For while 290 years bear no proportion to 1400, the chances of such a corruption must diminish in proportion as we ascend to the time of the apostles. The first

<sup>11</sup> Vid. supr. p. 62. sqq.

<sup>12</sup> Vid. supr. p. 90. sqq.

<sup>13</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 70, 71.

copyists must necessarily have observed a degree of carefulness in making their transcripts proportionable to their reverence for the originals, which they took as their models: from the autographs of the apostles, or their immediate transcripts, there could be no inducement to depart, even in a letter. It is, however, not merely probable, that the originals were preserved for this inconsiderable period; but that they were preserved with a degree of religious veneration<sup>14</sup>. And if they were preserved in any

<sup>14</sup> Tertul. Præscr. adv. Hær. cap. xxxvi. p. 211. "Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre *Ecclesias Apostolicas*, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præidentur; *apud quas ipsæ authenticæ litteræ eorum recitantur*, sonantes vocem, et repræsentantes faciem unius cujusque. Proxime est tibi Achaia, *habes Corinthum*. Si non longe es a Macedonia, *habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses*. Si potes in Asiam tendere *habes Ephesum*; si autem Italiæ adjaces, *habes Romam*, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est. Statu fœlix Ecclesia! cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt; *ubi Petrus* passioni Dominicæ adæquatur; *ubi Paulus*, Joannis exitu, coronatur; *ubi Apostolus Joannes*, posteaquam, in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, *in insulam relegatur*! Videamus quid dixerit, quid docuerit, quid cum Africanis Ecclesiis confesserarit." The best commentary on the phrase, "authenticæ litteræ," used by this antient father, of whom St. Jerome speaks, Cat. Scrip. Eccless. v. Luc. as being "near the Apostles' times," is contained in the following declarations of *his disciple* St. Cyprian, who lived in the next succession after the Apostles; S. Cypr. Presbb. et Diacc. Rom. Epist. ix. p. 19. ed Oxon. "Legi etiam *Litteras* in quibus nec qui scripserint, nec ad quos scriptum est significanter expressum est. Et quoniam me in *iisdem* literis, et scriptura et sensus et chartæ ipsæ quoque moverunt, ne quid ex vero vel subtractum sit vel immutatum;

place, it must have been in the region contiguous to Constantinople, where they were originally de-

*eandem ad vos epistolam authenticam remisi, ut recognoscatis an ipsa sit quam Clementio hypodiacono perferendam dedistis: perquam etenim grave est, si epistolæ clericæ veritas mendacio aliquo et fraude corrupta est. Hoc igitur ut scire possimus, et scriptura et subscriptio an vestra sit recognoscite; et nobis quid sit in verò rescribite.”* Id. Presbb. et Diacc. Ep. xxxii. p. 65.

“Quales literas ad Clerum Romæ agentem fecerim, quidque illi mihi rescripserint, quid etiam Moyes et Maximus Presbyteri—æque ad literas meas rescripserint, ut scire possetis *exempla* vobis legenda transmissi. Vos curate quantum potestis pro diligentia vestra, ut *scripta* nostra, et illorum *rescripta* fratribus nostris innotescant. Sed et si qui de peregrinis Episcopi Collegæ mei, vel Presbyteri, vel Diacones præsentés fuerint vel supervenerint, hæc omnia de vobis audiant; et si *exempla epistolarum* transcribere et ad suos perferre voluerint, facultatem transcriptionis accipiant. Quamvis et Saturo lectori, fratri nostro mandaverim, ut singulis desiderantibus describendi faciat potestatem, ut in Ecclesiarum statu quoquo modo interim componendo servetur ab omnibus una et fida consensio.”

With a view to explain the terms *authenticæ litteræ*; and *exempla epistolarum*, as used in *St. Cyprian's* tige, I have transcribed these long passages: not so much in reply to the objections of Mr. Porson's Letter to Adn. Travis, p. 276; as to illustrate the extraordinary care which was taken by the primitive Christians to disperse and authenticate all documents which related to their Ecclesiastical Polity. If the early Church was thus careful in verifying and publishing the *commonest* documents; with what care must she have proceeded when employed in transcribing and dispersing the sacred Scriptures! Both the above-cited Epistles of St. Cyprian are upon the same subject; and were occasioned by a communication from the Church of Rome, relative to the martyrdom of Fabianus, their Bishop, who perished in the Decian Persecution; Conf. S. Cypr. Ep. ub. supr. Pears. Annal. Cypriann. § viii. p. 20. The informality, of which St. Cyprian complains, in the Roman Clergy,



posited. To this region, of course, we must naturally look for the genuine text of Scripture.

It is indeed true, that those Churches, which were the witnesses and keepers of Holy Writ, vary in their testimony; and that the Greek original, as well as the Latin translation, have undergone some alteration: as appears from the classes into which they are respectively divided. But, as they do not vary from each other in above one essential point, but generally conspire in their testimony, the translation following the varieties of the original; as we can also follow up these varieties to their source, and can trace them to the alterations made by Hesy-chius and Eusebius in the Greek, and to the correspondent corrections made by St. Eusebius and St. Jerome in the Latin: the fidelity of the witnesses still remains unimpaired, and the unadulterated testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches still lies on the side of the text of Lucianus.

These deductions will receive additional confirmation, and every objection to which they are exposed will be easily solved, by investigating apart the respective testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches. In the course of this investigation, it shall be my object to meet those objections which may be urged against the Byzantine text from the character of Eusebius and Jerome, who have avowed a predilection for the Palestine.

was occasioned by the disturbed state of the Church at that period.

I. The first argument which may be advanced in favour of the uncorrupted testimony of the *Eastern Church*, is deducible from the extraordinary coincidence observed to exist between the manuscripts of the Byzantine edition. Though the copies of this edition, which constitutes the Greek Vulgate of the present age, and which seemingly constituted that of the age of St. Jérôme, are considerably more numerous than those of the other editions<sup>15</sup>, they possess the most extraordinary conformity, in their peculiar readings<sup>16</sup>. Had they existed in a state of progressive deterioration, it is obvious, that at the end of seventeen centuries, they must have presented a very different appearance. The extraordinary uniformity which pervades the copies of this edition, involves much more than a presumptive proof, that they have retained their fidelity to the common source, from which they have unquestionably descended.

But that this source must be remote, is a fact, which is equally deducible from the consideration of the number of the copies which we possess of the Byzantine edition. The text of this edition apparently possesses no intrinsic merit, that could en-

<sup>15</sup> Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. cxxii. "Præcipuus vero recensio-  
num in criseos sacræ exercitio usus hic est, ut earum  
auctoritate lectiones bonas, sed in paucis libris superstites defen-  
damus adversus juniorum et *Vulgarium Codicum innumerabilem*  
*pæne turbam.*"

<sup>16</sup> Matthæi Præf. in Nov. Test. Tom. I. p. xxvi. "Plerum-  
que enim melioris notæ *Codices omnes inter se consentiunt*. Qui  
vero notabiliter corrupti sunt, unde corrupti sunt, multis in locis  
facile intelligitur," &c. Vid. supr. p. 107. n. <sup>137</sup>.

title it to supersede the Palestine text, which was recommended by the united authority of Eusebius and the Emperour Constantine. And yet it has undoubtedly superseded the latter at Constantinople, where the Palestine text was first published under every advantage, arising from the authority of the persons by whom it was edited. Nay, it has superseded it so effectually, that scarcely a copy of Eusebius's text is to be found in this region<sup>17</sup>; where Eusebius's edition was originally published. Nor is this all, but the Byzantine text must have thus superseded the Palestine text, within a short space of the death of Eusebius. This is apparent not only from the existence of the former text in the Alexandrine manuscript, which was written within at least forty years of that period; but from the coincidence of this text with the Brescia manuscript, which contains the old Italick translation, which prevailed until the age of St. Jerome. Now, when we consider the invincible pertinacity with which the churches persevered in adhering to the common or vulgar text<sup>18</sup>; it seems impossible to account for so

<sup>17</sup> The application made for manuscripts at Jerusalem, in order to furnish the Emperour, John II. with copies of a particular description, will sufficiently evince how rare the Palestine text was at Constantinople. Vid. *supr.* p. 35. n. <sup>62</sup>. conf. p. 81. n. <sup>60</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Notwithstanding the extreme caution, which St. Jerome evinced in revising the antient Vulgate; having left the old readings uncorrected, and merely marked the superfluous words with an obelus, and the inserted terms with an asterism; his revisal was received with great jealousy, and gave considerable offence. Vid. *supr.* p. 101. n. <sup>125</sup>. conf. *infr.* p. 137. n. <sup>74</sup>. The



great and so sudden a revolution as thus occurred at Constantinople, otherwise than by supposing, that the attachment to tradition prevailed over the influence of authority; and that the edition of Eusebius thus gave place to the text of Lucianus, having superseded it, but for that limited period in which it was sustained by the royal authority. This assumption, which is confirmed in an extraordinary manner by the demand made by the Emperour Constans to St. Athanasius, to furnish a new edition on the death of Eusebius<sup>19</sup>, is finally proved by the immense number of manuscripts possessing the Byzantine text, which have been brought from Constantinople. Had not that change taken place, which it would be my object to evince, and at a period thus early, it is impossible to conceive, how it could have taken place so effectually as to extinguish the edition of Eusebius where it was originally published; or, so peculiarly, as to reinstate the text of Lucianus.

Whatever force be allowed to these conclusions,

following anecdote is vouchèd, on the authority of St. Augustine, of an African Bishop, who had endeavoured to introduce into his Church the New Version made by St. Jerome from the Hebrew; S. Aug. Hieron. Epist. LXXI. Tom. II. c. 161. c. Quidam frater noster *episcopus*, cum *lectitari instituisset* in ecclesia cui præest, *interpretationem tuam*, movit quiddam longe aliter a te positum, apud Jonam prophetam, quam erat *omnium sensibus memoriæque inveteratum et tot ætatum successionibus decantatum: factusque est tantus tumultus in plebe*, maxime Græcis arguentibus, et inclamantibus calumniam falsitatis, ut cogeretur *episcopus*, (ea quippe civitas erat) *Judæorum testimonium flagitare.*"

<sup>19</sup> Vid. infr. p. 131. sqq.

it must be at least admitted, that, as the testimony of the Brescia manuscript enables us to trace the tradition of the Byzantine text to a period as remote as the year 393<sup>20</sup>; that of the Alexandrine manuscript enables us to trace it to a period not less remote than the year 367. The pedigree of this extraordinary manuscript, which is referred to the latter period, has been traced with a degree of accuracy which is unparalleled in the history of manuscripts. An immemorial tradition prevailed in the church from whence it was brought, that it was written not long subsequently to the Council of Nice, by a religious woman named Thecla<sup>21</sup>. A religious person of this name certainly existed at this period<sup>22</sup>, to whom some of the Epistles of Gregory Nazianzen<sup>23</sup> are addressed; and the characters of the manuscript are of that delicate form, which evinces, that it was written by the hand of a female. Nay, more than this, the tradition of the church respecting this manuscript, which there is no just ground for impeaching, is confirmed in an extraordinary manner by the internal evidence of the text, as it possesses every characteristick mark which might be expected to exist in a manuscript written at that early period. I shall merely specify a few of the internal marks from which the learned editour concludes, that it was written between the middle and close of the

<sup>20</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 70. n. 36.

<sup>21</sup> Vid. *Negot. of Sir Tho. Roe*, p. 618. 414. 460.

<sup>22</sup> Vid. *Usser. Antiqq. Britt. Eccless.* p. 110.

<sup>23</sup> Vid. *Roe, ub. supr.* p. 618. *Woid. Præf. in Cod. Alex.* p. ix. § 44, 45.

fourth century. It possesses the Gospels divided, by the sections of Eusebius, which were introduced in the former period<sup>24</sup>; it retains the Pauline Epistles, without those divisions, which were invented in the latter period<sup>25</sup>: and it contains, as a part of the authorized text<sup>26</sup>, the Epistles of St. Clement, which, about the same period, were prohibited from being read in the Church, by the Council of Laodicea<sup>27</sup>. For plenary information on this subject, the reader must apply to the admirable Preface of the learned Dr. Woide, by whom it was published. From such internal evidence, joined with the external testimony of the Church, has the age of this celebrated manuscript been determined<sup>28</sup>: and as it contains

<sup>24</sup> Woid. *ibid.* p. vii. § 36. “ *Indicem Periocharum seu Capitulorum antiquorum ante initium Evangeliorum ponit, quod et alii Codices MS Sti. et Millii editio recte imitati sunt. Præterea etiam numerum et titulum Periocharum in summa pagina adscripsit. — Etiam ad sinistrum marginem notantur hæc Capitula quæ Millius quoque notare non neglexit. — Præterea etiam numerus Capitulorum litera alphabeti minio appingitur.*”

<sup>25</sup> Id. *ibid.* “ *In Actis Apostolicis et Epistolis Generalibus et Paulinis nulla Capitula apparent, in quæ Euthalius diviserat hos libros, licet paragraphos seu periodos a nova linea et majori litera exordiri videas frequentissime. In Actis Apostolorum tantummodo in locis sequentibus notulam crucis observavi (quæ in Evangeliiis initium sectionum Eusebianorum et Capitulorum designat), scilicet cap. iii. 1. iv. ad fin. vers. 3. viii. 26. x. 1.*” &c.

<sup>26</sup> Vid. Bevereg. *Cod. Cann. Eccles. Prim. Illustr.* P. II. cap. ix. p. 116.

<sup>27</sup> Woid. *ub. supr.* § 53.

<sup>28</sup> Id. *ib.* § 80. “ *Si itaque lectores et formas literarum Codicis nostri, Clementis Romani Epistolas, et Psalmos Salomonis,*



the Byzantine text, in the Gospels<sup>29</sup>, it necessarily proves the antiquity of that text to be as remote as the year three hundred and sixty-seven, when the Epistles of St. Clement were formally separated from the Canonical Scripture<sup>30</sup>.

The space of time which intervenes between this ancient period, and that in which the sacred writings were published, is not so immeasurable as to preclude the possibility of proving, that the tradition, which supports the Byzantine text, though suspended for a short period, was preserved uncorrupted. In the entire course of this period, there was but one interval in which it could be interrupted; during the forty years in which the Church was under the dominion of the Arians<sup>31</sup>. But over this period, the testimony of St. Jerome, who lived at the time, directly carries us; as he declares that the text which prevailed at Byzantium, was that which had been revised by Lucianus<sup>32</sup>, who perished in the persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian<sup>33</sup>. The traditionary chain is thus easily connected. We

Euthalii sectiones et *τρίτατοι*, quæ desunt, si cætera argumenta summam ejus antiquitatem confirmantia, consideratissime perpenderit, omnia conspirare videbunt, ut *Codicem Alexandrinum intra medium et finem seculi quarti scriptum esse* ipsis persuadeant.

<sup>29</sup> Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. ix. n. \*. Hinc accidit ut *Codex Alexandrinus* non in omnibus libris, eandem textus recensionem sequeretur. *In Evangeliiis exhibet recensionem Constantinopolitanam* sive Asiaticam," &c.

<sup>30</sup> Vid. supr. nn. <sup>26</sup> et <sup>27</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Vid. supr. p. 29. n. <sup>49</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. <sup>13</sup>. conf. p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Vid. infr. n. <sup>38</sup>. conf. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VIII. cap. xiii. p. 393. l. 32.

know that in Constantine's age, Eusebius's text was published at Constantinople<sup>34</sup>; we know that Lucianus's Septuagint differed from it, and that in St. Jerome's age it prevailed in the same region<sup>35</sup>. There is consequently no alternative, but to admit, that the tradition which was interrupted in the former period, was renewed in the latter.

Now as the Scripture Canon was not published until the beginning of the second century<sup>36</sup>, and as Lucianus most probably completed his revisal before the year 284, when the Dioclesian æra commenced, the Byzantine text, if it has undergone any alteration, must have been corrupted in the course of this period. It will be readily granted, for reasons already specified, that this alteration could not have taken place in the earlier part of this term<sup>37</sup>. The last possibility which the question admits, consequently is, that it was corrupted in the latter part of it, when the text was revised by the hand of Lucianus.

But against this possibility, we have the strongest security in the character of that learned and pious martyr. To his skill in revising the sacred text, the most honourable testimony is borne, by the most unimpeachable witnesses; Eusebius and Jerome.

<sup>34</sup> Vid. Euseb. Vit. Const. Lib. IV. capp. xxxvi. xxxvii. p. 646. sqq.

<sup>35</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. <sup>13</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. V. cap. xxx. p. 330. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλῆς χρόνου ἐωράθη [ἡ ἀποκάλυψις], ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομειανῆ ἀρχῆς. Vid. supr. p. 112. nn. <sup>6</sup> et 7.

<sup>37</sup> Vid. supr. p. 115.

These best judges of antiquity have expressed themselves on this subject in terms of the most unqualified approbation<sup>38</sup>. One slight, yet important circumstance, which the latter critick has left on record, clearly evinces the scrupulous fidelity with which Lucianus discharged this sacred trust. The text which he published was that of the vulgar Greek, or common edition<sup>39</sup>; which loudly proclaims, that his intention was to preserve the inspired text in the state in which he found it; though, in pursuing this course, he acted in direct opposition to the authority of Origen, who set him a different example. Let us now take this circumstance into account, together with the critical reputation of Lucianus: let us consider, that the place and period in which he made his revisal, was the region where the inspired writings were deposited, and within a short distance of the period when they were published: let us then revert to the possibilities which have been already calculated, that the immediate transcripts of the writings of the Apostles

<sup>38</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IX. cap. vi. p. 444. l. 22. *Λυκιανός τε ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἄριστος, βίῳ τε ἐγκρατὴς καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασι συγκεχροτημένος· τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν παροικίας πρεσβύτερος, ἀχθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομεδείων πόλεως, ἔβλεπε τῶν βασιλεῶν διατρέβων ἐντόγχανε, παρασχών τε ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι τὴν ὑπὲρ ἧς προέτατο διδασκαλίας ἀπολογίαν, δειωτηρῶ παραδοθεὶς κτείνουται.* S. Hier. Catal. Scripp. Ecell. in Lucian. Tom. I. p. 128. “Lucianus vir disertissimus, Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ presbyter, tantum in Scripturarum studio laboravit, ut usque nunc quædam exemplaria Scripturarum Lucianea nuncupentur.—Passus est Nicomediæ ob confessionem Christi sub persecutione Maximini.”

<sup>39</sup> Vid. sup. p. 72. n. <sup>43</sup>.



and Evangelists could have been corrupted in little more than *one hundred* years, while the Byzantine text has *confessedly* retained its integrity for full *eleven hundred*<sup>40</sup>. We may thence form a just estimate of the conclusiveness of that evidence which still exists in attestation of the purity of the text of Lucianus.

In fine, a very short process enables us to prove, that the tradition which supports the authority of this text, has continued unbroken since the age of the apostles. The coincidence of the Vulgar Greek of our present editions with the old Italick translation, enables us to carry up the tradition to the times of St. Jerome<sup>41</sup>. The testimony of this learned father enables us to extend the proof beyond this period, to the times of Lucianus, in whose age the Byzantine text equally constituted the Vulgate or common edition<sup>42</sup>. And the character of Lucianus, and the course which he pursued in revising the sacred text, connects this proof with the

<sup>40</sup> Thus long has the Byzantine text existed, even by the confession of M. Griesbach, whose object required that it should be brought as low as possible. Griesb. Hist. Text. Epp. Paul. sect. i. § 11. *Mirum—nemini videbitur qui secum reputaverit sexto aut septimo seculo extitisse jam illam recensionem quæ in codicibus plerisque habetur, et a textu vulgari typis excusum parum differt; inde vero a seculo octavo vix novam recensionem ullam procuratam fuisse, nec variantium lectionum numerum insigniter auctum esse, si sphalmata demas a librariis dormitantibus admissa, et glossas nonnullas e margine in textum temere translatas.*

<sup>41</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 70, 71.

<sup>42</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. 12.

times of the inspired writers<sup>43</sup>, who could alone impress that authority upon one text, which, by bringing it into general use, rendered it, from the primitive ages down to the present day, the κοινὴ ἐκδόσις, or Greek Vulgate.

The mode of proof which thus establishes the authority of the Byzantine text, is not more decisive, from being positively than exclusively true. When applied to the Egyptian and Palestine texts, it is so far from establishing an immemorial uninterrupted tradition in their favour, that it completely limits their pretensions to a definite period.

The manuscripts containing both these texts are comparatively few, having been generally superseded by the Byzantine edition<sup>44</sup>. We scarcely possess a second copy of the Egyptian text; and should almost doubt its existence, if it were not attested by St. Jerome, and if his testimony were not confirmed by the coincidence of the Sahidick version with the Latin translation of St. Eusebius, and by the agreement of both with the Cambridge manuscript, and the manuscripts collated by Thomas Heraclensis<sup>45</sup>. The manuscripts containing the Pa-

<sup>43</sup> Vid. supr. p. 125. n. <sup>38</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Vid. supr. p. 118. n. <sup>15</sup>. p. 126. n. <sup>40</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 73—78. In addition to what has been observed on the MSS. collated by Thomas Heraclensis, supr. p. 78. n. <sup>75</sup>; it remains to be observed, that the Verceli, Verona MSS. and the Latin, nay, the Greek of the Cambridge MS. which respectively possess the text of Hesychius, have been copied from different exemplars. The *Verceli MS.* possesses the following passage, which is not found in the other three; Mat. iii. 15. “ Et cum baptizaretur lumen ingens circumfulsit

lestine text are more numerous; but, according to the confession of M. Griesbach, they bear no proportion to those of the Byzantine edition<sup>46</sup>. And they fall infinitely short of the number which might be expected to exist, when we consider the favourable circumstances under which the Palestine text was edited by Eusebius, and republished, with manifest improvements, by Euthalius, at Alexandria. There is thus no presumption in favour of their antiquity, arising from the number or general dispersion of the copies.

The place from whence these manuscripts are derived, detracts not a little from their authority.

de aqua, ita ut timerent qui advenērunt.” This passage was however found in the exemplar from which the *Cambridge Greek* was copied; for the preceding verse is drawn out in such a manner, that single words occupy the place of lines, in order to fill up the space made by the removal of this passage, and to accommodate the Greek to the Latin: vid. Cod. Cant. fol. 10. ed. Kipl. As the *Latin* of this MS. is not so circumstanced, it was, of course, taken from a different copy from that which produced the Greek. The *Verona MS.*, on the other hand, possesses the following passage, which is not found in the *Verceli MS.* Matt. xxiv. 31. “Cum cœperint autem hæc fieri respicite et levate capita vestra, quoniam adpropriet redemptio vestra.” This passage however occurs in the *Cambridge Greek*, ib. ἀρχόμενων δὲ τούτων γίνεσθαι ἀναβλέψατε καὶ ἐπάρατε τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν ὅτι ἐγγίξει ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν and in the *Cambridge Latin* ib. “Incipientibus autem his fieri,” &c. But the *Cambridge MS.* differs from the *Verona*, and agrees with the *Verceli MS.* in transposing Mat. v. 4, 5. These remarks will, I trust, sufficiently prove, that an entire Class of MSS. possessing the Egyptian text, once existed.

<sup>46</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 118. n. <sup>15</sup>. p. 126. n. <sup>40</sup>.



They are ascribed by M. Griesbach to the Alexandrine region; and there is little reason to question his authority on this subject. Here the Egyptian text was published by Hesychius, and hence brought into the west by St. Eusebius, of Verceli<sup>47</sup>; and here the Palestine text was republished by Euthalius, who corrected his edition by Eusebius's copies, which were preserved at Cæsarea<sup>48</sup>. Now, taking the question on these grounds, there is little room for a competition between the Byzantine and Palestine editions. The country in which the one arose was that in which the apostolical originals were deposited; that in which the other was transplanted, was the soil in which the Arian heresy first arose and principally flourished<sup>49</sup>. When we take this circumstance into account, together with the peculiar opinions of Eusebius, by whom the Palestine text was revised and published, who lies under a suspicion of being tainted with Arianism<sup>50</sup>, it seems to leave very little authority to a text which is particu-

<sup>47</sup> Vid. supr. p. 105. n. <sup>131</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Vid. supr. p. 105. n. <sup>132</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Euseb. Vit. Constant. Lib. II. cap. lxi. p. 566. l. 2. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὡς ὑπὸ μικρῆς σπινθῆρος μέγα πῦρ ἐξεχάστω· ἄκρας μὲν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κορυφῆς ἀρξάμενον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας· διαδραμὼν δὲ τὴν σύμπασαν Αἰγυπτὸν τε καὶ Λιβύην, τὴν τ' ἐπέκεινα Θηβαΐδα· ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπενέμετο ἐπαρχίας τε καὶ πόλεις· ὥς' ἂ μόνους ἦν ἰδεῖν τὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προέδρους λόγοις διαπληκτιζομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πλήθη καταταξιζόμενα. Conf. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. vi. p. 10. l. 7—11. Lib. II. cap. xxviii. p. 120. l. 40. Lib. IV. cap. vii. p. 268. l. 27. Theodorit. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. vii. p. 200. l. 25—40.

<sup>50</sup> Vid. supr. p. 39. nn. <sup>68</sup> et <sup>70</sup>.

larly calculated to support the peculiar errors of Arius<sup>51</sup>.

But the authority of these texts is not merely weakened by this circumstance; that the traditional evidence which may be urged in their favour is broken by the distance of Egypt and Palestine from Byzantium, where the originals of the inspired writers were deposited, and by the positive extinction of both texts in the region where they were published. When we carry up our inquiries higher we find unquestionable evidence of two breaches in the chain of tradition; either of which would destroy the credit of the text which hung on it for support.

In the first place, the edition of Hesychius was positively superseded in Egypt by that of Euthalius<sup>52</sup>. And of the extensive influence of the edition of the latter, we have a standing evidence, in the prevalence of the Euthalian sections, which very generally exist in the Greek manuscripts<sup>53</sup>. In

<sup>51</sup> Vid. supr. p. 28. n. 48.

<sup>52</sup> This point is clearly conceded by M. Griesbach, in pronouncing the Palestine text the Alexandrine; vid. supr. p. 86. m. 80 et 81.

<sup>53</sup> Zaccagn. Collect. Monn. Vet. Eccles. Præf. p. lxxviii. § lv.

<sup>54</sup> *At vero Euthalii divisiones perpetuo in usu apud Græcos fuisse, ii probe nōrunt, qui veteres Bibliorum Codices perlustrarunt; in quibus fere omnibus habentur Capitula ab Euthalio excogitata. Vidit enim multos Novi Testamenti scriptos Codices Robertus Stephanus—viderunt et alios Codices viri doctissimi, qui de Biblicis rebus tractarunt; sed hos omnes uno eodemque modo, in Evangeliorum quidem textu juxta Alexandrinum Cyrilli Lucaris Codicem, in reliquis vero ejusdem libris, Apocalypsi excepta, juxta Euthalium nostrum divisos fuisse li-*

fact, so little calculated was the Egyptian text to retain its ground against the powerful influence of the Palestine, under the double publication of Eusebius and Euthalius, that the former was soon extinguished by the latter, in the region which may be termed its native soil. And so effectual has been its extirpation, that unless a few manuscripts had been imported into the West, we should retain no memorials of this text, but those which remain in the translations made in the Thebais, previously to the publication of Euthalius's edition <sup>54</sup>. Very different was the fate of the Byzantine text. Though it gave place to the Palestine text, in the times of Constantine; the testimony of St. Jerome puts it out of dispute, that it must have been reinstated in a short period <sup>55</sup> after the death of the elder Eusebius.

In the next place, the traditionary evidence in favour of the Palestine text is broken by the intervention of an edition prepared by St. Athanasius, under the auspices of the Emperour Constans <sup>56</sup>. It

*quet. Vidi et ego plurimos Novi Testamenti scriptos Codices, quorum nonnulli eximia sunt vetustate venerandi, eisdem Alexandrini exemplaris, et Euthalii nostri Capitulis insignitos. Solum in Othobonianæ Bibliothecæ veteri Codice, his literis et his numeris signato R. II. vii. Apostolorum Acta in capitula li. divisa reperi, et in Aldi Manutii, Pauli Filii, Aldi nepotis Codice, qui nunc ejusdem munere inter Vaticanos 633<sup>lus</sup> numeratur, alius a vulgatis titulorum ordo habetur.*"

<sup>54</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 54, 55 et nn. in locc.

<sup>55</sup> St. Jerome wrote previously to the year 393. vid. supr. p. 70. n. <sup>30</sup>. and Eusebius died in the year 340. vid. infr. n. <sup>53</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> S. Athan. Apol. ad Constant. § 4. Tom. I. p. 297. ed. Bened. Ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐκ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ ἀδελφῷ



is a remarkable fact, that the application for this edition was made in the very year of the death of Eusebius<sup>57</sup>; who paid the debt of nature about the same time as the younger Constantine<sup>58</sup>. An application of this kind, made at this remarkable period, if it does not convey some tacit censure against the text of Eusebius, clearly implies that some difference existed between his edition and the revisal of St. Athanasius. This supposition is not a little confirmed, by the known enmity which subsisted between Eusebius and St. Athanasius<sup>59</sup>; and by the peculiar opinions of the Emperour, which

σα, ὅδ' ἐπὶ πρὸς ἄλλης τινός, ἢ μόνον εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ἀνῆλθον, καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν παραδόμενος, τότε γὰρ μόνου μοι φροντίς ἦν, ἰσχύλαζον ταῖς συνάξεσι. τῷ ἀδελφῷ σε ἐκ ἔγγραφας, ἢ μόνον ὅτε οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἔγραφαν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐμῶ, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἔσχον ἔτι ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀπολογήσασθαι· καὶ ὅτε πυκνὰ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν κελεύσαντος αὐτῷ μοι κατασκευάσαι, ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀπέστειλα.

<sup>57</sup> The Benedictine fathers fix the time when S. Athanasius revised the Scriptures to the year 340: Vit. S. Athan. p. xxxiii. § 4. and the time when Constantine died to the same year, ibid. § 4.

<sup>58</sup> Vid. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. capp. iii. iv. pp. 82, 83.

<sup>59</sup> S. Epiphan. Hær. LXVIII. p. 723. c. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ [ὁ Κωνσταντίνος] συγκροτηθῆναι Σύνοδον κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην ἐν Τύρῳ τῇ πόλει. ἐκέλευσε δὲ δικάζειν Ἐὐσέβιον τῆς Καισαρείας, καὶ ἄλλης τινός. — Ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ μακαρίτης Ποτάμων ὁ μέγας —. Ἐωρακώς τὸν Εὐσέβιον καθεζόμενον καὶ δικάζοντα, καὶ Ἀθανάσιον ἐγὼτα, καταπονηθεὶς τῇ λύπῃ καὶ δακρύσας, οἷα γίνεται παρὰ τοῖς ἀληθείαι, ἀπέλειπτο φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Εὐσεβίω λέγων, Σὺ καθίζη Ἐὐσέβιε, καὶ Ἀθανάσιος ἀδῶος ὢν, παρὰ σὺ κρίνεται, τίς ἐνέγκοι τὰ τοιαῦτα; — Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Εὐσέβιος, αἰρεῖται μὲν εἰς ἀγανάκησιν, καὶ ἀναγὰς διέλυσε τὸ δικαστήριον λέγων· Ὅτι εἰ ἐλαύδα ἤλθετε, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνιλέγετε, ἄρα ἔν ἀληθείᾳ οἱ κατήγοροι ὑμῶν. εἰ γὰρ ὡς τυραννεῖτε, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ὑμῶν πατρίδι.

leaned in a contrary direction to those of the Bishop of Cæsarea <sup>60</sup>, whose principles were unquestionably warped towards Arianism <sup>61</sup>. But one consideration seems to put the matter out of dispute: had not Eusebius's edition laboured under some imputation <sup>62</sup>, the demand of the Emperour might have been supplied, and that edition, which had been published but a few years before, might have been multiplied to any given extent, by transcribing one of Eusebius's copies. Now it is important to observe, that while the undertaking of St. Athanasius makes this breach in the tradition of the Palestine edition: it serves to fill up the only breach which exists in that of the text of Byzantium: as his revision succeeded the *Palestine* text, and partially restored the text of *Byzantium* <sup>63</sup>. It has been already observed respecting the celebrated Alexandrine manuscript, that it was written in Egypt previously to

<sup>60</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 110. n. <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Vid. Epiphan. *ibid.* p. 723. c. conf. *supr.* p. 39. n. <sup>70</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> It is particularly deserving of remark, that a principal charge urged against St. Athanasius and his clergy, in the Council of Tyre, summoned *under Eusebius*, was that of having burned the Bible, in the church of Ischyra, who was of the *Arian faction*; Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. p. 64. l. 10. Οἱ δὲ [περὶ 'Ευσέβιον] μίσει τῷ πρὸς Ἀθανάσιον δέχονται μὲν αὐτὸν [Ἰσχύραν] ὡς πρεσβύτερον· ἐπαγγέλλοιτο καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξία τιμῆσαι, εἰ κατηγορίαν ἐνστήσειεν κατὰ Ἀθανάσιον, πρέφασιν λαμβάνοντες ὅσα ὁ Ἰσχύρας ἐπλάττειτο· ἐφήμιζε γὰρ ὡς εἶη τὰ πάνδεινα ἐξ ἐφόδου πεπονθώς· καὶ ὁ Μακάριος εἰσπηδήσας εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀνέτρεψε μὲν τὴν τράπεζαν, ποτήριον δὲ κατέαξε μυσικόν· καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἱερά βιβλία κατέκαυσε.

<sup>63</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 123. n. <sup>29</sup>. conf. p. 131. n. <sup>56</sup>.

the year 367<sup>64</sup>. It remains to be observed, that as St. Athanasius returned to Alexandria from banishment in the year 338<sup>65</sup>, on the death of the elder Constantine; and had revised the text of Scripture, in the year 340, under the Emperour Constans, and his brother the younger Constantine; he continued, with the intermission of a few months, to govern the Alexandrine church, from the year 367 to the year 373, under the Emperour Valens<sup>66</sup>. It is of small importance to my present object, to calculate the chances, whether this celebrated manuscript contains St. Athanasius's revisal of the sacred text; of which it must be however remembered, that it was written, not merely in the last-mentioned period, but in the Patriarchate of Alexandria. But as it cannot be reasonably denied that his revisal was within the reach of the copyist, who has executed the task of transcription in a manner which is expensive and accurate; it must be observed, that Thecla has left unquestionable evidence in the manuscript itself of having been biassed by the influence of the Patriarch; as she has inserted, in the book of Psalms, the epistle of St. Athanasius, addressed to Marcellinus<sup>67</sup>. I profess myself at a

<sup>64</sup> Vid. supr. p. nn. 27. et 23.

<sup>65</sup> Patr. Benedd. Vit. S. Athan. p. xxx § 1.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. ib. p. lxxxv. § 2, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Vid. Woid. Præf. in Cod. Alex. Sect. IV. § 47. p. x. The learned editour adds the following apology, for this circumstance; *ibid.* "Qui itaque his honoribus Athanasium afficiebant; cur non etiam *Psalmis Prologum ejus, omnium æstimatione dignissimum adderent?* Si quis orationem Gregorii Nazianzeni in laudem Athanasii legent, is *hoc factum fuisse non con-*



loss to divine by what means the inference which follows from those facts can be evaded; or how the conclusion is to be disproved, that this manuscript approximates to the revisal of St. Athanasius. Assuming this point as manifest, it directly throws the testimony of the Patriarch on the side of the Byzantine text; as this text is adopted in the Gospels of the Alexandrine manuscript, which clearly constitute the principal part of the better half of the Canonical Scriptures. Much might be advanced in favour of this hypothesis, from the history of St. Athanasius; who, if he possessed no suspicion of foul play, felt no motives of personal dislike in rejecting the text of Eusebius, might have been influenced in choosing that of Lucianus for the basis of his text, as his edition was to be published at Constantinople. For thus, as two editions had been published in that region, he furnished the different parties which divided the Byzantine church, with an edition suited to their respective partialities. Much might be advanced to support it, from the known prudence and moderation of that great man, who ever followed conciliatory measures, and who must

*cesserit tantum verum etiam contenderit.*" In fact when we connect all the circumstances together relative to this matter—that Arianism was at this period prevalent at Alexandria; that St. Athanasius was accused of favouring the destruction of the Arian Bibles; that he revised the sacred text immediately after the death of Eusebius; that his prologue, as explanatory of Ps. ii. is directed against the errors of Arius: nothing can be more probable than that Thecla inserted it in her copy, either with her own hand, or by the hand of a transcriber; if she employed one.

have seen the inexpediency and danger of venturing, in the infected state of the Eastern Church, to undertake at once the total suppression of Eusebius's edition. While this account affords a consistent and probable solution of the only difficulty which embarrasses the history of a manuscript, which varies from all that are known, in having a different text in the Gospels and the Acts and Epistles: the manuscript itself contains an irrefragable proof, that within that short period of the death of Eusebius in which it was written, the Palestine text had begun to be again replaced by the Byzantine.

When we advance a step higher in scrutinizing the traditionary evidence which supports the authority of the Egyptian and Palestine texts, the apparent force which it appears to possess directly yields when it is submitted to the touch. In establishing the claims of these texts to an immemorial tradition, it is rather fatal to their pretensions that we should happen to know the time of their origin. The period in which the Egyptian text was published cannot be antedated to the age of Hesychius; as that in which the Palestine was published cannot be antedated to the age of Eusebius<sup>68</sup>. That both these editours made some innovations, in their respective texts, can scarcely admit of a doubt. This is an inference which necessarily follows from the consideration of their having published a text, which differed from the vulgar Greek,

<sup>68</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 72. n. 37.

or common edition <sup>69</sup>. It is in fact expressly recorded, that Eusebius published that text of the *Old Testament*, which had been corrected by Origen <sup>70</sup>; and that Hesychius admitted into his text of the New Testament numerous *interpolations* <sup>71</sup>. From such an imputation the text of Lucianus is obviously free, as he merely republished the vulgar edition <sup>72</sup>. The antiquity of his text consequently loses itself in immemorial tradition; while that of his rivals is bounded by the age of their respective revisals. And this assertion, as I shall soon take occasion to prove, is equally applicable to the Italic version, which corresponds with the Byzantine Greek: and is contained in the Brescia manuscript. It must be obvious, of course, that the former circumstance as fully confirms the claims of Lucianus's text to an origin ascending to the apostolical age; as it detracts from the pretensions of Hesychius and Eusebius's texts to an immemorial tradition. True it is that St. Jerome seems to pass an indiscriminate censure on the editions of Hesychius and Lucianus <sup>73</sup>. But, granting him to have possessed that impartial judgment on this subject <sup>74</sup>,

<sup>69</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>70</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>71</sup> Vid. supr. p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Vid. supr. p. 88. n. <sup>86</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Vid. supr. p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> St. Jerome not only *innovated* in revising the Septuagint, but expressly followed the steps of Origen and Eusebius, who were the rivals of Lucianus; Vid. supr. p. 84. n. <sup>75</sup>. S. Hier. Proœm. Dan. Tom. IV. p. 495. "Sed et Origenes de Theodotionis opere in *Editione Vulgata* asteriscos posuit; docens de-



which is necessary to give weight to his sentence; yet when we come to compare St. Jerome with himself; when we come to estimate, how much of his censure is directed against the vulgar edition of the Old Testament, which Lucianus republished; and when we ascertain the standard by which he judged of the imaginary corruptions of the New Testament, which the same learned person revised; we shall directly discern, that his opinion does not in the least affect the question under discussion <sup>75</sup>.

From a view of this subject, as well from the positive testimony which supports the Greek Vulgate, as that which invalidates the pretensions of the Egyptian and Palestine editions, we may summarily conclude, that, the genuine text of the New Testament, if it is at all preserved in the three editions which have descended to our times, can be only conceived to exist in that of Byzantium.

II. On reviewing the testimony which the *Western Church*, when examined apart, bears to the integrity of the text of Scripture, it affords the fullest confirmation to that borne by the separate testimony of the Eastern. On the weight and importance of the latter of these witnesses, I have al-

*fuisse quæ addita sunt, et rursus quosdam versus obelis prænotavit, superflua quæque designans. Cumque omnes Christi ecclesiæ, tam Græcorum quam Latinorum, Syrorumque et Ægyptiorum, hanc sub asteriscis et obelis Editionem legant; ignoscant invidi labori meo qui volui habere nostros quod Græci in Aquilæ et Theodotionis ac Symmachi editione lectitant.*" Conf. Tom. III. Ep. civ. p. 340.

<sup>75</sup> On this subject I shall have an opportunity of speaking at large hereafter.

ready offered a remark, deduced from the circumstance of the Western Church having retained the faith uncorrupted, while the Oriental Church was infected with the Arian opinions <sup>76</sup>. A minute examination of this evidence, will very clearly evince that it rests on the side of the Byzantine text, instead of the Egyptian or Palestine.

The first argument, which may be urged from hence, in support of the integrity of the Greek Vulgate, is deducible from the text of the Brescia manuscript. Of the author of this version we know nothing; though it is remarkable for its extraordinary fidelity to the original Greek. We are, on the other hand, perfectly acquainted with the framers of the text of the Vulgate and Verceli manuscript <sup>77</sup>, which correspond with the Palestine and Egyptian editions. Now, such is the result, which would precisely take place, had the fore-cited text derived its authority from the silent admission of the church, deduced from the primitive ages; while the latter were expressly acknowledged as recent translations, from the time of their first publication. It is obvious, of course, that if the testimony of the Latin church, derived from immemorial tradition, be preserved in any of those versions, it must exclusively exist in the Brescia manuscript. And as this manuscript accords with the Vulgar Greek, it clearly proves, that the immemorial testimony of the Western Church is on the side of this text,

<sup>76</sup> Vid. supr. p. 110. n. <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> Vid. supr. p. 15. n. <sup>26</sup>. p. 59. n. <sup>28</sup>.

which we have already seen is similarly supported by the testimony of the Eastern.

Nay, more than this, it may be shewn, that the bare undertaking of St. Eusebius Vercellensis to revise the Old Italick version not only subverts the authority of his own text, but that of Hesychius and Eusebius's edition : and, of consequence, negatively supports the authority of the text of Lucianus.

That the original version of the Latin Church had retained its integrity uncorrupted, until the times of Pope Julius and St. Eusebius of Verceli, is evident : from the external testimony of Hilary ; from the circumstances in which the Western Church was placed ; and from the internal evidence of the version in question. It is Hilary's express declaration that many of the copies of this version retained their purity untainted, even to his own times ; having been preserved not merely by the integrity of the earliest ages, but by their very inability to pervert or correct the primitive translation<sup>78</sup>. And this declaration is completely confirmed by the history of the Eastern and Western Churches, neither of which were sufficiently instructed in the languages spoken by both to undertake a revisal<sup>79</sup>. But what renders this fact of importance, is, that however the copies of the Latin version vary among themselves, they preserve a conformity to some edition of the Greek original. The first considerable variety in these copies must

<sup>78</sup> Vid. supr. p. 57. n. <sup>23</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> Vid. supr. p. 57. n. <sup>25</sup>.



be of course dated from the first revisal of the text by St. Eusebius, of Verceli ; since before him, there was not a person sufficiently informed, to undertake the correction of the Italick translation.

Now it is clearly implied in the circumstance of St. Eusebius's undertaking to *correct* the current translation, that this translation must have differed from *the ordinary Greek* text, and from his own *corrected Latin* version : otherwise his attempt must have been without an object from the first, and without effect at the conclusion. As he undertook his revisal at the command of Pope Julius, who came to the Pontificate in the year 337<sup>80</sup> ; the ordinary Greek text was obviously contained in the edition of *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, who lived, after this period, until the year 340<sup>81</sup>. It is, of course, manifest, that the received *text of Eusebius* did not correspond with the Latin version in Pope Julius's age ; and is consequently destitute of the primitive testimony of the Latin Church, as contained in the authorised Latin version.

It is equally clear that the original Latin version did not agree with the text of *Hesychius*. As St. Eusebius has unquestionably adhered to the edition of the latter, in revising the Latin translation ; his undertaking to *correct* the one by the other, necessarily implies, that a difference at first subsisted between them. It is consequently clear that *the text of Hesychius* is equally destitute of the primitive

<sup>80</sup> Vid. Patr. Benedd. in Vit. S. Athanas. p. xxx. § 1, a.

<sup>81</sup> Vid. supr. p. 132. n. <sup>52</sup>.

testimony of the Latin Church, as the text of Eusebius of Cæsarea. And as the *corrected* version of St. Eusebius when the proposed *alterations* were made, must have differed from the original translation which remained *uncorrected*; it is apparent that the *Corrected Version* also must have equally wanted the testimony of the primitive Western translation.

As St. Jerome's revisal was not yet made, the question now rests with that version of the Old Italic translation, which corresponds with the Byzantine Greek; and which consequently must have been identical with the primitive version.

But here it may be objected, that St. Eusebius's undertaking to correct the translation by the original, equally proves that the former differed from Lucianus's text, as we have seen it differed from the text of Eusebius Cæsariensis. But if this objection is not rendered null by this positive fact, that there is a third version, different from the revisals of St. Eusebius and St. Jerome, and confessedly more ancient than that of the latter<sup>82</sup>; and that, while it is apparently *uncorrected*<sup>83</sup>, it literally *corresponds* with the Byzantine Greek<sup>84</sup>; it would admit of the following obvious solution. St. Eusebius undertook his revisal of the Latin version, not merely when the Received Text of the Greek was contained in Eusebius's edition; but when this edi-

<sup>82</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 70, 71.

<sup>83</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 90, 91, 92.

<sup>84</sup> Vid. supr. p. 63. sqq.

tion had, by the royal mandate, superseded the Byzantine text at Constantinople. It might not, therefore, have been safe<sup>85</sup> for Pope Julius to authorise a version which was not merely different from the Received Text of the Greeks, but coincident with the edition which it had superseded. And this change took place after that greatest persecution of the Church, which occurred under Dioclesian and Maximian : in which the sacred Scriptures were sought with more care and destroyed with more fury than in any preceding persecution<sup>86</sup>. It was therefore possible, considering the degraded state of the Church, and the disastrous situation of the bishop of Verceli, that a correct copy of Lucianus's edition was not within the reach of Eusebius Vercellensis. It is probable that, in his choice of Hesychius's edition, in correcting the Latin version, he was influenced not merely by inclination<sup>87</sup>, but necessity. It is certain, that, in

<sup>85</sup> That the Emperours were not to be trifled with on this subject is evident from the severe penalty to which even the possessor of Arius's works was subject, by a decree of one of the mildest of the Christian princes; Epist. Constant. ap. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. ix. p. 32. l. 3. Ἐκεῖνο μέλοι προαγορεύω, ὡς εἴ τις σύγγραμμα ὑπ' Ἀρείου συναγὼν φαραδίῃ κρύψας, καὶ μὴ εὐθέως προσεινέγκων πρὸς καταιαλῶση, τέτω θάνατος ἔσται ἢ ζημία· παραχρῆμα γὰρ ἅλῃς ἐπὶ τέτω, κεφαλὴν ἰποσῆσεται τιμωρίαι.

<sup>86</sup> Vid. sup. p. 27. n. 46.

<sup>87</sup> St. Eusebius was a corrector of Scripture, and, in his earlier days, a reader and imitator of Eusebius, whose critical talents he admired; S. Hier. Cat. Scriptt. Tom. I. p. 130. It is not improbable that he imbibed through him some share of the distaste to the Greek Vulgate, which was common to all the dis-



the state of the Greek Church, there existed a sufficient cause to deter him from following the copies

ciples of Origen's school; Id. S. Aug. Ep. lxxxix. Tom. III. p. 319: and that he thus chose Hesychius, instead of Lucianus, when he was prevented by other motives besides his friendship for St. Athanasius and P. Julius, from following Eusebius of Cæsarea: Vid. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. capp. v. vi. vii. p. 176. Conf. Lib. II. capp. xv. xxiii. p. 92. 109. Hesychius certainly receded farther from the Greek Vulgate than Lucianus; vid. sup. p. 88. n. <sup>86</sup>. p. 72. n. <sup>37</sup>. And Eusebius Vercellensis, as a follower of Origen, must have held the Greek Vulgate in low estimation; of which, and of St. Eusebius, St. Jerome speaks in the following terms; Hier. S. Aug. Ep. ub. sup. p. 319. "*Omnes veteres tractatores, qui nos in Domino præcesserant, et qui Scripturas sanctas interpretati sunt, &c.—maxime in explanatione Psalmorum—quos apud Græcos interpretati sunt multis voluminibus, primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Cæsariensis—apud Latinos autem, Hilarius Pictaviensis et Eusebius Vercellensis episcopus Originem et Eusebium transtulerunt.—Ego enim non tam vetera abolere, quæ linguæ meæ hominibus emendata de Græco in Latinum transtuli, quam ea testimonia, quæ a Judæis prætermissa sunt vel corrupta, proferre in medium: ut scirent nostri, quid Hebraica veritas contineret. Si cui legere non placet, nemo compellit invitum.*" Conf. Præf. in Pentat. Tom. III. p. 340. Such were the predilections of Eusebius Vercellensis, and such the object of a true disciple of the school of Origen; to verify by the *Hexapla* the quotations from the Old Testament, which were found in the New, though not discoverable in the Vulgar Edition of the *Septuagint*. Now, if it can be shewn, that *Hesychius* followed this plan, and revised the New Testament by the *Hexapla*, while *Lucianus* merely preserved the readings of the Vulgar Edition of the *Septuagint*; and if it will appear, that *Eusebius Vercellensis* followed the former in correcting the Old Italic translation, we shall have thus clearly ascertained one cause of the preference which was given by him to the text of Hesychius over that of Lucianus. Thus much, however, may, I conceive, be clearly

of the authorised edition. That Church was then under the dominion of the Arians, who were not merely suspected in that age of corrupting the Scriptures, but who absolutely expunged a remarkable text which St. Eusebius inserted in his revision<sup>88</sup>, and otherwise corrupted his version<sup>89</sup>.

shewn from one of the most remarkable quotations from the Old Testament, which occurs in the New. In Luc. iv. 18. we find, *ἰάσασθαι τὰς συντετριμμένας τὴν καρδίαν*, *Rec.* which, as the reading of the Greek *Vulgate*, was found in *Lucianus's* text. The same passage, however, occurs *verbatim* in the *Septuagint*, Is. lxi. 1. *ἰάσασθαι τὰς συντετριμμένας τὴν καρδίαν*; and is consequently rendered, in the antient Vulgar Translation, Ib. lxi. 1. “*Sanare contritos corde.*” But the phrase, *ἰάσασθαι τὰς συντετριμμένας τὴν καρδίαν*, is not conformable to the Hebrew, *לִחְבֹּשׁ לְנֶשְׁכָּי לֵב*; this phrase was consequently noted in Origen's Hexapla, as not being synonymous with the original. Hence, in the Cambridge MS. which contains *Hesychius's* text, this phrase is omitted conformably to the text of the Hexapla; and the same observation applies to the Verceli MS. which contains *St. Eusebius's* text, in which this text is also omitted. But in the Brescia MS. (which, as containing the *Original Latin Version*, possesses a text that was made *previously* to Origen's Hexapla,) we read, conformably to the vulgar text of the *Septuagint*; Ibid. iv. 18. “*Sanare contritos corde.*” The grounds of *Hesychius's* partiality to the former reading will be revealed in the sequel: the cause is apparent which induced St. Eusebius to give it the preference; and it must be obvious, that a few readings of this kind would give *him*, as a disciple of Origen, a mean opinion of the original Latin Version, and a high opinion of the text of *Hesychius*; and would consequently lead him to correct the one by the other.

<sup>88</sup> Blanchin. Prolegg. in Evang. Quadrupl. p. 62. “*Antequam vero tollatur manus e tabula, unicum saltem laudati Codicis [Verc.] locum recitemus, quem Ariani eo tempore quo Auxentius Mediolanensem Ecclesiam armis exercituque occupaverat, (Valente et Ursacio Ecclesiam Sirniensem incursanti-*

In fact, when all these circumstances are taken into account, the history of the Latin version, which

bus) *de sacro Joannis Evangelio* punienda manu sustulerunt, (nempe vers. 6. cap. iii.) Hoc enim flagitium, quoniam deprehensum fuit circa annum reparatæ salutis 357, miram Eusebiani Codicis antiquitatem ostendit, atque inolitæ traditioni addit maximum pondus authoritatis. Legebatur nempe in laudato, cap. iii. ‘*Evangelii secundum Joannem,*’ vers. 6. ‘*Quod natum est de carne caro est, quia de carne natum est; et quod natum est de Spiritu Spiritus est, quia Deus Spiritus est et ex Deo natus est,*’ ut adhuc in *Vercellensi Codice* habetur. Sed impii homines ea verba ‘*quoniam Deus Spiritus est,*’ dolo ac fraude *ex omnibus Sacris voluminibus erasere*; ut discimus a S. Ambrosio—in libro de Spiritu Sancto,” &c. Vid. S. Ambros. de Sp. Sanct. Lib. III. cap. x. § 59. col. 676. This text, however, is but Joh. iii. 6. with a gloss of Tertullian, de Carn. Christ. cap. xviii. p. 308. which S. Cyprian, Concil. Carthag. p. 231. had repeated, after Nemesian, Bishop of Thibunis; and which was probably considered, on account of the repetition, an erased text of Scripture, when the Arians fell under a suspicion of corrupting the sacred text; and as such was reinstated by St. Eusebius in his revisal of the Old Italick Version. In vindication of St. Eusebius, it may be observed, that instances occur of texts similarly repeated by Origen after his master Clement, which even M. Griesbach believed genuine; and has consequently inserted them in his Corrected Text.

<sup>89</sup> Such is the Verona MS. published by M. Blanchini, which, independent of the alteration of John iii. 6. as corrected by St. Eusebius, vid. *supr.* n. <sup>88</sup>. possesses internal evidence of being an heretical revisal of St. Eusebius’s text. It is a curious fact, that the authour of this MS. not less than St. Eusebius, adopted a text from Tertullian de Carn. Christ. but which originally proceeded from the Valentinians. The original Italick Version reads in Joh. i. 13. “*qui non ex sanguine, neque ex voluntate carnis neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt,*” *Briz*; which words, with the single correction of *sanguine* to *sanguinibus*, after *αἱμάτων* in the original, St. Eusebius retained in his revis-



is otherwise involved in inextricable confusion, directly ceases to be perplexed; and all the incidents detailed in it naturally arrange themselves in a clear and consistent order.

The destruction of the Byzantine edition, under Dioclesian, made way for the edition of Eusebius, at Constantinople, and rendered a new supply of copies of the Latin version necessary to the Western Churches. As the first intercourse cultivated by the Eastern and Western Churches, which introduced the latter to a knowledge of the Greek, was during the apostacy of the former to the Arian heresy: the first endeavour to supply this defect produced a comparison between this version and the original, as it existed in the authorized text of Euse-

sal. But in the Verona MS. we read, *ibid.* “ Qui non ex sanguine, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo natus est.” On this subject, Tertullian, reasoning against the Valentinians, observes, *ibid.* cap. xix. p. 308. “ Quid est ergo, ‘ non ex sanguine, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo natus est.’ *Hoc quidem capitulo ego potius utar quum adulteratores ejus obduxero. Sic enim scriptum esse contendunt, non ex sanguine nec ex carnis voluntate, nec ex viri sed ex Deo natus est.*—Intelligimus ergo ex concubitu *nativitatem Domini negatam.*” What the Evangelist had generally applied to the new birth of *the regenerate*, the hereticks applied to the nativity of *our Lord*; by changing “ nati sunt” into “ natus est.” The Valentinian from the negation in “ non ex sanguine neque ex voluntate carnis—natus est,” disproved the *incarnation*; and the Arian, from the degradation of “ the only begotten Son,” to the rank of those sons who are *adopted* through Christ, disproved the *divinity* of our Lord. These readings of Joh. i. 13. iii. 6. will sufficiently reveal the true character of the Verona MS. which possesses several of the same heretical stamp.

b<sup>i</sup>us Cæsariensis, which excited suspicions of the fidelity of the translation. This discovery must of course have awakened the vigilance of the Western Church, which during this period preserved its orthodoxy: and P. Julius, who then occupied the papal chair, was consequently induced to employ St. Eusebius to revise the authorised version. The domination, however, of the Arian heresy at this period, prevented St. Eusebius from correcting the translation by the received text of the Greek Church, which had been published by Eusebius of Cæsarea: and as he could not readily obtain a copy of Lucianus's text, and as he obtained one of Hesychius's with ease<sup>89</sup>, he consequently followed the text of the latter, in forming his version.

The influence of this emendation of the Latin version is directly perceptible in the greater number of the copies of the Italick translation; as they chiefly conform to the revisal of St. Eusebius, which now formed the authorized text of the Western Churches. So general was this influence, that, probably on account of it, we retain but one specimen of the antecedent translation, which is contained in the Brescia manuscript: for which, we are most

<sup>89</sup> How very general the copies of Eusebius of Cæsarea were in St. Jerome's age, may be collected from the declaration of the latter; *supr.* p. 35. n. <sup>63</sup>. That Eusebius, of Vercelli, might have obtained copies of Hesychius's text, previously to his exile in the Thebais, may be collected from the intercourse, which P. Julius maintained with the Alexandrine Church; *Vid. Epist. Jul. ad Alexandrinn. ap. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xxiii. p. 111. sqq.*

probably indebted to Philastrius Brixienſis. This conjecture will be doubtleſs admitted, when the age and character of this text are taken into account, together with the conſideration of the place in which it is found, and of the learning and authority of Philaſtrius, who was biſhop of Breſcia<sup>90</sup>. Whatever opinion be formed on this ſubject, it is apparent that the Latin Church loſt all confidence in the antient verſion, on the publication of an amended text by Euſebius Vercellensis. The influence of his edition is directly apparent in the works of St. Hilary<sup>91</sup>, who was the friend and companion of the

<sup>90</sup> The authour of a work on the Antient Heresies, which is inserted in Bibliothec. Patr. Tom. IV. p. 596. sqq. ed. Colon. Agrip. 1618. He flourished, under the Emperour Theodosius, A.D. 381. and is mentioned in the following terms by St. Augustine; Epist. ad Quodv. Tom. II. c. 818. a. "Philaſtrius quidam Brixienſis Epiſcopus, quem cum Sancto Ambrosio Mediolani etiam ipſe vidi, ſcripſit hinc librum, nec illas hæreſes prætermittens, quæ in populo Judæorum fuerunt ante adventum Domini." When we take into account the learning and orthodoxy of this antient father, and compare the peculiar omiſſions of the Breſcia MS. vid. ſupr. p. 92. n. <sup>101</sup>. with the deſcription given of the copies rectified by the orthodox in the time when he lived, vid. ſupr. p. 93. n. <sup>103</sup>; it is highly probable, that the text of this MS. which has been preſerved at Philaſtrius's Church, is that of the Antient Latin Verſion, which he accommodated to the orthodox copies, by omitting the ſuſpected paſſages: vid. infr. p. 152. n. <sup>100</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> Sabat. Bibl. Ital. Monit. in Vet. Ev. Int. Tom. III. p. xxxiv. "Quid plura; verſiculi Evangeliorum, quales in SS. Patrum voluminibus laudantur, maxime in Hilarii ſcriptis, tales leguntur iisdemque verbis in Codice Colbertino; nec ulla eſt diſcrepantia, ſi quando aliqua occurrit, quæ non alicujus antiqui doctoris teſtimonio poſſit confirmari. Quod argumento eſſe



bishop of Verceli<sup>92</sup>; and who has quoted from his edition, in the whole of his theological writings. The quotations of Tertullian and Cyprian, which differ from this version, and yet accord with the Greek, contain a sufficient proof that they used a different translation<sup>93</sup>.

From the publication of St. Eusebius's revisal, we are to date the origin of the varieties which were soon introduced into the Western version. The Latin Church now possessed, in the primitive and the corrected edition, two translations; and these soon generated a multitude of others, through various unskilful attempts to accommodate the old translation to the new, and frequently to adapt it to the Greek original. Of the manuscripts of this kind, we possess a specimen in the Codex Veronensis, which has been published by M. Blanchini. It is manifestly formed on the basis of St. Eusebius's version<sup>94</sup>; but has been revised and corrected throughout, by the original text of Hesychius.

*debet, eo Codice illam contineri Scripturæ interpretationem quæ usi sunt antiqui scriptores: hæc autem non alia est quam Vetus Vulgata.*" Conf. Blanchin. Ev. Quadr. P. I. p. 70. sqq.

<sup>92</sup> Vid. supr. p. 54. n. <sup>17</sup>. p. 58. n. <sup>26</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> Thus much is in substance confessed by P. Simon, Hist. Crit. du Nouv. Test. chap. vi. p. 67. " Pour ce que est de Tertullien et de Cyprien, bien qu'ils ne rapportent pas précisément les mots de l'Italique, parce qu'ils consultoient le Grec, ils la suivent pour ce qui est du sens."

<sup>94</sup> It is printed in parallel columns with the Verceli MS. in M. Blanchini's Evangeliarium Quadruplex; and so exactly agrees with it, in the general tenour of the text, that we can constantly supply, from the one manuscript, those passages or parts of words which time has obliterated in the other.

Such was the state in which, at the distance of half a century, the Latin version was found by St. Jerome, who describes it as containing nearly as many different texts as different copies<sup>95</sup>. It was merely a matter of accident, that he was brought up with a dislike for the vulgar edition of the Greek, and with a predilection for the corrected text of Eusebius; having imbibed an early partiality for this edition, through Gregory of Nazianzum<sup>96</sup>. And as it was natural, so it is unquestionable, that he took it as the standard, by which he judged of the merit of other texts; without suspecting that he was measuring by a line of which he had not ascertained the positive dimensions. The result is, that he was hence led to underrate the edition of Lucianus, not less than that of Hesychius<sup>97</sup>: and consequently to allow neither their due weight, when he was revising the text of the Latin translation. Still, however, uninclined to feel or profess an open partiality to the edition of Eusebius Cæsarensis; whose text had been certainly revised by the orthodox in the same age, among whom we cannot include the celebrated bishop of Cæsarea<sup>98</sup>: his specifick object was to adhere to no particular text, but to follow the antient copies of the original. Under this view he also, not less than St. Eusebius, overlooked the copies of Lucianus's edition, as modern. For the

<sup>95</sup> Vid. supr. p. 15. n. <sup>26</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Vid. supr. p. 83. n. <sup>71</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> Vid. supr. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> Vid. S. Epiphan. Hær. LXVIII. p. 723. d. conf. ut supr. p. 93. n. <sup>103</sup>.

Greek Vulgate having been partly destroyed under Dioclesian, and superseded under Constantine<sup>99</sup>, it was not again restored until the reign of Theodosius<sup>100</sup>; when it quietly reinstated itself, on the extinction of the party, which supported the Corrected Text of Eusebius.

Under these circumstances, the celebrated Latin Vulgate was composed, which the Roman Church has now adopted as its authorised version. Notwithstanding the high reputation of St. Jerome, aided by the authority of P. Damasus, it was but slowly adopted by the Western Churches, which still persevered in retaining the primitive version. As St. Jerome's reputation in Greek literature was however deservedly great, considerable use was made of his corrected text, in bringing the old Italick version to a closer affinity with the original. The influence of the Vulgate on that version is consequently perceptible, to a greater or lesser degree, in all the more modern copies. Even the Brescia and Verceli manuscripts have not wholly escaped

<sup>99</sup> Vid. supr. p. 27. n. <sup>46</sup>. p. 26. n. <sup>44</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> The date of this event may be fixed to the final subversion of the Arian authority, under Theodosius, A.D. 381: when the Catholicks were reinstated in their churches; vid. supr. p. 29. n. <sup>49</sup>. A Council convened, at this time, in Constantinople, introduced a new order of affairs, with a new Bishop. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. viii. p. 268. l. 39. Μηδὲν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς [Θεοδόσιος] ὑπερδόμενος συνόδον ἐπισκόπων τῆς αὐτῆς πίσεως, συγκαλεῖ, ἐπὶ τὸ κρατύναι τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πῖσιν, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι τῇ Κωνσταντίνῃ πόλει ἐπίσκοπον, κ. τ. ἑ. Conf. Sozom. Lib. VII. capp. vii. ix. pp. 285. 288. Theodor. Lib. V. capp. vii. viii. pp. 200, 201.



alteration ; though they have been corrected in such a manner as to preserve the original readings<sup>101</sup>. The Corbeian manuscript, which has been published with them, has been however more systematically corrected by St. Jerome's text<sup>102</sup>. Of the four manuscripts, which constitute the *Evangeliarium Quadruplex* of M. Blanchini, which, it is curious to observe, contains specimens of the principal varieties of the old Italic translation, the Verona manuscript is alone free from the influence of the Vulgate of Jerome<sup>103</sup>.

In this confused and unsettled state, the Western version continued, for more than a century, until the times of Cassiodorus. Of the effectual method which he took to settle the authorised version, by wholly superseding the old translation, and establishing the Vulgate of Jerome, I have already expressed myself at large on a former occasion<sup>104</sup>. With what suc-

<sup>101</sup> Vid. supr. p. 92. n. <sup>102</sup>. vid. infr. n. <sup>103</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> Blanchin. *Evang. Quadrupl.* P. I. f. cclxiv. "Exhibemus hic Codicem vetustissimum Corbejensis Monasterii n. 195. sexto sæculo descriptum Romanis literis, in quo vocabula persæpe nullo discrimine sejunguntur. Cum autem eo Codice uterentur in Ecclesia, ut ex eo Evangelium in missa canerent, hinc persæpe fit, presertim in Matthæo, ut *interpolationes occurrant, quibus codex simillimus efficeretur Vulgatæ ex Hieronymiana Versione*. Eæ tamen correctiones nullo negotio dignoscuntur, tum ex atramento, tum ex literarum forma." Vid. supr. p. 20. n. <sup>35</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> Id. *ibid.* P. II. f. dlxxvi. "Antiquam Latinam Italam Versionem quatuor Evangeliorum repræsentat [Cod. Veronens.] cum nativis lineamentis suis; *estque nullibi—ad Hieronymianam emendationem exacta.*"

<sup>104</sup> Vid. supr. p. 16, 17.

cess his efforts were crowned, may be collected from the general prevalence of this text which he rendered the authorised version. So universally has it obtained, that if some copies of the old Italick had not been preserved as relicks, or on account of the beautiful manner in which they were executed<sup>105</sup>, we should probably possess no specimens of this version, but those which accord with the corrected text of St. Jerome.

This brief sketch of the history of the Latin version, to which it is necessary to attend, in order to appreciate the testimony borne by the Latin Church to the integrity of the sacred text, is completely confirmed by the internal evidence of the version itself. And this evidence, when heard fully out, ends in establishing the following important conclusions:—That the purest specimen of the old Italick translation is that which is preserved in the Brescia manuscript; that consequently, as the Byzantine text, which accords with it, must be that from which this translation was originally made; that text, of course, must be of the most remote antiquity, as the Italick version was incontestably made in the earliest ages of the Church.

In order to substantiate these points, I shall begin with the investigation of the text of the Vulgate; as in constituting the last version of the Latin Church, it necessarily inherits the peculiarities of those versions by which it was preceded. As St. Jerome has spoken of the state of the Latin text as it existed in

<sup>105</sup> Vid. supr. p. 60. n. 37.

his times, with fulness and precision; and, as it is implied in the principles of the scheme which it is my object to establish, that the three classes of that text, including his own version, exist even at the present day, as he has described them: it ought to follow, that what he has delivered on the subject of these texts which were before him, should agree with the copies which we retain. If therefore it will be found, on experiment, that what he has delivered on the subject of the Latin translation, is literally verified in that translation as it remains at this day; the result will surely constitute as decisive a confirmation as can be required of the solidity of the foundation on which my whole system is built. On separating St. Jerome's new translation from the two versions which remain, there will be then little difficulty in proving, that the Brescia manuscript contains the text, out of which the other versions were formed.

1. The general description which St. Jerome gives of the Latin copies existing in his times, represents them as having the Gospels interpolated from each other<sup>106</sup>. The edition which principally prevailed in St. Jerome's age, was that of Eusebius

<sup>106</sup> S. Hier. Præf. in. iv. Evangg. Tom. VI. p. i. "Magnus siquidem hic in nostris Codicibus error inolevit, dum quod in eadem re alius Evangelista plus dixit, in alio, quia minus putaverint, addiderunt. Vel dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum e quatuor primum legerat, ad ejus exemplum cæteros quoque existimaverit emendandos. Unde accidit, ut apud nos mixta sunt omnia, et in Marco plura Lucæ et Matthæi, rursus in Matthæo plura Joannis et Marci, et in cæteris reliquorum, quæ aliis propria sunt inveniantur."



Vercellensis. We consequently find, that the Verceli manuscript accurately accords with this description, and exhibits those interpolations in its text<sup>107</sup>.

2. This censure St. Jeromè has indiscriminately applied to the copies which existed in his age, while he speaks of the editions of Lucianus, as well as Hesychius<sup>108</sup>. We infallibly know the standard by which he condemned them; as we possess, in his own Vulgate the pure text, pruned from these redundancies. But on collating the Brescia manuscript with the Vulgate, we find the latter attributes readings to *one* Evangelist, which the Brescia manu-

<sup>107</sup> The proof of this assertion may be taken from Dr. Mills's general description of the Cambridge MS. *infr.* n. <sup>118</sup>. which harmonizes with the Verceli MS. in an extraordinary manner. The following quotation, taken from Luk. xiv. 8, 9, 10. and inserted in the Verceli and Cambridge MSS. after Mat. xx. 28. will evince the coincidence existing between these MSS. and exemplify the declaration of St. Jeromè; "Vos autem quæritis de pusillo crescere, et de majore minores esse. Intrans autem et rogati ad cœnam, nolite recumbere in locis eminentioribus, ne forte clarior te superveniat, et accedens qui ad cœnam vocavit te, dicat tibi; adhuc deorsum accede, et confundaris. Si autem in loco inferiori recubueris, et supervenerit humilior te, dicet tibi qui te ad cœnam vocavit: accede adhuc superius. Et erit hoc tibi utilius." *Verc.* ap. Blanchin. *Evang. Quad. P. I. p. clxiv.* We read exclusively in Mat. xxi. 12. Et mensas numulariorum et cathedras vendentium columbas evertit: *Vulg.* but we read in *Luk. xix. 45.* as well as *Matt. xxi. 12.* Et mensas numulariorum evertit et cathedras vendentium columbas." *Verc.* These passages also occur, with a slight verbal variation, in the Verona MS.

<sup>108</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>. *conf.* p. 155. n. <sup>106</sup>.

script ascribes to *two*<sup>109</sup>. So far it verifies St. Jerome's account of the different copies of the Latin version, which I suppose to have existed in his æra.

3. In referring to the very copies before him, St. Jerome cites different passages which belonged to different texts. He has thus quoted Mat. xi. 23. as differently read in his different manuscripts<sup>110</sup>. The one reading which he specifies, is, however, found in the *Verceli*, and the other in the *Brescia* manuscript<sup>111</sup>. The text of both is thus almost identified with that of the very copies which he collated.

4. In citing this peculiar passage, he adopts the reading of the *Verceli* manuscript; and merely refers to the *Brescia* manuscript, as his "*other*

<sup>109</sup> The following *passage* is omitted in the correct copies of the Vulgate, in Mat. xxiii. 14. but in the *Brescia* MS. it is inserted, wholly in Mat. xxxiii. 14. and partly in *Mark* xii. 40. *Luke* xx. 47. "Væ autem vobis Scribæ et Pharisei hypocritæ, qui devoratis domos viduarum sub obtentu prolixæ orationis; propterea sumetis pluriorem damnationem."

<sup>110</sup> In the text of the Vulgate we read; S. Hier. Com. in Matt. Lib. I. cap. xi. p. 19. "Et tu Capharnaum *numquid* usque ad cælum exaltaberis? usque in infernum descendes:" in the annexed *commentary* we read; ib. "In altero exemplari reperimus; 'Et tu Capharnaum *quæ* usque in cælum exaltata es, usque in inferna descendes.'"

<sup>111</sup> Mat. xi. 23. "Et tu Capharnaum *numquid* usque in cælum exaltaveris? aut usque in infernum descendes." *Verc.* "Et tu Capharnaum, *quæ* usque ad cælum exaltaveris, usque in infernum descendes." *Brix.* In Luk. x. 15. the *Brescia* MS., approaching still nearer to the Vulgate, reads, "usque in cælum."

exemplar<sup>112</sup>. But he evidently took the received text of the age as the basis of his revisal; and that text existed in St. Eusebius' edition. The Verceli and Brescia manuscripts, of consequence, must not only agree with his Latin copies, but the former contained the received text, the latter the superseded edition of St. Jerome's age; which is precisely conformable to what is assumed as true in the whole of the present system.

5. In speaking of the general mass of text, as dispersed in the different copies, which existed in his age, he declares that there were nearly as many texts as manuscripts<sup>113</sup>; yet he admits that some of them corresponded with the Greek<sup>114</sup>. It is a remarkable fact with respect to the Verceli and Brescia manuscript, that while they differ from each other more than from the Vulgate, they respectively accord with the Greek<sup>115</sup>. We of course discover the Latin text preserved in these manuscripts, in the state in which it existed in the days of St. Jerome.

It is thus, I trust, apparent, that St. Jerome's

<sup>112</sup> Conf. supr. n. <sup>110</sup> et <sup>111</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> S. Hier. ub. supr. p. i.—“verum non esse quod variat etiam maledicorum testimoniis comprobatur. Si enim *Latinis exemplaribus* fides est adhibenda respondeant quibus: *tot enim sunt exemplaria pene quot codices.*”

<sup>114</sup> Id. ibid. “Novum opus me facere cogis ex veteri: ut post exemplaria Scripturarum toto orbe dispersa, quasi quidam arbiter sedeam; et quia *inter se variant*, quæ sint *illa* quæ *cum Græca consentiant* discernam.”

<sup>115</sup> This will fully appear, on comparing p. 156. n. <sup>107</sup>. with p. 177. n. <sup>153</sup>. and p. 157. n. <sup>109</sup>. with p. 186. n. <sup>164</sup>.



account of the Latin translation in his own age, is fully verified in the copies which exist at this day. It now remains, that we put the above system to the last test; and examine how far the account which he has given of his mode of correcting the antient version, may be exemplified in the same manuscripts; which, as we have seen, accord with the copies that he apparently used. The Verceli manuscript, I have already observed, as it constituted the received text, was taken as the basis of his revision. On putting it through the process observed by St. Jerome, if the above system be true, it should confirm the account which he has given of his method, by furnishing similar readings to those which his corrections produced.

In making this experiment, I shall confine my attention principally to the first ten chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel<sup>116</sup>. Here, if any where, we may expect to find the authour's principles accurately applied. This portion of Scripture, as including the Sermon on the Mount, is obviously among the most remarkable and important parts of the Canon, and as such undoubtedly laboured by St. Jerome,

<sup>116</sup> As it is necessary to bring these notes within a moderate compass, in analysing these ten chapters, I shall confine my attention to the Various Readings collected by M. Blanchini, and noted in the lower margin of his *Evang. Quadrupl.* As that collection has been made without any view to the system which it is my wish to establish, and indeed without any knowledge of the classes of text on which it is founded; and as it is my intention to take those readings collectively, as they occur, no objection can be made to the selection, as partial, or accommodated to my system.

with the greatest care. And as it occurred at an early period of his revisal, before the fatigue attendant on so long and laborious an undertaking, had induced the authour to relax from his original design; it thus promises to furnish a juster specimen of his mode of correcting, than any that may be selected from his work.

1. In correcting the antient translation, St. Jerome treated with disregard the editions of Hesychius and Lucianus<sup>117</sup>; as conceiving the Gospels in those editions interpolated from each other. I have already stated that his notions of the genuine text must be sought in his own version. But on estimating the Cambridge and Moscow manuscripts<sup>118</sup>, which contain the text of Hesychius and Lucianus, by the standard of the Vulgate, they answer St. Jerome's description; and appear to be interpolated, as he has described them.

2. In passing over these editions, St. Jerome declares, that it was his intention to follow the antient

<sup>117</sup> Vid. supr. p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> Dr. Mills, whose notions of the genuine text were in most cases answered in the Latin Vulgate, delivers himself in the following terms on the subject of the Cambridge MS. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. n. 1274. "Hujus certe [Cod. Cant.] de quo agimus, Græca quod attinet, vix dici potest quam supra omnem modum in iis digerendis licenter se gesserit, ac lascivierit Interpolator, quisquis ille. In animo ipsi fuisse prima fronte credideris, non quidem textum ipsum exhibere, quem ediderant ipsi Evangelistæ, sed observato dumtaxat S. Textus ordine ac historia, singula Evangelia absolutiora ac pleniora reddere. Huc enim faciunt intromissæ in cujusque Evangelii textum particulae variæ integræque periodi reliquorum," &c.

copies, in forming his version <sup>119</sup>. When we except the editions which he rejected; by "the antient copies" he must have meant those which contained Eusebius's edition, and the Vulgar Greek; both of which were antient in St. Jerome's estimation, particularly when compared with the recent text of the orthodox revisers. On comparing St. Jerome's Latin copies with Eusebius's Canons, they exhibit a redundancy in some places, and a deficiency in others <sup>120</sup>. But on removing the superfluous passages according to Eusebius's text, the corrected text agrees with the text of the Vulgate <sup>121</sup>. And when a coincidence between the

<sup>119</sup> S. Hier. ub. supr. p. i. "Igitur hæc Præfatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum Evangelia, quorum ordo est iste, Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, Joannes, *Codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed veterum.*"

<sup>120</sup> On examining the marginal reference annexed to Luke xiv. 8, we find in the Greek MSS. ερζ I, and in the Latin 177 X; which intimates, that section clxxvii. of Luke was contained in Table X. of Eusebius's Canons. But as Table X. consists of passages found only in *one* Evangelist, of consequence, this section (which is repeated after Mat. xx. 28. in the *Verceli MS.* vid. supr. p. . n. <sup>107</sup>.) was not repeated in Eusebius's edition. On examining the marginal reference annexed to Mark xii. 40, we find ελς H, and 136 VIII: but as Tab. VIII. consists of passages in which merely St. Mark and St. Luke correspond, this section was not found (in Matthew) in Eusebius's edition, though found at Matt. xxiii. 13. in the *Brescia MS.* vid. supr. p. 157. n. <sup>109</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> Thus on omitting the section which occurs in the *Verceli MS.* after Matt. xx. 28. and that which occurs in the *Brescia MS.* after Matt. xxiii. 13. vid. supr. n. <sup>120</sup>. according to Eusebius's edition, as indicated in his Canons, the text, when corrected, exactly corresponds with that of the Vulgate.



Vulgar Greek and Latin copies discovered a deficiency in Eusebius's text; the version of St. Jerome, as corrected by the antient copies, corresponds with the text of the former<sup>122</sup>. In both instances Eusebius's edition and the Greek Vulgate, must have represented St. Jerome's antient copies.

3. In forming verbal corrections, St. Jerome declares, that his method was to collate the copies of the old translation together, and when they agreed with each other, and with the original Greek, to leave the version in the state in which he found it<sup>123</sup>. We consequently find that when the Brescia and Verceli texts agree with the Greek, there exists a correspondent agreement between them and the Vulgate<sup>124</sup>. In a few instances St. Jerome has deviated from this plan; but they are exceptions which strengthen the general rule, as he deemed it necessary to apologise for them, in his

<sup>122</sup> Thus Mark xvi. 9—20. Joh. vii. 53.—viii. 11.; though omitted in Eusebius's edition, vid. sup. pp. 36, 38. yet as retained in some of the copies of the common edition, or Vulgar Greek, vid. sup. p. 35. n. <sup>63</sup>. et p. 37. n. <sup>65</sup>. are inserted in the text of the Latin Vulgate.

<sup>123</sup> S. Hier. ub. sup. "Igitur hæc Præfatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum Evangelia—Codicum Græcorum emendata collatione—quæ ne multum a lectionis Latinæ consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis, *reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.*"

<sup>124</sup> The reader, on turning to pp. 67, 68, 69, may see this observation exemplified in the first twelve verses of St. Matthew's fifth chapter.

commentary <sup>125</sup>. The Brescia and the Verceli texts, as they verify his account, must of course preserve the Latin version, as it was found in St. Jerome's copies.

4. On collating those copies together, if they were found to differ from each other, St. Jerome's plan was, to collate them with the old copies of the Greek, and thence to determine which of them agreed with the original <sup>126</sup>. If one of his Latin copies agreed with Eusebius's text, he consequently adopted the reading. But if neither agreed with it, he of course translated the original, and inserted the correction in his amended version. Now, on supposing that the Brescia and Verceli texts repre-

<sup>125</sup> In Matt. iv. 1. the Old Italick reads "in Bethlehem Judææ," *Brix. Verc. Veron.* and the Greek ἐν Βεθλὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, *Gr. Vulg.* but St. Jerome, on the authority of the Hebrew, corrected this phrase to "in Bethlehem Judææ." *Lat. Vulg.* He thus, however, apologizes for deviating from the authority of his *Greek and Latin copies*. Com. in Matt. Lib. I. cap. ii, p. 2. f. "*Librariorum hic error est, putamus enim ab evangelista primum editum, sicut in ipso Hebraico legimus, "Judææ" non "Judææ"—Judææ autem idcirco scribitur quia est et alia Bethlehem in Galilæa. Lege librum Jesu filii Nave. Denique et in ipso testimonio quod de Micheæ prophetia sumptum est ita habetur; "Et tu Bethlehem terra Juda."* Here, of course, was St. Jerome's authority.

<sup>126</sup> S. Hier. Sun. et Fretel. Epist. cxxxv. Tom. III. p. 377. "Sicut autem in Novo Testamento si quando apud Latinos quæstio exoritur, et est inter exemplaria varietas, recurrimus ad fontem Græci sermonis, quo Novum scriptum est Instrumentum: ita in Veteri Testamento si quando inter Græcos Latinosque diversitas est, ad Hebraicam recurrimus veritatem: ut quidquid de fonte proficiscitur, hoc quæramus in rivulis."

sent St. Jerome's Latin copies, and that the latter was the basis of his version : we find St. Jerome's readings accounted for, on comparing those manuscripts with Eusebius's edition. The *Verceli* and *Brescia* texts, in the first place *disagree*, where the former, which was St. Jerome's basis, differs from the *Vulgate* <sup>127</sup>. In the next place where the *Brescia* or *Verceli* text corresponds with the *Greek*, we find its reading inserted in the text of the *Vulgate* <sup>128</sup>. In the last place, where those texts do not

<sup>127</sup> Vid. infr. n. <sup>128</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> The following collection of texts will illustrate the *diversity* between St. Jerome's *Latin copies* ; and shew the peculiar readings, which were inserted in his *Vulgate*, from the *Primitive Latin Version*, on account of their agreement with his *old Greek copies*. Mat. ii. 9. supra puerum. *Verc. Veron.* [ἐπάνω ἔην τὸ παῖδιον. *Vat. Gr. Vulg.*] supra ubi erat puer. *Brix. Vulg.*—iii. 16. descendentem de cœlo, *Verc. Veron.* [καταβαῖνον. *Vat. Vulg.*] descendentem, *Brix. Vulg.*—Ibid. 17. dicens ad eum hic est. *Verc. Veron.* [λέγῃσα, ἑτός ἐστι. *Vat. Vulg.*] dicens hic est, *Brix. Vulg.*—iv. 4. omni verbo Dei. *Veron.* hiat *Verc.* [παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ. *Vat. Vulg.*] omne verbo quod procedit de ore Dei. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 10. vade retro me Satanas. *Veron.* vade retro Satanas. *Verc.* [ὑπάγε Σατανά. *Vat. Vulg.*] vade Satana. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 24. omnes curavit. *Verc. Veron.* [ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς. *Vat. Vulg.*] curavit eos. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. v. 4, 5. vid. sup. p. 63.—Ib. 11. propter justitiam *Verc. Veron.* [ψευδομένοι ἔνεκ ἐμῆ. *Vat. Vulg.*] mentientes propter me. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 12. in cœlo. *Verc. Veron.* [ἐν τοῖς ἑρανοῖς. *Vat. Vulg.*] in coelis. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 13. valet. *Verc. Veron.* [ἰσχύει ἔτι. *Vat. Vulg.*] valet ultra. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 14. hujus mundi. *Verc. Veron.* [τῆ κόσμου. *Vat. Vulg.*] mundi. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 32. dico vobis. *Verc. Veron.* [λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι. *Vat. Vulg.*] dico vobis quia. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ibid. qui dimissam duxerit mæchatur. *Brix. Vulg.* [ὁ ἀπολειυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾷται. *Vat.* δὲ ἰα]



so correspond, in which case *both* St. Jerome's basis and his "other copy" must have differed from the *original*, we there find that the Vulgate not only differs from both, but accords with the Greek of Eusebius <sup>129</sup>. It must be of course evident that the

—γαμήση. *Vulg.*] desunt. *Verc. Veron.*—Ib. 38. dentem pro dentem. *Verc. Veron.* [καὶ ὀδὺν αὐτὴν ὀδόντος. *Vat. Vulg.*] et dentem pro dente. *Brix. Vulg.*—vii. 13. quā. *Verc. Veron.* [ὅτι. *Vat. Vulg.*] quia. *Brix. Vulg.*—ix. 15. jejunabunt in illis diebus. *Verc. Veron.* [καὶ τότε νηστεύουσιν. *Vat. Vulg.*] et tunc jejunabunt. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 25. venit et tenuit *Verc. Veron.* [εἰσελθὼν ἐκράτησε. *Vat.*] intravit et tenuit. *Brix. Vulg.*—x. 18. stabitis. *Verc. Veron.* [ἀχθήσεσθε. *Vat. Vulg.*] ducimini. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 23. quod si in aliam persequentur vos, fugite in aliam. *Verc. Veron.* desunt : *Vat. Vulg. Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 24. dominum. *Verc. Veron.* [τὸν κύριον αὐτῶ. *Vat. Vulg.*] dominum suum *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 35. dividere filium. *Verc. Veron.* [διχάσαι ἄνθρωπον. *Vat. Vulg.*] separare hominem. *Brix. Vulg.*—Ib. 42. non peribit merces sua *Verc. Veron.* [ἐμὴ ἀπολίσσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶ. *Vat. Vulg.*] non perdet mercedem suam. *Brix. Vulg.*

The following collection of texts will equally illustrate the diversity between St. Jerome's *Lat. Copies*, and shew the peculiar readings which he adopted from the *Received Version*, on account of their agreement with Eusebius's edition of the *Greek*. Matt. v. 11. beati eritis. *Brix. Veron.* [μακάριοί ἐστε *Vat. Vulg.*] beati estis. *Verc. Vulg.*—Ib. 30. mittatur, in gehennam. *Brix.* [εἰς γεένναν ἀπελθῇ. *Vat.*] eat in gehennam. *Verc. Veron. Vulg.*—vi. 1. elemosynam *Brix.* [δικαιοσύνην. *Vat.*] justitiam *Verc. Veron. Vulg.*—Ib. 13. quoniam tuum est regnum, et virtus et gloria, in sæcula. Amen. *Brix.* desunt. *Vat. Verc. Veron. Vulg.*—x. 3. Jacobus Alpei et Lebbeus qui nominatur Taddeus. *Brix.* [Ἰακώβος ὁ τῷ Ἀλφάϊς, καὶ Θαδδαῖος. *Vat.*] Jacobus Alpei et Judas Zelotes. *Verc. Veron.* Jacobus Alpei et Thaddæus. *Vulg.*

<sup>129</sup> The following collection of texts exhibit the peculiar readings which St. Jerome introduced into the *Vulgate* from possess-

Brescia and Verceli manuscripts must preserve the Latin text in the state in which it existed in the best manuscripts from which St. Jerome formed the Vulgate.

THIS METHOD of correcting the Latin version seems liable but to the one objection which it is my main object to establish ; that the text of Eusebius,

ing a juster knowledge of the Greek, and preserving a closer adherence to the copies of *Eusebius's* edition. Mat. i. 25. non cognovit. *Brix. Cant. Veron.* [ἐγίνωσκεν. *Vat. Vulg.*] non cognoscebat. *Vulg. Corb.*—ii. 9. et stetit supra. *Brix. Verc. Veron.* [ἔως ἑσάθη ἐπάνω. *Vat.*] usquedum staret supra. *Vulg. Corb.*—iv. 18. cum autem transiret. *Brix. cum transiret autem Verc. Veron.* [περιπατῶν δὲ *Vat. Vulg.*] ambulans autem *Vulg. Corb.*—v. 22. fratri suo sine causa, *Brix. Verc. Veron.* [τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. *Vat.*] fratri suo. *Vulg.*—vi. 2. perceperunt mercedem. *Brix. Verc. Veron.* [ἀπέχασιν τὸν μισθόν. *Vat. Vulg.*] receperunt *Vulg. Corb.*—Ib. 8. nollite—similare eis. *Brix. Verc. Veron.* [μὴ—ὁμοιωθῆτε αὐτοῖς. *Vat. Vulg.*] nollite—assimilari eis. *Vulg. Corb.*—ix. 28. veniente autem eo in domum *Brix. et venit in domum. Verc. Veron.* [ἐλθόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. *Vat. Vulg.*] cum autem venisset in domum. *Vulg. Corb.*—Ibid. cæci illi. *Brix. cæci duo Verc. Veron.* [οἱ τυφλοὶ. *Vat. Vulg.*] cæci *Vulg. Corb.*—x. 5. præcipiens eis et dicens. *Brix. Verc. Veron.* [παραγγέλλας αὐτοῖς λέγων. *Vat. Vulg.*] præcipiens eis dicens. *Vulg.*—Ib. 10. dignus enim est operarius mercedem suam. *Brix. Verc. Veron.* [ἄξιός γάρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. *Vat. Vulg.*] dignus est enim operarius cibo suo. *Vulg. Corb.*

While these examples, together with those quoted, supr. n. <sup>125</sup>. et infr. n. <sup>130</sup>. demonstrate, that the *Vulgate* has had no influence on the *Brescia MS* ; they illustrate, in the particular instance of the *Corbeian MS*. the influence which that version has had upon some copies of the *Old Italick*. The examples quoted supr. n. <sup>128</sup>. on the other hand, evince the influence which the *Brescia text* has had on the *Vulgate*.

by which St. Jerome in some places <sup>130</sup> modelled his translation, possessed not authority equal to that of the Old Italick version. And we consequently find, that this very objection was made to the Greek text by Hilary the Deacon <sup>131</sup>; and to St. Jerome, by

<sup>130</sup> In the examples cited *supr.* nn. <sup>128</sup> et <sup>129</sup>, it is observable that St. Jerome generally possessed the authority of the two species of text contained in his old Greek copies (i. e. *Vat. Vulg.*) in favour of his corrections. When those copies differed, and Eusebius's text (*Vat.*) agreed with his basis (*Verc.*) it is likewise observable he followed their joint authority, against that of the common Greek (*Vulg.*). In one instance, Mat. v. 22, he has followed the authority of Eusebius's text, against the joint authority of his Latin copies and the Greek Vulgate. But for this deviation from his usual plan, he offers the following apology; Com. in Matt. Lib. I. cap. v. p. 6. "In quibusdam Codicibus additur "sine causa," cæterum in veris, definita sententia est, et ira penitus tollitur, dicente Scriptura; "qui irascitur fratri suo." Si enim jubemur verberanti alteram præbere maxillam, et inimicos nostros amare, et orare pro persequentibus, omnis iræ occasio tollitur. Radendum est ergo "sine causa." From hence it appears that St. Jerome's main dependance was on the copies containing Eusebius's text, which were indeed generally supported by the Greek Vulgate; but these he termed his "true" rather than his "antient copies." His declaration that "sine causa" was to be erased, clearly evinces that this reading was found in the whole of the Latin copies with which he was acquainted; his words, of course, by implication declare, that the testimony of the Old Italick was in this instance collectively against Eusebius's edition: *vid. infr.* n. <sup>132</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 57. n. <sup>23</sup>. Hilar. Comment. in Gal. ii. "Tria hæc mandata ab Apostolis et senioribus data reperiuntur, id est, "ut observent se ab idolatria et sanguine" sicut Noe, "et fornicatione." Quæ *Sophistæ Græcorum* non intelligentes, scientes tamen a sanguine non abstinendum, adulterarunt Scripturam, quartum mandatum addentes "et a suffocato" observandum."



Helvidius, who accused him of following copies that had been corrupted <sup>132</sup>. And that this objection was made with effect, is apparent; from the Old Version having still maintained its ground in the Latin Church even against the authority of St. Jerome; and from the difficulty which attended its final suppression under Cassiodorus <sup>133</sup>. But this testimony of the Latin Church against the new version is not merely negative; but may be thrown on the side of the Byzantine Greek and of the Primitive Version. Hilary, indeed, in objecting to the Greek copies, supports a reading <sup>134</sup> which proba-

<sup>132</sup> S. Hier. adv. Helvid. cap. iv. Tom. II. p. 135. "Et erant" inquit Lucas, "*pater illius et mater admirantes super his, quæ dicebantur de eo.*" Licet tu mira impudentia hæc in Græcis Codicibus falsata contendas, quæ non solum omnes pene Græciæ tractatores, sed nonnulli quoque e Latinis, ita ut in Græcis habentur, assumpserint." Here consequently the whole nearly of the Old Latin Version was against the Received Text, of Palestine, as published by Eusebius: vid. infr. n. <sup>135</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 16, 17.

<sup>134</sup> The history of this reading is curious, and constitutes one of the many proofs which evince the integrity of the Greek Vulgate. In Act. xv. 20, the common or Vulgar edition reads, ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδωλῶν καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος. But the reason of the prohibition "from strangled and from blood" not being understood; the following explanatory gloss, which has crept into the text, καὶ ὅσα ἂν μὴ θύλωσιν ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖν, was added, in order to accommodate the passage to Gen. ix. 4. 5. 7. 6. This meaning, however, seemed to some of the revisers of the Latin Version to be expressed in ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ αἵματος; yet apprehensive lest it should be understood as a 'prohibition from eating blood,' they superseded "a suffocato" by "sicut Noe." Such

bly existed only in the Received Text, as revised by St. Eusebius of Vercelli; and thus merely supports the credit of that translation. But Helvidius supports a reading which is found in the Brescia and Byzantine text, against one which is found in the Palestine text and the Vulgate of Jerôme<sup>135</sup>.

was the reading of Hilary's copies, vid. supr. n. <sup>131</sup>: but the Greek which is left behind, after expunging τῷ πινυτῷ, will not bear the sense he assigns it; or any meaning but that of refraining from *partaking* of blood, vid. 1 Tim. iv. 3. The vulgar reading is, however, right; the prohibition of the Apostles having been evidently levelled against the inhuman and depraved rites, in which the early Pagan converts fancied themselves licenced to indulge; vid. 2 Pet. ii. 1, 13, 14, 19. Rev. ii. 14, 20. conf. Athenag. Leg. pro Christt. p. 4. c. et Just. Mart. Apol. maj. p. 70. a. b. ed. Par. Orig. contr. Cels. p. 272. ed. Cant. S. Epiph. Hær. xxvi. p. 84. c. 87. b.

<sup>135</sup> Luke ii. 33. ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. *Vat. pater illius et mater. Vulg. Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. Vulg. Joseph et mater ejus. Brix. Verc. Veron. Corb.* The reading of Eusebius, which St. Jerome adopts, he defends by reference to Joh. i. 46. "Hier. adv. Helv. cap. ix. p. 138. "Ac ne forte de exemplariorum veritate causeris, quia tibi stultissime persuasisti, *Græcos Codices esse falsatos*: ad Joannis Evangelium venio, in quo plenissime scribitur; 'Invenit Philippus Nathanael, et ait illi; quem scripsit Moyses in lege, et prophetæ invenimus Jesum *filium Joseph*.' Certe hoc in tuo Codice continetur. Responde mihi, quo modo Jesus sit *filius Joseph*, quem constat de Spiritu Sancto esse procreatum?" But the reading of the Greek Vulgate and Old Italick Version may be easily defended against this solemn trifling; and the refutation of Eusebius and Jerome may be effected with ease. In Joh. i. 46. the sacred historian merely relates the declaration of *Philip*; in Luke ii. 33. the inspired writer speaks *for himself*. From Joh. ii. 11. vii. 5. it will appear that had *Philip* at this time declared his belief in

He consequently not only supports the authority of the *Greek Vulgate* while he detracts from that of the *Latin* ; but by his appeal to *Latin* copies, he proves that the *Vulgar Greek* was exclusively supported by the authority of the *original Latin Translation*.

As St. Jerome is thus deserted by the testimony of the early Latin Church, his own testimony is inadequate to support the authority of the new Vulgate against that of the old, or primitive version. His declaration, that he purposed following the old copies, has been taken in a positive, not relative sense <sup>136</sup> ; his words, instead of being interpreted with reference to the rectified copies which prevailed in his times, have been understood of the

the divinity of our Lord, it must have been by an oversight of the sacred historian. And from Luke ii. 48, 49, 50, it will appear that had *St. Luke* assigned any Father to Christ but God, it must have been by grossly confounding what our Lord had expressly distinguished. However "foolish the persuasion" may be deemed, the Vatican MS. and Latin Vulgate are here, I am persuaded, grossly corrupt.

<sup>136</sup> On the publication of a new edition of the sacred text by the orthodox revisers, vid. sup. p. 93. n. <sup>103</sup>. p. n. <sup>100</sup>. the Received Text edited by Eusebius became, properly speaking, the old. This mode of expression was not unknown to the Greeks. In this sense St. Irenæus speaks of *the old copies* of the Apocalypse, while he asserts even of *the original work*, that it was published *in the age in which he flourished*. S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. V. cap. xxx. p. 330. Τέλειον δὲ ἔστω ἐχούσιον, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς σπαρδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγραφείοις τῷ ἀριθμῷ τέττε κεμένον, καὶ μαρτυρήσιον αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν Ἰωάννην ἱωρακότων, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ διδάσκατος ἡμῶς—Conf. ut sup. p. 124. n. <sup>36</sup>. p. 167. n. <sup>130</sup>.



copies of Pierius and Origen, to which he appeals occasionally <sup>137</sup>. They have been however strained beyond what they will bear: for no general declaration ought to be taken in the strictness of the letter. As he was professedly a reader of Adamantius <sup>138</sup>, and of Pierius, whom he calls the younger Origen <sup>139</sup>; he might have found the readings of their copies, in their commentaries, without inspecting their manuscripts. Had he possessed copies of the kind, he was not a person likely to suppress the fact; or introduce them to the acquaintance of his readers, under the loose and indefinite title of “antient copies.” Nor is his shyness to speak explicitly on this subject to be reconciled with his minute description of the text of Lucianus and Hesychius, and of the canons of Eusebius of

<sup>137</sup> S. Hier. Com. in Mat. cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. 54. “In quibusdam Codicibus additum est “neque filius:” cum in *Græcis* et maxime *Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus*, hoc non habeatur adscriptum: sed quia in nonnullis legitur, disserendum videatur.” Of whatever service it may be to the partisans of the Alexandrine recension to talk of these copies of Origen and Pierius, I am not apprehensive, that any advocate of Eusebius’s text will quote *this* passage against the Greek Vulgate.

<sup>138</sup> S. Hier. Cat. Scriptt. Eccless. in Pamphil. Tom. I. p. 128. “Origenis volumina manu ejus [sc. Pamphili] exarata reperi; quæ tanto amplector et servo gaudio, ut Cræsi opes habere me credam. Si enim lætitia est unam epistolam habere martyris; quanto magis tot millia versuum.”

<sup>139</sup> Id. ibid. in Pier. “Pierius Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ presbyter—florentissime docuit populos, et in tantam sermonis, diversorumque tractatum, qui usque hodie extant, venit elegantiam, ut Origenes junior vocaretur.”

Cæsarea <sup>140</sup>. But what must lay the question at rest, is the confession of St. Jerome himself; who not only declares that he possessed copies of Origen's *Commentaries* which had been transcribed by Pamphilus <sup>141</sup>, but expressly admits, that Origen's library had fallen into decay, and had been partially restored on vellum by Acacius and Euzoius <sup>142</sup>. As Origen's library consisted of volumes written on the papyrus; such a library having been alone suited to the finances of a man, who lived in poverty, and was supplied with the means of publishing his works, by the munificence of his friend and patron Ambrose <sup>143</sup>; it would have been rather a hazardous attempt in St. Jerome to boast of possessing his original copies. The authority of Origen's *Commentaries* became a sufficient voucher to St. Jerome, for the readings of Origen's copies; in this manner they are occasionally cited by him, while he generally conforms to the text of Eusebius.

St. Jerome's authority is therefore inadequate to support the credit of the Vulgate against the authority of the antient Latin translation. His version, as founded on a preference for Eusebius's text, was built on an accidental partiality <sup>144</sup>; and on the the same foundation rests the standard by which he condemned the text of Lucianus <sup>145</sup>. His transla-

<sup>140</sup> Vid. supr. p. 100. n. <sup>123</sup>. p. 85. n. 77. infr. p. 173. n. <sup>145</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> Vid. supr. p. 171. n. <sup>138</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> Vid. supr. p. 84. nn. 72. et 73.

<sup>143</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib.

<sup>144</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 84, 85.

<sup>145</sup> That he condemned it, on judging it, merely by Euse-

tion is besides destitute of the authority of the ancient Latin Church, which continued to retain the primitive version. But as far as was consistent with St. Jerome's plan, his testimony may be cited in support of this version, and of the text of Lucianus. He admitted the authority of the former in correcting the Received Text of his times : and, in following the edition of Eusebius Cæsariensis, he adhered to a text that approximates very closely to the Byzantine edition. The event is, that the Vulgate of St. Jerome approaches much nearer to the primitive version of the Western Church, than the Received Text of his age, as revised by the hand of St. Eusebius of Verceli.

We have now brought the determination of the question to the consideration of the two versions which preceded the Vulgate, and which exist in the Brescia and Verceli manuscripts. But a choice between these texts may, I trust, be decided with little comparative difficulty.

Considering the question, as resting between these two texts, it must be admitted, that one

bis's text, taken as the standard, he has himself placed out of dispute. After describing Hesychius and Lucianus's text, as interpolated, vid. supr. p. 100. n. <sup>122</sup>. he thus observes; Præf. in iv. Evang. Tom. VI. p. i. "*Canones quoque quos Eusebius Cæsariensis Episcopus Alexandrinum secutus Ammonium, in decem numeros ordinavit, sicut in Græco habetur expressimus. Quod si quis de curiosis voluerit quæ in Evangeliiis, vel eadèm, vel vicina, vel sola sint, eorum distinctione cognoscet. Magnus siquidem hic in nostris Codicibus error inolevit,*" &c. ut supr. p. 155. n. <sup>106</sup>.



forms the basis of the other. They possess that extraordinary conformity, which can be only accounted for by such an assumption <sup>146</sup>. We however know the authour of the Verceli text <sup>147</sup>; while we are ignorant of that of the Brescia manuscript. Regarding the question as confined to the consideration of these two, St. Eusebius in forming the Verceli text, must have necessarily taken as his basis the Brescia translation. Now this conclusion is fully confirmed on considering the mode in which St. Eusebius necessarily proceeded in forming his revisal. On going through the process which he obviously must have followed, we may produce a text which literally corresponds with the Verceli manuscript. On decomposing the version which he produced, we discover, in its elements, the text of the Brescia manuscripts.

We cannot be mistaken in the version of St. Eusebius; as the Verceli manuscript, though clearly not the authour's autograph, has been preserved at his church in Piedmont <sup>148</sup>; it is, beyond all reasonable ground of doubt, a copy of the edition which he revised: and we discover strong and indelible marks of this version having been the Received Text from the times of P. Julius, in the works of subsequent writers <sup>149</sup>. We can be as little mistaken in the Greek text by which he formed

<sup>146</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 67, 69, et p. 165. n. <sup>125</sup>.

<sup>147</sup> Vid. supr. p. 59. n. <sup>23</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> Vid. supr. p. 60. n. <sup>32</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> Vid. supr. p. 149. n. <sup>91</sup>.

his revisal ; its literal coincidence with the Cambridge manuscript proves it to have been the edition of Hesychius <sup>150</sup> ; and this supposition is confirmed by the fact of the authour's exile in Egypt, where the text of Hesychius prevailed <sup>151</sup>. Now on assuming that the Brescia text formed St. Eusebius's basis, which was to be corrected by the Greek of the Cambridge manuscript ; every difference in the Verceli MS. which was formed by correcting the one from the other, may be explained and accounted for. This assumption may be established by a brief exemplification.

1. When St. Eusebius's *basis* and his *Greek copy* agreed, there was no room for a correction ; we consequently find that when the Brescia and Cambridge manuscripts agree there is a correspondent agreement in the Verceli manuscript <sup>152</sup>.

2. When the *basis* and *Greek* disagree, there ought to be an agreement between the *Greek* and the *revisal* ; consequently, on collating the Brescia and Cambridge manuscripts, and translating the Greek text in passages where it differs from the Latin, we produce the text of the Verceli manuscript <sup>153</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 63, 64, 65, 67.

<sup>151</sup> Vid. supr. p. 54. n. 17.

<sup>152</sup> This position may be verified, by a collation of the extracts given in pp. 67, 69, from the Cambridge, Brescia, and Verceli MSS.

<sup>153</sup> The following collection of texts will illustrate the *diversity* existing between St. Eusebius's *Latin basis* and his *Greek text* ; and the *correspondence* of his *Corrected Text* with the

In both cases, therefore, when the basis and original agreed or disagreed, to the consideration of

*latter.* Matt. ii. 9. *stetit supra ubi erat puer.* Brix. [ἐστάθη ἐπάνω τῷ παιδί. *Cant.*] *stetit supra puerum.* Verc. Veron.—iii. 16. *descendentem.* Brix. [καταβαῖνον ἐκ τοῦ ὕρανος. *Cant.*] *descendentem de caelo.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 17. *dicens hic est.* Brix. [λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅτις ἐστίν. *Cant.*] *dicens ad eum hic est.* Verc. Veron.—iv. 4. *omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei.* Brix. [παντὶ ῥήματι. Θεῷ. *Cant.*] *omni verbo Dei.* Verc.—ib. 10. *Vade Satana.* Brix. [ὑπάγει ὀπίσω μου Σατανά. *Cant.*] *Vade retro Satana.* Verc. *Vade retro me* Satanas. Veron.—Ib. 24. *curavit eos.* Brix. [πάντας ἐθεράπευσεν. *Cant.*] *omnes curavit.* Verc. Veron.—v. 4. *beati qui lugent, &c.* Brix. [μακάριοι οἱ πρᾶξι. κ. τ. ἐ. *Cant.*] *beati mites.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 5. *beati mansueti, &c.* Brix. [μακάριοι οἱ πενήθεις κ. τ. ἐ. *Cant.*] *beati qui lugent.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 11. *beati eritis.* Brix. [μακάριοί ἐστε *Cant.*] *beati estis.* Verc. Veron.—Ibid. *mentientes propter me.* Brix. [ἐνεκεν δικαιοσύνης. *Cant.*] *propter justitiam.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 12. *in caelis.* Brix. [ἐν τῷ ὕρανό. *Cant.*] *in caelo.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 13. *valebit ultra.* Brix. [ἰσχύει. *Cant.*] *valet.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 30. *mittatur in gehennam.* Brix. [ἀπέλθῃ εἰς γέενναν. *Cant.*] *eat in gehennam.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 32. *Dico vobis quia.* Brix. [λέγω ὑμῖν. *Cant.*] *dico vobis.* Verc. Veron.—Ibid. *qui dimissam duxerit mæchatur.* Brix. *desunt.* *Cant.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 38. *et dentem.* Brix. [ὀδόντα. *Cant.*] *dentem.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 41. *vade cum illo duo.* Brix. [ὑπάγει μετ' αὐτῷ ἔτι ἄλλα δύο. *Cant.*] *vade cum illo adhuc alia duo.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 44. *orate pro calumniantibus vobis.* Brix. [προσεύχασθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηγεαζόντων. *Cant.*] *orate pro calumniantibus.* Verc. Veron.—vi. 1. *elemosynam.* Brix. [δικαιοσύνην. *Cant.*] *justitiam.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 13. *quoniam tuum est regnum et virtus, et gloria, in sæcula. Amen.* Brix. *desunt.* *Cant.* Verc. Veron. [hiat *Cant.* a cap. vi. 20. ad ix. 2.]—ix. 5. *tibi peccata tua.* Brix. [σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. *Cant.*] *tibi peccata.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 15. *jejunabunt.* Brix. [νηεῦσιν ἐν ἐκεῖναις ταῖς ἡμέραις. *Cant.*] *jejunabunt in illis diebus.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 28. *veniente autem eo in domum.* Brix. [καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. *Cant.*] *et venit in domum.* Verc. Veron.—Ib. 28. *cæci illi.*



which the question is necessarily limited, the result is precisely that which would have occurred, had the Brescia manuscript formed the primitive text which St. Eusebius corrected by the text of Hesychius.

As the testimony of St. Eusebius's version thus clearly supports the antiquity, in evincing the priority, of the Brescia text, it appears to me, that, when it is taken into account with other texts of the same edition, they annihilate the authority of Hesychius's text ; and thus undermining the very foundation on which they are mutually built, necessarily destroy their common credit ; and by consequence establish the exclusive authority of the text of the Brescia manuscript.

*Brix.* [οἱ δύο τυφλοί. *Cant.*] *duo cæci. Verc. Veron.*—x. 3. Jacobus Alphei et *Lebbeus qui nominatur* Taddeus. *Brix.* [Ἰακώβος ὁ τῷ Ἀλφαίῳ καὶ Λεββαῖος. *Cant.*] Jacobus Alphei et Judas Zelotes. *Verc. Veron.*—Ib. 18. ducimini. *Brix.* [ῥαθήσεσθε. *Cant.*] stabitis. *Verc. Veron.*—Ib. 23. [εἰὰν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ διώκεσιν ὑμᾶς, φύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην. *Cant.*] quod si in aliam persequentur vos, fugite in aliam. *Verc. Veron.* desunt. *Brix.*—Ib. 35. separare hominem. *Brix.* [διχάσαι υἱόν. *Cant.*] dividere filium. *Verc. Veron.*—Ib. 42. perdet mercedem. *Brix.* [ἀπολίσῃ ὁ μισθός. *Cant.*] peribit merces. *Verc. Veron.* I subjoin from the Cambridge MS. the correspondent passages to the extracts given from the Verceli MS. supr. p. 156. n. <sup>107</sup>. Matt. xx. 28. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικρῷ ἀυξῆσαι, καὶ ἐκ μείζονος ἑλάττω εἶναι· εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ πᾶρα κληθέντες δειπνῆσαι, μὴ ἀνακλεινᾶσθαι [1. ἀνακλινᾶσθαι] εἰς τὰς ἐξέχουλας τόπους· μήποτε ἐνδεξότερός σε ἐπέλθῃ, καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ εἴπῃ σοι· Ἔτι κάτω χώρε· καὶ κατασχυνθήσῃ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀναπίσης εἰς τὸν ἥτιονα τόπον, καὶ ἐπέλθῃ σε ἥτις, ἐρεῖ σοι ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ· Σύναγε ἔτι ἄνω· καὶ ἔσαι σοι τῷτο χρήσιμον. *Cant.* Luke xix. 45. καὶ τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβιστῶν ἐξέχειν, καὶ τὰς καθέδρας τῶν πωλόντων τὰς περιστεράς. *Cant.*

The most remarkable of the copies of the old Italick version, which conform to the edition of St. Eusebius Vercellensis, are those contained in the Verona and Cambridge manuscripts. While they preserve a verbal *coincidence* in many places, and a general *conformity* to the text of Hesychius<sup>154</sup>; they exhibit a *diversity* between themselves in numberless readings. From those peculiarities, we may make several deductions, which will serve to establish the foregoing assumption. If in accounting for *the conformity* of the text of those manuscripts to the Greek, we suppose them severally *made* from the text of Hesychius; their *conformity* to his edition, and their *diversities* among themselves, may be explained; but their verbal *coincidences* are wholly inexplicable. To account for the last peculiarity, we must conceive them formed on the basis of some common translation. And taking this circumstance into account, every peculiarity in their respective texts admits of an easy explanation. As their *coincidence* in the first case is explained, by conceiving them *formed* on the basis of some antecedent version; and their *conformity* in the second by conceiving them *corrected* by some common Greek text; their *diversities* in the third are ex-

<sup>154</sup> The coincidence of the Verceli and Verona MSS. with Hesychius's text has been already pointed out; supr. p. 175. n.

<sup>155</sup> The *whole* of the correspondent readings there extracted, from those MSS. are found also in the Latin version of the Cambridge MS. with the exception of those mentioned in nn.

<sup>155</sup> et <sup>155</sup>.

plained, by conceiving them corrected by *different* hands<sup>155</sup>.

Now, as the *coincidences* of the Verceli, Verona, and Cambridge MSS. are *common* to the Brescia MS. their joint testimony, so far, proves, that this manuscript contains the original version, on which they have been severally formed. And, conformably to this notion, we find, that frequently where those manuscripts *differ* from each other, and one of them *conforms* to Hesychius's text; the other *coincides* with the Brescia manuscript<sup>156</sup>. It is

<sup>155</sup> The following various readings of a single text, while it illustrates the diversity existing between the Verona the Cambridge and the Verceli MSS. will of itself almost prove, that both the former MSS. have been corrected by the Greek. Matt. x. 10. ἀξίος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. dignus enim est operarius mercedem suam. *Verc. Brix.* dignus enim est operarius mercedem (αὐτοῦ) ejus. *Veron.* dignus enim est operarius (τῆς τροφῆς) esca sua. *Cant.* Instances of this kind occur in almost every page of the *Cambr.* and *Veron.* MSS. vid. infr. p. 180. nn. <sup>156</sup> et <sup>161</sup>. The following reading appears to me to demonstrate, that the text of the latter of those manuscripts has been corrected immediately from the Greek; Luc. xv. 10. ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ super unum peccatorem. *Verc. Brix.* in peccatore. *Veron.* The authority for this reading plainly lies in ἐνὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ, mistaken for ἐν ἀμαρτωλῷ, probably on account of the absence of ἐπὶ.

<sup>156</sup> The Cambridge and Verona MSS. appear to have been first formed on the basis of the Brescia text, by *corrections* taken from the *Verceli* text; after which those MSS. were severally *revised* by the original Greek of Hesychius. This assumption is confirmed by many of their peculiar readings, which remained *unaltered*, both under the first correction and subsequent revisal. I subjoin a few examples; Matt. ii. 1. venerunt Hierosolyma. *Brix. Veron.* (εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα) venerunt in Hierusalem.



wholly inconceivable, that this result could take place, if the text of this manuscript were not nearly identical with *the primitive version*, which formed the basis of *these corrected translations*.

While the mutual *coincidence* of those manuscripts thus confirms the authority of the Brescia text, their mutual *dissent* from it seems to destroy the credit of the Greek text by which they have been

*Verc. Cant.*—Ib. v. 11. *beati eritis. Brix. Veron.* (μακάριοι ἔσε-  
*beati estis. Verc. Cant.*—Ibid. xii. 7. *misericordiam volo quam*  
*sacrificium. Brix. Veron.* (ἔλεον θέλω καὶ ἁ θυσίαν.) *misericordiam*  
*volo et non sacrificium. Verc.*—Joh. xiv. 28. *vado ad Patrem*  
*quoniam. Brix. Cant.* (πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὅτι) *eo ad Pa-*  
*trēm quia. Verc. Veron.*—Ib. xvi. 13. *diriget vos in. Brix. Cant.*  
*(ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς) deducet vos in. Verc. Veron.* By the same  
principle I account for Mat. v. 4, 5. preserving the natural order  
in *Brix. Veron.* while these verses are inverted in *Verc. Cant.*  
That the Verona MS. was formed on the basis of some primitive  
text, I first discovered from two readings. This MS. is divided  
into sections and verses, (περικοπαὶ and στιχοί), the latter of  
which generally contain *three* short words; unless they termi-  
nate the section, when they consist of *one* or *two*. But in Matt.  
ii. 9. ix. 13. the last two lines in each section are eked out by  
two words; in ii. 9. *supra puerum*; in ix. 13. *sed peccatores*.  
But if we restore the reading of the Brescia MS. ‘*supra ubi*  
*erat puer,*’ and of the St. Germain MS. ‘*sed peccatores ad*  
*pœnitentiam,*’ the penultimate line will have its full comple-  
ment, and the στιχομίρρια will be perfect. In like manner, the  
Verona MS. in Mat. v. 1; *videns autem Jesus turbam*, omits  
*Jesus*; but supplies its place by *multam*, added to *turbam*. As  
in MSS. which were divided στιχῶν, the number of στιχοί was  
generally added at the end of each book, hence a duty was  
incumbent on the copyists not to multiply or diminish the num-  
ber, which has been consequently a mean of preserving the  
integrity of the text.

revised, and by consequence to undermine their common authority. For, as the coincidence of all texts, not less in the translation than the original, proves them to have a common basis; the *diversity* of the manuscripts before us proves, that *the Greek text*, by which they have been *corrected*, has been *recast*, since *the Latin Version* was originally made, which furnished their common basis: were not this the case, they would as *uniformly* coincide with *the former* as with *the latter*. Of consequence, the version which conforms to a text, that has been thus new-modelled, must be of very recent authority.

Thus tracing this labyrinth through all its windings, and pursuing the Latin version through all its changes, we ultimately arrive at the primitive Western Version. There now exists but one test by which it remains to be tried; the relative merit of the translation. And submitting it to this last assay, it appears to contain within itself a sufficient proof of its integrity.

The uniformity of the text declares, that it is an original composition; and by consequence the basis of those different texts which bear it a general affinity. The archetype by which it was formed is one; being that particular class of text which exists in the Greek Vulgate<sup>157</sup>; and it conforms to this model in all its parts, while the other versions possess inequalities which have originated in attempts to improve upon it, as the primitive translation<sup>158</sup>.

<sup>157</sup> Vid. supr. p. 164. n. <sup>128</sup>. conf. infr. p. 186. n. <sup>164</sup>.

<sup>158</sup> This is apparent in the uniformity with which his MS.

A minute investigation of those inequalities constantly enables us to distinguish the original version from the derivative. While it retains the common marks by which they evince their affinity to the Greek, in retaining the Greek idiom<sup>159</sup>; it is free

generally renders the same Greek term, by the same Latin word; while the other versions constantly vary from themselves. Matt. v. 27. 32. μοιχεύσεις· μοιχῶται. mœchaberis: mœchatur. *Brix.* mœchaberis: adulterat. *Vulg.*—Ib. vi. 8. μὴ ὁμοιωθῆτε· ὁμοιώσω. nollite similitudo: similibo. *Brix.* similitudo: similis est. *Verc.* assimilari: assimilabitur. *Vulg.*—John viii. 13, 14. μαρτυρεῖς· μαρτυρῶ. testimonium perhibes: testimonium perhibeo. *Brix.* testificaris: testimonium dico. *Verc.*—Conf. Joh. i. 7. 14. The repetitions in the following passages, taken from Matt. xxv. 21—46. will illustrate this remark in a still more satisfactory manner. Matt. ib. 35. 37. 42, ἐποτίσατέ με· ἐποτίσαμεν· ἐποτίσατέ με. potastis me: potavimus: dedimus tibi potum. *Brix.* dedistis mihi bibere: dedimus tibi potum: dedistis mihi potum. *Verc.*—Ib. 35. 38. 43. περιβάλλέ με· περιβάλομεν· περιβάλλέ με. cooperiustis me: cooperuimus: cooperuistis me. *Brix.* operuistis me: vestivimus: operuistis me. *Verc.*

<sup>159</sup> The following are purely idiomatick phrases adopted from the Greek. Matt. ii. 11. ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. intrantes in domum. *Brix.* *Verc.* *Veron.* intrantes domum. *Vulg.* *Corb.*—Ib. 23. κατώκησεν εἰς πόλιν. habitavit in civitatem. *Brix.* *Veron.* habitavit in civitate. *Verc.* *Cant.*—Ib. vii. 13. τι περιβαλόμεθα quid operiemur. *Brix.* *Verc.* *Veron.* quo operiemur. *Vulg.* *Corb.*—Joh. xii. 18. ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν. levavit super me calcaneum. *Brix.* *Veron.* levavit in me calcaneum. *Verc.* In the following passage, we find the traces of the original still more strongly marked in the translation; Matt. xxiv. 15. τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, τὸ ρηδὲν. abominationem dessolationis quod dictum. *Brix.* *Verc.* *Veron.*: τὸ ρηδὲν being here literally rendered quod dictum, without much attention to the context. The phrase was however retained, as “abominatio quæ dicta est” would have imperfectly expressed the original; and τὸ ρηδὲν διὰ Δαυὶδ τῷ προφῆτῃ may be considered parenthetical.



from peculiar solecisms which they have evidently acquired in undergoing a revisal<sup>160</sup>. In the choice of terms, it constantly exhibits that unfaithfulness to the original, which is unavoidable in a first attempt to transfuse the sense of one language into ano-

<sup>160</sup> The following errors have plainly arisen from imperfect corrections; the context not having been adapted to the emendation. Mat. vi. 4. ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. in manifesto. Brix. in palam. Verc.—Ib. ix. 25. ὅτε δὲ ἐξεβλήθη ὁ ὄχλος, εἰσελθὼν ἐκράτησε. Et quum ejecta est turba intravit et tenuit. Brix. Et cum ejecta est turba et tenuit. Corb. In the former instance the corrector, in rendering ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, would have changed in manifesto to palam; but omitted to erase in. And in the latter, St. Matthew having already declared, ib. 23. ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν; the corrector not perceiving the force of ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, “coming into or entering the house,” and εἰσελθὼν, “entering into” an inner part, or room, of it, believed the latter phrase implied a contradiction; and consequently omitted it altogether. Other revisers merely softened the phrase; and thus rendered εἰσελθὼν, venit, (Verc. Veron.) accedens, (Germ); either of which terms betrays a correction of the text. The hand of a corrector is still more apparent in the following passage; Matt. xxv. 41. εἰς τὸ πῦρ το αἰώνιον ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ μου τῷ διαβόλῳ. Cant. in ignem æternum quod paravit Pater meus Diabolo. Verc. This solecism is, however, easily accounted for. The original text and version having stood thus: εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ: (Vulg.) in ignem æternum qui paratus est Diabolo, (Brix); τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον was changed into ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ μου; and this phrase being literally rendered by “quod paravit Pater meus,” was inserted in the text. The corrector deceived by the juxtaposition of quod to æternum, overlooked ignem, with which it should properly agree: he has thus left a clear testimony in favour of the true reading of the original Latin version, and consequently, of the integrity of the Greek Vulgate.

ther<sup>161</sup>; while they possess many niceties which are the product of a second effort to approximate the copy still more closely to its model<sup>162</sup>. And in the

<sup>161</sup> The following expressions indicate the poverty of language, which is the effect of a first attempt at translation: Matt. vii. 24. ὁμοιώσω, *similabo*. *Brix.* assimilabitur. *Vulg.*—Ib. vi. 8. μὴ ὁμοιωθῆτε, *nollite similes*. *Brix.* nollite assimilari. *Vulg.*—Luc. xxi. 38. ἄεθριζε, *manicabat*. *Brix.* de luce vigilabat. *Verc.*—Matt. xxv. 35. ἐπότισαί με, *potastis me*. *Brix.* dedistis mihi bibere. *Verc.*—Joh. x. 22. ἐγένετο τὰ ἐγκαίνια. *facta est dedicatio*. *Brix.* facta sunt encænia. *Verc. Veron.*—Matt. xxii. 19. τὸ νόμισμα τῷ κήνσῃ, *denarium*. *Brix.* denarium census. *Cant.* *numisma census*. *Verc. Vulg.*—Luc. ii. 1. ὑπογράφεισθαι *describeretur*. *Brix.* profiteretur. *Verc. Veron.*—Ib. 3. ὑπογραφῇ. *descriptio*. *Brix.* professio. *Verc. Veron.* In the last instances the corrector has been detected in the very act; in the margin of M. Blanchini's Evang. Quadruplex, the following observation is made on the Codex Gatianus, “ut censum *describeretur* :” *recenti manu*, ‘*profiteretur*.’—*primis curis* “*hæc descriptio*” *secundis curis*, ‘*professio*.’

<sup>162</sup> In the following expressions we trace the progress of improvement; Matt. xxii. 10. omnes quos. *Brix.* (πάντας ὅους), omnes quotquot. *Verc.* omnes quoscunque. *Corb.*—Ib. xiv. 22. statim jussit. *Brix. Verc.* (εὐθέως ἠνάγκασε), statim coegit. *Cant.* statim compulit. *Vulg.*—Ib. iii. 7. ab ira ventura. *Brix. Verc.* (ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ἐργῆς), ab ira futura. *Veron.*—Marc. xiii. 32. nemo scit. *Brix. Cant.* (ἑδεὶς οἶδεν) nemo novit. *Verc.*—Ib. xi. 25. stabitis ad orationem. *Brix.* (στήκῃτε προσευχόμενοι), stabitis orantes. *Verc. statis orantes. Veron.*—Joh. i. 13. ex sanguine. *Brix.* (ἐξ αἱμάτων) ex sanguinibus. *Verc.*—Ib. xv. 7. quodcunque volueritis petere. *Brix. Verc.* (ὃ ἐὰν θέλητε αἰτήσασθε), quodcunque volueritis petite. *Veron.*—Ib. i. 12. his qui credunt in nomen. *Brix.* (τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα), credentibus in nomen. *Veron.*—Ib. xv. 6. projicitur—et arescet, et colligent. *Brix.* (ἐβλήθη—καὶ ἐξηράνθη, καὶ συνάγῃσι) missus est—et aruit, et colligent. *Veron.* I subjoin another example, as forming a various reading in the first ten chapters of St. Matthew; v. 5.

arrangement of the words, it preserves the tenour of the sense unembarrassed, while they exhibit those breaches in the sense, and encumbrances of the structure, which betray the hand of a corrector<sup>163</sup>.

*hereditabunt terram. Brix.* (κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν) *hereditate possidebunt terram. Verc.* St. Jerome's critique upon Rufinus may be here cited, as in point; Hier. Apol. adv. Ruf. Lib. II. cap. i. p. 242. "*Homo Græcus videtur mihi se ipsum interpretari voluisse, et pro eo quod apud eos dicitur κληρονομήσουσι, et apud nos uno verbo dici potest 'hæreditabunt,' compositius et ornatius dixisse, 'hæreditate potentur.'*"

<sup>163</sup> The following texts, which respectively exhibit a *deficiency* and a *superabundance* in the Corrected Text, will illustrate the above assumption; Mat. xv. 8. ἐγγίξει μοι ὁ λαὸς ὅτος τῷ σωματι αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσί με τιμᾷ. *Vulg.* *Adpropinquat se mihi populus hic ore suo, et labiis suis me honorat. Brix.* 'Plebs' hæc labiis me diligit.' *Verc.* Here, in paring down the original text to the standard of Mark vii. 6. the corrector gives us the extraordinary phrase, '*labiis me diligit,*' which is however corrected to '*labiis me honorat.*' *Veron.* St. Jerome however, adhering still *more* closely to the original version, confirms the true reading, '*populus hic labiis me honorat.*' *Vulg.* Again, Luc. xii. 37. Μακάριοι οἱ δούλοι κ. τ. ε.—καὶ παρελθὼν διακονήσει αὐτοῖς. Καὶ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φυλακῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ, καὶ εὖρη ἔτω, μακάριοί εἰσιν οἱ δούλοι ἐκείνοι. *Vulg.* Beati servi, &c.—et transiens ministrabit illis. Et si venerit in secunda vigilia, et si in tertia venerit, et ita invenerit, beati sunt servi illi. *Brix.* But the subjoined reading of Marcion's text has been engrafted on this verse; καὶ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ ἐσπερινῇ φυλακῇ καὶ εὖρη ἔτω, μακάριοί εἰσιν, ὅτι ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἔλθων πᾶν διακονήσει αὐτοῖς. It has produced the following, among other varieties; Beati servi, &c.—transiens ministrabit illis. Et si venerit in *vespertina* vigilia beati sunt, et si in tertia venerit, et ita invenerit, beati sunt, *quoniam jubebit illos discumbere, et ministrabit illis. Veron.* Et si venerit in *vespertina* vigilia, et ita invenerit beati sunt servi illi quia jubebit illos discumbere, et transiens ministrabit illis.



Under every trial therefore, it bears internal evidence of having been the pure, unsophisticated version, which had been used, from the apostolical age, by the Western Churches.

Having thus ascertained the testimony of the Western Church, as contained in the Primitive Version, we may now leave the coincident testimony of the Greek and Latin Church, to speak for the integrity of the Received Text<sup>164</sup>, which has furnished

Et si venerit in secunda vigilia et si in tertia, et ita invenerit beati sunt. *Maj. Mon.* In the former instance the genuine and spurious text are blended; in the latter they are kept more apart; the diversity between them and the original text sufficiently evinces their corruption. In the following instance we discover the members of the genuine text distributed in different copies of the corrected; Mat. x. 3. Ἰάκωβος ὁ τῷ Ἀλφαίῳ, καὶ Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος. *Vulg.* Jacobus Alpei, et *Lebbeus* qui nominatur *Taddeus*. *Brix.* One part of this text is found in ‘Jacobus Alphæi et Taddæus. *Corb.* the other part, in ‘Jacobus Alpei et *Lebbeus*. *Cant.* These texts of course destroy the testimony of each other, while they confirm the reading of the Brescia MS. In the present case the Verc. and Veron. MSS. are neuter; reading, ‘Jacobus Alphæi et *Judas Zelotes.*’

<sup>164</sup> The extraordinary coincidence of the *Greek Vulgate* and *Brescia MS.* have been pointed out in the course of the preceding pages; see particularly pp. 63, 64, 65, 69, &c. The few examples in p. 163. n. <sup>128</sup>. p. 157. n. <sup>109</sup>. which have not been confirmed by the authority of the Greek, may be here inserted; Mat. vi. 1. ne elemosynam facite. *Brix.* ἐλεημοσύνην μὴ ποιεῖν. *Vulg.*—Ib. 13. quoniam tuum est regnum et virtus, et gloria, in sæcula. *Brix.* ὅτι σὺ εἶς ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας. *Vulg.* Ib. xxiii. 14. Væ autem vobis Scribæ et Pharisei, hypocritæ, qui devoratis domos viduarum, sub obtentu prolixæ orationis; propterea sumetis pluriorem damnationem. *Brix.* Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν γεαρματαῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταῖς

the model of our Authorised Version. The short specimen which I have already given of their extraordinary coincidence, even in passages where they mutually vary from other texts and translations, will sufficiently evince the integrity of the text which is contained in the Greek Vulgate.

In determining our choice between the three classes of text which have descended to our times, little more is now necessary, than to state the comparative instability of the grounds on which those criticks have built, who have made a different election, and expressed a different partiality.

The scheme of Dr. Bentley is manifestly defective. For though it is founded on the mutual testimony of the Greek and Latin translation, it is unsupported by that of the Western Church for the first three hundred years, and by that of the Eastern Church for the last thirteen hundred. For the Latin Vulgate, on which his scheme is principally founded, was not received in the West for the former period; and the Greek Vulgate, which differs from it, has been received in the East, for the latter. His Corrected Text must of course have rested on the authority of St. Jerome and Eusebius. But their authority, though unquestionably great, and confirmed in all important points by the general testimony of tradition, is not of consideration to the Catholic Church which, in being the witness and keeper

ὅτι κατεσθίετε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν, καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσευ-  
χόμενοι· διὰ τῆτο λήψετε περισσώτερον κέρμα. *Vulg.* For the au-  
thority of Mat. v. 32. vid. *supr.* p. 64: for that of Mat. x. 3.  
*vid. supr.* p. 186. n. <sup>103</sup>.



of Holy Writ acknowledges no paramount or individual authority in transmitting, from age to age, the rule of faith and manners.

The scheme of M. Matthæi, though inexceptionable, where that of Dr. Bentley is defective; is likewise defective in rejecting the testimony of the Western Church, and exclusively building on that of the Eastern. It has consequently no more than presumptive evidence to urge in its support for the first seven centuries; since which the generality of those manuscripts were written, in which the testimony of the latter Church is transmitted. This evidence is undoubtedly of the highest kind, as it is improbable in the extreme that the Eastern Church could have corrupted the sacred text in the earliest and purest ages, and have preserved it uncorrupt in the dark and barbarous ages. As some manuscripts however exist, which are of greater antiquity than those which contain the Greek Vulgate, and which differ from it, while they agree with the Latin translation; their testimony leaves no doubt, whether length of time, supported by uniformity of consent, ought not to decide against superiority of numbers. Such, it is obvious, was the opinion of Dr. Bentley; the reasonableness of whose scheme was founded on such a presumption; and it is to be rendered the merit of M. Matthæi's system at best but equivocal.

The great merit of M. Griesbach's scheme consists in the singular skill with which he covered the feeble points which were left exposed by his predecessors. His professed object was to establish the



antiquity of the Alexandrine text, by the united testimony of Clement and Origen<sup>165</sup>; and to strengthen it by an alliance with the Western text, in order to form a counterpoise to the immense superiority in numbers on the part of the Byzantine edition<sup>166</sup>. Both the pillars are unsound on which this system is rested. The individual testimony of Origen, proves nothing; as his readings are inconstant, they no more prove the antiquity of the Alexandrine text, than they do that of the Byzantine. The unity of testimony between him and Clement, is not more conclusive; it no more proves that these early fathers quoted from one text, than it proves that Origen quoted from his preceptor. Their agreement with the Alexandrine text is fully as indecisive; it no more proves that they used that text, than it proves that Eusebius corrected it by their writings. The alliance between the Alexandrine and Western editions is equally beside the purpose; it no more proves that they contain the genuine text of Scripture, than it proves that Eusebius's text was brought from Palestine to Alexandria, and thence transported into the West, by the revisers of the Latin Version.

In fine, the proofs of M. Griesbach conclude not

<sup>165</sup> Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. II. p. 234. *Præter Origeniana allegata simul ea etiam hic exhibemus, quæ in scriptis Clementis Alexandrini occurrunt,—merentur ipsius, utpote Origenis magistri, allegata cum Origenianis conferri. Ubi utraque concinnunt, certo nobis constat de antiquissima lectione Alexandrinæ recensionis.*

<sup>166</sup> Vid. supr. p. 118. n. <sup>15</sup>.

more strongly in favour of his own system, than of that which I have ventured to propose. While the latter is thus far supported by his authority, it is equally supported by that of Dr. Bentley and M. Matthæi; as it builds, with the one, on the united testimony of the Greek and Latin Church; and, with the other, on the general testimony of the Greek manuscripts. But it differs from both, in confirming the testimony of the Greek Vulgate by the coincidence of the *primitive* Latin Version. And thus it secures that object effectually, which M. Griesbach but imperfectly attained; as it has the testimony of numbers in the Greek Vulgate, of antiquity in the Latin Version, and of consent in both taken together: and this evidence it possesses, not as the testimony of private men or particular churches, but as that of the two great Churches in the Eastern and Western world, which were not merely witnesses and keepers of Holy Writ, but the depositories of the evangelical writings.

## SECTION IV.

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OF the three classes of text which exist in the Greek manuscripts, it is, I trust, by this time apparent, that the Vulgar Greek is entitled to the preference: as that alone which is supported by the uninterrupted tradition of the Eastern and Western Churches. Much, however, remains to be advanced in favour of this text, before it can be offered as a perfect rule of faith and manners. To qualify it for this end, its integrity must admit of a perfect vindication. This undertaking is indeed imperative, as its credit is involved in the impeachment of three remarkable texts<sup>1</sup>; which relate to points so essential to our religion, as the doctrine of the Incarnation, Redemption, and Trinity. The defence of the Greek Vulgate, more particularly on these points, is of the greater importance, as involving that of the doctrinal integrity of the Sacred Canon.

<sup>1</sup> Griesb. Præf. Nov. Test. ed. 1775. "Interim uni tamen dogmati eique palmario, doctrinæ scilicet de vera Jesu Christi Divinitate, nonnihilo a me detractum esse videri possit nonnullis, qui non solum locum istum celebratissimum 1 Joh. v. 7. e textu ejectum, verum etiam lectionem vulgarem 1 Tim. iii. 16. (ut et Act. xx. 28.) dubitationi subjectam et lectorum arbitrio permissam invenient."



On the facilities afforded the first Bishops of Rome and Ephesus, to form perfect copies of the Scriptures of the New Testament, I have already spoken<sup>2</sup>. That a dispersion of the sacred books, commensurate with the diffusion of the Gospel, took place from this period, is rendered not merely probable from the reason of the case, but is deducible from many facts expressly recorded.

A brief inquiry into the state and history of the primitive Church will be sufficient to convince the most sceptical inquirer, of the constant and intimate intercourse which was preserved between the particular branches of the Catholick Church, which were dispersed in the remotest regions. Those habits of communication were the necessary result of the Christian Polity having arisen out of the Jewish. The ceremonial observances of the synagogues, which were dispersed through the Gentile world, were subject to the controul of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem<sup>3</sup>; and the obligation laid on the Jews to visit the Holy City periodically, facilitated the means of communication between the great council and its most distant dependencies<sup>3</sup>. That this intercourse

<sup>2</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 111, 112.

<sup>3</sup> Intimation was thus given of the regulation of the Jewish Calendar to the remotest synagogues; Vitring. de Synag. Vet. Lib. II. cap. xii. § 4. p. 599. ed. 1726. “ Docet ibi Maimonides [Kiddush Hachod. cap. iv.] qua ratione annus Judaicus et a quibus intercalatus fuit; a Principe nimirum Synedrii, cum quibusdam Synedrii delegatis. Quo facto literæ missæ sunt ad Synagogas omnes remotiores, nomine Principis Synedrii, quibus intercalatio ejusque rationes expositæ sunt.—Exempla ejusmodi literarum, nomine Rab. Gamalielis et Filii ejus Sime-

was strictly maintained in the apostolical age, is rendered unquestionable by many passages in the apostolical history. Explicit mention is made of “devout men *out of every nation under heaven*⁴;” who visited Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost; the number of the Jews who were not disqualified from joining in that festival, having been computed, from a census, made by the priests, at the requisition of the Romans, to have been nearly three millions⁵. We consequently find, that, while the Jews confessed, on St. Paul’s arrival at Rome, that they were acquainted with Christianity, as “a sect which was every where spoken against⁶;” they expressed surprise that they had “not received letters out of Judea, concerning⁷” the apostle. This negligence, however, was soon remedied; when the rapid and extensive diffusion of the Gospel rendered

onis editarum, reperies in Gemara Sanhedr. fol. 10. col. 2. וְכִי בְנֵי נַחֲמָא. ‘Fratribus nostris habitatoribus Galilææ Superioris et Inferioris. Pax vestra augeat. Notum vobis facimus tempus abolitionis advenisse, ad auferendas decimas ex oleario.’ Comp. Lightfoot Harm. of N. Test. P. II. p. 283.

⁴ Act. ii. 5. conf. 9, 10, 11.

⁵ Joseph. De Bell. Jud. Lib. VII. cap. ix. § 3. Tom. II. p. 399. ed. Havercamp. ὅτι δὲ ἔχωρει τοσάυτους ἡ πόλις, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Κερίῳ συναριθμεθέντων, ὅς, τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως διδηλῶσαι Νέρωνι βεβλόμενος καταφρονῶντι τῷ ἔθνει, παρεκάλεσε τῆς ἀρχιερεῖς, εἰπὼς δυνατὸν τὴν πληθὺν ἐξαριθμῆσασθαι· οἱ δ’ ἐνστάσης ἐορτῆς, Πάσχα καλεῖται,—τῶν μὲν θυμάτων, εἴκοσι πέντε μυριάδας ἡρίθμησαν, πρὸς δὲ ἐξακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια. γίνονται δ’ ἀνδρῶν, ἐν ἑκάστῃ δέκα δαιτυμόνες θῶμεν, μυριάδες ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι, καθαρῶν πάντων καὶ ἁγίων. Conf. Lib. II. cap. xiv. § 3.

⁶ Act. xxviii. 22.

⁷ Ibid. 21.

Christianity formidable to the Jewish nation. The concurring testimony of Christian and Jewish writers, places it beyond a doubt, that as early as the reign of the Emperour Claudius, when the new converts were known under the appellation of Nazarenes<sup>8</sup>, a circular letter was sent from Jerusalem, enjoining the dispersed Jews to excommunicate the Christians, under that title, in all their synagogues<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Selden. de Synedr. Vett. Ebraeorr. Lib. I. cap. viii. p. 122. ed. 1679. "Certe ut Suidas ita Joannes Antiochenus, in Chronologicis suis nondum editis cum Euodii illic episcopatu *Christiani nominis Antiochiæ ortum* conjungit, quem post decennium ab Ascensu Domini evenisse scribit, seu *sub Claudii initia*. Etiam et nominis autorem ibi Euodium illum facit. Verba sunt: 'Εν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῆς βασιλείας τῆ αὐτῆ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος, μετὰ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, μετὰ ἑτὴ δέκα πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον τὸν Ἀπόστολον τὴν χειροτονίαν τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς Ἀντιοχείων μεγάλης πόλεως τῆς Συρίας ἔλαβεν Εὐδίδιος γενόμενος Πατριάρχης. Καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπῃ Χριστιανοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν, τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπῃ Εὐδίδι προσομιλήσαντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπιθήσαντος τὸ ὄνομα τῆτο. Πρώην γὰρ Ναζωραῖοι καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι ἐκαλεῖντο οἱ Χριστιανοί. Comp. Act. xi. 1. 3. 22. 26. 28. Pears. Expos. of Creed. Vol. II. p. 111. ed. Oxon. 1797.

<sup>9</sup> Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 335. b. ed. Par. 1615. —ἀλλ' ὡς προεῖπον, ἄνδρες χειρτονήσαντες ἐκλεκτοί, εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέμψατε, κηρύσσοντας ὅτι, αἵρεσίς τις ἄθεος καὶ ἄνομος ἐγγίγεται ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τινὸς Γαλιλαίου πλάτν. Id. ibid. p. 234. b. ἀπειτείνετε γὰρ τὸν δίκαιον, καὶ πρὸ αὐτῷ τὰς προφῆτας αὐτῷ καὶ ἵν' τὰς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ τοὶ πέμψαντα αὐτὸν—ἀτιμάζετε, καταρῶμενοι ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν τὰς πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστόν. S. Epiph. Hær. xxix. p. 124. c. Οὐ μόνον γὰρ δι τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδες πρὸς τέττας [τὰς Ναζωραῖους] κέκτηνται μίσος, ἀλλὰ ἀνιστάμενοι ἰσθδειν, καὶ μίσους ἡμέρας, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν, τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας, ὅτε εὐχὰς ἐπιτιλῶσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν συναγωγαῖς,



At how early a period the Christian Church adopted this mode of communication from the Jewish Polity, must be apparent from the first council, held in the reign of the same Emperour, at Jerusalem, after the model of the Jewish Sanhedrim<sup>10</sup>. On that great revolution which took place in the divine economy, on the formal abrogation of the Jewish ceremonial, and the emancipation of the new converts from legal observances, that strong line of distinction was drawn between the Christians and Nazarenes, which gave to the new religion a new appellation, and exhibited Christianity in its extrinsick purity. On this occasion “it pleased the apostles and elders and the whole church,” assembled in council, “to send chosen men,” and “to write

ἐπαρῶνται αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀναδηματίξουσιν φάσκοντες, ὅτι ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ Θεὸς τῆς Ναζωραίου. καὶ γὰρ τέτοις περισσώτερον ἔχουσιν, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων αὐτὲς ὄντας, Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσειν εἶναι Χριστόν. Comp. Lightf. ut supra. p. 278.

<sup>10</sup> Vitring. ubi supr. p. 598. “An itaque non vides, *Synedrium hoc Hierosolymitanum Christianum prorsus ordinatum esse ad formam Synedrii Hierosolymitani Judaici*, et de omnibus rebus sacris in et extra Judæam statuebat; de omnibus Legis quæstionibus majoris momenti judicabat:—Orta est quæstio non levis momenti, an Gentes salutis suæ cupidæ, fidem in Christum necesse haberent munire observantia Legis Mosaicæ. De qua cum variæ essent Doctorum sententiæ, visum est Ecclesiis illius definitionem committere *Senatui et Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ*. Qui postquam de hoc negotio decrevissent, *Legatos cum Epistolis mittunt ad varias Ecclesias Gentium*, quibus suam sententiam de proposita quæstione exponunt. *Formam Literarum prorsus convenit typis Literarum Synedrii.*” Comp. Lightf. ubi supr. p. 283.

letters by them<sup>11</sup>; in which a general dispensation was granted from Jewish ceremonies, and precautions were used to obviate some excesses, which might arise from the unlicensed abuse of Christian liberty<sup>12</sup>.

In such habits of intercourse, the Christian Church had already existed, for half a century, on the completion of the New Testament Canon<sup>13</sup>: from the reign of Claudius, in the middle of the first age, to that of Domitian, near the beginning of the second. That in the latter period, this intercourse was still strictly maintained, is rendered certain by documents of unquestionable authority. St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp, who lived at this period, and who enjoyed the intimacy, and succeeded to the labours, of the apostles, explicitly mention the custom of convening synods for the purpose of ordaining persons to convey circular letters through the different churches<sup>14</sup>: and in this manner they took espe-

<sup>11</sup> Act. xv. 22.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 124. n. 36.

<sup>14</sup> S. Ignat. Epist. ad Polyc. cap. vii. p. 42. ed. Cler. 1724.

Πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστότατε, συμβήλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέ-  
 σατον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι τινὰ, ὃν ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχετε καὶ ἄοκνον,  
 ὡς δυνήσεται θεόδρομος καλεῖσθαι· τῆτον καταξιῶσαι, ἵνα πορευθεῖς  
 εἰς Συρίαν δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ἄοκνον ἀγάπην εἰς δόξαν Χριστοῦ. Id. *ibid.*  
 cap. viii. p. 42. Ἐπεὶ ἔν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησιααῖς ἐκ ἡδυνήθην  
 γράψαι, διὰ τὸ ἐξαίφνης πλεῖν με ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εἰς Νεάπολιν, ὡς τὸ  
 δέλημα προστάσσει, γράψεις ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκκλησιααῖς, ὡς Θεῷ  
 γνώμῃ κεκτημένος, εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι· οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι  
 περὶς πέμψαι, οἱ δὲ ἐπισολὰς διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σε πεμπομένων, ἵνα  
 δοξασθῇτε αἰωνίῳ ἔργῳ, ὡς ἄξιός ἔστιν. S. Polycarp. Ep. ad Philipp.

cial care that their epistles should be generally dispersed through the Christian world. Accounts of the martyrdom of those primitive bishops were thus transmitted to the most distant provinces, in epistles, attested with that care<sup>15</sup>, which I formerly had occa-

cap. xiii. p. 191. Ἐγράφατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος, ἵνα ἴαν τις ἐπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀποκομίσῃ γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω, ἂν λάβω καιρὸν εὐθετεν, εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύσοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν. Τὰς ἐπιστολάς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθεῖσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄλλας, ὅσας εἴχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· αἵτινες ὑποτεταγμένοι εἰσι τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ. Conf. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. xxxvi. p. 132. l. 14. 25. sqq. et infr. p. 200. n. <sup>23</sup> et <sup>24</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Superscrip. Polycarp. Martyr. p. 195. Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῷ Θεῷ, ἡ παροικῶσα Σμύρναν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ Θεῷ τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, καὶ ἀγάπη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη. Conf. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. xv. p. 162. l. 21. sqq. This form, which was adopted from the Circular Letters of the Jews, appears to have been general; Epist. Eccl. Goth. de Mart. S. Sabæ. “*Ecclesia Dei quæ est in Gothia Ecclesiæ Dei quæ est in Cappadocia, et omnibus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ christianis ubique gentium habitantibus, misericordia, pax et charitas Dei Patris et Domini nostri Jesu Christi impleatur.*” ap. Sim. Metaphrast. And suitable care was taken that these Epistles should be delivered according to their superscription. In the Circular Letter of the Synod of Palestine, convened on the controversy which arose respecting the time of keeping Easter A.D. 190, the following charge is inserted; Euseb. ib. Lib. V. cap. xxv. p. 250. l. 10. κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς γραφῆς, αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι ἐπιλίγασιν ταῦτα· Τῆς δὲ ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν πειράζεσθε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀντίγραφον διαπέμψασθαι, ὅπως μὴ ἕνοχοι ᾖμεν τοῖς ῥαδίως πλανῶσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχάς.



sion to remark, was observed until the middle of the third century<sup>16</sup>.

After this view of so remarkable a part of the primitive Ecclesiastical Polity, it must be nugatory to enter into a detailed proof, that the particular churches, dispersed throughout the Christian world, must have been possessed of correct copies of the Canonical Scriptures, from the earliest period. We are expressly assured by one who perused a collection of those epistles preserved at Jerusalem<sup>17</sup>, that numbers of the primitive pastors, who succeeded to the charge and labours of the apostles, traversed those distant regions which had been converted by the apostles, established churches in them, and delivered to them copies of the Gospels<sup>18</sup>. The Epis-

<sup>16</sup> Vid. supr. p. 115. n. <sup>14</sup>. Conf. Martyr. Polycarp. capp. xx. xxi. p. 203. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xv. p. 173. l. 3. sqq.

<sup>17</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xx. p. 284. l. 20. Αἱ καὶ [ἐπιστολαὶ, ἃς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διεχάραττον οἱ λόγοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες] εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐφυλάχθησαν, ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Αἰλίαν βιβλιοθήκῃ, πρὸς τῷ τηνικάδῃ τὴν αὐτόθι διέπουτος ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξάνδρῃ ἐπισκευασθείσῃ· ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς ὕλας τῆς μετὰ χειρὸς ὑποθέσεως ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἀναγαγεῖν δεδυνάμεθα. A list of the whole of those curious documents, which are expressly cited by Eusebius, may be seen in M. de Valois' edition, after p. 798.

<sup>18</sup> Id. ibid. Lib. III. cap. xxvii. p. 133. l. 9. καὶ ἄλλοι δ' ἐπὶ τέτοις πλείους ἐγνωρίζοντο κατὰ τέσδε, τὴν πρώτην τάξιν τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐπέχοντες διαδοχῆς· οἱ καὶ ὅτε τηλικῶνδε ὄντες θεοπρεπεῖς μαθηταί, τὰς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προκαταβληθείας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων θεμελίως ἐπακοδόμεν·—ἐπειτα δὲ ἀποδημίας γελλόμενοι, ἔργον ἐπέβλεπον εὐαγγελιστῶν, τοῖς ἔτι πάμπαν ἀνηκόοις τῷ τῆς πίστεως λόγῳ κηρύττειν τὸν Χριστὸν φιλοδιμέμενοι, καὶ τὴν τῶν θείων Εὐαγγελίων παραδιδόναι Γραφήν.

cles, which constitute the remaining part of the Canon, had been addressed to particular churches; but the attention which the inspired penmen had employed to authenticate<sup>19</sup>, and to disperse their writings<sup>20</sup>: and the care which the primitive churches used in obtaining and circulating the commonest documents<sup>21</sup>, renders it morally certain, that the whole Scripture Canon of the New Testament must have been dispersed as widely as the Christian name, within a short period of its first publication.

As we derive our proofs of the authenticity of the Scriptures from the tradition of the Church; we deduce those of their integrity from the universal dispersion of the sacred writings. From the constant communication which was maintained between the churches, which had been planted by the apostles, and were the immediate depositories of their writings, it was impossible that any authentick work, which proceeded from them, could have existed in one church, without having been communicated to another. The intercourse between the Syriack Greek and Roman Church, was of the closest kind, under the immediate successors of the apostles; some of whom were vested with the government of particular churches, at the very time in which the Scripture Canon was perfected. St. Clement, the companion of St. Paul, communicated with the Co-

<sup>19</sup> Vid. 2 Thes. iii. 17. comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 21. Gal. vi. 11. Col. iv. 18.

<sup>20</sup> Vid. Col. iv. 16. 1 Thes. v. 27.

<sup>21</sup> Vid. supr. p. 196. n. <sup>14</sup>. p. 197. n. <sup>15</sup>. p. 115. n. <sup>14</sup>.

rinthian Church, from Rome<sup>22</sup>; St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, visited Rome, and corresponded with the Syrian Church from Smyrna<sup>23</sup>; and St. Ignatius, his contemporary and friend, not only communicated with the churches of Ephesus and Rome<sup>24</sup>, but visited both in person<sup>25</sup>. In the epis-

<sup>22</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 176. Μετὰ τὸν δὲ τρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κληρεῖται Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἑωρακὺς τῆς μακαρίας ἀποστόλης καὶ συμβεβληκὺς αὐτοῖς—ὁ μόνος, ἔτι γὰρ πολλοὶ ὑπελείποντο τότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδασκόμενοι. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔν τῷ Κλήμειος, γάσεως ἐκ ὀλίγης τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ γενομένης ἀδελφοῖς ἐπέσειλεν ἢ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησία ἱκανωτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις—Conf. S. Clem. I. Ep. ad Cor. cap. i. p. 146. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. vi. p. 217. l. 12.

<sup>23</sup> Vid. supr. p. 196. n. <sup>14</sup>. S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 176. Πελοῦκαρπος δὲ ὁ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναναγραφεὶς πολλοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων κατὰθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωράκομεν ἐν πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ.—ἐπὶ Αἰκίτῳ ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολλὰς ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων αἰρετικῶν ἐπέσειλεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ.—ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν Πολυκάρπου πρὸς Φιλιππησίους γεγραμμένη κ. τ. εἰ. Conf. S. Polycarp. Epist. ad Philipp. cap. xiv. p. 191. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xiv. p. 161. l. 1. 14. 34.

<sup>24</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. xxxvi. p. 130. l. 9. Ὁ παρὰ πλείοις εἰσέτι νῦν διαβόητος Ἰγνάτιος, τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν διαδοχῆς δεύτερος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος.—Οὕτω δὴτα ἐν Σμύρνῃ γενόμενος, ἔνθα ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἦν, μίαν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει, ποιμένος αὐτῆς μνημονεύων Οησίμου· ἑτέραν δὲ τῇ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κ. τ. εἰ. Πρὸς ταύταις καὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει. Conf. S. Ignat. Ep. ad Ephess. capp. i. ii. pp. 43, 44. Ep. ad Rom. cap. x. p. 74. S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. V. cap. xxviii. p. 327. Euseb. ubi supr. p. 132. l. 8.

<sup>25</sup> S. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. cap. xxi. p. 52. Προσεύχεσθε ὑπερ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ· ὅθεν δεδεμένος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπάγομαι—Id. Ep. ad Trall. cap. xiii. p. 68. Ασπάζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη



ties addressed by those primitive bishops to those different churches, much more is implied than that they were possessed of the inspired writings. St Polycarp speaks of the Philippians as versed in the Scriptures, while he quotes the Old and New Testament<sup>26</sup>; and St. Ignatius, in impugning some tenets of the early hereticks, appeals to the “Gospels” and the “Apostles<sup>27</sup>,” under which terms the whole of the Christian Canon may be properly included.

If we may now assume, what it seems vain to deny, that any two of those churches possessed perfect copies of the Scriptures, which were apparently possessed by the Catholick Church; we have thus a sufficient security, in the testimony which they respectively bear to the integrity of the sacred text, that it could not be corrupted. Admitting that all the members of any particular church had entered into a compact to corrupt the inspired writings, and without this unanimity any attempt of the kind must have been liable to be defeated by a few dissentient

Σμυρναίων καὶ Εφεσίων. Conf. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. ubi sup. p. 130. l. 12.

<sup>26</sup> S. Polyc. Epist. ad Philipp. cap. xii. p. 191. “Confido enim vos *bene exercitatos esse in sacris litteris*, et nihil vos latet; mihi vero non est concessum modo. Ut *his Scripturis* dictum est ‘Irascimini et nolite peccare:’ et ‘sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram.’ Beatus qui meminerit: quod ego credo esse in vobis.” Conf. Ps. iv. 5. Eph. iv. 26.

<sup>27</sup> S. Ignat. Ep. ad Philadd. cap. v. p. 78. προσφυγὼν τῷ Ἐυαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας· καὶ τὰς Προφῆτας· διὲ ἀγαπῶμεν διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ Ἐυαγγέλιον κατήγγελκεναι.

members; still they must have wanted authority to influence other churches to become a party in the conspiracy. But the different interests which divided every particular congregation must have rendered such an undertaking wholly impracticable. Within less than a century after the publication of the apostolical writings, the sect of the Montanists arose, in the very bosom of the church, and spread itself from Phrygia to Gaul and Africa<sup>23</sup>. As these

<sup>23</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. iii. p. 212. l. 39. τῶν δ' ἄμφι τὸν Μοντανὸν καὶ Αλκιβιάδην καὶ Θεοδότον, περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἄρτι τότε πρώτου τὴν περὶ τῆ προφητεῖαν ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐκφερομένων—καὶ δὴ διαφωνίας ὑπαρχούσης περὶ τῶν διδωμένων, αὐτοὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφοί, τὴν ἰδίαν κρίσιν καὶ περὶ τέτῳ, εὐλαβῇ καὶ ὀρθοδοξολάτῃ ὑποτάττεσθαι· ἐκδέμενοι καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τελειοδέων μαρτύρων διαφόρους ἐπιστολάς, αἱ ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔτι ὑπάρχοντες, τοῖς ἐπ' Ασίᾳ καὶ Φρυγίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς διεχάραξαν· ὃ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλευθέριον τῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ, τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἕνεκα πρόσβούσης. Eleutherius is mentioned by Hegesippus, ap. Euseb. Lib. IV. cap. xxii. p. 182. l. 19. and S. Irenæus Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 176. as bishop of Rome, when they flourished. Of Hegesippus, Eusebius declares, that he lived in the first succession after the apostles. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xxiii. p. 78. l. 1. and St. Irenæus will speak for the antiquity of his own testimony, vid. supr. p. 200. n. <sup>23</sup>. conf. infr. p. 216. n. <sup>68</sup>. Euseb. Lib. V. cap. xx. p. 238. l. 36. From the history of Tertullian, who was contemporary with S. Irenæus, Hier. Cat. Scriptt. in Luc. Tom. I. p. 121, we may not only collect, that Montanism had spread to Africa, but that if the Church had betrayed its trust in corrupting the Scriptures, the sacrilege would have been exposed by the hereticks; Hier. ibid. in Tert. p. 126. “Tertullianus presbyter,—provinciæ Africæ, civitatis Carthaginensis, &c. Hic cum usque ad mediam ætatem Presbyter Ecclesiæ permansisset, invidia postea et contumeliis clericorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ad Montani dogma delapsus, in multis libris novæ

hereticks were every where mingled with the Catholics, and used the same Canonical Scriptures, they must have discovered any attempt to corrupt their integrity. Nor could they have wanted the inclination to expose it; as the Catholics convened synods against them, condemned their doctrines, and expelled them from their communion<sup>29</sup>. But, in the mutual recrimination to which their differences gave rise, the hereticks no where accuse the Catholics, who derided their “New Prophecies<sup>30</sup>” of corrupting the sacred oracles.

Let us even suppose this difficulty surmounted, and that the Catholics and hereticks, forgetting

*prophetiæ meminit : specialiter autem adversum Ecclesiam texuit volumina, De Pudicitia, De Persecutione,” &c.* In fine, Eusebius observes on the origin and extent of this sect, and their disaffection towards the Church; Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. xvi. p. 230. l. 5. ὀλίγοι δ' ἦσαν ἔτοι τῶν Φρυγῶν ἐξηπατημένοι. τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν ἑρρανὸν ἐκκλησίαν βλασφημεῖν διδάσκουσιν τῷ ἀπηυδατισμένῳ πνεύματι, ὅτι μήτε τιμὴν μήτε πάροδον εἰς αὐτὴν τὸ ψευδοπροφῆτικὸν ἐλάβανε πνεῦμα. Vid. infr. p. 208. n. 40.

<sup>29</sup> Besides the Synod in Gaul, already mentioned, supr. n. 23. conventions were held against the Montanists, at Ancyra, Antioch, and in many parts of Asia; vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. capp. xvi. xix. p. 228. l. 13. p. 236. l. 22. Respecting these Synods, a contemporary writer observes; Apolinar. ap. Euseb. Ib. cap. xvi. p. 230. l. 10. τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχῇ τῆς Ἀσίας, εἰς τῷτο συνελθόντων, καὶ τὰς προσφάτας λόγους ἐξιλασάντων καὶ βεβήλους ἀποφηνάντων καὶ ἀποδοκιμασάντων τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἔτω δὲ τῆς τε ἐκκλησίας ἐξεώσθησαν, καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας εἴρχθησαν. Conf. Ibid. p. 227. l. 33. sqq.

<sup>30</sup> Vid. supr. n. 23. Conf. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. xvi. p. 229. l. 4. sqq. cap. xviii. p. 233. l. 33. sqq.



their mutual animosities, had agreed to corrupt the Scriptures; still the disagreements which arose between different churches, must have rendered any attempt on the integrity of Scripture wholly abortive, by leaving it open to detection. A difference of opinion, respecting the time of keeping Easter, interrupted the unanimity which had long subsisted between the Greek and Roman Churches<sup>31</sup>; and to such an extent was their mutual animosity carried, that the Western Church proceeded to the extremity of excommunicating the Eastern<sup>32</sup>. A like diversity of opinion, at a period somewhat later, divided the Roman and African Churches on the subject of baptizing hereticks<sup>33</sup>. Had there existed

<sup>31</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. xxiii. p. 241. l. 26. Ζητήσεως δῆτα κατὰ τέσδε [δεκάτῳ γε μὴν τῆς Κομόδου βασιλείας ἔτι.] ἢ σμικρᾶς ἀνακινήσεως, ὅτι δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης αἱ παροικίαι ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀρχαιτέρας, σελήνης τὴν τεσσαρεκαίδεκάτην ᾤοντο δεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τῆ σωτηρίας Πάσχα ἑορτῆς παραφυλάττειν, ἐν ᾗ δύνει τὸ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίους προηγόρευο. The Emperour Commodus came to the throne A.D. 180. about 60 years after the death of Trajan, and 70 after that of St. John the Evangelist; see the testimony of St. Irenæus, *supr.* p. 112. n. <sup>6</sup>. who took a part in the controversy before us; Conf. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. ix. p. 222. l. 20. cap. xxii. p. 241. l. 5. 7. 14. cap. xxiv. p. 245. l. 9—17.

<sup>32</sup> Euseb. *ibid.* cap. xxiv. p. 245. l. 3. ἐπὶ τέτοις ὁ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων προεσῶς Βίκτωρ ἀδρόως τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἅμα ταῖς ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς παροικίαις ἀπολέμειν ὡς ἑτεροδοξήσας, τῆς κοινῆς ἐνώσεως πειρᾶται· καὶ ζηλιεύει γε διὰ γραμμάτων, ἀκοινωνήτους ἄρδην πάντας τὰς ἐκεῖσε ἀνακηρύτλων ἀδελφάς.

<sup>33</sup> Euseb. *ibid.* Lib. VII. cap. ii. p. 322. l. 18. τέτῳ δὲ Στεφάνῳ τὴν πρώτην ὁ Διονύσιος τῶν περὶ βασιλείας ἐπιστολῶν διαλυπᾷται ζητήματος ἢ σμικρῆς τινικαδὲ ἀνακινήσεως, εἰ δέοι τὰς ἐξ οἴσας

any ground of accusation against any of those churches, on this head, it seems wholly inconceivable, that it could have escaped being urged: no such charge however is insinuated even obliquely against any of those churches.

Though the proofs which are here adduced in favour of the integrity of the sacred text, are merely negative; they must be allowed to be fully adequate to its vindication. On the present subject, positive proofs cannot be easily produced, and cannot be required in reason; any formal defence of the integrity of the inspired writings, in the primitive age, would indeed defeat its object, by conveying a suspicion that it needed vindication. But as no ground of suspicion existed, we find no defence undertaken. That which was unquestionable from the first was received without exciting a doubt; and silence on this subject conveys a sufficient proof of integrity.

It may be shewn, however, that the integrity of the inspired writings was an object of attention and research at a period so early, that if it had been at all suspicious, it could not have escaped detection. The extraordinary circumstances which attended the ministry of our Lord and his immediate followers, had given rise to many narratives, founded on traditionary accounts, in which some truth was retained with a great admixture of error<sup>34</sup>. A num-

ἐν αἰρέσεως ἐπιστρέφουσας, διὰ ληϊρῶν καιθαίρειν. Conf. capp. iii. iv. p. 323. l. 5. sqq.

<sup>34</sup> Orig. Hom. i. in Luc. Tom. III. p. 932. d. τὸ μέλοι ἐπιγεγραμμένον κατ' Ἀλγυπίας Εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον τῶν

ber of spurious works of this description were composed, particularly by the hereticks, who infested the Church from the earliest age ; and, under the title of Gospels and Acts, were inscribed with the names of different apostles <sup>35</sup>. Besides these, many of the writings of the apostles' companions, had been read in different churches ; and had thus become a part of the authorised text, though not of the Canonical Scriptures <sup>36</sup>. In discriminating between these

δώδεκα Εὐαγγέλιον οἱ συγγράψαντες ἐπεχείρησαν. Φέρεται δὲ τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν Εὐαγγέλιον· ἥδη δὲ ἐτόλμησε καὶ Βασιλείδης γράφαι κατὰ Βασιλείδην Εὐαγγέλιον· πολλοὶ μὲν ἔν ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ κατὰ Μαθθίαν, καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. xxv. p. 118. l. 34. Ἐν τοῖς νόμοις κατελείχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφή—καὶ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου.—ἥδη δ' ἐν τέτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ κατ' Ἑβραίων Εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδειξάμενοι χαίρουσι. ταῦτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀνιλεγομένων ἂν εἴη.

<sup>35</sup> Euseb. ib. p. 119. l. 10. ἀναγκαίως δὲ καὶ τέτων ὅμως τὸν κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα—ἵν' εἶδέναι ἔχοιμεν αὐτάς τε ταύτας καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν Αἰρετικῶν προσφερομένας· ἥτοι ὡς Πέτρου, καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ Μαθθία, ἡ καὶ τινων παρὰ τέτοις ἄλλων Εὐαγγέλια περιεχέσας· ἢ ὡς Ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀποστόλων πράξεις. ὧν ἕδεν ἑδαμῶς ἐν συγγραμμάτων τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μὴνιν ἀγαγεῖν ἤξιώσεν.

<sup>36</sup> Id. ibid. cap. iii. p. 90. l. 7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀπόστολος ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τέλει προσήρῃσι τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μὴνιν πεποιήσιν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ Ἑρμῆ, ὃ φασὶν ὑπάρχειν τὸ τῷ Ἰοιμένῳ βιβλίον—ὅθεν ἥδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ δεδημοσιευόμενον, καὶ τῶν παλαιολάτων συγγραφέων κεχρημένους τινὰς αὐτῷ κατείληφα. Id. ibid. cap. xxv. p. 119. l. 2. καὶ πρὸς τέτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή, καὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδασκαί—ταῦτα πάντα τῶν ἀνιλεγομένων ἂν εἴη. ἀναγκαίως δὲ καὶ τέτων ὅμως τὸν κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα, διακρίναντες τὰς—ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπλάσους



apocryphal works and the authentick Scriptures, the antients have stated the grounds on which they rejected the former and admitted the latter; they have thus enabled us to judge of the adequacy of that evidence, on the authority of which they established the Canon.

In selecting a period out of the primitive ages, which is best calculated to afford us satisfactory information on this subject, our attention is immediately attracted to that which produced the controversy relative to Easter. As this is a period in which party spirit ran high<sup>37</sup>, it is a crisis which is likely to put us in possession of the truth, by exhibiting both sides of the question. It is likewise distinguished by the number of learned and inquisitive men, who adorned Christianity by their lives, and supported it by their writings; by many whose works have descended to our times. The synods which were convened almost simultaneously in the

καὶ ἀνωμολογημένας γραφὰς, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρὰ ταύτας, ἐκ  
ἐνδιαδήκους μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνιλεγομένας· ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πλείστοις  
τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γινώσκομένας. Id. ibid. cap. xvi. p. 107.  
l. 18. Τύττε δὲ ἐν τῇ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογημένη μίᾳ ἐπιστολῇ  
φέρεται·—ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείστοις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ  
δεδημοσιευμένην πάλαι τε καὶ κατ' ἡμῶς αὐτὸς ἔγνωμεν.  
That the Epistle of St. Barnabas (of which Eusebius speaks less  
positively, than of the “Pastor” of Hermas, and the Epistle of  
St. Clement) was read in the Church, is apparent from St. Je-  
rome's tract De Nominn. Hebraicc. Tom. III. p. 534. in which  
it is annexed to the Apocalypse, as a part of the authorized  
text.

<sup>37</sup> Vid. sup. p. 204. nn. <sup>31</sup> et <sup>32</sup>.

most remote provinces<sup>38</sup>, would constitute a sufficient proof of the close communication which was maintained by the Christian Pastors at this early period : if the remains of their circular letters which have been preserved, did not put it out of dispute, that they considered it a matter of conscience to make a provision, that the result of their deliberations should be communicated to the remotest branches of the Catholick Church<sup>39</sup>. At this period Narcissus, who, at an advanced age, had Alexander for his suffragan, was bishop of Jerusalem<sup>40</sup>; Poly-crates, Serapion, Demetrius, Victor, and St. Irenæus, respectively settled at Ephesus, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Lyons, were vested with the government of the principal churches in the Asia-tick, Syriack, Egyptian, Italick, and Gallican pro-

<sup>38</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. xxiii. p. 242. l. 11. Σύνοδοι δὴ καὶ συγκρολήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ τούτων [τὸ περὶ τῆ Πάσχα ζήλημα] ἐγένοντο· πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε διεσπένοντο —. Φέρεται δ' εἰσέτι νῦν τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην τῆνικαδὲ συγκεκροτημένων γραφῶν, ἃν πρὸτέτακτο Θεόφιλος τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Νάρκισσος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης δὲ ὁμοίως ἄλλη περὶ τῆ αὐτῆς ζηλήματος, ἐπίσκοπον Βίκτορα δηλῶσα· τῶν τε κατὰ Πόντον ἐπισκόπων ἃν Πάλμας ὡς ἀρχαιότατος πρὸτέτακτο· καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν δὲ παροικίων, ἃς Ἐιρηναῖος ἐπεσκόπει· ἐτι τε τῶν κατὰ Ὀσροηνὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖσε πόλεις· καὶ ἰδίως Βαρυχύλλου τῆς Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πλείων ὄσω, ἄλλων, κ. τ. ἐ.

<sup>39</sup> Vid. Euseb. ut supr. p. 197. n. 15. infr. n. 41.

<sup>40</sup> Vid. supr. n. 35. Alexandr. Epist. ad Antinoitt. Ἀσπάζεται· ὑμᾶς Νάρκισσος ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν διέπων τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν ἐνθάδε, καὶ νῦν συνεξεταζόμενός μοι διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν, ἑκατὸν δεκαεὶς ἔτη ἡνυκάς, κ. τ. ἐ. Vid. Euseb. ibid. Lib. VI. cap. xi. p. 268. l. 17. sqq.

vinces<sup>41</sup>. Among the writers celebrated at that period, we particularly distinguish Pantænus and Clement, of Alexandria<sup>42</sup>; Origen, afterwards presbyter, of Palestine<sup>43</sup>; Caius, presbyter of Rome<sup>44</sup>; St. Irenæus, then bishop of Lyons; and Tertullian, presbyter of Carthage<sup>45</sup>. From the joint testimony of witnesses thus competent, and thus widely dispersed, the most unanswerable body of evidence may be deduced in favour of the integrity of the Canonical Scriptures.

In the first place, the integrity of the sacred writings was, at this period, the subject of particular investigation. The Marcionites, a sect which was particularly opposed by St. Irenæus and Tertullian, had rejected the principal part of the Canon, and corrupted the remainder<sup>46</sup>; and the Theodotists, who had been excommunicated by Victor<sup>47</sup>,

<sup>41</sup> Vid. supr. n. <sup>38</sup>. Euseb. ib. Lib. V. cap. xix. p. 236. l. 20.

Σιραπίων, ὃν—μετὰ Μαξιμίον, ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας κατέχει λόγος γενέσθαι, μέμνηται αὐτῷ [τῷ Ἀπολινάριῳ] ἐν ἰδίᾳ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Καρικόν καὶ Ποντικόν· ἐν ᾗ διευδύνων καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν [τῶν Φρυγῶν] αἵρεσιν, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα. Ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦτο ἴδῃτε, ὅτι τῆς ψυδῆς ταύτης τάξεως τῆς ἐπικαλυμμένης ‘ νέας προφητείας,’ ἐβδελύκται ἡ ἐέργεια παρὰ πάσῃ τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ ἀδελφότητι, πέπομφας ἡμῖν, κ. τ. εἰ. Ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ τῷ Σαραπίωνος ἐπιστολῇ, καὶ ὑποσημειώσεις φέρονται διαφορῶν ἐπισκόπων.

<sup>42</sup> Vid. infr. p. 209. n. <sup>53</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Vid. infr. p. 210. n. <sup>53</sup>. Conf. supr. p. 12. n. <sup>47</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Euseb. ib. Lib. II. cap. xxv. p. 83. l. 36. καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ Γάιος ὄνομα κατὰ Ζεφυρίον Ῥωμαίων γεγενῶς ἐπίσκοπον· ὃς δὴ Πρόκλῳ κατὰ Φρύγας προῖσα μὲν γνώμης ἐγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς, κ. τ. εἰ.

<sup>45</sup> Vid. supr. p. 202. n. <sup>28</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Vid. supr. p. 53. n. <sup>16</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Euseb. ib. Lib. V. cap. xxviii, p. 252. l. 27.—Βίχτωρ



and refuted by Caius, had systematically corrupted the sacred writings<sup>48</sup>. From the remains of Caius, and the works of Tertullian, it appears, that both these antient fathers had carefully collated the genuine and the adulterated copies<sup>49</sup>. Alexander and Origen, who were friends and correspondents<sup>50</sup>, were professed collectours of books; the former founded, at his own expence, the library at Jerusalem<sup>51</sup>, and the latter laid the foundation of that at Cæsarea<sup>52</sup>. Pantænus and Clement, who had been intimates of Alexander and Origen<sup>53</sup>, were travel-

τὸν σκυλῖα Θεόδοτον, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ παλῖρα ταύτης τῆς ἀρνησιδίας ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκλήρυξε τῆς κοινωνίας, πρῶτον ἐπιτόνῃα ψιλὸς ἀνδρωπὸν τὸν Χριστόν—

<sup>48</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 253. l. 37. τέτοις ἐπισυνάψωμεν καὶ ἄλλας περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τῇ αὐτῇ συγγραφῇ [Γαῖου δηλαδὴ] φωνάς, τῆτον ἰχέσας τὸν τρόπον. Γραφὰς μὲν θείας ἀφόβως βεραδιεργήκασι.

<sup>49</sup> Caius ap. Euseb. *ibid.* p. 254. l. 16. Εἰ γάρ τις θελήσει συγχομίσας αὐτῶν ἑκάστῃ τὰ ἀντίγραφα ἐξελάειν πρὸς ἄλληλα, καὶ πολὺ ἂν εὖροι διάφορον. ἀσύμφωνα γὰρ ἔσται τὰ Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῖς Θεοδότῃ.—πάλιν δὲ τέτοις τὰ Ἐρμούλου ἢ συνάδει. τὰ γὰρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐδὲ αὐτὰ ἑαυτοῖς ἐστὶ σύμφωνά. ἔνεσι γὰρ συγκρίναι τὰ πρότερον ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλῶς κεινομένη, τοῖς ὕστερον πάλιν ἐπιδιασφραφίσαι, καὶ εὖρεῖν καλῶς ἀπαδόνη. Vid. *supr.* p. 146. n. <sup>89</sup>. Tertullian's testimony will be more particularly considered hereafter.

<sup>50</sup> Vid. *infr.* n. <sup>53</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 198. n. <sup>17</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 84. n. <sup>73</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Euseb. *Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xiv. p. 274. l. 14.* Πάλιν δ' ἐδὴ λωθεὶς Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ Κλήμεντος ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῇ Πανταίνῳ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ὠριγένην ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει, ὡς δὴ γνωρίμων αὐτῶν γενομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Conf. *cap. xi. p. 269. l. 24.* Id. *ib. cap. vi. p. 264. l. 4.* Πάνταϊνον δὲ Κλήμης διαδεξάμενος τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καληχρήσεως—καθηγεῖτο. ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὠριγένην τῶν φοιτητῶν αὐτῷ παῖδα ὄντα γενέσθαι κ. τ. ε.

lers, and curious enquirers into the subject under discussion. The former, in a mission undertaken to India, on which he was deputed by Demetrius, successour to Julianus, in the see of Alexandria, there saw the Gospel of St. Matthew, as originally written in Hebrew, which was preserved from the times of St. Bartholomew, the apostle of India<sup>54</sup>. And the latter, who was Alexander's messenger from Jerusalem to Antioch, has perpetuated the tradition, which he received from an elder named Macarius, respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews; that it was originally written by St. Paul, in the same language, but afterwards translated into Greek by St. Luke the Evangelist<sup>55</sup>. These facts will sufficiently evince the wide dispersion of the sacred writings, and the attention which was devoted to the subject before us, at this truly primitive period<sup>56</sup>. With respect to Origen, his testimony

<sup>54</sup> Euseb. *ibid.* Lib. V. cap. x. p. 223. l. 15.—ὁ Πάνλαινος καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοῦς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται· ἐνθα λόγος εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτῆ παρθεσίαν, τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον, παρὰ τισιν αὐτόδι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν· οἷς Βαρδολομαῖον τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἔνα κηρύξαι· αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασιν τὴν τῆ Ματθαίου καταλεῖψαι γραφὴν· ἣν καὶ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον. Conf. S. Hier. Cat. Scripp. Eccless. in Pantæn. Tom. I. p. 124.

<sup>55</sup> Id. *ibid.* Lib. VI. cap. xiv. p. 273. l. 8. καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολὴν, Παῦλος μὲν εἶναι φησὶ [ὁ Κλήμης] γεγραφῆναι δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ· Λευκῶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα, ἐκδύνασθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν· ὅθεν τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον εὐρίσκεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ τῶν Πράξεων.—Εἵτα ὑποβάς ἐπιλέγει· Ἡδὴ δὲ ὡς ὁ Μακάριος ἐλέγε πρεσβύτερος, κ. τ. εἰ. Conf. Lib. III. cap. xxxviii. p. 134. l. 20.

<sup>56</sup> The facts which have been related, on the authority of

would be of itself sufficient to establish all that it is my object to evince. Through motives of curiosity

Justin Martyr, and Clemens Alexandrinus, relative to the wide dispersion of the name of Nazarenes, and to the discovery of a Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in India, *supr.* p. 194. n. <sup>2</sup>. p. 211. n. <sup>54</sup>. afford each other mutual confirmation, and form an extraordinary proof of the wide and early dispersion of this Gospel, within a few years of our Lord's ascension: *vid. supr.* p. 194. n. <sup>3</sup>. The Scriptures were written as the new converts were able to receive them. Previously to the formal abrogation of the Jewish ceremonial, and the admission of the Gentile converts to the full participation of the Christian privileges, St. Matthew's Gospel contained as perfect a view of the New Religion, as the infant Church was calculated to receive; *comp. Act. xi. 1—4. sqq.* And this Gospel, in insisting particularly on the name of Nazarene, *Matt. ii. 23.* appears to me to contain internal evidence of having been written previously to this period, before the name of Christian was at all used; *vid. Act. ib. 26.* It may be further observed, in illustration of this curious subject, that Apollonius, a primitive father, who flourished within 80 years after the death of St. John, relates, on the authority of tradition, that the Apostles were enjoined by our Lord not to leave Jerusalem for twelve years: *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. xviii. p. 236. l. 8.* ἔτι δὲ ὡς ἐκ παραδό-  
σιως τὸν Σωτῆρα φησὶ [ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος] προσέειπαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
Ἀποστόλοις, ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτεσι μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ.  
With this account accords the opinion of the Greek Church, relative to the Gospel of St. Matthew. This work was supposed to have been written about eight years after our Lord's Ascension, in Hebrew, for the early converts; but translated into Greek by St. John, when the Church was emancipated for its subjection to the Jewish ceremonial. *Schol. in Matt. xxviii. 20. e Cod. Vat. 361. 363. et all. multt.* τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Ἑβραϊκῶς ἐγράφη παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ, μετὰ χρόνους ὀκτώ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως, ὕστερον δὲ ἡρμενεύθη παρὰ Ἰωάννου. *ap. Birch. Nov. Test. p. 181. Conf. Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. pp. lxxv. clv.*



he visited Rome<sup>57</sup>, and was deputed on a mission to Arabia<sup>58</sup>; and from the discovery which he made of some obscure versions of the Hebrew Scriptures<sup>59</sup>, it might be inferred, that he was a diligent inquirer into the authority of the New Testament. But his testimony may be collected not merely by implication, but from his express declarations. He has drawn the justest line between the canonical and the apocryphal books<sup>60</sup>; has ascribed the former

<sup>57</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xiv. p. 274. l. 27. ὁ γέτοι Ἀδαμάντιος, καὶ τὸτο γὰρ ἦν τῷ Ὀριγένει ὄνομα, Ζεφυρίνου κατὰ τέσδε τὲς χρόνους τῆς Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγεμένε, ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ρώμῃ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ γράφει λέγων. Εὐξάμενος τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἰδεῖν. ἔνθα ὁ πολὺ διαλίσσας ἐπάνεισιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.

<sup>58</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xix. p. 283. l. 20. ἐπιστάς τις τῶν γραβηλικῶν ἀνεδίδε γράμματα Δημητρίῳ, τε τῷ τῆς παροικίας ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τῷ τότε τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπαρχῷ, παρὰ τῷ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἡγεμένῳ ὡς ἂν μετὰ σπευδῆς ἀπάσης τὸν Ὀριγένην πέμψοιεν κοινωνήσοιτα λόγων αὐτῶ. Τοιγαρὶν παραπεμφθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. Conf. cap. xxxvi. p. 299. l. 29. sqq.

<sup>59</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xvi. p. 275. l. 21. Τοσαύτη δὲ εἰσῆλθοι τῷ Ὀριγένει τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἐξέλασις, ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραϊκὰ γλῶττιαν ἐκμαθεῖν.—καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρας, παρὰ τὰς καθημαγευμένας ἑρμηνείας ἐναλαττίσας, τὴν Ἀκύλῃ καὶ Συμμάρκῃ καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ, ἐφευρεῖν αὐς, ἐκ οἷδ' ὅθεν ἐκ τινων μυθῶν, τὸν πάλαι λαθρανέσας χρόνον, ἀνιχνεύσας, εἰς φῶς προήγαγεν. ἐφ' ᾧ διὰ τὴν ἀληθότητα, τίνος ἄρ' εἶεν ἐκ εἰδῶς, αὐτὸ τῷτο μόνον ἐπεσημνήματο, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μὲν εὐροίαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίῳ Νικόπολει τὴν δὲ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ τοῖαδε. Conf. cap. xviii. p. 278. l. 13.

<sup>60</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xxv. p. 290. l. 12. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον [ὁ Ὀριγένης] τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλάττειν καὶ νόνα, μόνον τέσσαρα εἰδέναι Εὐαγγέλια μαρτύρεται, ὧδε πως γράφει· Ὡς ἐν παραδόσει μαθὼν περὶ τῶν τισσάρων Εὐαγγελίων, ὁ καὶ μοι ἀναλίσκῃ ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν ἑσπέρων ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ Θεῷ κ. τ. ι.

their due and exclusive weight<sup>61</sup>; and has deduced their authority from the immemorial tradition of the Catholick Church<sup>62</sup>; which his profound learning and local researches furnished him with ample means of investigating.

If we now take the works of Clement, Origen, and Tertullian, and compare them with our Scriptures, as preserved in the original Greek, and in the Latin translation, it is impossible to resist the conviction, that the sacred writings must have retained their integrity, since the times of those primitive fathers. We find them collectively quoted by those early fathers, under their proper titles, and on all occasions where their authority could be adduced. Of Tertullian it has been observed, that he contains more numerous and extensive extracts from the New Testament, than all the writers of antiquity, for a long succession of ages, have adduced from the voluminous writings of Cicero<sup>63</sup>; though his works

<sup>61</sup> Orig. Hom. i. in Luc. Tom. III. p. 932. d. οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Καινῇ Διαθήκῃ τὰ Εὐαγγέλια πολλοὶ ἐδέλουν γραῖναι· ἀλλ' οἱ δοκιμοὶ τραπέζονται ἐς τάντα ἔκριναν, ἀλλὰ τινα αὐτῶν ἐξελέξαντο. Τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ 'ἐπεχείρησαν' λεληλυῖαν ἔχει κατηγορίαν τῶν χωρὶς χαρίσματος, ἐλθόντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν Εὐαγγελίων. Ματθαῖος γὰρ ἐκ ἐπεχείρησεν ἀλλ' ἔγραψεν ἐξ ἀγίας Πνεύματος κινούμενος· ὁμοίως καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Ἰωάννης, παρὰ πλήσιον δὲ καὶ Λουκᾶς. Vid. supr. p. 205. n. <sup>34</sup>. The testimony of Origen respecting the Epistles, which is too long for insertion in this place, is collected by Eusebius, Lib. VI. cap. xxv. p. 291.

<sup>62</sup> Vid. supr. n. <sup>60</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Dr. Lardn. Cred. of Gosp. Hist. P. I. B. I. ch. xxvii. p. 644. "There are perhaps more and larger quotations of the N. T. in this one christian author, than of all the works of Ci-

have formed a standard, by which succeeding writers have endeavoured to model their stile. The writings of Clement and Origen have undergone a severer scrutiny than those of Tertullian; all the scripture quotations which are discoverable in such of their works as are extant, have been extracted from them, and have been disposed in their proper order<sup>64</sup>. They contain ample and connected quotations from all the books of Scripture; which not only evince the general integrity of the sacred writings, but demonstrate, by the most extraordinary coincidence with the vulgar Greek<sup>65</sup>, that the texture of the phrase and purity of the language have remained uncorrupted for the vast period which has intervened, since the age of those primitive fathers.

Ample and satisfactory as the testimony is, which is thus borne to the integrity of the sacred Scrip-

cero, though of so uncommon excellence for thought and stile, in the writers of all characters for several ages."

<sup>64</sup> Vid. Nov. Test. Locc. ab Orig. et Clem. Alex. Allegatt. ap. Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. II. p. 229. sqq.

<sup>65</sup> M. Griesbach has noted the deviations of the Vulgar Greek from the readings of Origen, in the lower margin of his Symbb. Critt. ut supr. p. 241. sqq. When we throw out of the list the inconstant readings of Origen, and the peculiar readings of Clement, of whom M. Griesbach declares, *ibid.* p. 235. "*S. S. oracula haud raro memoriter excitat, et sensum magis quam ipsa auctorum sacrorum verba repræsentat;*" and when we remember the insuperable difficulties with which the antients had to contend in quoting accurately, as not knowing the use of a Concordance, and not having a text divided into verses: the literal coincidence of those readings, and the Greek Vulgate, must be considered next to miraculous.



tures, it seems possible to connect it by a few steps with the age of the inspired writers. Origen was the disciple of Clement, and Clement the disciple of Pantænus; and all of them were the intimates of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem<sup>65</sup>: but Pantænus is expressly said to have been a disciple of those who were the immediate auditors of the Apostles<sup>66</sup>. Alexander represents Narcissus, who was likewise bishop of Jerusalem, as having been an hundred and sixteen years old, when he acted as his suffragan in that see, at Jerusalem<sup>67</sup>; he of course must have enjoyed the same opportunities of conversing with the immediate disciples of the apostles, which were possessed by Pantænus. Tertullian is referred to a period near that of the apostles, by St. Jerome, who drew his information from one who was informed by an acquaintance of St. Cyprian, his disciple<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Vid. supr. p. 210. n. 53.

<sup>66</sup> Phot. Bibliothec. cod. CVIII. Τῆτον τοίνυν τὸν Ὠριγένην, ὃν καὶ Ἀδαμάντιον ἐπονομάζεσθαι φασὶν—ἀκροαλὴν καὶ διάδοχον λέγουσι γενέσθαι Κλήμεντος τῷ Στρωματίῳ, καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιαστικῇ διδασκαλείᾳ. Κλήμενα δὲ Παλαιῖν γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ ἀκροαλὴν καὶ τῷ διδασκαλείᾳ διάδοχον. Πάνταινον δὲ τῶν τε τῆς Ἀποστόλης ἑωρακότων ἀκροάσασθαι· ἔμην ἀλλὰ καὶ τινῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων διακῆσαι.

<sup>67</sup> Vid. supr. p. 208. n. 40.

<sup>68</sup> S. Hier. Cat. Scripp. Eccless. in Tertul. Tom. I. p. 126. "*Vidi ego quendam Paulum Concordiæ, quod opidum Italiæ est, senem, qui se B. Cypriani jam grandis ætatis notarium, cum ipse admodum esset adolescens, Romæ vidisse diceret, referreque sibi solitum, numquam Cyprianum absque Tertulliani lectione unam diem præterisse: ac sibi crebro dicere; Da magistrum:*" Tertullianum videlicet significans." Id. ib.

St. Irenæus mentions his having been acquainted with St. Polycarp, who was placed in the see of Smyrna by St. John the Evangelist<sup>69</sup>; and gives an affecting description of the accounts which he heard that venerable old man deliver of the apostle, and of the impression which, while he was yet a boy, they had made upon his recollection<sup>70</sup>. With these facilities of arriving at the opinions of the apostolical age, on a subject of such paramount importance as that of the sacred canon, it remains to be observed, that the apostolical tradition, as preserved by the succession of bishops throughout the Catholic Church, was at this period an object of curious investigation<sup>71</sup>. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, ex-

in Luc. p. 111. “ Sed et Tertullianus, vicinus eorum temporum,” &c.

<sup>69</sup> Vid. supr. p. 200. n. 23.

<sup>70</sup> S. Iren. Fragmm. p. 340. αἱ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων μαθήσεις, συναΐξουσαι τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐνῆνται αὐτῇ ὥς με δύσασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος διελέγιστο ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος καὶ τὰς προόδους καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆ βίης, καὶ τὴν τῆ σάμαλός ιδίαν καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννη συναναστροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγελλε καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λῳπῶν τῶν ἐωρακότων τὸν Κύριον καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευε τὰς λόγους αὐτῶν, καὶ περὶ τῆ Κυρίας τίνα ἦν ἢ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀκήκοει καὶ περὶ δυνάμεων αὐτῆς, καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὡς παρὰ αὐτοπλῶν τῆς ζωῆς τῆ Λόγου παρειληφώς ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἀπήγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς Γραφαῖς.

<sup>71</sup> Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. Lib. VI. cap. xiii. p. 272. l. 29. καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῆς τῷ περὶ τῆ πάσχα ἐκβιαθῆναι [ὁ Κλήμης] ὁμολογεῖ, πρὸς τῶν ἑταίρων ἃς ἔτυχε παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων πρεσβυτέρων ἀκηκοὺς παραδόσεις, γραφῇ τοῖς μετὰ αὐτὰ παραδῆναι. Clement, in describing the sources from whence he drew his traditional knowledge, proves that it must have been catholic, and directly received from the auditours of the Apostles; Id. Stromat

pressly appeals to it in the controversy respecting Easter; and on this subject of comparatively minor importance, states the traditionary customs, as derived from St. Polycarp and St. John, in the churches of Smyrna and Ephesus<sup>72</sup>. Similar appeals are made to it, by St. Irenæus<sup>73</sup> and Tertulian, on the rule of faith which had been delivered

Lib. I. p. 322. τάτων ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Ἰωνικός· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος· τῆς κοίλης ἄτερος αὐτῶν Συρίας ἦν· ὁ δὲ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτῶ· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀνατολήν· καὶ ταύτης ὁ μὲν τις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων· ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Ἑβραῖος ἀνέκαθεν· ὑστάτω δὲ περιλυχῶν, θυιάμει δ' ἄρα πρῶτος ἦν, ἀνεπαυσάμην, ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ θηράσας λεληθότα. — ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας διδασκαλίας σώζοντες παρὰδοσιν, εὐθύς ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων, πᾶσι παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεξάμενος, ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ παῖδάσιν ὅμοιοι, ἦκον δὴ σὺν Θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, τὰ προγονικά ἐκεῖνα καὶ Ἀποστολικά καταδησόμενοι σπέρματα. Conf. Euseb. Lib. V. cap. xi. p. 223. l. 31. sqq. cap. xxviii. l. 16. sqq.

<sup>72</sup> Polycrat. Epist. ad Vict. ap. Euseb. ib. Lib. V. cap. xxiv. p. 244. l. 13. ἔτι δὲ καὶ γὰρ ὁ μικρότερος πάντων ὑμῶν Πολυκράτης, κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν συγγενῶν μὲν, οἷς καὶ παρεκολούθησα τισὶν αὐτῶν· ἐπεὶ μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μὲν ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντοτε τὴν ἡμέραν ἤγαγον οἱ συγγενεῖς μὲν, ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἤρνευε τὴν ζύμην, ἐγὼ ἔν ἀδελφοί, ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν κυρίῳ, καὶ συμβεβληκῶς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ πᾶσαν ἁγίαν Γραφὴν διελλυθώς, ἐ πύρομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς καταπλησσομένοις.

<sup>73</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 177. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν Τραϊανῶν χρόνων, μάρτυς ἀληθείης ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως. Of the means which St. Irenæus possessed of investigating the primitive traditions, and of the curiosity which he exercised on this subject, he has thus spoken; S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. IV. cap. xxvii. p. 263. “*Quemadmodum audiivi a quodam Presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui Apostolos viderant, et ab his qui didicerant,*” &c.



to the Church by its original founders, and preserved by their successors<sup>74</sup>. The former states, that the apostolical tradition was preserved in every church throughout the world<sup>75</sup>; the latter appeals to the apostolical writings as preserved in the particular churches, where they were deposited by their inspired authours<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Tertul. adv. Marc. Lib. IV. cap. v. p. 406. "In summa, si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod ab initio, id ab initio quod ab Apostolis; pariter utique *constabit id esse ab Apostolis traditum, quod apud Ecclesias Apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum*. Videamus quod hac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatæ sint reorrecti; quid legant Philipenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus Evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habemus et Joannis alumnas Ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit, *ordo tamen Episcoporum ad originem recenset, in Joannem, stabit auctorem, sic et cæterarum generositas recognoscitur*. Dico itaque apud illas, nec solas jam Apostolicas, sed *apud universas*, quæ illis de societate sacramenti confœderantur, id Evangelium Lucæ *ab initio editionis suæ stare* quod cum maxime tuemur: Marcionis vero plerisque nec notum, nullis autem notum ut non eo damnatum."

<sup>75</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 175. "*Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre: et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos,*" &c. Id. ep. ad Florin. p. 339. ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἀσύμφωνά ἐστι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ — ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα, οἱ πρὸς ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις συμφοιτήσαντες, ἐπαρέδωκαν κ. τ. ἔ.

<sup>76</sup> Vid. supr. p. 115. n. <sup>14</sup>. p. 218. n. <sup>74</sup>. The meaning ascribed to *authenticae literæ*, in the former quotation, has been opposed by Dr. Lardner, Cred. of Gosp. Hist. P. I. B. I. ch.

As the early period in which those apostolical fathers flourished is thus easily connected with the age

xxvii. Vol. II. p. 636. He supports his opinion on the authority of Cicero, and of Tertullian, the former of whom uses the adverb *αὐθεντικῶς*, and the latter the adjective *authenticus*, in designating the *original* of a work, as distinguished merely from a translation. And he contends, that the very originals cannot be meant by the phrase *authenticæ literæ*; as it is inconceivable the Epistle to the Romans could have been read at Rome, as written in Greek; or that the autographs of the different Epistles of the inspired writers could be found at more places than one; whereas Tertullian refers to different places. But the former instances are wholly irrelevant. The case of an epistle which has been *transcribed*, and of a work which has been *translated*, are essentially different; and the latter is wholly beside the point in dispute between Tertullian and Marcion. They equally reasoned from the original Greek; of course without any regard to a translation. What seems decisive of the point is, that had merely authentick copies been required to decide the matter in debate, it was useless to apply to the places where the *originals* had been certainly deposited; as an *authentick transcript* of the Epistle to the Galatians, to speak but of a single instance, might be as easily obtained at Carthage, where the question was debated, as at Rome, Corinth, or Ephesus. And when Dr. Lardner objects, that the Epistle to the Romans was not read in the original Greek, at Rome, it seems to have escaped his observation, that it was written and addressed in this language to that Church, by the Apostle; doubtless with the view of being read in the congregation. I trust also, it would require more ingenuity than the objectour possessed, to prove, that because it was read from a translation, which I am forward to admit, it was not read also in the original. Certainly the practice of the Primitive Church as fully warrants me in this conjecture, as the objectour in the contrary: see 1 Cor. xiv. 27, 28. The reasoning of Dr. Lardner is therefore as unfortunate, as the instances which he has adduced impertinent. The reasons which support a different

of the apostles; it may be no less easily connected with that in which the Latin Vulgate was made, and the Alexandrine manuscript written; the joint testimony of which contains a sufficient evidence of the integrity of the canonical scriptures from the latter period down to the present day.

St. Jerome, who formed the Latin Version, drew his information respecting Tertullian from one who had conversed with a notary of St. Cyprian<sup>77</sup>. St. Athanasius, who lived when the Alexandrine manuscript was written, was present in the Council of Nice<sup>78</sup>, and the acquaintance of St. Epiphanius, the friend of St. Jerome<sup>79</sup>. But the great

sense to the passage before us, are possessed of different weight. That *authenticæ literæ* was considered, in Tertullian's age and country, synonymous with *ipsa epistola, eadem epistola*, St. Cyprian places beyond controversion: vid. supr. p. 115. n. <sup>14</sup>; and of all suppositions it is only probable, that the *originals* of the epistles of St. Paul, which Marcion had corrupted, in *his transcripts*, had not been destroyed in the age of a person, who, like Tertullian, lived near the Apostles' times; vid. supr. p. 217. n. <sup>68</sup>. A comparison with any *one* of those Epistles, as preserved at Rome, Corinth, or Ephesus, would have demonstrated the corruption of Marcion's Apostolicum: this is the whole which is intimated by Tertullian, and less than this renders his argument nugatory.

<sup>77</sup> Vid. supr. p. 216. n. <sup>68</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. viii. p. 19. l. 50. τῆτοις δὲ [τοῖς Ἀρειανῆς αἰρέσεως] γεναίως ἀντηγωνίζετο Ἀθανάσιος, διάκοιτος μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείαν ἐκκλησίας· σφόδρα δὲ αὐτὸν διὰ τιμῆς ἤγεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, διὸ καὶ φθόνος ὠπλίστατο κατ' αὐτῇ κ. τ. i. Conf. Sozom. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. xvii. p. 26. l. 7.

<sup>79</sup> S. Hier. adv. Ruffin. Lib. III. cap. vii. Tom. II. p. 257.

<sup>80</sup> Malui per Maleas et Cycladas Cyprum pergere, ubi susceptus



Athanasius must have conversed with many who had known the disciples of Origen. Demetrius, who was contemporary with the latter, governed the church of Alexandria forty-three years; and his successors, Heraclas and Dionysius, who occupied the same see for thirty-three years subsequently to his times, were the disciples of Origen<sup>80</sup>. But Dionysius was summoned to the Synod, held at Antioch, which was convened against Paul of Samosata<sup>81</sup>; and Lucianus, the martyr, who revised the Byzantine text, was contemporary with Paul, who was deposed by the Synod of Antioch<sup>82</sup>. As he

*a venerabili Episcopo Epiphanio, cujus tu testimonio gloriaris, veni Antiochiam.*” St. Epiphanius himself has placed out of dispute that he was personally acquainted with St. Athanasius. I shall subjoin the anecdote which he relates; as drawn from the life, it paints, with the utmost truth of nature, the manners of that extraordinary man, who was an ornament to the sacred function. S. Epiph. Hær. LXXII. p. 837. b. ἡρόμην δὲ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ χρόνῳ τινὶ τὸν μακαρίτην Πάπαν Ἀθανάσιον περὶ τέττα τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ, πῶς ἂν ἔχοι περὶ αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ἔτε ὑπεραπελογήσατο, ἔτε πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἠνέχθη, μόνον δὲ διὰ τῷ προσώπῳ μειδιάσας ὑπέφθινε, μοχθηρίας μὴ μακρὰν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ ὡς ἀπολογησάμενον εἶχε.

<sup>80</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xv. p. 275. l. 12. Ἡρακλᾶν τῶν γνωρίμων [τῶν Ὀριγένους] προκρίνας—κοινωνὸν καθίστη τῆς κατηχίσεως. Id. ibid. cap. xxix. p. 294. l. 21. τῆς δὲ τῶν αὐτόθι κατηχίσεως τὴν διατριβὴν διαδέχεται Διονύσιος, εἰς καὶ ἔτος τῶν Ὀριγένους φοιτητῶν.

<sup>81</sup> Euseb. ib. Lib. VII. cap. xxvii. p. 357. l. 12. ὁ μὲν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Διονύσιος παρακληθεὶς ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον [ἐν Ἀλ-ιοχίᾳ] ἀφίκοιτο· γῆρας ἔμῃ καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ τῷ σώματος αἰτιασάμενος, ἀναλιδεῖναι τὴν παρουσίαν, δι' ἐπιστολῆς τὴν αὐτῷ γνώμην ἣν ἔχοι περὶ τῷ ζήτῳ παραστήσας.

<sup>82</sup> Alex. Alexandr. Epist. ap. Theod. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap.

survived this period, until the persecution of Maximin, and was not martyred until within thirteen years of the Council of Nice, he must have been a contemporary of St. Athanasius, and would have been doubtless present in that Synod, had he not been prematurely cut off among the martyrs of Palestine. By the intervention of Dionysius and Lucianus, the tradition is thus connected from the times of Origen to those of St. Athanasius, St. Epiphanius, and St. Jerome.

The testimony of St. Athanasius, who stands at the end of this succession, is adequate to decide all that it is my object to establish<sup>83</sup>. He has given a list of the canonical and apocryphal books, in his Festal Epistle<sup>84</sup>, which forms a sufficient evidence

iv. p. 15. ἐκ ἀγνοήϊες ὅτι ἡ ἑναγκος ἐπανᾶςᾶσα τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ εὐσεβείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ, Εὐβίωνος ἔστι καὶ Ἀρτεμῖα καὶ Ζήλος τῷ κατὰ Ἀλιόχειαν Παύλῳ τῷ Σαμοσαλέως συνόδῳ καὶ κρίσει τῶν ἀπαυλαχῆ ἐπισκόπων ἀπακηρυκθέντος τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὃν διαδεξάμενος Λευκιανὸς ἀποσυνάγωγος ἔμεινε τριῶν ἐπισκόπων πολυεῖς χρόνος.

<sup>83</sup> Vid. sup. p. 131. n. 56. Conf. S. Athan. de Incarn. Verb. Tom. I. p. 96. b.

<sup>84</sup> St. Athan. Epist. Fest. Tom. I. P. ii. p. 962. c. τὰ δὲ τῆς Καινῆς [Διαθήκης] πάλιν ἐκ ὀκνότητος εἰπεῖν· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα. ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ τέσσαρα· κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λευκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην. εἴτα μετὰ ταῦτα, ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, καὶ ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΑΙ καλούμεναι τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐπὶ· ἕως μὲν, Ἰακώβου α, Πέτρου δὲ β, εἴτα Ἰωάννου γ, καὶ μετὰ ταύτας Ἰῆδα α. πρὸς τότοις ΠΑΤΡΟΥ Ἀποστόλου εἰσὶν ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ δικαίους αὐτος, τῇ τάξει γραφόμεναι ἕως· πρώτη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους· εἴτα πρὸς Κορινθίους δύο· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Γαλάτας· καὶ ἑξῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους· εἴτα πρὸς Φιλιππησίους, καὶ πρὸς Κολασσεῖς, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δύο· καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους· καὶ εὐθὺς πρὸς Τιμόθεον δύο· πρὸς δὲ Τίτον μία· καὶ τελευταία ἡ πρὸς Φιλόμοιαν· καὶ πάλιν Ἰωάννης Ἀποκάλυψις.

of the integrity of the vulgar edition ; in proving the same books to be now in use, which were received at the time of the Nicene Council. What adds still greater weight to his authority, is the explicit appeal which he makes to the tradition of the Church, while employed in enumerating the Canonical Scriptures<sup>85</sup>. As he was present in the Council of Nice, where the Bishops of the Catholick Church were assembled together, and as he visited the churches of Greece<sup>86</sup>, Syria<sup>87</sup>, Gaul<sup>88</sup>, and Italy<sup>89</sup>, and governed that of Alexandria, he not only possessed the means of tracing the tradition to its source, but of ascertaining how far it was catholick. The different editions which are incorporated in the Alexandrine manuscript<sup>90</sup>, contain a sufficient

ταῦτα πηγαὶ τῆ σωτηρίας κ. τ. εἰ. Conf. Synops. Script. Tom. II. p. 177. d. sqq.

<sup>85</sup> Id. in Epist. Fest. p. 961. e. παρακαλῶ ἀνέχεσθαι, εἰ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐπιστάσθε περὶ τέτων [τῶν ἀληθινῶν βιβλίων] καὶ γὰρ μνημονεύων γράφω, διάτε τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. μέλλων δὲ τέτων μνημονεύειν, χρῆσομαι—τῷ τύπῳ τῆ Εὐαγγελιστῆ Λουκᾶ, λέγων καὶ αὐτός· Ἐπειδὴ περὶ τινὲς ἐπεχείρησαν ἀναλᾶξασθαι ἱεροῖς τὰ λεγόμενα Ἀπόκρυφα, καὶ ἐπιμίξαι ταῦτα τῇ θεοπνεύτῳ Γραφῇ, περὶ ἧς ἐπληροφόρηθήμεν, καθὼς παρέδοσαν τοῖς πατέρας οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπερέται γενομένοι τῆ λόγου ἔδοξε καὶ ἡμεῖς, προῖρα πέντε παρὰ γνησίων ἀδελφῶν, καὶ μαδόντι ἄνωθεν, ἐξῆς ἐκθίσθαι τὰ κανόνιζόμενα καὶ παραδοθέντα, τωσευθέντα τε θεῶα εἶναι βιβλία.

<sup>86</sup> Patr. Benedd. Vit. S. Athan. p. viii. § 2. d. conf. S. Athan. Tom. I. p. 128.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. ib. p. xxi. f. vid. supr. p. 132. n. <sup>59</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> Sozom. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xxviii. p. 86. l. 4.

<sup>89</sup> Vid. supr. p. 132. n. <sup>56</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. ix. n. \*. “ Rari erant—



proof that even the verbal niceties of the text did not wholly escape his attention. Having intended his revisal should become the Received Text, he embodied the three editions, which existed in his age, into one: he thus took the most effectual means of introducing uniformity into the Church, on a subject, in which a difference of opinion must have been productive of greater ills, than could arise from merely verbal inaccuracies, in the authorised Scriptures. Regarded with these limitations, this celebrated manuscript may be considered *a full* exposition of St. Athanasius's testimony to the integrity of the Sacred Text.

To the testimony of St. Athanasius, as fully set forth in the Alexandrine manuscript, we may now add that of St. Jerome, as delivered in the Latin Vulgate; in order to confirm the evidence of the Eastern Church by that of the Western. Not to insist on the explicit testimony which he has borne to the different books of the Canonical Scriptures<sup>91</sup>,

Codices qui universum Novum Testamentum complecterentur; plerique partem ejus tantum continebant; nempe alii *Evangelia*, alii *Epistolas Pauli*, alii denique *Actus Apostolorum* cum Catholicis *Epistolis*. Hinc accidit, ut Codex Alexandrinus non in omnibus libris eandem textus recensionem sequeretur. In *Evangeliiis* exhibet recensionem *Constantinopolitanam* —; in *Epistolis Paulinis* repræsentat *Alexandrinam* recensionem —; in *Actis* denique et *Epistolis Catholicis* textum sequitur, passim ad *Occidentalem* recensionem — conformatum.

<sup>91</sup> S. Hier. ad Paulin. Ep. ciii. cap. vii. Tom. II. p. 340, "Tangam et Novum breviter Testamentum. Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, et Joannes —. Paulus Apostolus ad septem

his Vulgate contains a sufficient voucher for the testimony borne by the Latin Church to the general integrity of the Sacred Canon. St. Jerome's alterations extended to little more than verbal corrections<sup>92</sup>; he supplied some *passages*, and he expunged others, in the received text of his age: but he translated no new *book*, he removed no old one, from the authorised version. From the New Vulgate, of course, we may ascertain the state of the Old; and thence collect the testimony of the Latin Church from the earliest period. As St. Jerome's version, however, agrees with the list of St. Athanasius, in possessing the same authorised books, the testimony of both forms a sufficient evidence of the integrity of the Greek Vulgate; which contains the same Scriptures which those early fathers agree in pronouncing Canonical.

As the testimony of the Alexandrine manuscript and the Latin Vulgate, is generally corroborated by that of the great body of manuscripts, containing the original Greek, as well as the Oriental and Western translations, their united evidence contains an irre-

scribit ecclesias (octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur) Timotheum instruit, ac Titum: Philemonem pro fugitivo famulo deprecatur.—Actus Apostolorum nudam quidem sonare videntur historiam, et nascentis Ecclesiæ infantiam texere: sed, si noverimus scriptorem eorum Lucam esse medicum, cujus laus est in Evangelio; animadvertemus, pariter omnia verba illius, animæ languentis esse medicinam. Jacobus, Petrus, Joannes, et Judas, Apostoli, septem Epistolas ediderunt.—Apocalypsis Joannis tot habet sacramenta, quot verba.”

<sup>92</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 162. n. <sup>123</sup>.

fragable proof of the general integrity of the Sacred Canon. The certainty of this conclusion may be now summarily evinced, from a recapitulation of the foregoing deductions.

From the constant intercourse which subsisted between the different branches of the Catholick Church, the wide and rapid circulation of the Scriptures must be inferred by necessary consequence<sup>93</sup>. From their universal dispersion, must be inferred their freedom from general corruption<sup>94</sup>. Verbal errors might have arisen in the text, and have been multiplied by the negligence of successive transcribers: and the destruction of the sacred books in particular regions might have afforded opportunity to particular revisers, to publish editions of the text with fancied improvements. But, from the different interests which divided the Church, these alterations must have been confined to unimportant points<sup>95</sup>; and, from the general dispersion of the Scriptures, must have been limited to particular districts, or have continued but for an inconsiderable period<sup>96</sup>. The state and history of the text furnishes numerous confirmations of these several positions. The testimony and quotations of the primitive fathers who lived at the time of the Paschal controversy, prove, that the Scriptures, which were then generally used in the Church, were those which were

<sup>93</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 192—201.

<sup>94</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 201—205.

<sup>95</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 202—204.

<sup>96</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 120. 130—136.



published by their inspired authours<sup>97</sup>; and as far as the testimony of those early witnesses extends, that they are the same which are still in use in our churches<sup>98</sup>. The testimony of those primitive fathers is connected with that of St. Athanasius and St. Jerome, by a very few links, which prove, that the tradition, which was preserved in the times of the former, could not have been interrupted in the times of the latter<sup>99</sup>. Their evidence is, however, as clearly as it is plenarily set forth in the Alexandrine manuscript, and the Latin Vulgate, which, as delivering the same testimony at different times, and under different circumstances<sup>100</sup>, furnish, by their coincidence, an unanswerable proof of the integrity of the Canonical Scriptures.

But the same positions admit of a different establishment, from some antecedent observations. The Alexandrine manuscript contains an evidence of the existence of three classes of text as early as the year three hundred and sixty-seven<sup>101</sup>; and consequently a proof of the permanence of the text of Byzantium from that time to the present<sup>102</sup>. The existence of this peculiar text for fourteen centuries involves no inconsiderable proof of its permanence since the times of the Apostles<sup>103</sup>. This presumption, which

<sup>97</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 207—211.

<sup>98</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 210. 214.

<sup>99</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 221—223.

<sup>100</sup> *Comp.* p. 15. n. <sup>26</sup>. p. 131. n. <sup>56</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 121, 122.

<sup>102</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 114. 126.

<sup>103</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 114, 115.

is so strongly corroborated by the multiplicity of the copies of this edition, and by their extraordinary coincidence with each other<sup>104</sup>, is finally confirmed by the testimony of the primitive Latin version; which, as obviously made in the earliest age, furnishes, by its coincidence with the Greek Vulgate, a demonstrative proof of the permanence of the Received Text or vulgar edition<sup>105</sup>.

In fine, the coincidence of the Greek and Latin Vulgate, which contain the positive testimony of the Eastern and Western Church, constitutes a sufficient evidence of the integrity of the Canonical Scriptures. They prove, by their unity of consent, that the Sacred Canon is complete; without any deficiency or superabundance of books; and without any diminution or increase of their parts or members. Their joint testimony consequently furnishes an adequate test by which we may, in most cases, correct their variations from themselves, and rectify the imperfections of other texts and editions. Hence, in the first instance, they sufficiently establish the authority of those canonical books, which have been questioned by private persons, or by particular Churches<sup>106</sup>. In the next place, their conspiring testimony establishes the authority of particular passages, which have been omitted in particular versions, or cancelled in particular editions<sup>107</sup>. The private testi-

<sup>104</sup> Vid. supr. p. 118.

<sup>105</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 70, 71. 114.

<sup>106</sup> Vid. infr. p. 230. n. <sup>108</sup>. p. 237. n. <sup>137</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> Mark xvi. 9—20. Joh. vii. 63.—viii. 11. vid. supr. pp. 35—38.

mony of individuals, the bye testimony of national churches, to which the evidence of fathers and versions, as well as of particular manuscripts, is necessarily reducible, can have no weight against the conspiring testimony of the two great Churches in the Eastern and Western world, which were the depositaries of the apostolical writings. We may very easily account for the suppression of particular passages, or even books, in a limited number of copies; but their occurrence in the great body of manuscripts, which properly contain the testimony of the Church, is not to be accounted for, otherwise than by admitting them to have possessed that authority from the first, which procured them a place among the Canonical Scriptures.

A closer examination of this point will, however, place the integrity of the text beyond all reasonable ground of controversion. Of the different books which are numbered among the Canonical Scriptures, the Apocalypse, and Epistle to the Hebrews, have excited the most serious opposition<sup>108</sup>. Of the various passages which constitute those books, Mark xvi. 9—20. John viii. 1—11<sup>109</sup>, have been exposed

<sup>108</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. xxv. p. 119. l. 4. ἔτι τε ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννης Ἀποκάλυψις εἰ φανείη, ἣν τινες ὡς ἔφην ἀδετῶσιν. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ἐμολογουμένοις. Id. ibid. Lib. VI. cap. xx. p. 285. l. 6. τῶν τῷ ἱερῷ Ἀποστόλῃ δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν [ὁ Γάϊος] μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους μὴ συναριθμήσας ταῖς λαοπαῖς· ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισὶν, ὃ νομίζεται τῷ Ἀποστόλῃ τυγχάνειν. Conf. Lib. VII. cap. xxv. p. 352. l. 4. sqq. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 90. l. 2.

<sup>109</sup> Vid. S. Hier. ut supr. p. 35. n. 63. p. 37. n. 65.



to the most formidable objections. If, however, the canonical authority of the sacred volume be groundlessly questioned in these respects, we may *a fortiori* conclude, that it is not to be shaken by any objections.

In vindication of the Apocalypse and Epistle to the Hebrews, it must be observed, that the objections urged against them are merely confined to a doubt respecting the name of the inspired persons by whom they were written. The former was conceived to have proceeded from John the Elder, whose tomb was shewn at Ephesus, together with that of St. John the Evangelist<sup>110</sup>; the latter was conceived to have proceeded from St. Luke, St. Clement, or St. Barnabas<sup>111</sup>, the companions of St.

<sup>110</sup> Euseb. *ibid.* cap. xxxix. p. 136. l. 15. ἔνθα καὶ ἐπισῆσαι ἄξιον δις καλαριθμῶνι αὐτῷ [τῷ Πατρίᾳ] τὸ Ἰωάννη ὄνομα· ὃν τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρω καὶ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ Μαλθαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλέγει, σαφῶς δηλῶν τὸν Ἐὐαγγελιστὴν τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἰωάννην, διατείλας τὸν λόγον, ἑτέροις, παρὰ τὸν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἀριθμὸν, καλεῖσθαι, προτάξας αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀριστῶνα· σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν Πρεσβύτερον ὀνομάζει. ὥς καὶ διὰ τέτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθεῖ, τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁμωνυμία κεχρῆσθαι εἰρηκότων, δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα· καὶ ἕκατερον Ἰωάννη· ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι· οἷς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τὸν νῦν. εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰμὴ τις ἐθελοῖ τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννη Ἀποκάλυψιν ἐωρακέναι. Vid. Lib. VII. cap. xxv. p. 353. l. 44. sqq. Conf. S. Hier. Cat. Scriptt. Eccless. in Joan. Tom. I. p. 121.

<sup>111</sup> S. Hier. Cat. Scriptt. Eccl. in Paul. Tom. I. p. 120. “Epistola autem quæ fertur ad Hebræos, non ejus creditur propter styli sermonisque dissonantiam; sed vel Barnabæ juxta Tertullianum; vel Lucæ Evangelistæ, juxta quosdam; vel Clementis, Romanæ postea Ecclesiæ Episcopi, quem aiunt senten-

Paul the Apostle<sup>112</sup>. The particular objections urged against those books, from the internal evidence, I shall consider hereafter; the following considerations appear to me to remove all doubt of their authority, as constituting a part of the sacred Scripture.

In the first place it is not disputed, by the most strenuous oppugners of those books, that they constituted a part of the Canon<sup>113</sup>. Admitting thus much, which, by the way, is all that is worth contesting, the point in dispute may be brought to a speedy determination. It has been urged in objection to those books, that the one introduces the name of St. John<sup>114</sup>, the other omits the name of St.

*tias Pauli proprio ordinasse, et ornasse sermone.*" Conf. Tert. Lib. de Pudicit. c. xx. p. 617. Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xiv. p. 273. l. 8. sqq. Conf. Lib. III. cap. xxxviii. p. 134. l. 18. sqq.

<sup>112</sup> Comp. Act. xiii. 2. &c. 2 Tim. iv. 1. Phil. iv. 3. Conf. Euseb. ibid. cap. iv. p. 91. l. 17. p. 92. l. 6.

<sup>113</sup> Dionys. Alexandr. ap. Euseb. ibid. Lib. VII. cap. xxv. p. 352. l. 23. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀδεῖτῃσαι μὲν ἐκ ἂν τολμήσαιμι τὸ βιβλίον πολλῶν αὐτὸ διὰ σπαρῆς ἔχόντων ἀδελφῶν. Id. ibid. p. 353. l. 3. καλεῖσθαι μὲν ἔν αὐτὸν Ἰωάννην, καὶ εἶναι τὴν Γρηγόριον Ἰωάννην ταύτην ἐκ ἀντερώ. ἀγίῳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναί τινος καὶ δευπνεύσης συναινῶ. (καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρα) ὅτι μὲν ἔν Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων [καὶ γὰρ Ἰωάννης ὁ βλέπων καὶ ἀκέων ταῦτα] αὐτῷ λέγοντι πιστεύειον ποῖος δὲ ἔτος ἀθλον. Euseb. ib. Lib. III. cap. xxxviii. p. 134. l. 14. ἐν ᾗ [τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, τῇ Κλήμεντος] τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους πολλὰ νοήματα παράδειξαι, ἥδη δὲ καὶ αὐτολεξεῖ ρητοῖς τισὶν ἐξ αὐτῆς χρησάμενος, σαφές αὖτε παρίσῃσιν ὅτι μὴ κενὸν ὑπάρχει τὸ σύγγραμμα· ὅθεν εἰκότως ἔδοξεν, αὐτὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐγκαταλεχθῆναι γράμμασι τῇ Ἀποστόλῃ.

<sup>114</sup> Dionys. ibid. p. 353. l. 5. Οὐ μὴν ῥαδίως ἂν συνδοίμην τῷ τῷ

Paul<sup>115</sup>, contrary to the practice of those Apostles, in their genuine writings. This distinction seems decisive of the question, and directly identifies the true authours of the Apocalypse and the Epistle. The introduction of the name of the inspired writer implies an authoritative declaration of the apostolical function: such a designation is, of course, as properly *abandoned* by both Apostles in dictating epistles to the whole church, or to particular congregations not in their jurisdiction: as it was properly assumed by them, in addressing those churches over which they assumed an immediate authority. St. John, in his *Catholick* Epistle, and St. Paul, in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, declines using the title; for this obvious cause, that the one was no universal Bishop, the other not an Apostle of the Hebrews, but of the Gentiles<sup>116</sup>. But in addressing the parti-

εἶναι τὸν Ἀπόστολον, τῶν υἱὸν Ζεβεδαίου· τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰακώβου· ἢ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐπιγεγραμμένον, καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολικὴ. —ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐαγγελιστὴς, ἔδωκε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ παρεγγράφει· ἔδὲ κηρύσσει ἑαυτὸν, ὅτε διὰ τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ, ὅτε διὰ τῆς Ἐπιστολῆς.—ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν γράψας, εὐθὺς τε ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ προτάσσει.

<sup>115</sup> Vid. supr. p. 231. n. <sup>111</sup>. Conf. infr. n. <sup>116</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> Clement, of Alexandria, has put this argument more forcibly; Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. *ibid.* Lib. VI. cap. xiv. p. 273. l. 19. ἐπεὶ ὁ Κύριος, ἀποστόλος ὢν τῷ Παντοκράτορι, ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Ἑβραίους διὰ μετριοτήτα, ὁ Παῦλος, ὡς ἂν εἰς τὰ Ἑθνη ἀπεσταλμένος, ἐκ ἐγγράφει ἑαυτὸν Ἑβραίων Ἀπόστολον διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον τιμὴν, διὰ τε τὸ ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστέλλειν, Ἑθιῶν κήρυκα ὄντα καὶ Ἀπόστολον. S. Hier. Comm. in Gal. cap. i. Tom. VI. p. 120. f. “Et in Epistola ad Hebræos, propterea Paulum solita consuetudine, nec nomen suum, nec Apostoli vocabulum præposuisse, quia de Christo erat dicturus: “Habentes ergo



cular churches of Rome and Corinth, or the seven churches of Asia, both St. John and St. Paul, in introducing their names, assert their apostolical authority. With respect to the Apocalypse, of course the controversy must be now at an end; for it is as certain, that John the Elder possessed no authority over the seven churches, as that those churches were governed by St. John the Evangelist, until the reign of the Emperour Trajan<sup>117</sup>. And with respect to the Epistle to the Hebrews, it may be as briefly decided. Though St. Paul has declined introducing his name into this Epistle, he has asserted that authority over Timothy, in deputing him on a mission<sup>118</sup>, which is irreconcilable with the notion of its having proceeded from any person of inferior authority; or is indeed clearly demonstrative of the fact, that it was written by the great Apostle.

As these considerations, deducible from the internal evidence, seem to annihilate the force of the objections raised to those canonical books; the external testimony of two witnesses, who are above all exception, fully confirms the authority which they derive from the ecclesiastick tradition. St. Irenæus, who was but one remove, in the line of succession, from St. John, having heard his disciple St. Poly-

*Principem, Sacerdotem et Apostolum confessionis nostræ Jesum:” nec fuisse congruum, ut ubi Christus Apostolus dicendus erat, ibi etiam Paulus Apostolus poneretur.”*

<sup>117</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 112. nn. <sup>6</sup> et <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> Euthal. *Argum. in Ep. ad Hebr.* p. 671. καὶ ἐκ τῆ λέγειν, ‘ γινώσκετε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Τιμόθεον ἀπολελυμένον’ — ὁδοὺς γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι ἀπέλυσεν εἰς διακονίαν Τιμόθεον, εἰ μὴ Παῦλος κ. τ. ἔ.

carp <sup>119</sup>, expressly ascribes the Revelation to the Evangelist <sup>120</sup>; and speaks of the apocalyptick vision as having been seen in his own age, towards the end of the reign of Domitian <sup>121</sup>. And a contemporary of St. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, whose authority Eusebius represents as decisive <sup>122</sup>, relates that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by St. Paul in his vernacular tongue, but translated into Greek by Luke the Evangelist <sup>123</sup>. To the testimony which St. Irenæus bears to the work of St. John, we may add that of Justin Martyr <sup>124</sup>, Tertullian <sup>125</sup>, Melito <sup>126</sup>, Theophilus <sup>127</sup>, Apollonius <sup>128</sup>, and Clemens Alexandrinus <sup>129</sup>, who flourished in the

<sup>119</sup> Vid. supr. p. 200. n. <sup>23</sup>. p. 217. n. <sup>70</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> Vid. supr. p. 170. n. <sup>136</sup>. conf. p. 112. n. <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> Vid. Euseb. supr. p. 112. n. <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Vid. supr. p. 211. n. <sup>55</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 308. πᾶς ἡμῶν ἀνὴρ τις ἔ  
ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν Ἀποστόλων τῷ Χριστῷ, ἐν Ἀποκαλύψει  
γενομένη αὐτῷ, χίλια ἔτη ποιήσει ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τὸς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ  
πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσεν.

<sup>125</sup> Vid. supr. p. 219. n. <sup>74</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xxvi. p. 189. l. 1. καὶ λόγος  
αὐτῷ [Μελίτωνος] περὶ προφητείας, καὶ ὁ περὶ φιλονεξίας· καὶ ἡ κλείς· καὶ  
τὰ περὶ τῷ διαβόλῃ, καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννης.

<sup>127</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xxiv. p. 187. l. 27. καὶ ἄλλο [συγγράμμα τῷ  
Θεοφίλῳ φέρειν] πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν Ἑρμογένης τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον, ἐν ᾗ  
ἐκ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννης κέχρηται μαρτυρίαις.

<sup>128</sup> Id. ibid. Lib. V. cap. xviii. p. 236. l. 11. κέχρηται δὲ [ὁ  
Απολλώνιος] καὶ μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννης Ἀποκαλύψεως· καὶ νεκρὸν  
δὲ δυνάμει θείᾳ πρὸς αὐτῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ἐγγιγῆναι ἰσχυρεῖ.

<sup>129</sup> Id. ibid. Lib. VI. cap. xiv. p. 273. l. 3. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς [τῷ  
Κλήμεντι] ὑποτυπώσεσι ξυνελόγια εἰπεῖν, πάσης τῆς ἐκ διαθήκης Γραφῆς

age of St. Irenæus ; and Origen <sup>130</sup>, who flourished at the beginning of the subsequent æra. And to the testimony which Clement has borne to the Epistle of St. Paul, we may add that of St. Clemens Romanus <sup>131</sup> in the same age, and of Origen <sup>132</sup> and Dionysius Alexandrinus <sup>133</sup> in the succeeding. Eusebius of Cæsarea, who flourished at the beginning of the following century, and whose opinion must be allowed to possess great weight, though he speaks rather dubiously in assigning the Apocalypse to St. John <sup>134</sup>, ascribes the Epistle to the Hebrews to St. Paul <sup>135</sup> without hesitation. And St. Athanasius <sup>136</sup>

*ἐπιλειμμένας πεποιήται διηγῆσαι· μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀνίλεγομένας παρελθῶν.*  
Conf. Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. II. pp. 616. 619. 620.

<sup>130</sup> Orig. Hom. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 95. d. τί δεῑ περὶ τῆ ἀναπιστόντος λέγειν ἐπὶ τὸ γῆδος τῆ Ἰησοῦ, Ἰωάννη; ὃς Εὐαγγέλιον ἐν καὶ ἀλλέ-λοιπεν——. ἐγράψε δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν κ. τ. ε̄.

<sup>131</sup> Vid. supr. p. 232. n. <sup>113</sup>.

<sup>132</sup> Orig. Hom. in Ep. ad Hebr. Tom. IV. p. 698. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαίνομενος εἶποιμ' αὖ, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοήματα τῶ Ἀποστόλου ἐσὶν· ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις, ἀπομνημονεύσας τινος τὰ ἀποστολικά, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν σχολιογραφίᾳ τοῦ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τῶ διδασκάλου. εἴ τις ἔν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔχει ταύτην ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκίμειτω καὶ ἐπὶ τέτρω.

<sup>133</sup> From the following quotation of Heb. x. 34. and express reference to St. Paul, Dr. Lardner has concluded, Cred. of Gosp. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 663. that Dionysius considered that Epistle the work of the great apostle; Dionys. ap. Eus. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. xli. p. 304. l. 34. ἐξέκλινον δὲ καὶ ὑπανεχώρουν οἱ ἀδελφοί· καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις οἷς καὶ Παῦλος ἐμαρτύρησε, μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξατο.

<sup>134</sup> Vid. supr. p. 230. n. <sup>108</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> Vid. supr. p. 232. n. <sup>113</sup>.

<sup>136</sup> Vid. supr. p. 223. n. <sup>84</sup>.



and St. Jerome <sup>137</sup>, at the close of the same century, speak in the same terms, without limitation or exception; these extraordinary men may be allowed to deliver the opinion of the Eastern and Western Churches <sup>138</sup>, if the testimony of either may be collected from the statement of individuals. Of this “cloud of witnesses,” each of whom is a host in himself, the earlier part lived at that period <sup>139</sup>, when the true state of the question could

<sup>137</sup> S. Hier. Dardan. Ep. cxxix. Tom. II. p. 370. “Quod si eam [*Epistolam ad Hebræos*] Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter Scripturas Canonicas; nec Græcorum quidem Ecclesia *Apocalypsim Joannis* eadem libertate suscipiunt: et tamen nos utramque suscipimus, nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum scriptorum auctoritatem sequentes, qui plerumque utriusque abutuntur testimoniis, non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent, (quippe qui et Gentilium litteraram raro utantur exemplis,) sed quasi canonicis et ecclesiasticis.

<sup>138</sup> Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xxi. ed. Par. Tom. I. p. 376. c. καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν παλαιὰν βίβλον πᾶσαν δὲ νέαν [ὁ Ἀθανάσιος] ἐκμελετήσας κ. τ. ε. Id. ibid. p. 397. a. ζήσας δὲ ἑτῶ, καὶ παιδεύεις καὶ παιδεύσας, ὥστε ὅρον μὲν ἐπισκοπῆς εἶναι τὸν ἐκείνη βίον καὶ τρόπον, νόμον δὲ καὶ ὀρθοδοξίας τὰ ἐκείνη δόγματα. S. August. contr. Jul. Pelag. Lib. I. cap. vii. Tom. X. p. 519. b. “Hieronymus—qui Græco et Latino, insuper et Hebræo eruditus eloquio, ex Occidentali ad Orientalem transiens Ecclesiam, in locis sanctis et in literis sacris, usque ad decrepitam vixit ætatem. Hic omnes, qui ante illum, aliquid ex utraque parte orbis, de doctrina ecclesiastica scripserant, legit,” &c. 121

<sup>139</sup> St. Clement is referred to A. D. 80: Justin Martyr to A. D. 130: S. Irenæus to A. D. 160: Melito to A. D. 170: Theophilus to A. D. 180: Clemens Alexandrinus to A. D. 190: Apollonius to A. D. 192: Tertullian to A. D. 200: Hippolytus to A. D. 220: Origen to A. D. 230: Eusebius to A. D. 320: S. Athanasius to A. D. 330: S. Jerome to A. D. 380. The

have been scarcely missed by the most careless inquirer ; and the testimony of those primitive fathers is connected by a very few intermediate links with that of the last witnesses to whose authority an appeal has been made on the subject under discussion.

As far as respects the number of the canonical books, the Vulgate, which is in use in the Eastern and Western Churches, admits of the clearest vindication. If even those books, which are represented as of doubtful authority, admit of so full and satisfactory a defence, we may necessarily infer the unquestionable authority of those which have never excited suspicion. The works of Clement<sup>140</sup> and Origen<sup>141</sup> in the East, of Tertullian<sup>142</sup> and Cyprian<sup>143</sup> in the West, who generally quote from all the canonical books, are sufficiently declaratory of the testimony of both Churches, as derived from immemorial tradition. The evidence of Lucianus and Eusebius, to whom St. Athanasius<sup>144</sup> and St. Je-

earliest of those witnesses lived nearly in the age when St. John saw the Apocalyptick vision ; vid *supr.* p. 124. n. <sup>36</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 235. n. <sup>129</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 215. n. <sup>65</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 214. n. <sup>63</sup>.

<sup>143</sup> The three books of testimonies, which St. Cyprian Ed. Oxon. p. 17. sqq. has collected not only from the New but the Old Testament, contain a sufficient voucher for the above assertion.

<sup>144</sup> Vid. *Synops. Script. Tom. II. p. 204. a. conf. Lib. de Synodd. Tom. I. p. 735. e. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. x. p. 87. l. 37. Sozom. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. vi. p. 98. l. 39. S. Hilar. de Synodd. p. 1168. c. Ed. Bened.*

rome <sup>145</sup> respectively refer, will connect the traditional chain, as extending from the apostolical age to the final establishment of Christianity under the Emperour Theodosius. After this period it must be unnecessary to search after proofs in support of the integrity of the Canonical Scripture <sup>146</sup>.

At the last-mentioned period, two remarkable passages, as I have already observed, had been partially withdrawn from the sacred text <sup>147</sup>; though now admitted almost without exception, into the vulgar text of the Eastern and Western Churches. The testimony of those Churches, not less than the integrity of the sacred Canon, is involved in the fate of those passages; since their authority must be impeached, if either passage prove spurious. A few considerations, however, in addition to what has been already advanced, will place their authority beyond all reasonable exception.

The objection to those passages lies in the circumstance of their being absent from some copies of St. Jerome's times, and from some which have descended to the present period. But this consideration falls infinitely short of proving them spurious, or more than expunged from the text of Eusebius,

<sup>145</sup> Vid. supr. p. 125. n. 38.

<sup>146</sup> The testimony of those writers, from the earliest age, has been collected by Dr. Lardner in his Cred. of Gosp. Hist. The evidence of those who support the authority of the Epist. to the Hebrews, and Revelations, is summed up in Suppl. to B. I. P. II. Vol. II. p. 331. sqq. Vol. III. p. 355. sqq.

<sup>147</sup> Mark xvi. 9—11. John viii. 1—11. vid. supr. p. 35. n. 63. p. 37. n. 65.



and, after his example, omitted in the text of the orthodox revisers. That they were absent from the former edition, is evident from the testimony of the Eusebian Canons, in which they do not appear <sup>148</sup>; that they were absent from the latter, appears from the positive testimony of St. Jerome <sup>149</sup>, confirmed by that of St. Epiphanius <sup>150</sup>. The determination of the question must therefore turn on this alternative; their having been *suppressed* in the received text of St. Jerome's age, or *inserted* in that of the subsequent period. The entire circumstances of the case tend to establish the former, and disprove the latter supposition.

The probabilities that Eusebius *suppressed* those passages in his edition, have been already calculated <sup>151</sup>, and, until disproved, I am free to conclude, have been established from the circumstances under which his edition was published. That they were omitted also in the text of the orthodox revisers, is, I conceive, evident, from the testimony of St. Jerome; as he lived in the age when both these editions prevailed, and declares, that those passages were absent from the generality of copies extant in his times <sup>152</sup>. Two witnesses will be now sufficient to establish the authenticity of those passages, and to connect the chain of tradition, from which their authority is derived; one, to prove that they were

<sup>148</sup> Vid. supr. p. 36. n. <sup>64</sup>!

<sup>149</sup> Vid. supr. n. <sup>147</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> Vid. supr. p. 93. n. <sup>103</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Vid. supr. p. 35. sqq.

<sup>152</sup> Vid. supr. n. <sup>147</sup>.

removed from the prevailing text of the age; and one, to show that they existed in the antecedent edition. For the first position St. Epiphanius, who describes the text of the orthodox revisers, is the best voucher. He, however, declares that these persons positively omitted some exceptionable passages: and we find the passages in question omitted in those copies, which want the passage which he declares was suppressed <sup>154</sup>. For the second position, the best voucher must be his contemporary St. Jerome, who has inserted those passages in his translation <sup>154</sup>. He has thus implicitly asserted their existence, in the old copies of the original <sup>155</sup>, by which he corrected his version. As his testimony to the existence of these passages is, consequently, antecedent to the only grounds of suspicion on which they are impeached; it is adequate to remove any objection to which they have been exposed, as filling up that breach in the ecclesiastical tradition, by which their canonical authority is properly supported.

Clear as the case is in which it is conceived that these passages were suppressed; that in which it is supposed that they were *interpolated* is involved in inextricable difficulties. On reviewing, however casually, the internal evidence, it seems as fully to

<sup>153</sup> Vid. supr. p. 93. n. <sup>153</sup>. Hence we find, that not only Luke xxi. 43, 44, is wanting in the Alexandrine, Vatican, and Brescia MSS. but John viii. 1—11. The Vatican MS. also omits Mark xvi. 9—11. vid. Griesb. nott. in locc.

<sup>154</sup> Vid. supr. p. 94. n. <sup>106</sup>. p. 35. n. <sup>63</sup>. p. 37. n. <sup>65</sup>.

<sup>155</sup> Vid. supr. p. 161. n. <sup>119</sup>.

establish the former, as to invalidate the latter position. The history of the adulteress, contained in St. John, would be likely to offend some over scrupulous readers ; as liable to be misrepresented by persons waywardly inclined to pervert the sacred oracles. The narrative of the resurrection, contained in St. Mark, would be likewise liable to exception ; as containing some circumstances in the account of that event, apparently different from that of the other Evangelists. These considerations would operate as strongly in obtaining the suppression of those passages, as in preventing their insertion in the Sacred Canon. If we suppose them authentick, they contain no difficulty which may not be easily cleared up ; if we suppose them spurious, it is as impossible to account for their being so exceptionable, as they thus appear, as it is to account for their having been admitted, with all their imperfections, into the vulgar text of the Eastern and Western Churches. No object appears to exist which could have induced any person to invent such passages, no influence which could have induced those Churches collectively to incorporate them in the Canon.

When we inspect more narrowly the purpose which the different Evangelists had in view, we find those passages more than reconcilable with the object of their different narratives. The proof of the resurrection was indispensable to the completion of the Gospel history, by whatever person it might be written ; this being the great miracle on which the truth of Christ's mission depended, and the proper



object of the apostolical testimony <sup>156</sup> This proof was given, by the express appointment of our Lord, in Galilee <sup>157</sup> ; and, by manifesting himself by the most infallible evidence to his apostles, “ showing them his hands and his side <sup>158</sup> .” Let it be however observed, that St. Mark records the promise, which *foretold* this plenary revelation of our Lord to the disciples <sup>159</sup> ; and that his account of the accomplishment of it is contained only in the suspected passage <sup>160</sup> . From its being thus indispensably necessary, not merely to complete the general purpose of an Evangelist, in writing a Gospel ; but to complete the express object of St. Mark, it must be considered a part of the authentick canonical text.

With respect to the questionable passage in St. John, the proofs of its authenticity, though more remotely sought, are not less decisive. According to the tradition of the primitive Church, St. John composed his Gospel, with the express view of opposing the rising heresies of the Nicolaitans and Cerinthians <sup>161</sup> . Of those heretics the apostle de-

<sup>156</sup> Act. i. 21, 22. x. 39, 40, 41. comp. Pears. on Creed. Vol. I. p. 380.

<sup>157</sup> Comp. Matt. xxvi. 32. xxviii. 7, 10, 16.

<sup>158</sup> John xx. 20.

<sup>159</sup> Mark xiv. 28. “ But *after that I am risen, I will go before you into Galilee.*”

<sup>160</sup> Id. xvi. 14. “ Afterward *he appeared* unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with *their unbelief* and hardness of heart, because *they believed not* them which had seen him after *he was risen.* Comp. Matt. xxviii. 7, 10, 16, 17.

<sup>161</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. xi. § 1. p. 188. “ Hanc fidem annuncians Joannes Domini discipulus, volens *per Evan-*

clares; “thou hast them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught—to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication. So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I hate. Repent, or else I will come unto thee quickly<sup>162</sup>,” &c. Marriage had been condemned and rejected by those abandoned miscreants; who asserted the lawfulness of the most promiscuous intercourse of the sexes<sup>163</sup>. And by this doctrine, which was but too well suited to the low state of morals in the times of heathen superstition, they had seduced numbers from the severe discipline of the primitive church. It was therefore required, by the express object which the Evangelist proposed to himself, in writing against them, that he should provide a remedy for both evils; to prevent the inroad of vice on the one hand, and to provide for reclaiming it on the other. With this view, he selects out of the incidents of our Lord’s

*gelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho insemminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaitæ, qui sunt vulsio ejus quæ falso cognominatur scientia,”* &c. Vid. infr. n. <sup>163</sup>. Conf. Tertul. adv. Hær. cap. xxxiii. p. 210. Hier. Præf. in Matt. Proëm. ad. Euseb. Cremon. Tom. VI. p. xi.

<sup>162</sup> Rev. ii. 14, 15, 16.

<sup>163</sup> S. Iren. ib. Lib. I. cap. xxvi. § 3. p. 105. *Nicolaitæ autem magistrum quidem habent Nicolaum, unum ex vii qui primi ad Diaconium ab Apostolis ordinati sunt; qui indiscrete vivunt. Plenissime autem per Joannis Apocalypsim manifestantur qui sint; nullam differentiam esse docentes in mœchando,”* &c. Conf. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. xxix. p. 123. l. 18. S. Epiphan. Hær. xxv. p. 77. c.

life, the remarkable circumstances of his having sanctioned a marriage by his presence<sup>164</sup>; and pardoned a penitent adulteress, on the condition of her “sinning no more<sup>165</sup>.” Viewed with reference to those circumstances, these narratives are corroborative of each other; and are illustrated by the declarations of our Lord, which the Apostle relates; “*they teach to commit fornication—repent, or I will come unto thee,*” &c. In this view they are necessary to complete the object of the Evangelist; whose intentions in writing are in a great measure frustrated, if we suppose them suppressed.

The testimony which the Eastern and Western Churches bear to the authenticity of Mark xvi. 9—20, John viii. 1—11, in adopting those passages in the great body of manuscripts of the Greek and Latin, is consequently most amply confirmed by the internal evidence, and nothing weakened by negative testimony, by which they have been condemned. Conceiving those passages spurious, it is above the reach of ordinary comprehension, to discover an adequate cause for their having been generally received; considering the immense number, and wide dispersion of the Scriptures, and the obvious objections to which those passages were exposed from the earliest period<sup>166</sup>. That they occur in the vulgar

<sup>164</sup> John ii. 1—11.

<sup>165</sup> Ib. viii. 11.

<sup>166</sup> The following observation of Victor Antiochenus, on Marc. xvi. while it seems to establish the above position, will bring the subject before us home to Eusebius Cæsariensis; Biblioth. Patr. Tom. IV. p. 336. c. d. “Etsi Maria Magda-



edition of the Greek and Latin is indisputable; and the only mode of accounting for this circumstance, is, by conceiving them part of the original text, as published by the inspired writers.

With respect to John viii. 1—11, it is indeed less constantly retained in the Greek<sup>167</sup>, than Mark xvi. 9—20<sup>168</sup>; but while the cause of this circumstance

lena et Maria Jacobi, et Salome aromata præparaverant, attamen si Eusebio Cæsariensi fides est, non sunt tres illæ, quæ orto jam sole ad monumentum venerunt, sed aliæ innominatæ.—Secundum Eusebium igitur, Marcus non de Magdalena, sed de aliis incerti nominis mulieribus hæc narrat. Neque enim fieri potest, addit idem, ut Magdalena post tantas res visas, orto demum sole, ad monumentum veniret, aut quis lapidem revolveret inquireret.”

<sup>167</sup> Griesb. Nov. Test. not. in Mar. xvi. 9. “Habent pericopam hanc *Codices Græci*, excepto uno B, omnes; Evangelistria, etiam antiquiora, e. g. 1, 2, 6, Mt. B. H; *Versiones*, etiam Syra Hieros.” &c. Id. not. in Joh. vii. 53. “Pericopa de adultera extat in D, G, H, K, M, N,” &c. On Cod. L. the learned M. Griesbach observes, Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. 159. “vers. 53 usque ad viii. 11. deest in L. *vacuo quidem relicto spatio*, sed non tanto, ut pericopa scribi in eo potuisset.” To these uncial manuscripts, M. Griesbach adds more than 100 MSS. written in the smaller character, which retain this passage.

<sup>168</sup> Bengel. Appar. Crit. var. in Joh. viii. 1. p. 251. ed Burk. “*Versio Coptica* in alio cod. habet, in alio non habet; neque habet translatio ejus *Arabica*. *Versio Syriaca* Nov. Test. non habet.—In quibusdam manuscriptis codicibus Syriacis invenitur, inquit Joh. Gregorius, sed asterismo hoc notatur איתוהי בפשיטא quod non sit textus.” Id. ibid. p. 252. “ad cap. x. Joh. amandata est in Vaticano *Versionis Persicæ* Codice; ad calcem Evang. Joh. in nonnullis, et apud Er. et Parisinis tribus, (quorum duo *expresse affirmant*, eam in antiquis exemplaribus extare:) et apud Armenios Cod. duo Seculi X.

is sufficiently apparent<sup>169</sup>, we can trace the tradition in favour of this passage, to a period so remote, as to place its authenticity beyond controversion. It will be readily granted, that if this passage be an interpolation, it must have been invented by some one. But of those persons, who possessed the power of introducing it into the sacred Canon, as having revised the Scriptures, there is not one to whom it can be ascribed with the smallest appearance of reason.

1. As this passage occurs *in the Greek*, it cannot be ascribed to Athanasius or the last revisers. As far as we possess any knowledge of their editions, they omitted this passage<sup>170</sup>: it is quoted by antece-

*illud exemplum in textu non habent, in fine vero Ev. Joan. est positum, cum notatione in Codd. antiquioribus et melioris notæ non inveniri.*"

<sup>169</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 251. "*Omittitur etiam in Cod. MS. Ebneriano, sed tantummodo a vers. 3. ac sub finem Evangelii secundum Johannem ita suppletur, et versui 2 annectitur, ut facile appareat, librariorum periocham, pro genuina agnitam, a publica tantummodo lectione removisse.*" Id. *ibid.* p. 252.—"*et plane Codices hanc periocham omittentes sunt fere Lectionaria: ut mirum sit, eam non in pluribus codicibus omissam, et tamen hodie complures de ejus germanitate dubitare.*"

<sup>170</sup> A distinctive mark by which those rectified copies are known, is the omission of Luke xxii. 43, 44; but these verses are omitted in the Alexandrine and Vatican MSS.: we must therefore rank these manuscripts among the copies rectified by the orthodox. In neither, however, is Joh. viii. 1—11. apparent: we must therefore infer, that it was one of the passages which were omitted by the orthodox revisers: which supposition fully accounts for the variation of MSS. with respect to this passage.

dent writers<sup>171</sup>: and St. Jerome, in introducing it into the Latin Vulgate, has implicitly declared<sup>172</sup>, that it was found in the copies antecedent to their revisal. Nor can it be ascribed to Eusebius Cæsariensis; it does not occur in his text or canons, and is apparently glanced at in his history, as entitled to little credit<sup>173</sup>. Nor can it be assigned to Lucianus or Hesychius; for their real or imputed interpolations were rejected, on the credit of the same copies, by St. Jerome<sup>174</sup>, in whose Vulgate this passage is certainly retained. As it exists, however, in the Egyptian and Byzantine text<sup>175</sup>, and was not invented by those persons, by whom these editions were first revised; it must have necessarily existed in the original text from which they were respectively derived.

2. As occurring *in the Latin*, this passage cannot be ascribed to St. Jerome, the last reviser. He expressly states it existed in the old Italick version<sup>176</sup>, which preceded his revisal; and in it we consequently find it at this day<sup>177</sup>. Nor can it be as-

<sup>171</sup> Vid. infr. p. 250.

<sup>172</sup> Vid. supr. p. 161. n. <sup>119</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> Vid. supr. p. 38. et nn. in loc.

<sup>174</sup> Vid. supr. p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>175</sup> Of this assertion the MSS. marked D. G; viz. the celebrated Cambridge and Harleian Manuscripts are sufficient vouchers: vid. supr. p. 246. n. <sup>167</sup>.

<sup>176</sup> Vid. supr. p. 37. n. <sup>65</sup>.

<sup>177</sup> It occurs in the Codex Corbeiensis and Gatianus, not to mention other MSS.: and these MSS. possess that similarity among themselves, and that diversity from the Vulgate, which proves, that this passage could not have proceeded from St.



cribed to Philastrius of Brescia, or Eusebius of Verceli; for it does not occur in those manuscripts <sup>178</sup>, in which alone their respective texts can be supposed to exist. As it, however, occurs in the Old Italick translation, in which it existed in the times of St. Jerome; the only inference is, that it must have existed in this version, when it was originally formed.

Thus following up the tradition of the Eastern and Western Churches, until it loses itself in time immemorial; we find their united testimony as delivered in the Received Text, fully establishes the authenticity of the passage under consideration. And this evidence is finally confirmed by the explicit testimony of early ecclesiastical writers. Wherever we might expect any traces of this passage to exist, we find it specifically noticed. It occurs in the Harmony of Tatian <sup>179</sup>, who wrote in

Jerome. I subjoin a specimen of the various readings; Joh. viii. 1. *perrexit in montem. Vulg. ascendit in montem. Corb. Gat.*—Ib. 2. *et diluculo. Vulg. et mane cum factum esset. Corb. Gat.*—Ibid. *et sedens. Vulg. et cum consedisset. Corb. Gat.*—Ib. 3. *in adulterio. Vulg. in mœchatione. Corb. Gat. et statuerunt. Vulg. et cum statuissent. Corb. Gat.*—Ib. 4. *et dixerunt ei. Vulg. dixerunt ad eum.*—Ibid. *in adulterio. Vulg. in mœchatione. Corb. Gat.*—Ib. 5. *Moyses mandavit nobis hujusmodi lapidare. Vulg. præcepit nobis Moyses ut qui in adulterio deprehenditur lapidetur. Corb. Gat.*

<sup>178</sup> Blanchin. Prolegomm. in Evang. Quadr. p. 178.

<sup>179</sup> Vid. Tatian. Harm. ap. Biblioth. Patr. Tom. II. p. 184. That the original of the Latin Harmony, which is here referred to, was the Diatessaron of Tatian, has been proved by Dr. Lardner, from the concurrence of the Latin and Arabick translations,

little more than fifty years of the death of St. John; it is noticed in the Synopsis of Scripture<sup>180</sup>, which is generally ascribed to St. Athanasius; and in the Diatessaron, which is ascribed to Ammonius, by Victor Capuanus<sup>181</sup>. Nor was it unknown to Eusebius<sup>182</sup>, to St. Ambrose<sup>183</sup>, to St. Chrysostome, and St. Augustine<sup>184</sup>. But the testimony of St. Jerome is definitive in establishing the authenticity of this passage. While he expressly states, that it existed in the old version of the Latin<sup>185</sup>, he has implicitly admitted, that it existed in the ancient copies of the Greek, by giving it a place in his Vulgate<sup>186</sup>. Taking therefore the testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches, as contained in the Received Text

and the external testimony of St. Ephrem: Cred. of Gosp. Hist. Vol. III. p. 123—132.

<sup>180</sup> Vid. Synops. Scrip. ap. S. Athan. Tom. II. p. 185. e. Although this work is now generally admitted not to have been compiled by St. Athanasius; vid. Patr. Benedd. ibid. p. 124: the learned M. Bengel has proved, from the internal evidence, that it must have been written in or near the age of that ancient father; Appar. Crit. P. I. p. 30.

<sup>181</sup> Vid. Evangg. iv. Narrat. Ammon. Alex. ap. Biblioth. Patr. Tom. III. p. 22. Although M. de Valois has proved that this Diatessaron differs from Ammonius's Harmony; Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xxix. p. 194. n. <sup>11</sup>: it is admitted by Dr. Lardner to contain the substance of that work, Cred. ib. pp. 133, 134. As it was known to Victor Capuanus, who probably disposed it in its present form, vid. Eibl. Patr. ibid. p. 22. it must have existed before A. D. 545.

<sup>182</sup> Vid. Euseb. ut supr. p. 38. n. <sup>67</sup>.

<sup>183</sup> Vid. S. Ambros. Tom. II. col. 892. § 4. ed. Bened.

<sup>184</sup> Vid. supr. p. 37. n. <sup>65</sup>.

<sup>185</sup> Vid. supr. p. 38. n. <sup>65</sup>.

<sup>186</sup> Vid. supr. p. 116. n. <sup>112</sup>.

and Version; as supported by the uninterrupted chain of tradition, and as expressly avouched by St. Jerome; we must acknowledge this passage<sup>187</sup> as a part of the genuine text of Scripture, or reject that testimony, on which the whole of the Sacred Canon is proved authentick.

The determination of the integrity of the Greek Vulgate, now turns on the decision of this question, whether those texts relative to the doctrine of the Incarnation, Redemption, and Trinity, which have been already mentioned, as impugned by the advocates for a more correct text than exists in our printed editions, must be considered authentick or spurious.

I have hitherto laboured to no purpose if it is not admitted, that I have already laid a foundation sufficiently broad and deep for maintaining the authenticity of the contested verses. The negative argument arising in their favour, from the probability that Eusebius suppressed them in his edition, has been already stated at large<sup>188</sup>. Some stress may

<sup>187</sup> I subjoin M. Bengel's summary of the external testimony which supports the authenticity of Mar. xvi. 9—20. Appar. Crit. not. in h. l. p. 170. "Irenæus, Ammonii monotessaron, Harmonia Tatiano adscripta, Eusebii Canones, Synopsis apud Athanasium, Ambros. in Luc. xxiv. et Lib. II. de Sp. Sanct. c. v. et Lib. I. de Pœnit. cap. vii. Augustinus, Gregorius, Photius, Theophylactus.—Agnoscent etiam periocham Clemens Rom. Clemens Alex. Dionysius Alex. Justinus Martyr, Hippolytus in trad. apost. de charism. Nestorius ap. Cyrillum Alex. Cyrillus Hier. Damascenus, Cassianus, Procopius Gazæus, Anastasius Sinaita, Nicetas, alii."

<sup>188</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 27—42.



be laid on this extraordinary circumstance, that the whole of the important interpolations, which are thus conceived to exist in the Received Text, were contrary to his peculiar notions. If we conceive them cancelled by him, there is nothing wonderful in the matter at issue; but if we consider them subsequently interpolated, it is next to miraculous that they should be so circumstanced. And what must equally excite astonishment, to a certain degree they are not more opposed to the peculiar opinions of Eusebius, by whom I conceive they were cancelled, than of the Catholicks, by whom it is conceived they were inserted in the text. When separated from the sacred context, as they are always in quotation, the doctrine which they appear most to favour is that of the Sabellians; but this heresy was as contrary to the tenets of those who conformed to the Catholick as of those who adhered to the Arian opinions. It thus becomes as improbable that the former should have inserted, as it is probable the latter suppressed those verses; and just as probable is it, that both parties might have acquiesced in their suppression when they were once removed from the text of Scripture. If we connect this circumstance with that previously advanced, that Eusebius, the avowed adversary of the Sabellians, expunged these verses from his text, and that every manuscript from which they have disappeared is lineally descended from his edition, every difficulty in which this intricate subject is involved directly vanishes. The solution of the question lies in this narrow space, that he expunged them from the text, as opposed to his

peculiar opinions: and the peculiar apprehensions which were indulged of Sabellianism, by the orthodox, prevented them from restoring those verses, or citing them in their controversies with the Arians.

Thus far we have but attained probability, though clearly of the highest degree, in favour of the authenticity of these disputed verses. The question before us is, however, involved in difficulties which still require a solution. In order to solve these, and to investigate more carefully the claims of those verses to authenticity, I shall lay them before the reader as they occur in the Greek and Latin Vulgate; subjoining those various readings, which are supposed to preserve the genuine text.

Acts xx. 28.

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|--|--|
| Προσέχετε ἑν ἑαυτοῖς—ποιμαίνετε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. | Attendite vobis—regere ecclesiam Dei, quam acquisivit sanguine suo. <i>Vulg.</i> |
|--|--|

1 Tim. iii. 16.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Καὶ ὁμολογημένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι— <i>Vulg.</i> | Et manifeste magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod manifestatum est in carne justificatum est in spiritu— <i>Vulg.</i> |
|---|--|

1 Joh. v. 7, 8.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες,—  | Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cælo; Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt. <i>Vulg.</i> |
| —τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. <i>Vulg.</i> |   |

As the Byzantine text thus reads, in Act. xx. 28. ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ, and in 1 Tim. iii. 16. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη; the Palestine, or Alexandrine, according to M. Griesbach, reads, in the former place, ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ, and in the latter, ὃς ἐφανερώθη. In 1 John v. 7. the Byzantine and Palestine texts agree, while they differ from the common reading of the Latin Vulgate;—omitting ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ ἔτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, which occurs in the Received Text of our printed editions; and answers to “in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra,” in the Latin Vulgate. Such are the principal varieties of those celebrated texts.

In proceeding to estimate the respective merit of these readings, the first attention is due to the internal evidence. In reasoning from it, we work upon solid ground. For the authenticity of some part of the verses in dispute we have that strong evidence which arises from universal consent; all manuscripts and translations supporting some part of the context of the contested passages. In the remaining parts we are given a choice between two readings, one only of which can be authentick. And in making our election, we have, in the common principles of plain sense and ordinary language, a certain rule by which we may be directed. Gross solecisms in the grammatical structure, palpable oversights in the texture of the sense, cannot be ascribed to the inspired writers. If of any two given readings one be exposed to such objections,



there is but the alternative, that the other must be authentick.

On applying this principle to the Palestine Text, in the first instance, it seems to bring the point in dispute to a speedy determination. The reading which it proposes in the disputed texts is not to be reconciled with sense, with grammar, or the uniform phraseology of the New Testament.

1. In Acts xx. 28, the phrase ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ is unknown to the language of the Greek Testament, and wholly irreconcilable with the use of ἰδίῳ αἵματος for αἵματος αὐτοῦ, in the context, as leading to a false or absurd meaning. The phrase ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ is that uniformly used by the evangelical writers, and that used above ten times by St. Paul<sup>189</sup>, to whom the expression is ascribed by the inspired writer. And Θεῷ is absolutely necessary to qualify the subjoined ἰδίῳ; as the latter term, if used with Κυρίῳ, must imply that our *Lord* could have purchased the Church with *other* blood than his own<sup>190</sup>: which is apparently absurd, and certainly impertinent.

<sup>189</sup> 1 Cor. i. 2. x. 32. xi. 16. 22. xv. 9. 2 Cor. i. 1. Gal. i. 13. 1 Thes. ii. 14. 2 Thes. i. 4. 1 Tim. iii. 5. 15. While the Apostle is thus represented in the Corrected Text as deviating from his uniform phraseology, the simple term ἐκκλησίαν, which is used in at least twenty-two places by St. Luke, and in double that number by St. Paul, would have answered the same end as the unusual phrase ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ; since the Apostle might have said, and his historian have written, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν ὁ Κύριος περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.

<sup>190</sup> Pears. Expos. of the Creed, vol. ii. p. 138, ed. Oxf. 1797.

“ Ἰδίον αἷμα is opposed to αἷμα ἀλλότριον. And therefore it is

2. In 1 Tim. iii. 16, the phrase  $\delta\varsigma$  ἐφανερώθη is little reconcileable with sense or grammar<sup>191</sup>. In order to make it Greek, in the sense of “*he who was manifested*,” it should be  $\delta$  φανερωθεὶς; but this reading is rejected by the universal consent of manuscripts and translations. The subjunctive article  $\delta\varsigma$  is indeed used indefinitely; but it is then put for  $\delta\varsigma$  ἄν,  $\delta\varsigma$  ἐάν,  $\theta\varsigma\iota\varsigma$  ἄν,  $\omega\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\theta\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ <sup>192</sup>; as in this state it is synonymous with *whoever, whosoever*, we have only to put this term into the letter of the text, in order to discover that it reduces the reading of M. Griesbach and of the Palestine Text to palpable nonsense.

observable the author of the Racovian Catechism, in his answer to this place of Scripture, doth never make the least mention of ἰδιον or *proprium*,—whereas the strength of our argument lies in these words, διὰ τῆ ἰδίᾳ αἵματος, or, as the Alexandrine MS. and one mentioned by Beza, διὰ τῆ αἵματος τῆ ἰδίας.” The latter phrase is, indeed, the more emphatical of the two, and, as we should express it, means ‘*by blood, his very blood.*’

<sup>191</sup> Objections have been made to the want of grammar in this passage, by M. M. Ernesti and Matthæi; on whose competency to *decide* this point, it is superfluous to add an observation: vid. Matth. Nov. Test. Præf. in Epistt. Catholl. Tom. XI. p. xlv. The former contends, that *the structure* of the sentence requires τὸ φανερωθῆν; doubtless in reference to *μυστήριον*. But I apprehend the tenour of *the sense* absolutely requires  $\delta$  φανερωθεὶς. Instances of this structure are easily produced from the Old and New Testament. Sirac. xlviii. 9.  $\delta$  ἀναληφθεὶς ἐν λαίλαπι πυρὸς; Act. i. 11.  $\delta$  ἀναληφθεὶς ἀφ’ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν ἑβραϊόν: analogous to which, the phrase  $\delta$  ἐρχόμενος, ‘*he who is to come*,’ is applied to designate the Messiah, Mat. xi. 4. Heb. x. 37.

<sup>192</sup> Vid. Mar. iv. 25. ix. 40, 41. Mat. x. 27. Conf. x. 14. 32, 33.

3. In 1 Joh. v. 7, three *masculine* adjectives, *τρεις οἱ μαρτυρῶντες*, are forced into union with three *neuter* substantives, *τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα*; a grosser solecism than can be ascribed to any writer, sacred or profane<sup>193</sup>. And low as the opinion may be which the admirers of the Corrected Text may hold of the purity of the style of St. John; it is a grosser solecism than they can fasten on the holy Evangelist, who, in his context, has made one of these adjectives regularly agree with its correspondent substantive in the neuter: *καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα εἰς τὸ μαρτυρῶν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια. Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρῶντες. κ. τ. εἰ*. There seems to be consequently as little reason for tolerating this text as either of the preceding.

From the alternative to which the question has been reduced, it might now be inferred, that the reading of our printed editions, which is supported, in 1 Tim. iii. 16. by the Greek Vulgate, in 1 Joh. v. 7. by the Latin Vulgate, and in Act. xx. 28. by both the Greek and Latin Vulgate, contained the

<sup>193</sup> This objection was first started by the learned Abp. Eugenius, who has translated "the Georgics" into Greek; and may be seen in a letter prefixed by M. Matthæi to his Greek Testament, Tom. XI. p. ix.—"*haud plane consisteret, nisi cum violentia quadam dictionis, et per solæcismum patentissimum. Cum etenim τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα nomina neutrius generis sunt, qua ratione concordabit cum iis quod immediate præcedit; τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρῶντες, et quod illico sequitur, καὶ εἰς τοὶ οἱ τρεῖς κ. τ. λ.*—Sed nonne quæso dictio naturalis hic et propria potius esset; *τρία εἰσι τὰ μαρτυρῶντα ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα. καὶ τὰ τρία εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσιν*; At illud tamen est scriptum non hoc."



genuine text of Scripture. As the reading of those passages, however, admits of more than a negative defence; I proceed to examine how far this testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches is confirmed by the internal evidence of the original. An admirable rule is laid down by M. Griesbach<sup>194</sup> for determining, between two readings, which is the genuine: I am wholly mistaken, or it may be shewn, that every mark of authenticity, which he has pointed out, will be found to exist in those readings which he has rejected as spurious.

Directing our attention, in the first place, to the structure of the phrase, the tenour of the sense and language as fully declares for the received reading, as against the corrected.

1. In Act. xx. 28. *the apostolical* phrase, ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ Θεῷ, is not only preserved, but its full force consequently assigned to the epithet ἰδὲ. This term, as used by the apostle, has an exclusive and emphatical force; an exclusive, in limiting the sense to “God,” the subject of the assertion;—an emphatical, in evincing the apostle’s earnestness, in using so extraordinary an expression. ‘Feed the Church of God, which he purchased with *no other* blood

<sup>194</sup> Griesb. Proleg. Sect. III. p. lix. Insita sua bonitate commendatur lectio, quæ vel auctoris cogitandi sentiendique modo, stylo, scopo, cæterisque περιάσεισι sive exegeticis, ut contextui, adjunctis, oppositis, &c. sive historicis omnium convenientissima, vel ita comparata est, ut ea, velut primitiva, posita facile intelligi queat, quomodo cæteræ lectiones omnes—sive librariorum errore—aut criticorum inepta sedulitate, progenitæ ex illa fuerint.

than *his own*,' is the literal meaning of the phrase<sup>195</sup>; and this meaning is not more clearly expressed, than we shall see it was required by the object of the apostle, in writing.

2. In 1 Tim. iii. 16. there can be little doubt that the "Great Mystery," of which the apostle speaks, and that whereby some one "was manifested in *the flesh*," must be the Incarnation. If we take the account given of this "mystery" in John i. 1. 14. it marks out "God" as the divine person who "was manifested." And, putting this term into the letter of the text, it renders the apostle's explanation answerable to his purpose, and to the solemn mode of his enunciation. For, as *the manifestation* of no person, but the *incomprehensible* and divine, can be *a mystery*, any "manifestation" of "God," as "in the flesh," must be a "Great Mystery"<sup>196</sup>. So far, the apostle's phrase is as just as it is sententious.

3. In 1 John v. 7. the manifest rent in the Corrected Text, which appears from the solecism in

<sup>195</sup> It was not merely possible, but it was only probable, that "God" would "purchase the Church" with *other* "blood" than "*his own*:" but it was wholly inconceivable, that our 'Lord' could have *purchased* it with any *other* "blood," but "*his own*." On the possibility implied in the former consideration rests the propriety of using ἰδιος; which differs from αὐτοῦ, in having that *exclusive* force which is solely implied in the antecedent of those different considerations.

<sup>196</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. xvi. § 6. p. 206.—et hominem ergo [Dominus noster] in semetipsum recapitulans est, invisibilis visibilis factus, et incomprehensibilis factus comprehensibilis, et impassibilis passibilis, et Verbum homo," &c.

the language, is filled up in the Received Text; and ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Λόγος, being inserted, the masculine adjectives, τρεῖς οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, are ascribed suitable substantives; and, by the figure attraction, which is so prevalent in Greek, every objection is removed to the structure of the context. Nor is there thus a necessary emendation made in the apostle's language alone, but in his meaning. St. John is here expressly summing up the divine and human testimony, "the witness of God and man"<sup>197</sup>;" and he has elsewhere formally enumerated the heavenly witnesses, as they occur in the disputed passage. In his Gospel he thus explicitly declares, "*I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me: and when the Comforter is come, even the Spirit of truth, he shall testify of me*"<sup>198</sup>." And yet, in his Epistle, where he is expressly summing up the testimony in favour of Jesus, we are given to understand, that he passes at least two of these heavenly witnesses by, to insist on three earthly; which have brought the suppressed witnesses to the remembrance of almost every other person, who has read the passage, for the last sixteen centuries! Nay more, he omits them in such a manner as to create a gross solecism in his language, which is ultimately removed by the accidental insertion, as we are taught, of those witnesses, from a note in his margin. Nor is this all; but this solecism is corrected, and the oversight of

<sup>197</sup> 1 Joh. v. 9.

<sup>198</sup> Joh. viii. 18, xv. 26.



the Apostle remedied, by the accidental insertion of the disputed passage, from the margin of a *translation* : the sense of which, we are told, it embarrasses, while it contributes nothing to amend the grammatical structure<sup>199</sup>! Of all the omissions which have been mentioned respecting this verse, I call upon the impugnors of its authenticity to specify *one*, half so extraordinary as the present? Of all the improbabilities which the controversy respecting it has assumed as true, I challenge the upholders of the Corrected Text, to name one, which is not admissible as truth, when set in competition with so flagrant an improbability as the last. Yet, on the assumption of this extravagant improbability, as matter of fact, must every attack, on the authenticity of this verse, be built, as its very foundation!

From viewing the internal evidence of the disputed texts, let us next consider the circumstances under which they were delivered; and here, I am wholly deceived, or the investigation will lead to the ultimate establishment of the same conclusion.

It is of the last importance in deciding the present question, to ascertain the subject which was before the apostles, in delivering themselves on the occasion before us. Some light arises to direct us

<sup>199</sup> Though the reading of the Greek Vulgate, *τεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρεῖντες, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα*, is not to be tolerated; the reading of the Latin Vulgate, (from whence it is asserted 1 Joh. v. 7. has crept into the *Greek text*), is grammatically correct; “*tres sunt qui testimonium dant, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis.*”

in this enquiry, from the consideration, that the words of both apostles were addressed to the Church *at Ephesus*; in which the Gnostick heresy had made some progress before the close of St. John's ministry. With respect to St. Paul, the point is directly apparent. Acts xx. 28. occurs in the exhortation delivered to the bishops and presbyters assembled in that city<sup>200</sup>: and 1 Tim. iii. 16. occurs in the Epistle addressed to Timothy, who was resident in the same place<sup>201</sup>, and was, for some time subsequent, bishop of Ephesus<sup>202</sup>. With respect to St. John, the matter before us is not involved in greater difficulty. His Epistle was written towards the close of his life, which was ended at Ephesus<sup>203</sup>; in which city he had an interview with Cerinthus, the leader of the Gnostick heresy<sup>204</sup>, against whom it was partly directed<sup>205</sup>.

It is further deserving of remark, that both apostles are expressly engaged on the subject of those early heresies, with which the Church of Ephesus was menaced, if not infected. With regard to St. Paul, the context of the passages before us puts the matter out of dispute. "Feed the Church of God,"

<sup>200</sup> Comp. Act. xx. 17. 28.

<sup>201</sup> Vid. 1 Tim. i. 3.

<sup>202</sup> Vid. supr. p. 113. n. 9.

<sup>203</sup> Vid. supr. p. 231. n. <sup>110</sup>.

<sup>204</sup> S. Iren. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 177. Καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀκηκοότες αὐτῆ [τῆ Πολυκάριου] ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ τῷ Κυρίῳ μαθητὴς, ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεὶς λήσασθαι, καὶ ἰδὼν ἔσω Κήρινθον, ἐξήλατο τῷ βαλανίῳ κ. τ. εἰ.

<sup>205</sup> Vid. supr. p. 243. n. <sup>161</sup>.

he declares to the Ephesian pastors, “ which he has purchased with his own blood. For *I know this*, that after my departing, *shall grievous wolves enter in among you*, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves *shall men arise speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them*<sup>206</sup>.” To the same purpose he delivers himself in his Epistle to Timothy; “ And without controversy great is the Mystery of Godliness; God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory. Now *the Spirit speaketh expressly*, that in the latter times, *some shall depart from the faith*, giving heed to *seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils*<sup>207</sup>.” The early tradition of the Church<sup>208</sup>, confirmed by the internal evidence of St. John’s Epistle, fully justifies our forming a like conclusion with respect to it, and the Epistle to Timothy, to which it appears to allude. “ Little children,” declares the Evangelist, “ it is *the last time*, and as *ye have heard*, that Antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists. *They went out from us*, but they were not

<sup>206</sup> Act. xx. 28, 29, 30.

<sup>207</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 16. iv. 1.

<sup>208</sup> S. Hieron. in Mat. Procem. ad Eus. Crem. Tom. VI. p. xi. Ultimus Joannes apostolus et evangelista—cum esset in Asia, et jam tunc hæreticorum semina pullularent, *Cerinti, Ebionis, et cæterorum, qui negant Christum in carne venisse* : quos et ipse in *Epistola sua* Antichristos vocat, et apostolus Paulus frequenter percutit; coactus est ab omnibus pæne tunc Asiæ episcopis, et multorum legionibus, *de Divinitate Salvatoris altius scribere, &c.*



of us.—Who is a liar, but he that denieth that *Jesus* is the Christ. He is antichrist *that denieth the Father and the Son*.—Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God: *because many false prophets are gone out into the world*. Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every Spirit that confesseth Jesus Christ *is come in the flesh* is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ *is come in the flesh* is not of God: and this is that spirit of Antichrist.—Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is *the Son of God*, God dwelleth in him, and he in God<sup>209</sup>.”

In order to determine the question before us, it is still necessary that we should acquire a precise knowledge of the fundamental tenets of those hereticks, whom the apostles opposed. St. John has very expressly declared, that they “denied the Father and the Son;” having disputed that “Jesus was *the Son of God*,” and that “he was *come in the flesh*.” With this representation, exactly accords the account which we receive of the tenets of the Nicolaitans and Cerinthians; those hereticks whom the apostles expressly opposed<sup>210</sup>. They “denied the Father,” not merely disputing his paternity, in denying his only-begotten Son<sup>211</sup>, but

<sup>209</sup> 1 Joh. ii. 18, 19, 22. iv. 1, 2, 3. 15.

<sup>210</sup> Vid. supr. p. 243. n. <sup>161</sup>. p. 263. n. <sup>208</sup>.

<sup>211</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. xi. p. 188.—“Joannes Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annunciationem auferre eum qui a *Cerintho* insemminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur *Nicolaitæ*,—ut confunderet eos, et suaderet, quoniam unus Deus qui omnia fecit per Verbum

representing him as a being who was removed from the care and consideration of earthly things; who had permitted the creation of the world by beings of an inferiour and angelical nature, and had consigned it to their superintendence<sup>212</sup>. They “denied the Son,” as disallowing his eternal filiation<sup>213</sup>, and degrading him into the order of secondary and angelical existences<sup>214</sup>. Thus far the

suum; et non, quemadmodum illi dicunt, *alterum quidem fabricatorem, alium autem Patrem Domini; et alium quidem fabricatoris Filium, alterum vero de superioribus Christum,*” &c.

<sup>212</sup> Id. *ibid.* Lib. I. cap. xxvi. p. 105. “Et Cerinthus autem quidem in Asia, non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a Virtute quadem valde separata et distante ab ea Principalitate, quæ est super universa, et ignorante eum qui est super omnia Deum.” Conf. *supr.* n. <sup>211</sup>. S. Epiphan. *Hær.* xxviii. p. 110. c.

<sup>213</sup> Vid. *supr.* n. <sup>211</sup>.

<sup>214</sup> S. Iren. *ibid.* Lib. I. cap. xi. p. 188.—quemadmodum illi dicunt—*initium quidem esse Monogeni: Logon autem verum filium Unigeniti.*” On the former passage the incomparable Bp. Bull observes, *Defens. Fid. Nicæn. Sect. III. cap. i. § 8. p. 160. ed. Lond. 1721.* “Denique utrique [Cerinthiani et Valentiniani] *perinde τὸ Λόγος æternitatem negarunt.*—De Cerinthianis diserte hic testatur, quod initium tribuerunt ipsi Monogeni, quem Logipatrem dixerunt.” The learned Benedictine P. Massuet formed the same conclusion, from a comparative view of the passages relative to those antient hereticks; *Dissert. Præv. in S. Iren. p. lxxv. § 127.* “Eadem fere *Cerinthi*, quæ *Simonis Menandri*, et *aliorum Gnosticorum* somnia fuere.” Id. *ibid.* p. lxxvii. § 133. “Dogmata *Nicolaitarum* theoretica recensere supervacaneum duxit Irenæus: eadem quippe fuisse quæ *cæterorum Gnosticorum* perspicue innuit, Lib. III. cap. xi.” Id. *ibid.* p. xxxix. “*Logos* proinde *Angelus erat*, qui Dei mentis veluti verbum ac interpret

Nicolaitans and Cerinthians agreed. They agreed also in “denying that *Jesus* was the *Christ*,” though they maintained this doctrine under different modifications. The Cerinthians, dividing the person of *Jesus Christ*, considered *Jesus* a mere *man*, born in the natural manner from *Joseph* and *Mary*<sup>215</sup>; but mystically united with the angelical being *Christ*, who descended upon him at the time of his baptism<sup>216</sup>. This union, they conceived, was dissolved at the time of the crucifixion; the man *Jesus* having suffered on the cross, while the impassible *Christ* ascended into the heavens<sup>217</sup>. The Nicolaitans “denying that *Jesus* *was come in the flesh*,” considered *Jesus Christ* a mere phantasm, having a form which resembled flesh, but which consisted of an ethereal essence<sup>218</sup>. At the time of

oracula divina cæteris pandebat, ac per eos, per Salvatorem maxime, hominibus manifestari curabat.” Conf. *ibid.* p. lv. § 100. S. Iren. Lib. I. cap. ii. p. 13. n. 1.

<sup>215</sup> S. Iren. *ibid.* Lib. I. cap. xi. p. 188. “*Jesum autem subjecit [Cerinthus] non ex virgine natum; impossibile enim hoc ei visum est: fuisse autem eum Josephi et Mariæ filium, similiter ut reliqui omnes homines.*” Conf. S. Epiphan. Hær. xxviii. p. 110.

<sup>216</sup> S. Iren. *ibid.* “Et post baptismum descendisse in eum ab ea Principalitate quæ est super omnia *Christum*, figura columbæ.”—Conf. S. Epiphan. *ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> S. Iren. *ibid.* “In fine autem revolasse iterum *Christum de Jesu*, et *Jesum* passum esse, et resurrexisse: *Christum* autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritalem.”

<sup>218</sup> Of the tenets of the Nicolaitans we have no specifick account, as this heresy was soon lost, and involved in the great sect of the Gnosticks; vid. *supr.* p. 265. n. <sup>214</sup>. Conf. S. Epiphan. Hær. xxv. p. 77. a. We may therefore take our notions



the crucifixion, they held, that he secretly withdrew himself, while Simon the Cyrenean suffered in his likeness <sup>219</sup>.

While these hereticks thus denied the Divinity, and rendered void the Incarnation and Redemption of Christ, they seemed not to have erred so grossly on the doctrine of the Trinity. As they were respectively descended from the Jews <sup>220</sup>, though their notions were warped by the peculiar opinions of Simon Magus <sup>221</sup>, they must have derived from both

of their opinions from the Saturnilians and Basilidians, who were among the earliest sects of the Gnosticks, and, like the Nicolaitans, arose at Antioch; conf. Act. vi. 5. S. Iren. Lib. I. cap. xxvi. § 3. p. 105. cap. xxiv. § 1. p. 100. Respecting the putative body of Christ, from asserting which, they received the name of Docetæ, they held the following notions, S. Iren. ibid. § 4. p. 101. “*Innatum autem et innominatum Patrem.—misisse primogenitum Nun suum, (et hunc esse qui dicitur Christus,) in libertatem credentium ei, a potestate eorum qui mundum fabricaverunt. Et gentibus ipsorum autem apparuisse eum in terra hominem, et virtutes perfecisse.*”

<sup>219</sup> S. Iren. ibid. “*Quapropter neque passum eum [Christum], sed Simonem quemdam Cyrenæum angariatum portasse crucem ejus, pro eo: et hunc secundum ignorantiam et errorem crucifixum, transfiguratum ab eo, uti putaretur ipse esse Jesus: et ipsum autem Jesum Simonis accepisse formam, et stantem irrisisse eos.*”

<sup>220</sup> S. Epiphan. Hær. xxv. p. 76. b. Νικόλαος γέγονεν εἰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ διακόπων—ἔτος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων δευτέρου προσήλυτος γίνεται. Id. Indic. in tom. II. lib. i. p. 53. c. Κηρινδιανοὶ οἱ καὶ Μηρινδιανοί, ἔτοι ἀπὸ Κηρίνδου καὶ Μηρίνδου, Ἰουδαῖοί τινες τὴν περιτομὴν ἀνυχῶντες. κ. τ. εἰ.

<sup>221</sup> S. Iren. ibid. Lib. I. cap. xxiii. § 2. p. 99. “*Simon autem Samaritanus, ex quo universæ hæreses substituerunt, habet hujusmodi sectæ materiam.*” Id. ibid. Præf. in Lib. II. § 1.

sources some knowledge of this mystick doctrine<sup>222</sup>. Hence it is of importance to observe, that the Jews

p. 115. “*Diximus quoque multitudinem eorum qui sunt ab eo Gnostici, et differentias eorum, et doctrinas, et successiones adnotavimus; quæque ab eis hæreses institutæ sunt, omnes exposuimus. Et quoniam omnes a Simone hæretici initia sumentes impia et irreligiosa dogmata induxerunt in hanc vitam, ostendimus.*”

<sup>222</sup> The whole of the early heresies may be divided into two great sects, which were respectively descended from the Jews and Magians; Vid. Pears. Vind. Ignat. P. II. cap. v. p. 359. From both sources, these different sects must have inherited a knowledge of the Trinity. Allix, Judgm. of Jew. Church ag. Unitar. ch. i. p. 6. “*I shall prove clearly, that the Jews before Christ’s time, according to the received exposition of the Old Testament derived from their fathers, had a notion of a plurality of persons in the unity of the Divine Essence; and that this plurality was a Trinity.*” Comp. ch. x. pp. 138, 147, 148. 154. &c. Pletho Schol. in Orac. Mag. sub fin. Φησὶ δὲ περὶ Ζωροάστρα Πλάταρχος ὡς τριχῇ τὰ ὄντα διέλοι· καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ αὐτῶν μοίρᾳ Ὁρομάζην ἐφιστή· τῷτον δὲ εἶναι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων Πατέρα καλούμενον· τῇ δὲ ἐσχάτῃ Ἀριμάνην· Μίθρην δὲ τῇ μέσῃ· καὶ τῷτον δ’ ἂν εἶναι τὸν δεύτερον Νῆν καλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων· κ. τ. εἰ. This account is confirmed by the Zendavesta, which is preserved by the Perses; who still profess the religion of Zoroaster, and assert that they retain his sacred books: M. Anquet. du Perron, Zendavest. Tom. II. Précis Raisonnée du Syst. Theol. des Pers. p. 592. “*Ormud et Ahriman, Principes secondaires, actifs et producteurs; le premier bon par son essence, et source de tout bien; le seconde corrompu et auteur de tout mal,*” &c. Id. ibid. p. 609. d.—*c’est Mithra, le génie qui préside à la fertilité de la terre, l’Ized de la bienveillance, l’ennemi de la Couleuvre qui seme l’envie et la mort; c’est lui qui est chargé de faire naître et de entretenir cette harmonie entre les différentes parties du Genre-humain.*” In a word, this doctrine was professed by Simon Magus, from whom it descended to the different sects of hereticks; vid. sup. p. 267. n.<sup>221</sup>. S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib.

expressed their belief in this doctrine, in the identical terms, which occur in the suspected passage; “and the three are one<sup>223</sup>.” It is likewise observable, that as these notions had descended to the hereticks; the Nicolaitans, in particular, expressed

I. cap. xxiii. § 1. p. 99. “Hic [Simon] a multis quasi deus glorificatus est, *et docuit semetipsum esse qui inter Judæos quidem quasi Filius adparuerit, in Samaria autem quasi Pater descenderit, et in reliquis vero gentibus quasi Spiritus Sanctus adventaverit.*” Conf. S. Hier. Comment. in Matt. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. 52. f.

<sup>223</sup> That the term *Λόγος*, adopted by St. John in the passage before us, had been previously used by the Jews in the determinate sense of “מִמְרָא, the WORD of God, as distinct from the speech of God, is placed beyond a doubt by Rittangelius, Lib. Jezir. p. 81. sqq. ed Amst. 1642. In this work, which is ascribed to Abraham, by the Jews, and is confessedly the oldest of their Cabalistic works, we meet, Ibid. Sect. iii. p. 207. שלש אחד, “the three are one.” And in the same work, a long extract is inserted from Rabi Schabte, wherein he explains the mystery of the Three Sephiroth, in the divine ‘Nature,’ which turns on the same phrase; Id. ibid. p. 65. ר' שבתי והנה—וכו. “Rabi Shabte dicit: Et ecce nobis perspicuum est id quod explicavimus in capitibus superioribus, *Mysterium nempe, quod dixerint Sapientes Cabalæ seu Theologiæ, Tres primarias, quæ sunt Corona Summa, Sapientia, Intelligentia, in æquali dignitate quasi summe Unum quid esse.*” In the preceding page, the same phrase is ascribed to Rabi Simeon, ibid. p. 64.—תלת אחרין ודא אייהו אחד, “tres sunt unitates et ecce unum sunt.” The very form of appeal to the witnesses in St. John, is adopted from the same source; the book Zohar observes, in referring to the repetition of the letter Jod, in Is. xlv. 6. Id. ib. p. 57. תלת יודין פערין וכו, “Tria Jod testimonium perhibent de eo, quod non sit supra præter eum, nec infra præter eum,” &c. Comp. Allix. ub. supr. cap. xi. p. 160. sqq. Maur. Orient. Trin. p. 199. sqq.



the same belief in similar language<sup>224</sup>. And the

<sup>224</sup> S. Epiphan. Hær. xxv. p. 78. c. ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν καυλαυχαύχ ὡσαύτως δοξάζουσιν, "Αρχοντά τινα τῷτον ἔτω καλῶντες. S. Epiphanius having made this declaration relative to the term καυλαυχαύχ, gives the following derivation of this term, which is wholly irreconcilable with the above declaration; Id. ibid. p. 78. a. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῷ καυλαυχαύχ, τίς τῶν γνωσκόντων ἔ καταγελάσειεν, ὅτι τὰς Ἑβραϊστὶ καλῶς εἰρημένας λέξεις, καὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ καλῶς ἐρμηνευθείσας, καὶ νῦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνιστὶ ἀναγινώσκουσιν φανερά ἔσας—αὐτοῖς—εἰς μορφάς, καὶ ἐνυποστατικὰς Ἀρχὰς—ἀναλυπῶσιν εἰς τὴν τῆς αἰσχρᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ μυθώδους τέχνης ὑποσποράν. Καυλαυχαύχ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ησαία γέγραπται, λέξις τίς ἔσα ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ὁράσει, ἔτιδ' ἀλέγει—καυλακαύχ καυλακαῦκ, ἐλπὶς ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. Petavius, not. in h. l. Tom. II. p. 44. and Feverdantius not. in S. Iren. Lib. I. cap. xxiii. p. 72. refer here to Isaiah xxviii. 10. ἵπ' ἵπ ἵπ' ἵπ, which is rendered in our Authorised Version, "line upon line, line upon line;" which phrase, of course, leaves very little meaning in the etymology of St. Epiphanius. As this antient father applies the term to a *Principle* of the Nicolaitans, S. Irenæus, Lib. I. cap. xxiv. p. 102. ascribes it to an *Æon*, and Theodoret to a *Person*; Hær. Fab. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 195. d. which different representations are perfectly reconcilable among themselves, though wholly irreconcilable with the St. Epiphanius's derivation. The Ἀρχή, Αἰὼν, and Σωτῆρ, with which Καυλαυχαύχ is identified in these explanations, were considered Angelical Existences: vid. Massuet. Dissert. Præv. in Iren. p. xxxviii. § 60. The term Caulauchau must be understood with reference to the Pleroma of the Gnosticks; a term by which those hereticks designated the Divine nature; vid. Massuet. Dissert. Præv. in Iren. § 12. p. xvii: the Orientalists having rejected the notion of a vacuum, and conceived that all things were God; who produced the visible and invisible worlds by irradiations or protrusions of his essence. See Burnet. Archæol. Philos. Lib. I. cap. vii. p. 89. Lond. 1728. Comp. Yajur Veda in Asiat. Research. Vol. VII. p. 251. and Maur. Orient. Trin. pp. 337. 388. We thus find the name Caulaucan applied to the Æon, in whose form the second Christ, or the Saviour,

Hebrew Gospel, which was used by the Ebio-

descended; 'S. Iren. ib. cap. xxiii. § 5. p. 102. Quemadmodum et *mundus* [l. mundi] *nomen* (esse) in quo dicunt *descendisse et ascendisse Salvatorem, esse Caulacau*. Igitur qui hæc didicerit, et omnes angelos cognoverit, et causas eorum, invisibilem et incomprehensibilem eum angelis et potestatibus universis fieri, *quemadmodum et Caulacau fuisse*." The application of this term to the Saviour, or second Christ, is thus explained by S. Irenæus, Ibid. Lib. III. cap. xvi. § 1. p. 204. " Qui autem a Valentino sunt [dicunt] Jesum—ipsum esse qui per Mariam transierit, in quem, *illum*, de Superiori, *Salvatorem descendisse*, quem et Christum dici, quoniam *omnium qui emississent eum*, haberet vocabula: participasse autem cum eo, qui esset ex dispositione—ut cognosceretur Pater, *per eum Salvatorem quidem qui desuper descendisset*, quem et ipsum *receptaculum Christi, et universæ Plenitudinis esse dicunt*, lingua quidem *unum Christum Jesum confitentes*, divisi vero sententia." And on another occasion he describes this Personage as proceeding or emanating from the Father, the Christ, and Spirit, and the whole Angelical host, by an union and congregation of their several perfections and virtues; adding, Ibid. Lib. I. cap. ii. § 6. p. 12. ἵνα ἕκαστον τῶν Αἰώνων, ὅπερ εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῇ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀνδριότατον συνενεγκαμένους—προβαλέσθαι—ἄστρον τῷ Πληρωμάτος, τέλειον καρπὸν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν καὶ Σωτῆρα προσαγορευθῆναι, καὶ Χριστὸν, καὶ Λόγον παλαιοσυμικῶς, καὶ Πάντα, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ πάντων εἶναι. The following quotation will now explain how the term Caulachaud has been applied to this Saviour, "*the one Christ, who was the receptacle of the Divine Plenitude; who was called All things, because he was from all;*" Zohar. P. I. fol. 31. 2 in Beresith. ed Mant. וְכֹה יוֹסִי הָאֵל—אֵל. "Dixit Rabbi Jose, quis sensus illius; "Cui sunt *Dii* seu Elohim *propinqui*?" Potius dicendum videtur *propinquus* quam *propinqui*. Sed est Deus Supremus, Deus timoris Isaac, Deus postremus. Sic *propinqui* dicendum. Et *Fortitudines* seu *Majestates* aut *Potentia* sunt *multæ quæ procedunt ex Uno*. Et *hi omnes Unum sunt*." The last cited words, "*hi omnes unum sunt*," expressed in the original by כֻּלָּם אֵל, clearly contain the true exposition of the

nites<sup>225</sup>, if not by the Cerinthians, both of which sects were opposed by St. John<sup>226</sup>, not only retained the same doctrine, but inculcated it in the terms which were used by the Jews<sup>227</sup>. It is therefore

Gnostick ΚΑΤΑΑΥΧΑΤΑ, as this word should be properly written; the final Δ, which was omitted by St. Epiphanius to make way for his etymology, being preserved in a MS. of St. Irenæus, quoted by the Benedictine editours, which, adding “deus” to “calaucu,” probably read CAULAUCUD̄s, for CAULAUCAUD.

<sup>225</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. xxvii. Εὐαγγέλιον δὲ μόνον τῷ κατ' Ἑβραϊσὶ λεγομένῳ [οἱ Ἑβραῖοι] χράμενοι, τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποιῶντο λόγον. Conf. S. Hier. Comment. on Matt. cap. xii. Tom. VI. p. 21. b.

<sup>226</sup> Tertul. Præscr. adv. Hær. cap. xxxiii. p. 210. “At in *Epistola* eos maxime Antichristos vocat [Johannes], qui *Christum* negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent *Jesum esse Filium Dei*: illud Marcion, hoc *Hebion vindicavit*.—Hæc sunt ut arbitror genera doctrinarum adulterarum, quæ sub apostolis fuisse, ab ipsis Apostolis discimus. Conf. supr. p. 243. n. <sup>100</sup>. p. 263. n. <sup>208</sup>.

<sup>227</sup> From the following passage it appears, the doctrine of the Trinity was inculcated in the Hebrew Gospel; S. Hier. Comment. in Ezech. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. p. 371. h.—“et refer-tur ad Spiritum Sanctum, qui apud Hebræos appellatur genere scæmineo מִתְּ. In *Evangelio* quoque *Hebræorum*, quod lectitant Nazaræi, Salvator inducitur loquens; ‘Modo me arripuit *Mater mea, Spiritus Sanctus*.’ On this passage Dr. Allix observes; Judgm. of Jew. Church, p. 178. “This passage of the Nazarenes’ Gospel would never have been understood, if we had not known, that the Jews call the Holy Spirit *Imma, Mother*; as well as *Binah, Understanding*: as we see in *Zohar* and other Cabalists.” Comp. p. 166. sqq. As it is certain, that Origen used the Hebrew Gospel, Hier. Cat. Scriptt. Eccl. in Jacob. Tom. I. p. 119; the conformity of the following phrase to the above statement, as terming the Holy Ghost Κυρία, sufficiently declares, that this Gospel was the source



indisputable, whatever becomes of the text of the heavenly witnesses, that the doctrine which it inculcates was forcibly obtruded upon the attention of St. John, in the very words in which the suspected passage is expressed.

From viewing the state of the subject, as before the apostles, let us now consider the manner in which they have discussed the points at issue between them and the hereticks. The determination of this matter is decisive of the true reading of the contested passages. With respect to the hereticks who were opposed by St. Paul, as it has been already observed, it was not only a fundamental article of their creed to deny *the divinity* of the Logos, and to degrade him into the order of secondary and angelical existences; but a leading doctrine to deny that Christ became *incarnate*, and suffered, otherwise than *in appearance*, for the redemption of mankind. The opposition of these notions to the explicit declarations of St. Paul, in the contested verses, must be directly apparent; and they appositely illustrate the strong emphasis with which the apostle insists on the *Incarnation* and *Redemption*,

from whence Origen adopted the passage; Orig. Selectt. in Ps. cxxii. Tom. II. p. 821. δέλοι Κυρίων Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱῷ πνεῦμα καὶ σῶμα· παιδίσκη δὲ Κυρίας τῆς Ἁγίας Πνεύματος ἡ ψυχὴ. τὰ δὲ τρία Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν, οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. The latter part of this phrase, which was unquestionably adopted from some heretical sect, who evidently borrowed it from the Jews, constitutes another evidence, that the subject of 1 Joh. v. 7: was before St. John when directing his Epistle against those heresies which arose while there was some connexion between Judaism and Christianity. Conf. Hom. in Joh. Tom. IV. p. 64. a,

in both passages: “*God*,” he declares, “was manifested *in the flesh* ;” and “feed the church of *God* which he *purchased* with his *own blood*.” But what is more immediately to our purpose, those heretical tenets evince the obligation which was laid on the apostle to assert the *divine nature* of our Lord as strenuously as he asserted *his human*. This we observe to be as effectually done in the Received Text, where the term *God* is expressly introduced; as the contrary is observable in the Corrected, where that term is superseded by “*the Lord*,” or “*he who* was manifested.” Of consequence, the circumstances under which those verses were delivered as fully confirm the reading of the one, as they invalidate that of the other. The apostle expressly undertakes to warn the Church against those hereticks, whose errors he is employed in refuting. “*Therefore watch*,” he declares to the Ephesian pastors, “*and remember*, that by the space of three years *I ceased not to warn every one* night and day with tears <sup>228</sup>.” To Timothy he declares, “If thou put the brethren *in remembrance of these things*, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ.”—“*Take heed unto thyself*,” subjoins the apostle, “and to thy doctrine; *continue in them* <sup>229</sup>,” &c. But if we omit “*God*,” with the Corrected Text, St. Paul is so far from delivering any warning on the subject of those hereticks, even while he expressly alludes to the doctrines which

<sup>228</sup> Act. xx. 31.

<sup>229</sup> 1 Tim. iv. 6. 16.

they had corrupted, that he rather confirms their errors, by passing them over in silence. And this is the more inadmissible, as it is contrary to the usual practice of the apostle, who on similar occasions, when he was less imperatively called upon to deliver his sentiments, asserts the Divinity of our Lord in terms the most strong and explicit<sup>230</sup>.

These conclusions are further supported by collateral evidence. St. Ignatius, an auditour of St. John, who impugned the errors of the *Nicolaitans* respecting the divinity of the Logos<sup>231</sup>, adopts the identical expressions of St. Paul, in an Epistle addressed to the same church at *Ephesus*<sup>232</sup>, and in-

<sup>230</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. xvi. p. 204.—sed prævidens Spiritus Sanctus depravatores—per Matthæum ait; *Christi autem generatio sic erat; et quoniam hic est Emmanuel, ne forte tantum eum hominem putaremus—neque alium quidem Jesum alterum Christum suspicaremuisse, sed unum et eundem sciremus esse. Hoc ipsum interpretatus est Paulus, scribens ad Romanos,—“quod promisit—de Filio suo qui factus est ei ex semine David, secundum carnem.” Et iterum ad Romanos scribens de Israël, dicit; “Quorum patres et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem qui est Deus super omnes benedictus in sæcula.” Et iterum in Epistola quæ est ad Galatas, ait; “cum autem venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum, factum ex muliere,” &c. Conf. Rom. i. 1. 3. ix. 5. Gal. iv. 4.*

<sup>231</sup> Vid. supr. p. 243. n. <sup>161</sup>.

<sup>232</sup> S. Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. cap. i. ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Θεῷ, τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε. cap. vii. εἰς ἱατρός ἐσιν, σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γεόμενος Θεός. cap. xix. τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεῷ ἐπράχθη. Πῶς ἦν ἐφανερῶδη τοῖς αἰῶσιν, — παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφδείρετο, Θεῷ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερωμένη εἰς καινότητα αἰδίου ζωῆς. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάβανεν τὸ παρὰ Θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον. pp. 12, 13. 16.



sists on *the divinity, incarnation, and passion* of Christ, in language the most full and explicit<sup>233</sup>. Had all antiquity been silent on the subject of these contested verses, which are supported by the most full and unexceptionable evidence, the single testimony of this apostolical father would determine the genuine reading beyond controversion.

With respect to 1 John v. 7, 8. it has been already observed, that it was directed against the peculiar errors of the Nicolaitans and Cerinthians. Of those sects it has been likewise observed, that they respectively *denied* that Jesus was “the Son of God,” and “came in the flesh,” though they mutually expressed their belief in a Trinity. Such are the *fundamental* errors which the apostle undertakes to refute; while, at the same time, he inculcates a just notion of the Trinity; distinguishing *the Persons* from *the substance*, by opposing *τρεῖς* in the masculine to *ἐν* in the neuter<sup>234</sup>.

<sup>233</sup> Id. *ibid.* cap. vii. Εἰς ἰατρός ἐστιν, σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεὸς, ἐν ἀθάνατῳ ζωῇ ἀληθινῇ, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεῶ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής. Id. *ib.* cap. xviii.—Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορέθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας, κατ’ οἰκονομίαν Θεῶ, ἐκ σπέρματος τῆ Δαβὶδ, Πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου. ὃς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη, ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρίσῃ. Καὶ ἔλαθε τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶ αἰῶνος τέτε ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τῇ Κυρίῳ.

<sup>234</sup> Two authorities, which are above all exception, will fully evince the justness and happiness of this distinction. Tertul. *adv. Prax.* cap. xxii. “Ego et Pater unum sumus.” Hic ergo jam gradum volunt figere stulti, immo cæci qui non videant, primo “Ego et Pater,” duorum esse significationem; dehinc in novissimo, “sumus” non ex *unius* esse *persona*, quod *pluraliter dictum est*; tum quod “unum sumus,” non unus sumus.

Against those who denied that "Jesus was the Son of God," he appeals to the heavenly witnesses; and against those who denied that he "was come in the flesh," he appeals to the earthly. For the admission of the one, that the "*three*," including the Word, were "*one*" God, as clearly evinced the divinity of Christ, as identifying him with the Father; as "the spirit" which he yielded up<sup>235</sup>, and "the blood and water" which he shed upon the cross<sup>236</sup>, evinced his humanity, as proving him mortal. And this appeal to the witnesses is as obvious, as the argument deduced from it is decisive: those who abjured the *Divinity* of our Lord, being as naturally confuted by the testimony of the *heavenly* witnesses, as those who denied his *humanity* by the testimony of the *earthly*. Viewed with reference to these considerations, the apostle's argument is as full and obvious, as it is clear and decisive: while it is illustrated by the circumstances under which his epistle was written. But let us suppose the seventh verse suppressed, and he not only neglects the advantage which was to be derived from the concession of his opponents, while he sums up "the witness of men;" but the very end of his epistle is

Si enim dixisset unus sumus, potuisset adjuvare sententiam illorum. Unus enim singularis numeri significatio videtur, adhuc eum duo; *masculini generis*. "Unum" dicit, *neutrali verbo*, quod non pertinet ad singularitatem, sed *ad unitatem*, ad similitudinem, *ad conjunctionem*," &c. In the justness of this distinction, an eminent Critick acquiesces: Vid. Pors. Lett. p. 240.

<sup>235</sup> Luk. xxiii. 46.

<sup>236</sup> Joh. xix. 34, 35.

frustrated, as the main proposition is thus left unestablished, that "Jesus is the Son of God." And though the notions of the hereticks, on the doctrine of the Trinity, were vague and unsettled, the Church was thus left without any warning, against their peculiar tenets, though the apostle wrote with the express view of countervailing their errors. Not to insist on the circumstances of the controversy, the object of the apostle's writing, not less than the tenour of his sense, consequently require that the disputed passage should be considered an integral part of his text.

The reader must be now left to determine how far the internal evidence, supported by the circumstances of the controversy in which the sacred writers were engaged, may extend in establishing the authenticity of the disputed verses. As interpolations, we must find it as difficult to account for their origin, by considering them the product of chance as design. For, assuming the reading of the Corrected Text to be genuine, is it not next to miraculous that the casual alteration introduced into the Received Text should produce so extraordinary an effect on each of the passages, and attended by consequences so various and remote; that it should amend the solecism of the language, supply the defective sense, and verify the historical circumstances under which they were written? But how is the improbability diminished by conceiving them the product of design; while they appear to be unsuitable to the controversies agitated in the primitive Church? The early heretics did not subscribe to



those parts of the canon in which they occur; and they did not meet the difficulties of those disputes which were maintained with the later<sup>237</sup>. In order to answer the purposes of those controversies, *Christ*, in two of the contested passages, should have been identified with "*God*," who "was manifested in the flesh," and "purchased the Church with his own blood." And instead of "the Father, *Word*, and Spirit," the remaining passage should have read, "the Father, *Son*, and Holy Ghost." Otherwise, the interpolated passages would have been direct concessions to the Gnosticks and Sabelians, who, in denying the *personal* difference of the Father and Son, were equally obnoxious to those avowed adversaries, the Catholicks and the Arians. Nor did the orthodox require these verses for the support of their cause; they had other passages which would accomplish all that they could effect; and without their aid, they maintained and established their tenets. Admitting the possibility

<sup>237</sup> Hence we find, that the writers who stand next in succession to the apostles, as they found the divinity of our Lord impugned, and the Scripture testimonies which proved it explained away by the heretics, insist more emphatically on this point, vid. S. Ignat. ut supr. p. 276. n. <sup>233</sup>. To this early practice of perverting the language of Scripture, St. Polycarp, a contemporary of S. Ignatius, and auditour of St. John, bears witness, in the following apposite testimony, Ep. ad Philipp. cap. vii. p. 188. Πᾶς γὰρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθῆναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστι· καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδοεύῃ τὰ λόγια τῆ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ λέγῃ μήτε ἀνάσσειν, μήτε κρίνῃ εἶναι, ὅτος πρῶτότοκός ἐστι τῇ Σαταϊᾷ. Conf. S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. i. § 1. p. 2.

of an interpolation, in the three instances, we must be still at a loss to conceive with what object it could have been attempted.

On taking the reverse of the question, and supposing the Byzantine text preserves the genuine reading; every difficulty in the subject under discussion admits of the easiest solution. The circumstances which induced Eusebius, of Cæsarea, to suppress those passages, which apparently favoured the errors of the Sabellians, have been already specified. And the alterations which they underwent in his edition, as contained in the Palestine text, were effected with as little violence as possible to the context or meaning. *Κυρίε*, as a word nearly synonymous with *Θεῷ*, was inserted in Act. xx. 28<sup>238</sup>;

<sup>238</sup> That the term *Κύριος* has thus crept into the text, has been determined by Prof. Michaelis, from the varieties discoverable in the subjoined readings; Marsh's Mich. Vol. I. ch. vi. § xiii. p. 336. "Of the following different readings, Acts xx. 28. *Θεῷ*, *Κυρίε*, *Χριστῷ*, *Κυρίε Θεῷ*, *Θεῷ καὶ Κυρίε*, *Κυρίε καὶ Θεῷ*, the first is probably the true reading, and all the others are to be considered corrections or scholia, because *Θεῷ* might easily give occasion to any of these, whereas none could easily give occasion to *Θεῷ*. If St. Luke wrote *Θεῷ*, the original of *Κυρίε* and *Χριστῷ* may be explained as corrections of the text, or as marginal notes; because "the blood of God" is a very extraordinary expression; but if he had written *Κυρίε*, it is *inconceivable* how any one could alter it to *Θεῷ*, and on this principle the great number of different readings is inexplicable. It seems as if different transcribers had found a difficulty in the passage, and that each corrected according to his own judgment." The improbability of such a correction is infinitely increased when we consider, that, if a change has been made from *Κυρίε* to *Θεῷ*, it must have been made early in the fourth century,

the Sabellian tendency of the passage was thus obviated, and the harshness of the phrase, which ascribed blood to God, was removed. After the analogy of a similar passage in Col. i. 26, 27. τὸ μυστήριον ἐφανερώθη τοῖς ἀγίοις—ὁ πλῆτος τῆς δόξης τῆ μυστηρίας τέττα—ὃς ἐστὶ Χριστός, 1 Tim. iii. 16. was changed into μέγα ἐστὶ μυστήριον, ὃς ἐφανερώθη: ὃς being preserved in the masculine to denote a person, and in this form agreeing with Χριστός, sylleptically implied in μυστήριον <sup>239</sup>. Out of this reading, μυστήριον ὁ

when Sabellianism was in a great measure revived by Marcellus, of Ancyra. The revival of this heresy must have raised insuperable obstacles to prevent this text from being admitted into the context of Scripture by the orthodox: and unless it was interpolated by them, there was no party existing at the time to gain it admission into the sacred canon. The Arians, it is obvious, cannot be accused of attempting such a correction; and the Sabellians were unable to effect any thing in this respect; as they were an inconsiderable sect, rendered still less competent, by the opposition of both Arians and Catholicks.

<sup>239</sup> This conjecture is supported by the Oriental versions, the varieties in which are at once reconciled, by considering the *neuter* noun μυστήριον taken, by a syllepsis, in the *masculine*; which notion is alone reconcilable with the reading proposed by M. Griesbach, in the Greek; μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, ὃς ἐφανερώθη. This, I beg leave to suggest, is the simplest explanation of the reading of the Coptick, Sahidick, and Philoxenian version; and thus, M. Griesbach and Dr. Laurence, who have formed very opposite conclusions on this subject, are easily reconciled in principle. The former declares, Nov. Test. not. in h. l. “Copt. Sahid. et Syr. p. in m. [exhibent] ὃς, qui;” the latter declares; Rem. on Griesb. Classif. of MSS. p. 78. “in both the Coptic and Sahidic the word ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ mystery is decidedly proved to be masculine, by the definitive article masculine ΠΙ in one case, and Π in the



ἐφανερώθη naturally arose<sup>240</sup>, merely by correcting

other, prefixed.—A similar remark, respecting the Philoxenian version, is made by its editor. From hence I would conclude, with M. Griesbach, that the authours of those versions read in the Palestine edition, which they followed, *μυστήριον ὃς ἐφανερώθη*: but I here reason from the premises laid before me, as I am wholly unacquainted with the Oriental languages.

<sup>240</sup> That *μυστήριον ὃ ἐφανερώθη* is not the original reading, is, I conceive, manifest; as it is thus unaccountable that this phrase, which is wholly unexceptionable, should have been ever changed to *μυστήριον ὃς ἐφανερώθη*. If, on the other hand, we suppose *ὃς ἐφανερώθη* the original reading, the change, it must be confessed, was easy both to *ὃ ἐφανερώθη* and *θεὸς ἐφανερώθη*: as the neuter gender was obviously suggested by the context *μυστήριον*; and, in the uncial character, *ΟΣ* is easily converted into *ΘΣ*, the usual abbreviation of *ΘΕΟΣ*. But *μυστήριον ὃς ἐφανερώθη* could not have been the original reading; as unsuitable to the object of St. Paul in writing the Epistle before us. So great a solecism as I shall show in the sequel, finds no justification in Col. i. 27. And the change of *ὃς* to *Θεὸς*, which is not at all suggested by the context, if at all made, must have been made in the fourth century; when the Sabellian errors raised the same obstacles to such a correction, as to that of *Θεὸς* to *Κυρίῳ* in Act. xx. 28. If, in the last case, we suppose *ΘΣ* the original reading, *ΟΣ* might have been first suggested by those transverse lines having been omitted, in the hurry of transcription, which distinguish *ΟΣ* and *ΘΣ*; and this alteration, which was apparently justified by Col. i. 27, might have been finally recommended, as the word *ΟΣ* had, in this form, the appearance of an accidental omission; and as it afforded a ready expedient of converting *ΘΣ* into *ΟΣ*, by an erasure. As the concurrence of the Eastern and Western versions proves this correction to have been made as early as the fourth century, when the text was revised by Eusebius; it is certainly a correction which he may be supposed to have made, as it is conformable to his peculiar notions.

the false concord. 1 Joh. v. 7. presented fewer difficulties to the corrector; the iteration in the sentence made it merely necessary that the obnoxious passage should be erased; and it was consequently expunged by Eusebius, as little conducive to the doctrine of the church, from being calculated to support the Sabellian errors. Regarded in this view, there is little more on the subject before us which needs a solution. The last evidence of authenticity, which is specified in the rule proposed by M. Griesbach, for determining a genuine from a spurious reading<sup>241</sup>, is thus clearly made out in favour of the text of Byzantium; for thus all the varieties in the passages before us, are easily accounted for, on considering them corruptions of the genuine text, as preserved in that edition.

Thus reasoning on the very grounds chosen by the adversaries of those texts, the question of their authenticity is easily decided; as far, at least, as respects the internal evidence. It is now merely necessary, that the testimony of competent witnesses should be adduced, to corroborate the internal evidence, with external.

Of the manuscripts which have been cited on this subject, 1. the Vatican<sup>242</sup>, and fifteen of the Greek

<sup>241</sup> Vid. supr. p. 258. n. 194.

<sup>242</sup> The true reading of this celebrated MS. is set out of dispute by the following document, which is deposited in Sion College; to which my attention was first directed by my learned friend, Mr. Watts, the librarian. In a collation of the Vatican MSS. made for Dr. Berriman, when engaged in the defence of 1 Tim. iii. 16. the annexed reading of the Vatican MS. appears;

Vulgate<sup>243</sup>, read in Act. xx. 28. Θεῷ; in which reading they are supported by the manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate, without a single exception<sup>244</sup>. About fifty Greek manuscripts of the same edition also read Θεῷ, but in conjunction with Κυρίῳ<sup>245</sup>.

the following note being prefixed to the papers in which it is found, in the hand writing of Dr. Berriman: “ In the year 1738 I obtained, from the very learned Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe, then at Rome, a more exact and particular account of the Greek MSS. of St. Paul’s Epistles, in the Vatican library, and that of Cardinal Barberini, than had been ever before communicated to the world. Mr. Wagstaffe had for some time free access to the Vatican, and the liberty of collating MSS. in the absence of the librarian, and in that time I was favoured with the accurate collation of four texts which I desired, (Act. xx. 28. Rom. ix. 5. 1 Tim. iii. 16. and 1 John v. 7.) and of five more added thereto, (Gal. i. 12. Phil. ii. 6. Col. ii. 9. Tit. ii. 13. and 1 Joh. v. 20.)” The following collation of the disputed text is added, along with the above-cited, in Mr. Wagstaffe’s hand, “ Act. xx. 28. Προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Θεῷ, ἣν περιποιήσατο, διὰ τῆς αἱματος τῆς ἰδίας. MS. Bible, from whence Sixtus V.’s Septuagint was printed.” And this testimony is confirmed by the collation which was made of this MS. for Dr. Bentley, vid. supr. p. 61. n. <sup>33</sup>. As it notes no various reading of this text but τῆς αἱματος τῆς ἰδίας, p. 74. the MS. must have read, with the copy which was collated, ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Θεῷ.

<sup>243</sup> Griesb. Nov. Test. not. in h. l. “ Vulgatum Θεῷ habent codd. 4, 22, 46, 65, 66, 68, et quantum e silentio collatorum suspicari licet, 7, 12, 16, 23, 25, 37, 39, 56, 64.” For one of those MSS. Cod. 25, I can answer, having collated it in the British Museum, where it is marked Harl. 5537; it reads τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Θεῷ ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τῆς ἰδίας αἱματος.

<sup>244</sup> Mill. Nov. Test. not. in h. l. “ Vulg. in omnibus Codd. Lat. Æthiop.” &c.

<sup>245</sup> Vid. Griesb. Nov. Test. not. in h. l.



2. The Alexandrine<sup>246</sup>, and all known manuscripts<sup>247</sup>, except two of the Palestine, and one of the Egyptian edition, read in 1 Tim iii. 16. Θεός; the Latin Vulgate reading “quod,” in opposition to every known manuscript but the Clermont<sup>248</sup>.

<sup>246</sup> That the true reading of the Alexandrine MS. in 1 Tim. iii. 16. was Θεός, not ὁς, we may appeal to the testimony of those who first examined the MS. Independent of that of Junius, who first examined it, and of Mr. Huish, who collated it for the London Polyglot; of Bps. Walton and Fell, of Drs. Mill and Grabe, who have published its various readings; Dr. Berriman’s testimony seems to lay the question at rest. Having taken two friends, Messrs. Ridley and Gibson, to examine the MS. in the sun, and with the assistance of a glass, and having submitted the point in debate to two indifferent persons standing by, Messrs. Hewit and Pilkington; he published the following statement, as the result of their investigation; Dissert. ut supr. p. 156. “And therefore, if at any time hereafter, the old line should become indiscernible, there never will be just cause to doubt, but that the genuine and original reading of this MS. was ΘΣ i.e. ΘΕΟΣ.” Nay more, he openly charges M. Wetstein, whose single testimony is now supposed to turn the scale against this host of witnesses, with having *admitted* to a common friend, that *he saw* the transverse line of the Θ, the existence of which he afterwards disputed: Ibid. p. 156. The extreme futility of the plea, which is set up in opposition to this weight of testimony, will be exposed in the sequel.

<sup>247</sup> Dr. Berriman, Crit. Disert. up. 1 Tim. iii. 16. p. 163. specifies ninety-one MSS. in his printed text; but in a manuscript note of a copy of his work, which was deposited in Sion College, extends the number to ninety-five. After the labours of Prof. Birch, of Copenhagen, of M. Matthæi, at Moscow, and other criticks, we greatly underrate the number of those MSS. in estimating them at an hundred.

<sup>248</sup> Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. II. p. 75. “Itaque extra

3. The whole nearly of the manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate contain I Joh. v. 7<sup>249</sup>; which is not found in any Greek MS. but the Montfort; a manuscript which has been obviously corrected by the Latin translation.

Of the christian fathers who have been quoted on this subject, the following have been cited in favour of the reading of the Received Text, or Greek Vulgate.

1. On Act. xx. 28. St. Ignatius<sup>250</sup>, in the apostolical age; and Tertullian<sup>251</sup>, near the same period. At the distance of a century and upwards from those primitive times, St. Athanasius<sup>252</sup>, St. Basil<sup>253</sup>, St.

omnem dubitationem positum jam esse videtur, Claromontani Codicis lectionem primitivam non fuisse ΘΣ sed Ο.”

<sup>249</sup> Bengel. Appar. Crit. not. in h. l. § xix. “ Habet Latina Versio antiquissima. ‘ Versus ille solemniter legitur tum in Epistola Dominicæ in Albis dictæ, tum in octavo Responsorio, in omnibus Dominicis a festo SS. Trinitatis usque ad Adventum. Reperitur etiam in optimis quibusque et vetustissimis Vulgatæ codicibus, ita ut paucissimi sint in quibus deest.’ Henr. a Bukentop de Vulg. p. 307. Videlicet de Codicibus Hentenii, quorum circiter 24 ad hanc epistolam collati sunt, 5 tantummodo omittunt. &c.

<sup>250</sup> Vid. supr. p. 275. n. <sup>232</sup>.

<sup>251</sup> Tertul. ad Uxor. Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 175. “ Quod sciam, “ non sumus nostri” sed “ pretio empti;” et quali pretio? “ sanguine Dei.”

<sup>252</sup> S. Athanas. Ep. i. ad Serap. Tom. II. p. 653. e. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ, ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τῶ ἰδίου αἵματος.

<sup>253</sup> S. Basil. Moral. Reg. LXXIII. cap. xvi. Tom. II. p. 285. a. ed. Par. 1618. ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν. αὐτὲ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων. Πράξεις. Προσεχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς—ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ.

Epiphanius<sup>254</sup>, St. Ambrose<sup>255</sup>, and St. Chrysostome<sup>256</sup>, deliver the same testimony. In the following age occur Ibas<sup>257</sup> and Cœlestinus<sup>258</sup>; and in the succeeding, Fulgentius<sup>259</sup>, Ferrandus<sup>260</sup>, and Pri-

<sup>254</sup> S. Epiphani. Hær. LXXIV. p. 895. a. προσέχετε φησὶ ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἔθετο ὑμᾶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ.

<sup>255</sup> S. Ambros. de Sp. Sanct. Lib. II. cap. xiii. Tom. II. col. 663. d. “Dixit enim Paulus: ‘Attendite vobis, et omni gregi, in quo posuit vos Spiritus Sanctus episcopus regere ecclesiam Dei.’”

<sup>256</sup> S. Chrysost. in Actt. Apostt. Hom. XLIV. Tom. IX. p. 333. a. Προσέχετε ἑν ἑαυτοῖς—ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τῆς ἰδίας αἱμάτος.—ταῦτα λέγει ἕκ ἐπειδὴ ὅτ’ αὐτῷ ἑαυτοῖς προσέχωμεν, τότε καὶ τὸ ποίμνιον κερδαίνει, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ. ὅρα πόσας ἀνάγκαι παρὰ τῷ πνεύματος τὴν χειροτονίαν ἔχετε φησι· τὸτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ, ἔθετο· μία αὕτη ἀνάγκη· εἴτα ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ.

<sup>257</sup> Ibas. Epist. ad Marin, Pers. ἡβελήθη δὲ ‘ὁ Θεὸς’ ὁ παῖς φροσίζων τῆς ἰδίας ‘ἐκκλησίας τῆς τῷ ἰδίῳ αἱματι’ αὐτῷ λυρωθείσης, καὶ τὴν καρδίαν τῇ Ἀιγυπτίᾳ μαλάξαι, κ. τ. ἐ. ap. Lab. et Cossart. Concill. Tom. IV. p. 665. b. ed. Par. 1671.

<sup>258</sup> Cœlest. Epist. ad Synod. Ephes. “Respiciamus rursum etiam illa nostri verba doctoris, quibus proprie apud Episcopos utitur, ista prædicens: “Attendite” inquit, “vobis—regere ecclesiam Dei quam acquisivit sanguine suo.” Ap. Baluz. Nov. Collect. Concill. Tom. I. p. 491.

<sup>259</sup> Fulgent. de Fid. ad Petr. Diac. cap. xix.—in isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi,—et sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit. De quo Beatus Paulus dicit in Actibus Apostolorum, “Attendite vobis—regere Ecclesiam Dei quam acquisivit sanguine suo.” Max. Bibl. Patrr. Tom. IX. p. 80. h.

<sup>260</sup> Ferrand. ad Anatol. Epist. cap. xiv. “Nam ecce apud Miletum—Beatus dum traderet Paulus; “Attendite,” inquit,



masius<sup>261</sup>. In the next age we meet Antiochus<sup>262</sup>, and Martin I.<sup>263</sup>; and in the subsequent, Bede<sup>264</sup>, who is followed, after some distance of time, by Etherius<sup>265</sup>, Œcumenius<sup>266</sup>, and Theophylact<sup>267</sup>.

“vobis—regere Ecclesiam *Dei*, quam adquisivit suo sanguine.” Dic modo Gentium Doctor, et responde nobis aliquid.—Dixisti *Deum* Ecclesiam adquisisse sanguine suo; quare non addidisti Filium,” &c. Max. Bibl. Patr. Tom. IX. p. 506. h.

<sup>261</sup> Primas. in Apoc. cap. vii. I add this reference on the authority of M. Griesbach; with this acknowledgement, that I believe it to be an error. I have not been able to find any reference to Act. xx. 28. in Primasius, nor is the authority of this father cited, on this verse, by M. M. Bengel, or Sabatier. In Primas. ibid. ap. Max. Bibl. Patr. Tom. X. p. 309. b. I find “sanguine *agni*,” which, it is possible, M. Griesbach, or the person whom he followed, might have mistaken for “sanguine *Dei*.”

<sup>262</sup> Antioch. Hom. cxxii. Auctar. Bibl. Patr. Tom. I. p. 1214. c. ed. Par. 1624. τοῖς δὲ Ἐφεσίοις λέγων· προσεχέσθε ἑαυτοῖς—ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ. Conf. Hom. Lxi. p. 1122. d.

<sup>263</sup> Martin. in Conc. Later. Rom.—“et maxime præceptum habentes apostolicum, “attendere nosmetipsis, et gregi—regere *Dei* ecclesiam quam adquisivit per sanguinem proprium.”—Id. ibid. μάλιστα παρεγγέλαιον ἔχοντες ἀποστολικὴν, προσέχεν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ—ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι. ap. Lab. et Cossart. Concill. Tom. VI. p. 93, 94. b.

<sup>264</sup> Bed. Comment. in Actt. Apostt. cap. xx. Oper. Tom. V. p. 659. ed. Col. Agr. 1612.—“Regere Ecclesiam *Dei*, quam adquisivit sanguine suo.” Non dubitat “sanguinem *Dei*” dicere, propter unionem personæ in duabus naturis ejusdem Jesu Christi.”

<sup>265</sup> Ether. contr. Elipand. Lib. II. “De quo *Dei* sanguine sub certo *Dei* hominisque discrimine, in Apostolorum Actibus legitur: “Attendite vobis, et universo gregi vestro, in quo

To these we may add some anonymous authorities<sup>268</sup>, whose age is not easily determined.

2. On 1 Tim. iii. 16. we may quote St. Ignatius<sup>269</sup>, in the apostolical age; and Hippolytus<sup>270</sup>, in the age which succeeded. The next age presents St. Athanasius<sup>271</sup>, St. Gregory Nyssene<sup>272</sup>, and St. Chrysostome<sup>273</sup>; and the following age, St.

vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit apostolos regere Ecclesiam Dei." Et cujus Dei Ecclesiam subsequens sermo demonstrat ita dicens; "quam acquisivit sanguine suo." Aperte hic nomine Deitatis et sanguinis, cœlestia et humana sociavit." Max. Bibl. Patr. Tom. XIII. p. 383. d.

<sup>266</sup> Œcumen. Comment. in Actt. Apostt. Tom. I. p. 152. ed. Par. 1634. προσέχλει ἔν ἑαυτοῖς—ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ.

<sup>267</sup> Theophyl. Opér. ed. Finett. Tom. III. p. 290. b. Venet. 1758. προσέχλει ἔν ἑαυτοῖς—ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ.

<sup>268</sup> Anon. ap. S. Athan. Tom. III. p. 4. a. Al. ap. S. Chrysost. Tom. VI. p. 510. Auct. de XLII. Mans. Scholl. Codd. 15. 18. 37. Confes. Eccl. Orient. p. 139.

<sup>269</sup> Vid. supr. p. 275. n. <sup>232</sup>.

<sup>270</sup> Hippolyt. contr. Noet. cap. xvii. Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἑφανερῶδη.

<sup>271</sup> S. Athan. Ep. iv. ad Serap. Tom. II. p. 706.—"χρᾶσι γὰρ Ἀπόστολον συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς νέμοινα, καὶ οἷονεὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐκλεινοῖνα, ὅτι καὶ ὁμολογημένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· Θεὸς ἑφανερῶδη ἐν σαρκί.

<sup>272</sup> S. Greg. Nyssen. Orat. iv. Tom. II. p. 581. ed. Par. 1638.—πάντες οἱ τὸν Λόγον κηρύσσοντες ἐν τέτρω τὸ θαῦμα τῷ μυστήριῳ καταμηνύουσιν· ὅτι Θεὸς ἑφανερῶδη ἐν σαρκί, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος σάρεξ ἐγένετο κ. τ. ἔ. Conf. pp. 430. 445. 536. 595.

<sup>273</sup> S. Chrysost. Comment. in 1 Tim. Tom. XI. p. 605. Καὶ ὁμολογημένως, φησὶ, μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· Θεὸς ἑφανερῶδη ἐν σαρκί ἐδικαιώδη ἐν πνεύματι· τολέσιν ἡ οἰκονομία ἡ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν—ἐνόησον τὸ μυστήριον—εἰς ἕτερον ἀνάγει τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγων, Θεὸς

Cyril<sup>274</sup>, of Alexandria, Theodorit<sup>275</sup>, and Euthalius<sup>276</sup>. At a considerable distance of time, occur Damascene<sup>277</sup>, and Epiphanius Diaconus<sup>278</sup>; who are followed by Photius<sup>279</sup>, Œcumenius<sup>280</sup>, Theophylact<sup>281</sup>, and others<sup>282</sup>, at different intervals.

ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί, τετέστιν ὁ δημιουργός. Conf. Tom. I. p. 497. VIII. p. 85. sqq.

<sup>274</sup> S. Cyril. Alex. Orat. I. de Rect. Fid. Tom. V. P. ii. p. 124. ed. Par. 1638. καὶ ὁμολογούμεως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· Θεὸς ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί——. τίς ὁ ἐν σαρκί φανερωθεὶς; ἢ δῆλον, ὅτι πάντῃ καὶ πάντως ὁ ἐκ Θεῦ Πατρὸς Λόγος· ἔγω γὰρ ἔξαι μέγα τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· Θεὸς ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί——. Καὶ ὁμολογούμεως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· Θεὸς ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί κ. τ. ε. Conf. p. 153. Tom. VI. p. 148.

<sup>275</sup> Theodor. Comment. in 1 Tim. Tom. III. p. 478. ed. Par. 1642. Θεὸς ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί· Θεὸς γὰρ ὢν καὶ Θεῦ υἱός, καὶ ἀδελφόν ἔχων τὴν φύσιν, δῆλος ἅπασιν ἐνανθρωπήσας ἐγένετο. σαφῶς δὲ ἡμᾶς τὰς δύο φύσεις ἐδίδαξεν. ἐν σαρκί γὰρ τὴν θεϊκὴν ἐφη φανερωθῆναι φύσιν.

<sup>276</sup> Euthal. ap. Zaccagn. p. 692. Καὶ ὁμολογούμεως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. Θεὸς ἐφανερῶθη κ. τ. ε.

<sup>277</sup> Damascen. Tom. II. p. 263. ed. Par. 1712. Καὶ ὁμολογούμεως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. Θεὸς ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί κ. τ. ε.

<sup>278</sup> Epiphanius. Diac. in Conc. II. Nic.—“audi igitur Paulum magna voce clamantem, et veritatem istam corroborantem: ‘Deus manifestatus est in carne, justificatus est in spiritu—. O magni doctoris affatum! ‘Deus’ inquit manifestatus est in carne, &c. Ap. Lab. et Cossart. Concill. Tom. VII. col. 618.

<sup>279</sup> Phot. Comment. in 1 Tim. Καὶ ὁμολογούμεως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· Θεὸς ἐφανερῶθη, κ. τ. ε. e. Cod. MS. Cantab. n. 2430. 250.

<sup>280</sup> Œcumen. Comment. in 1 Tim. Tom. II. p. 227, 228. ed. Par. 1631. Θεὸς ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί——ὁρᾷς ἀναβαθμὰς, Θεὸς ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί, εἴτα λέγει τὸ μυστήριον.



3. On 1 Joh. v. 7. we may cite Tertullian<sup>283</sup> in the age next the apostolical, and St. Cyprian in the subsequent æra<sup>284</sup>. In the following age, we may quote Phœbadius<sup>285</sup>, Marcus Celedensis<sup>286</sup>, and Idatius Clarus<sup>287</sup>; and in the succeeding age, Eu-

<sup>281</sup> Theophyl. Comment. in 1 Tim. p. 769. ed. Lond. 1636.  
Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ—Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη—πῶς; ἐν σαρκὶ τῇ γὰρ  
δεύτητι ὁράτος.

<sup>282</sup> Ep. Dionys. Alexandr. adscript. Anon. ap. S. Athan. de Incarn. Verb. Tom. II. P. ii. p. 33. Al. ibid. p. 564. Anon. ap. Theodorit. Tom. IV. pp. 13. 15. Euthym. in Panopl. Tit. xv.

<sup>283</sup> Tertul. adv. Prax. cap. xxv. p. 506. “Ita connexus “Patris” in Filio, et ‘Filii’ in ‘Paraclete’ tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero, qui “tres unum sunt,” *non unus*; quomodo dictum est, “ego et Pater unum sumus,” ad *substantiæ* unitatem, non ad *numeri* singularitatem.”

<sup>284</sup> S. Cypr. de Unit. Eccles. p. 109. “Dicit Dominus; “Ego et Pater unum sumus.” Et de “Patre et” Filio “et Spiritu Sancto” *scriptum est*; “et hi tres unum sunt.” Conf. Ep. LXXIII ad Jubaian. p. 203.

<sup>285</sup> Phœbad. contr. Ariann. cap. xlv. ‘Dominus “Petam,” inquit, “a Patre meo et *aliū* advocatum dabit vobis.” Sic *alius* a Filio “Spiritus” sicut *alius* a Patre “Filius.” Sic tertia in Spiritu, ut in Filio secunda persona: unus tamen Deus (omnia) *quia* “tres unum sunt.” Max. Bibl. Patrr. Tom. IV. p. 305. b.

<sup>286</sup> Marc. Celed. Expos. Fid. ad Cyril. “Nobis unus “Pater,” et unus ‘Filius’ ejus verus Deus, et unus “Spiritus Sanctus” verus Deus, “et hi tres unum sunt;” una divinitas, et potentia, et regnum.” Sunt autem tres Personæ, non duæ, non una,” &c. Ap. S. Hier. Tom. IX. p. 73. g. Conf. Ep. LXXVII. Tom. II. p. 302.

<sup>287</sup> Idat. Clar. de Sanct. Trin. Lib. I.—dicente Joanne Evangelista in *Epistola sua*; “tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in cœlo, “Pater, et Verbum, et Spiritus, et” in Christo Jesu “unum sunt,” non tamen unus est, quia non est in his una

cherius<sup>288</sup>, Victor Vitensis<sup>289</sup>, and Vigilius Tapsensis<sup>290</sup>. Fulgentius<sup>291</sup> and Cassiodorus<sup>292</sup> occur in the next age; and Maximus<sup>293</sup> in the subsequent: to whom we might add many others, or indeed the whole of the Western Church, who, after this persona." Ap. S. Athan. Tom. III. p. 606. f. conf. pp. 607. b. 622. a.

<sup>288</sup> Eucher. Formull. Spirit. Intellig. cap. xi. n. 3.—in *Johannis epistola*: "Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra, Spiritus, Aqua, et Sanguis." Max. Bibl. Patrr. Tom. VI. p. 838. e.

<sup>289</sup> Vict. Vitens, de Persec. Vandal. "Et ut adhuc lucet clarius unius divinitatis esse cum Patre et Filio Spiritum Sanctum doceamus, *Johannis Evangelistæ testimonio comprobatur*: ait namque, "Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt. Max. Bibl. Patrr. Tom. VIII. p. 686. a.

<sup>290</sup> Vigil. Tapsens. contr. Varimad. "Johannes Evangelista —ad Parthos: "Tres sunt" inquit, "qui testimonium perhibent in terra," aqua, sanguis, et caro, et hi tres in nobis sunt: "et tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt." Max. Bibl. Patrr. Tom. V. p. 729. b.

<sup>291</sup> Fulgent. Respon. contr. Ariann. "Beatus Joannes Apostolus testatur dicens; Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus: et tres unum sunt." Quod etiam beatissimus martyr Cyprianus in Ep. de Unit. Eccles. confitetur," &c. Max. Bibl. Patrr. Tom. IX. p. 41. f.

<sup>292</sup> Cassiod. Complexionn. in Epist. Paulinn. "Testificantur "in terra" tria mysteria, "aqua, sanguis et spiritus," quæ in passione Domini leguntur impleta: "in cœlo autem Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus," et hi tres unus est Deus."

<sup>293</sup> Maxim. Disput. contr. Ariann. πρὸς δὲ ταῖς πᾶσι, Ἰωάννης φάσκει: "καὶ οἱ τρεῖς τὸ ἐν εἰσιν." Ap. S. Athan. Tom. III. 223. a.

riod, generally adopted this verse in their authorised version<sup>294</sup>.

With respect to 1 Tim. iii. 16. Acts xx. 28. it is, I trust, unnecessary to add another argument in support of their authenticity. Admitting that there exists sufficient external evidence to prove that those verses constituted a part of Scripture; the internal evidence must decide, whether we are to consider them genuine, or must reject them as spurious. The point at issue is thus reduced to a matter of fact, on which there is no room for a second opinion. It has been, I trust, sufficiently shown, that the one text is supported by the testimony of the Eastern Church, and the other by that of the Eastern and Western. The inference is of course obvious, without a formal deduction.

With respect to 1 John v. 7. the case is materially different. If this verse be received, it must be admitted on the single testimony of the Western Church; as far at least as respects the external evidence. And though it may seem unwarrantable to set aside the authority of the Greek Church, and pay exclusive respect to the Latin, where a question arises on the authenticity of a passage which properly belongs to the text of the former; yet when

<sup>294</sup> Mar. Victorin. in Hymn. iii. Ambrosius Ansbertus Comment. in Apoc. &c. Conf. Bengel. Appar. Crit. not. in h. l. § xviii.—“ Post Annum M. Radulphus Ardens, Rupertus Tuitiensis, Bernardus, Hugo Victorinus, Lombardus, Aquinas, Scotus, ceteri, sine descrimine, dictum citant. Vid. Dorschei Diss. de Sp. Aq. et Sang. p. 11. Calov. Bibl. Ill. h. l.” Vid. supr. p. 286. n. <sup>249</sup>.



the doctrine inculcated in that passage is taken into account, there may be good reason for giving even a preference to the Western Church over that of the Eastern. The former was uncorrupted by the heresy of the Arians, who rejected the doctrine of the passage in question<sup>295</sup>; the latter was wholly resigned to that heresy for at least forty years<sup>296</sup>, while the Western Church retained its purity. And while the testimony borne by the latter on the subject before us, is consistent and full; that borne by the former is internally defective. It is delivered in language, which has not even the merit of being grammatically correct; while the testimony of the latter is not only unexceptionable in itself, but possesses the singular merit of removing the fore-mentioned imperfection, on being merely turned into Greek, and inserted in the context of the original<sup>297</sup>. Under these circumstances there seems to be little reasonableness in allowing the Western Church any authority, and denying it, in this instance, a preference over the Eastern.

But numberless circumstances conspire to strengthen the authority of the Latin Church in supporting the authenticity of this passage. The particular Church on whose testimony principally we receive the disputed verse, is that of Africa. And even at the first sight, it must be evident, that the most implicit respect is due to its testimony.

<sup>295</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 110. n. 2.

<sup>296</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 29. n. 49.

<sup>297</sup> Comp. pp. 257. 260.

1. In those great convulsions which agitated the Eastern and Western Churches, for eight years, with scarcely any intermission<sup>298</sup>; and which subjected the sacred text to the greatest changes<sup>299</sup>, through that vast tract of country which extends round the Levant, from Libya to Illyricum, the African provinces were exposed to the horrors of persecution but for an inconsiderable period<sup>300</sup>. The Church, of course, which was established in this region, neither required a new supply of sacred books, nor received those which had been revised by Eusebius and St. Jerome; as removed out of the range of the influence of those antient fathers.

2. As the African Church possessed this competency to deliver a pure unsophisticated testimony on the subject before us; that which it has borne is as explicit as it is plenary: since it is delivered in a Confession prepared by the whole church assembled

<sup>298</sup> Euseb. de Martyrr. Palæst. cap. xiii. p. 437. l. 10. ταῦτα μὲν ἔν τα κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἐν ὅλοις ἔτεσι ὀκτὼ συμπαραδείλια μαρτύρια, καὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ καθ' ἡμῶς διωγμός· ἀρξάμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθαιρέσεως, εἰς μέγα δὲ προκόψας ἐν ταῖς κατὰ χρόνους τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπαναστάσειν· ἐν αἷς πολύτροποι—ἡθληκῶτων ἀγῶνες ἀναριθμὸν τι πλῆθος μαρτύρων κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπάρχειον συνεστήσαντο, ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ Λιβύης καὶ δι' ὅλης Ἀιγύπτου, Συρίας τε καὶ τῶν ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς καὶ κύκλῳ μεχρὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν κλίμα παραιτήνυσσι.

<sup>299</sup> Vid. sup. p. 27. n. 46.

<sup>300</sup> Euseb. ibid. p. 437. l. 23.—Γαλλία τε καὶ ὅσα κατὰ δύοιμοι ἥλιον ἐπὶ Σπαιίαν Μαυριτανίαν τε καὶ Ἀφρικὴν ἔδ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι δυοὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῇ διωγμῷ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπομείναντα, ταχίστης ἡξιώθησαν ἐπισκοπῆς τε τῇ Θεῷ καὶ εἰρήνῃ· τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς προνοίας, φειδῶ τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπλότητος καὶ πίστεως ποιημένης.

in council. After the African provinces had been over-run by the Vandals<sup>301</sup>, Hunnerick, their king, summoned the bishops of this church, and of the adjacent isles, to deliberate on the doctrine inculcated in the disputed passage<sup>302</sup>. Between three and four hundred prelates attended the Council, which met at Carthage<sup>303</sup>; and Eugenius, as bishop of that see, drew up the Confession of the orthodox<sup>304</sup>, in which the contested verse is expressly quoted<sup>305</sup>. That a whole church should thus concur in quoting a verse which was not contained in

<sup>301</sup> Evagr. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. xiv. p. 395. l. 45. Ὀνόριχος τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκ Γιζερίχου διαδεξάμενος, τότε Ἀρείου δρησκεύων, ὡμότατα διετίθετο ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐν Λιβύῃ Χριστιανὰς, τὰς τὰ ὀρθὰ πρεσβεύοντας δόγματα βιαζόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀρειανῶν μετατίθεσθαι δόξαν.

<sup>302</sup> Edict. Hunneric. ap. Vict. Vitens. de Persec. Vandall.—“ Et quia in Provinciis a Deo nobis concessis scandalum esse nolumus,—hoc nos statuissse cognoscite, ut ad diem Kal. Febr. proxime futurarum, amissa omni excusatione formidinis, omnes Carthaginem veniatis, ut de ratione fidei cum nostris venerabilibus Episcopis possitis inire conflictum, et de fide Omousianorum, quam defenditis, de divinis scripturis proprie approbetis, quo possit agnosci si integram fidem teneatis.” Max. Bibl. Patrr. Tom. VIII. p. 682. d.

<sup>303</sup> Vict. Vitens. ibid. p. 683. d. “ Appropinquabat jam futurus dies ille calumniosus Kal. Febr. ab eodem statutus. Conveniunt non solum universæ Africae, verum etiam insularum multarum Episcopi,” &c. A catalogue of the bishops is given, p. 689. e. sqq.

<sup>304</sup> Max. Bibl. Patrr. Tom. VIII. Præf. p. i. “ Iisdem [libris Vict. Vitens. de Pers. Vand.] inserta Professio fidei Catholicorum Episcoporum Africae, quæ ex Gennadio cap. xcvi. probabilius creditur esse Eugenii Carthaginensis Episcopi—

<sup>305</sup> Ut supr. p. 292. n. 289.



the received text, is wholly inconceivable: and admitting that 1 Joh. v. 7. was thus generally received, its universal prevalence in that text is only to be accounted for by supposing it to have existed in it from the beginning.

3. The testimony which the African church has borne on the subject before us, is not more strongly recommended by the universal consent, than the immemorial tradition of the evidence, which attests the authenticity of the contested passage. Victor Vitensis and Fulgentius, Marcus Celedensis, St. Cyprian, and Tertullian, were Africans<sup>306</sup>, and have referred to the verse before us<sup>307</sup>. Of these witnesses,

<sup>306</sup> Cave. Cartophyl. Eccles. p. 99. "*Victor, gente Afr* Vitensis in Africa Episcopus: An. 487." Id. ibid. p. 101. "*Fulgentius Afer, ex Abbate, Ruspensis in Africa Episcopus: clar. circ. An. 508.*" Id. ibid. p. 23. "*Cyprianus, Carthaginiensis—ab An. 248. Episcopus Carthaginiensis.*" Id. ibid. p. 16. "*Tertullianus, Presbyter Carthaginiensis circa An. 192.*" Bengel. Appar. Crit. var. in 1 Joh. v. 7. § xiv. p. 461. "Expositio hæc [vid. supr. p. 291. n. <sup>286</sup>.] nomen auctoris non habet adjectum; sed præter cetera, tenor versionis Latinæ, in dictis ibi citatis, ostendit, in Africa olim eam esse scriptam. Et quidem scriptorem ejus esse Marcum Presbyterem Celedensem, argumento est illa epistola quam Hieronymus ad hunc ipsum Marcum circ. A. C. 375 dedit, ubi ait, "De file quam dignatus es scribere Sancto Cyrillo," &c.

<sup>307</sup> Vid. supr. p. 291. n. <sup>283</sup>. sqq. It has been indeed disputed that Tertullian quotes any verse; and that St. Cyprian refers to any but 1 Joh. v. 8. Though the testimony of these early fathers must stand and fall together; as St. Cyprian obviously follows his master Tertullian: yet Tertullian's testimony may stand by itself. I. It is evident the words "qui tres unum sunt," do not fall casually from him, in his controversy with Praxeas. (1.) They contain Praxeas's doctrine expressed in

which follow each other at almost equal intervals, the first is referred to the age of Eugenius, the last

his own language ; “ *Ipsum dicit Patrem descendisse in virginem—ipsum esse Jesum Christum.*” [Tertul. adv. Prax. cap. i.] This identity of Person between the Father and Son, Praxeas proved by Joh. x. 30. “ *Ego et Pater unum sumus.*” *Hic ergo jam gradum volunt figere stulti, immo cæci, —. Si enim dixisset unus sumus, potuisset adjuvare sententiam illorum.*” [Id. ibid. cap. xxii.] The diversity between the Father and Word, he explained away by another expedient ; “ *quid est enim dices Sermo nisi vox et sonus oris.*” [Id. ibid. cap. vii.] Hence 1 Joh. v. 7. “ *tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater Verbum et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sint,*” contains as just a description of Praxeas’s doctrine, as that heretick could have given. (2.) Of course, those words do not give as full an exposition of Tertullian’s notions, as this learned antient required, in answering Praxeas ; “ *Ego et Pater unum sumus.*” *Hic ergo jam gradum volunt figere stulti immo cæci, qui non videant primo, “ Ego et Pater” duorum esse significationem ; dehinc in novissimo, “ sumus,” non ex unius esse persona, quod pluraliter dictum est ; tum quod “ unum sumus,” non unus sumus.*” [Id. ib. cap. xxii.] He consequently explains his meaning by other adjuncts and epithets ; “ *Filium non aliunde deduco quam de substantia Patris.*” [Id. ibid. cap. iv.] *Cæterum ubique teneo unam substantiam, in tribus cohærentibus.*” [Id. ibid. cap. xii.] In order to express Tertullian’s notions fully, 1 Joh. v. 7. should stand, “ *tres testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus ; quæ tres personæ, una substantia sunt.*” This, by the way, is the true secret of his omitting the first clause of the verse ; and of Cyprian’s altering it in declaring, “ *de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, et hi tres unum sunt.*” For this exposition he certainly offers on the authority of Tertullian. II. In meddling at all with “ *qui tres unum sunt,*” Tertullian must be supposed to introduce it as a quotation from Scripture ; and taken in this light, it adds greater force and clearness to his reasoning. That he introduces it in this man-

to that nearly of the Apostles. They thus form a traditionary chain, carrying up the testimony of the

ner, is, I think, apparent from the following reasons: (1.) He quotes it precisely in the same manner as Joh. x. 30. "*cæci non videant, primo, "Ego et Pater"* duorum esse significationem; *dehinc* in novissimo "*sumus,*" non ex unius persona, quod pluraliter dictum est; *tum* quod "*unum sumus*" *non unus sumus*. Having, by these three reasons, wrested Joh. x. 30. from his adversaries, he applies it, thus interpreted, to the explanation of 1 Joh. v. 7. which was even more strongly on the side of his adversaries; "*tres unum sunt,*" *non unus, quomodo dictum est, "ego et Pater unum sumus."* The explanatory phrase '*non unus,*' added to 1 Joh. v. 7. as well as Joh. x. 30. as clearly indicates a quotation, in the one case, as in the other. (2.) Considering the whole texture of Tertullian's argument, it requires that "*tres unum sunt*" should be considered a Scripture authority. As Praxeas built on Joh. xiv. 8. x. 30. Tertullian builds on Joh. xiii. 16. xvi. 7. for these texts clearly proved that personal diversity between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, which Praxeas denied; as they represented the Son as interceding *with* the Father, and both as *sending* the Holy Ghost, and of course exhibited the three in different Persons. But it was necessary that Tertullian should not divide the substance, while he distinguished the Persons; and this it is which induced him to introduce Joh. xvi. 14. with 7. and to bind the whole doctrine together by 1 Joh. v. 7. as previously explained by Joh. x. 30: at the same time that he insists on the personal diversity of "*Pater et Filius.*" His argument will now speak for itself; "*post Philippum et totam substantiam quæstionis istius (Joh. xiv. 8.), quæ in finem Evangelii perseverant in eodem genere sermonis, quo Pater et Filius in sua proprietate distinguuntur, Paracletum quoque a Patre se postulaturum, quum ascendisset ad Patrem, et missurum re-promittit (Joh. ib. 16. xvi. 7), et quidem alium, sed jam præ-misimus quomodo alium. Cæterum "de meo sumet" inquit (ib. xvi. 14.) "sicut ipse de Patris." Ita connexus 'Patris in Filio,' et 'Filii in Paracleto' "tres" efficit cohærentes, alte-*



African Church, until it loses itself, in time immemorial.

rum ex altero, qui “tres unum sunt” non unus (1 Joh. v. 7.) *quomodo dictum est* (John x. 30), “ego et Pater unum sumus;” ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem.” III. That St. Cyprian quotes Scripture is placed beyond controversy by his express declaration; *scriptum est*, “et hi tres unum sunt.” And that this text is not 1 Joh. v. 8. is equally incontrovertible. (1.) The phrase used by St. Cyprian is “tres unum sunt,” not “tres in unum sunt;” the latter is the phrase in 1 Joh. v. 8. the former that in 1 Joh. v. 7. (2.) This phrase, as found in 1 Joh. v. 8. when understood according to Tertullian’s interpretation, which St. Cyprian holds fully in view, is nonsense or blasphemy. As the former of these fathers justly determines, that “unus” in the masculine, opposed to “unum” in the neuter, indicates a person as distinguished from a substance; this canon applied to “et hi tres unum sunt,” in 1 John v. 8. makes “the water and blood” not only Persons, but of “one” substance with “the Spirit!” I forbear to point the inference. In following Tertullian, and referring to Scripture, St. Cyprian of course must be supposed to allude to 1 Joh. v. 7. when he declares; “de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto *scriptum est*: et hi tres unum sunt.” The case of Cyprian being made out, that of Tertullian derives impregnable strength from it: admitting the former to have seen this verse, the only probability is, that it must have been seen by the latter: as it is absurd in the extreme to conceive it could have crept into the text in the period that intervenes between them, and have so generally prevailed as to be quoted by the whole African Church in the Council of Carthage. IV. But one or two further considerations seem to set the matter out of dispute; and to demonstrate, that 1 Joh. v. 7. could not have been forged between the times of Tertullian and those of the Council of Carthage. In the term *Son*, lay the whole strength of the Catholick’s argument; in the term *Word*, lay that of the hereticks: Tertullian had particularly insisted on the former; and St. Cyprian had absolutely con-

4. The testimony of the African Church, which possesses these strong recommendations, receives confirmation from the corroborating evidence of other churches, which were similarly circumstanced. Phœbadius and Eucherius, the latter of whom had been translated from the Spanish to the Gallican Church, were members of the latter<sup>308</sup>; and both these churches had been exempt, not less than the African, from the effects of Dioclesian's persecution<sup>309</sup>. Both those early fathers, Phœbadius and Eucherius, attest the authenticity of the contested passage: the testimony of the former is entitled to the greater respect, as he boldly withstood the authority of Hosius<sup>310</sup>, whose influence tended to extend the Arian

nected "Pater et *Filius* et Spiritus Sanctus," with "hi tres unum sunt;" and yet the Council of Carthage, and the fathers of the African Church, thus uniformly quote 1 Joh. v. 7. "tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, *Verbum*, et Spiritus Sanctus." I must question the seriousness of any man who will persist in declaring, that he *believes* the latter verse, which is directly in favour of the hereticks' notions, and in opposition to the authority of Tertullian and Cyprian, could have been *invented* by any member of the African Church; or that any authority could have gained it admission in this form into the received text of that Church, but that which it derived from the implicit conviction of its members, that it was written by St. John the Evangelist.

<sup>308</sup> Cave. ub. sup. p. 56. "*Phœbadius Gallus*, Agenni Episcopus, clar. An. 359." Id. ibid. p. 88. "*Eucherius senior*, ex *Monacho Lerinensi*, ab An. circ. 434. *Lugdunensis Episcopus*."

<sup>309</sup> Vid. sup. p. 295. n. <sup>300</sup>.

<sup>310</sup> Phœbad. contr. Ariann. sub. fin. "Sed non sum nescius—Osii nomen quasi quemdam in nos arietem temperari—

opinions in the Western world, at the very period in which he cited the contested passage. In addition to these witnesses, we have, in the testimony of Maximus, the evidence of a person, who visited the African Church; and who there becoming acquainted with the disputed passage, wrote a tract for the purpose of employing it against the Arians<sup>311</sup>. The testimony of these witnesses forms a valuable accession to that of the African Church.

5. We may appeal to the testimony of the Greek Church in confirmation of the African Churches.

Sed hanc contra nos errigentibus machinam brevi admodum sermone respondeo. Non potest ejus autoritas præscribi, quia aut nunc errat aut semper erravit," &c. Max. Bibl. Patr. Tom. IV. p. 305. c.

<sup>311</sup> Vid. supr. 292. n. <sup>293</sup>. Bengel. Appar. Crit. var. in h. l. p. 471. "Auctorem Collocationis [int. opuscc. Athanas. Tom. III. p. 226.] hodie docent esse *Maximum Confessorem*: qui A. C. 640, monasterio suo, prope Constantinopolin relicto, in *Africam* ivit: An. 645. Romam venit: et An. 655 Constantinopolin retractus est. Unde colligas, Maximum dicti *Johannei*, [1 Joh. v. 7.] antehac sibi ignoti, *apud Afros fuisse potitum*; eaque re exultantem, ipsius dicti ornandi et producendi causa Dialogum fecisse.—multa dicta ex Nov. Test. (ne de LXX interpr. dicam,) eo modo citat, qui *Codicibus Africanis* respondet: et hoc dictum "tres unum sunt," si ille *ex scholio* duntaxat aliquo, si *ex Latinis monumentis* id repetisset, si allegatio ex ulla parte minorem firmitudinem haberet: quomodo Athanasius, Græcus doctor, eo utens potuisset introduci? quomodo auctor totius *Colloquii* coronidem ac summam in eo posuisset? quomodo *Johannes* id dicere diceretur? quomodo denique Arianus, diu reluctatus, cederet? Vix plus huic Dialogo tribui potest, quam tribuimus modo. *Latinis Afrorum Codicibus* notitiam dicti sine dubio debet ille auctor: in Græcis an deinceps repererit, considerent eruditi."



Not to insist at present on positive testimonies<sup>312</sup>,

<sup>312</sup> To the testimony of Maximus, already cited, n. <sup>311</sup>. we may, I believe, add that of Socrates, who not only asserts, that the Greek text of St. John's epistle had undergone some corruptions; but appeals to the old copies of the original, on a reading of 1 Joh. iv. 3. and to the ancient interpreters, as asserting, that "some had corrupted this Epistle; wishing to sever the humanity from the Godhead." For having declared, Hist. Eccl. Lib. VII. cap. xxxii. p. 381. l. 32. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἡγόησαν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ Ἰωάννη γέγραπτο ἐν τοῖς παλαιῶις ἀντιγράφοις, ὅτι "πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ἀπολύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ ἔστι." ταύτην γὰρ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγραφῶν περιεῖλον, οἱ χωρίζουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀνθρώπου βεβλόμενοι τὴν Θεότητα: he directly observes to the purpose already specified: Ibid. l. 36. διὸ καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐρμηνεύουσιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἐπισημνήσαντο, ὥς τινες εἶεν ῥαδιουργήσαντες τὴν ἐπιστολήν, λύειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον θέλοντες. συνανέληπται δὲ ἀνθρωπότης τῇ Θεότητι· καὶ ἐκείνι εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλὰ ἓν. Valesius, n. <sup>4</sup>. in h. l. observes; "fallitur hic Socrates, et dum Nestorium reprehendit, in Eutychetis errorem dilabitur, qui post unionem, non duas in Christo, sed unam duntaxat naturam esse existimabat." And yet 1 Joh. iv. 3. v. 7, 8. as read in the *Latin Vulgate* at this day, fully bears out the allegation of Socrates. 1. It reads in 1 Joh. iv. 3. "omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum, ex Deo non est;" and thus exactly corresponds with πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ ἔστι, in Socrates; in opposition to the Greek Vulgate, which reads, καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ ἔστι: expressly with St. Polycarp, *St. John's disciple*, vid. supr. p. 279. n. <sup>237</sup>. 2. In retaining "tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Sp. Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt," together with "tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt;" it substantiates the charge, brought against the Greek copies, by Socrates; that they had undergone those mutilations which separated the humanity from the divinity; the latter being demonstrable only from vers. 7, which has been obliterated in the Greek. 3. As reading in vers. 8. "tres unum sunt," instead of οἱ τρεῖς εἰς

the disputed verse, though not supported by the *text* of the original Greek, is clearly supported by its *context*. The latter does not agree so well with itself, as it does with the testimony of the African Church. The grammatical structure, which is imperfect in itself, directly recovers its original integrity, on being filled up with the passage which is offered on the testimony of this witness<sup>313</sup>. Thus far the testimony of the Greek Church is plainly corroborative of that of the Western.

6. In fine, as Origen and Eusebius have both

τὸ ἐν ἑσσι, which occurs in the Vulgar Greek; and thus predicating “unum sunt” of Spiritus et Sanguis,” as well as “Pater et Verbum,” it naturally justifies the inference of Socrates, respecting the divinity and humanity of Christ, which he represents as *one*, καὶ ἐκέτι εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλὰ ἓν. The allusion, in this passage, to “et hi tres unum sunt,” 1 Joh. v. 7, 8. as these verses are read in the Latin Vulgate, is sufficiently obvious. It seems to justify a conjecture, that Socrates wrote καὶ ἑ κεῖται, εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλὰ ἓν. But some officious scribe, ignorant of the variation in 1 Joh. v. 8. (εἰς τὸ ἓν, in the Greek Vulgate, being rendered “unum sunt,” in the Latin) turned a Scripture quotation into an heretical assertion, by changing ἑ κεῖται into ἐκέτι. For an example of κεῖται in the sense ascribed by S. Jerome to *positum est*, ut infr. p. 310. n. <sup>2</sup>. conf. ib. n. <sup>1</sup>. et supr. p. 93. n. <sup>163</sup>. The reader may determine for himself, how far it is probable, Socrates might have acquired so much knowledge of the Latin version through M. Celedensis, or some other Latin interpreter. As he long survived P. Damasus, vid. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VII. cap. ix. p. 354. under whom St. Jerome revised the Latin text of the Vulgate in which the above readings occur, he had sufficient acquaintance with the affairs of the Western Church to attain information on this subject; vid. Lib. II. capp. xxx. xxxi. p. 127. sqq.

<sup>313</sup> Vid. supr. p. 260. conf. p. 254.

thought that one church becomes a sufficient voucher for one even of the *sacred books* of the Canon<sup>314</sup>; and as Eusebius has borne the most unqualified evidence to the integrity and purity of the Church of Africa<sup>315</sup>, we can have no just grounds for rejecting its testimony, on *a single verse* of Scripture. And when we consider the weight of the argument arising in favour of this verse from the internal evidence; how forcibly the subject of it was pressed upon the attention of St. John; and how amply it is attested by that external evidence which is antecedent, though deficient in that which is subsequent, to the times of the apostles, our conviction must rise, that this passage is authentick. But when we add the very obvious solution which this want of subsequent evidence receives, from the probability that Eusebius suppressed this passage in the edition which he revised; and which became the received text of the Church, which remained in subjection to the Arians, for the forty years that succeeded: I trust nothing further can be wanting to convince any ingenuous mind, that 1 John v. 7. really proceeded from St. John the Evangelist.

I shall now venture to conclude, that the doctrinal integrity of the Greek Vulgate is established, in the vindication of these passages. It has been my endeavour to rest it upon its natural basis; the testimony of the two Churches, in the eastern and west-

<sup>314</sup> Vid. supr. p. 236. n. <sup>132</sup>. Conf. Euseb. Lib. VI. cap. xxv. p. 291. l. 40.

<sup>315</sup> Vid. supr. p. 295. n. <sup>300</sup>.



ern world, in whose keeping the sacred trust was reposed. In two instances alone, which are of any moment, their testimony is found to vary; and in these the evidence is not discovered to be contradictory, but defective: and this, merely on one side. To direct us, however, in judging between the witnesses, the internal evidence at once reveals, that an error lies on the side of that testimony which is less full, as it is not consistent when regarded alone. Hence, on confronting the witnesses, and correcting the defective testimony by that which is more explicit, every objection to which the former was originally exposed, directly disappears. As this is a result which cannot be considered accidental, there seems to be no possible mode of accounting for it, but by supposing, that there was a period when the witnesses agreed in that testimony which is more full and explicit. However inadequate therefore either of the witnesses may be considered, when regarded separately; yet when their testimony is regarded comparatively, it is competent to put us in possession of the truth, in *all instances*, which are of any importance.

It is scarcely necessary any further to prolong this discussion, by specifying the relative imperfection of those systems, to which the present scheme is opposed. Those of Dr. Bentley and M. Griesbach are fundamentally defective in sacrificing the testimony of the Eastern Church for the immense period, during which the Greek Vulgate has prevailed; that of M. Matthæi is scarcely less exceptionable, in rejecting the testimony of the Western

Church for the still greater period, during which it has been a witness and keeper of Holy Writ.

In fact, whoever saps the basis on which the integrity of the inspired Word is properly sustained, must necessarily build on a foundation of sand. Whether we build on the authority of Origen, or of the Antient Manuscripts, or that of the Versions of the Oriental or of the Western Church, all our documents must be taken subject to the testimony of *tradition*. But it seems to be a strange perversion of reason, which will lead any man to give a preference to such vouchers over the proper witnesses of the inspired Word. For while the testimony of the former is subject to the same casualties as that of the latter, in having the stream of tradition rendered turbid in its course; it is exposed to infinitely greater chances of corruption, from external sources. Particular Manuscripts, not to speak of the sacred writings, yet of the antient Fathers are liable to gross and wilful corruption at the first; and Versions may be made, for aught we can determine, from corrupt copies, or by unskilful hands. In these possible cases, we are possessed of no certain criterion to arrive at the truth. But we must be assured, that the Sacred Writings were delivered in immaculate purity, to those churches, to whom they were committed; that they were guarded from corruption, by commanding that veneration, which has never been excited by any human work; and that they have been dispersed to a degree, which rendered their universal corruption utterly impossible, and consequently not likely to be attempted.

It seems therefore to savour of something worse than paradox, to proceed on the supposition, that the copies of Scripture are generally corrupted; and that the true reading may be acquired in other and suspicious sources.



## SECTION V.

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**THE** integrity of the sacred canon being once placed beyond the reach of the objectour's exceptions; the main object of the present inquiry may be said to be already accomplished. The great end which the inspired founders of the Church had in view, in delivering to their successours a written Instrument, was to furnish them with an unerring rule of faith and manners. But it is not necessary to the perfection of this Instrument, that it should be guarded, by a perpetual miracle, from the chances of literal errors. The real practical advantages of any rule of faith or morals, must result from a religious adherence to the precepts which it inculcates. But it will not be disputed, that those precepts might have been conveyed in an endless variety of manners by the inspired writers; and that the language in which they chose to deliver the precepts may be endlessly varied, while the doctrine is preserved unchanged in its intention and substance. Were an exact literal acquaintance with the phraseology of the sacred text indispensably necessary to an attainment of the important truths which it reveals, it is obvious the inspired writings could

be beneficial to a very limited number of readers, and to those merely in the time of their perusal. The impression which the facts and precepts of the divine work leave on the mind, is indeed vivid and permanent; but when the volume is closed, few retain an accurate remembrance of the language in which they are expressed: and no memory was ever adequate to the task of retailing the whole work without many omissions and misrepresentations.

The general and doctrinal integrity of the sacred canon being preserved from corruption, there exists no obvious or necessary cause, that the text should be preserved immaculate. How fully impressed with this conviction the inspired writers were, must be directly apparent from the use which they have made of the Septuagint, which was ever considered a free translation<sup>1</sup>. Those who were best qualified to inform us on this subject have expressly declared, that the apostles have quoted from that version<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> S. Epiphan. de Menss. et Pond. cap. vi. Tom. II. p. 163. δ. ἐν τῷ ἑκατοστῷ τεσσαράκοντῳ Ψαλμῷ ἔκειτο ἕτως· Ἐδυναί ἡλιχὰ καριθὶ ἰσμαὴλ ἰεββὶα ἀκὼλ· ἃ εἰσιν ἐρμηνεύμενα. ‘Κύριε ἐκέραξα πρὸς σε, εἰσάκουσόν με. Πρόσχεε τῇ φωνῇ.’ ὅρα ὅν πῶς χωλὸν εὐρίσκειται. οἱ δὲ ἰβδόμηκονταδύο ἐρμηνεύται προσεδεικότες τὰ, ‘δεήσεώς με,’ ἀχώλωτον ἐποίησαν τὸν σίχον, καὶ ἡρμήνευσαν. ‘Κύριε ἐκέραξα πρὸς σε, εἰσάκουσόν με, πρόσχεε τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς με.’ καὶ ὅρα πῶς εὐδιόρθωτος ἄδειται ὁ Ψαλμός. Ἐπίσηδι τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῆ βραχυτάτης τοῖς ὁμοίοις αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν προσθήκην παλαχῆ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν κειμένοις, ὅτι καλῶς οἱ λόγοι προσετέθησαν εἰς φράσιν καὶ ἀφελείαν τῶν μελλόντων ἐδιδῶν εἰς τὴν τῆ Θεοῦ πίστιν ἄγεσθαι κ. τ. ἐ. vid. infr. nñ. <sup>2</sup> et <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> S. Hier. adv. Ruffin. Lib. II. cap. ix. Tom. II. p. 251. Ἐκ Apostolici viri Scripturis utuntur Hebraicis; ipsos Apostolos

Yet while they are no where observed to follow it, where it misrepresents the sense, they are frequently observed to quote it where it merely deserts the letter<sup>3</sup>. While the circumstance of their writing in Greek clearly demonstrates the prevalence of that language among their early converts; it is observable, they made no provision, that the primitive church should possess a better translation of the Old Testament, than that of the Septuagint. It must be therefore inferred, from their practice, that they considered the literal errors of that translation a matter of minor importance.

et Evangelistas hoc fecisse perspicuum est. Dominus atque Salvator, ubicumque Veteris Scripturæ meminit, de Hebraicis voluminibus ponit exempla:—in ipsa cruce *אלי אלי למה עזבתני* Eli Eli lama azavtani: quod interpretatur; ‘Deus meus, Deus meus, quare me dereliquisti:’ *non ut a Septuaginta positum est*, ‘Deus meus, Deus meus, respice in me, quare me dereliquisti:’ *et multa his similia*. Nec hoc dicimus, quod Septuaginta interpretes suggillemus, sed quod Apostolorum et Christi major sit auctoritas: *et ubicumque Septuaginta ab Hebræo non discordant, ibi Apostolos de interpretatione eorum sumpsisse exempla, ubi vero discrepant, id posuisse in Græco, quod apud Hebræos didicerant.*” Videatur Id. Proëm. in Lib. XV. Com. Is. Tom. IV. p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Vales. Epist. de Vers. Septuag. Interp. subnex. Euseb. Hist. p. 791. l. 88. Cæterum ut ea quæ dixi, in compendium redigam, de versione LXX ita censeo. Primum quidem, unicam semper fuisse LXX Seniorum versionem—*hac semper usos esse Judæos Alexandrinos, et reliquos Hellenistas*. A Judæis deinde Christianos eam accepisse. *Neque enim Apostoli et primores illi Christiani alia Veteris Instrumenti interpretatione Græca sunt usi, quam ea quæ vulgo in Synagogis Judæorum Hellenistarum legebatur.*”



We are not however at liberty to conclude, that the inspired writers abstained from revising the Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures, because they considered a purer text of no importance to the early converts. It is rather implied in their practice, that they considered the advantages resulting from a purer text, would not be compensated by the inconveniences which would arise from disturbing a settled state of affairs. The authority of the Greek version was already acknowledged by multitudes of the Gentile proselytes to Judaism; and through the instrumentality of it, numbers might be led to a knowledge of christianity, who would be so far from accepting a new version from the hands of the apostles, that they rejected the notion of their divine commission. On these grounds, I will not say it was politick, but I believe it was agreeable to the principles of the apostles, who never gave unnecessary offence, to retain the received text, as read in the synagogue. And on these grounds, I conceive we may meet the advocates for a Corrected Text or Improved Version of the New Testament, in defending the Received Text or Vulgar edition. Admitting that we were agreed on the discovery of such a text, which, for my own part, I reject as an idle chimera; the general reception of the Vulgar Text and Authorised Version, and the existing prospect of its extensive diffusion, would still render it a question, whether a change would not be for the worse, instead of the better. And in favour of these prejudices, we may plead a very antient prescription. On the first endeavour to

impose a new version on the Latin Church, similar apprehensions were felt, and like discontent was manifested by its members<sup>4</sup>.

Though on these grounds the Greek Vulgate would admit of a fair defence, I am prepared to dispute its claims to a preference over every text and edition, on different principles. It challenges the testimony of tradition in its favour, for full eleven hundred years, even by the concession of its opponents<sup>5</sup>; and unless I am altogether wrong in my calculations, that period may be demonstrably extended to full fourteen hundred<sup>6</sup>. The inferences flowing from these circumstances have been already made; and if any force be allowed to what I have advanced, it must be allowed at the least,—That this text is of the best edition, and that it is free from any considerable corruption in the general tenour of the text, and in the parts affecting any point of doctrine.

With respect to the verbal integrity of the text, I am far from asserting that I conceive the Greek Vulgate immaculate. On the contrary, I believe it may be inferred, in the strictest consistency with what has been hitherto advanced, that the Byzan-

<sup>4</sup> S. August. ad Hier. Epist. LXXI. Tom. II. col. 161. “Ego sane te mallet *Græcas potius canonicas* nobis interpretare scripturas, quæ *Septuaginta interpretum auctoritate perhibentur*. Perdurum enim erit, si tua interpretatio per multas ecclesias cœperit lectitari, quod a *Græcis ecclesiis Latinæ ecclesiæ dissonabunt*, &c.” Conf. supr. p. 119. n. <sup>18</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. supr. p. 126. n. <sup>40</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 71. 121.

tine text may possess verbal errors, while the Egyptian and Palestine editions preserve the genuine reading. As these different texts underwent the revision of separate hands; it is possible that the care which was employed in removing an imaginary defect, might have created a positive error; and that the error which thus arose might have been propagated through all the copies which have descended from the same edition. I here only enter my protest against the inference, that these errors could have extended to important points; or that the edition in which they abounded could have prevailed for more than a limited period, and during the operation of some powerful cause, against the received text, which generally prevailed in the christian world, as published by the apostles.

On this possibility we may fairly ground an inquiry into the verbal integrity of the sacred canon. And the undertaking affords additional inducements to invite investigation, as it is not only curious in itself, but promises the most favourable result to the reputation of the Greek Vulgate. In the course of this inquiry, I am wholly deceived, or it may be shewn, that the principles on which the Vulgar Text has been judged, are wholly fallacious; and that there are criteria by which we can not only establish the relative purity of that text, and evince the imperfections of other editions; but trace the corruptions of the latter to the very source in which they have originated.

I. The most formidable objections to which the credit of the Greek Vulgate is exposed, arise from the



complicated apparatus of M. Griesbach. Some idea of the manner in which he proceeded in forming his Corrected Text, may be collected from his critical description of those manuscripts which he denominates Codd. L, 17. The principles of his criticism are reducible to two canons, which are laid down in his description of the latter manuscript<sup>7</sup>. In judging between different readings, he decides; that attention must be paid, 1. to the internal marks of authenticity; 2. to the consent of the oldest and best witnesses, consisting of manuscripts, versions, and fathers; especially if they are of different kinds of text, or follow different recensions<sup>8</sup>.

With respect to the internal evidence, he makes it depend upon various circumstances; to determine which he lays down a variety of rules, applicable to most possible cases<sup>9</sup>. In estimating the external evidence, he considers the Alexandrine and Western editions antient and separate witnesses. Of the fathers and versions which he principally quotes, he joins in alliance with the Alexandrine text Origen and the Coptick version<sup>10</sup>; or, by their joint or sepa-

<sup>7</sup> Griesb. Symb. Critt. Tom. I. p. lxxviii. sqq. Tom. II. p. 87. sqq.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. Tom. II. p. 90. n. \*. “ In judicandis lectionibus spectatur, (1) *interna earum bonitas*, quæ pluribus rebus cernitur: (2) *testium* (codicum, versionum, patrum) *antiquorum et bonorum consensus*, præsertim si *e diversis familiis* orti sint, *diversasque recensiones textus* sequantur.” Conf. Proleg. N. T. p. lxxix. § e.

<sup>9</sup> Id. Præf. in Nov. Test. Sect. III. p. lix. sqq.

<sup>10</sup> Id. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. cxi. “ *Copta* [*versio*] tam presse sequitur vestigia tum *Origenis* tum *cognatorum* cum hoc *codicum*, ut meridiana luce clarius appareat, posse omnino ex

rate authority, determines those readings which he deems Alexandrine<sup>11</sup>. To these witnesses he unites other vouchers, whenever he finds them coincident; combining the testimony of Clement, Eusebius, Athanasius, Basil, and Cyril, with that of Origen<sup>12</sup>; and strengthening the evidence of the Coptick by that of the Vulgate and Syriack version<sup>13</sup>. With the Western text he, of course, endeavours to unite the testimony of the Western fathers; combining,

*hac translatione iudicium fieri, non solum de indole universa sed de singulorum etiam locorum lectionibus exemplaris istius, quod interpres in vertendis sacris libris usurpavit,*" &c. Conf. Proleg. N. T. p. lxxviii. c.

<sup>11</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. cviii. "Lectiones codici nostro [L.] *cum uno alterove Alexandrino communes pro lectionibus Alexandrinæ recensionis indubie sunt habendæ.*" Id. *ibid.* p. cxxix. "Inter omnes quotquot supersunt Evangeliorum codices nullus propinquiore affinitate *cum L et Origine* conjunctus est *Codice C.*—Sed vix unquam *C et L in lectione* a textu vulgari diversa, quæ non sit nullius plane momenti *conveniunt, quin Origines ultro comitem iis sese adjungat.* Quæ observatio, memoratu longe dignissima, firmissimum præsidium est *theoriæ*, quam tuemur, *de recensione Alexandrina, et de textus*, (quem hi codices, conjunctim spectati exhibent,) *antiquitate, patria, et præstantia.*"

<sup>12</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. cxxxiii. "Vicinus igitur, *Codices C et L—plenos esse Alexandrinarum lectionum vetustissimarum, eosdemque, ubi a vulgari textu ita discedunt ut inter se consentiant, semper, paucissimis forte locis exceptis, lectiones exhibere easdem, quas Origines ex suo exemplari excitavit.*—Quos in Evangeliiis perpetuos fere habuit [Cod. C] comites, (nempe *Originem, Clementem, Eusebium, Athanasium, Cyrillum, et interpretem Coptum, nec non Æthiopum et Armenum*) ad eorundem in Epistolis quoque societatem, tantum non semper applicat. Itaque in his etiam libris textus ejus Alexandrinus est et vetustus."

<sup>13</sup> Vid. Symbb. Critt. ib. p. lxxx. sqq.

as far as is possible, the evidence of Tertullian and Cyprian, with that of the Latin translation<sup>14</sup>. To those readings, which are supported by the greatest weight of evidence, he necessarily gives the preference. But he attaches very different degrees of importance to his different witnesses: according to the following scale of gradations<sup>15</sup>. 1. The testimony of both recensions must be received in subjection to the internal marks of perfection or error. 2. A reading which, when internally regarded, is apparently good, is admissible on the single testimony of either the Western or Alexandrine recension, in opposition to that of the Byzantine. 3. The authority of the Alexandrine is preferable to that of the Western, as it is less generally corrupted; but the conspiring testimony of these witnesses is of the greatest weight, in recommending a peculiar reading.

The main stay of this complicated system, which is intended to form an alliance between the Alexandrine and Western texts, in order to outweigh the

<sup>14</sup> Id. *ibid.* pp. cxviii. cxix.

<sup>15</sup> *Ib. ibid.* Tom. II. p. 624. "Ex quibus omnibus efficitur, (1)—in judicandis lectionibus alterutri recensionis peculiaribus sententiam ferendam esse *secundum interna bonitatis* lectionis cujusque *criteria*: (2) lectionem in se spectatam bonam ac probabilem—preferendam esse lectioni vulgari—librorum, si *alterutrius recensionis*, sive *Alexandrinæ*, sive *Occidentalis* ei patrocinetur: (3) *majorem tamen esse*.—*Alexandrinæ*, utpote minus interpolatæ, *auctoritatem*, quam *Occidentalis*—. Quanti vero momenti nobis esse videatur *utriusque recensionis consentiens testimonium*, sæpius diximus." Conf. pp. 143, 144, 145. Proleg. N. T. p. lxxix. sqq.



authority of the text of Byzantium, is rested on the supposition, that both the former are antient and separate witnesses<sup>16</sup>. But this is a supposition which is certainly founded in error. With respect to the antiquity of those editions, it remains to be proved, that it is prior to the times of either of those persons of the name of Eusebius, who published the Alexandrine or Palestine text, and revised the Western version. And the intercourse which St. Eusebius and St. Jerome maintained with the East<sup>17</sup>, renders it wholly inadmissible, that their versions should be considered separate witnesses from the Alexandrine or Palestine. Their known predilection for Origen<sup>18</sup>, leaves their testimony, when quoted as separate authority for the same text, entitled to something less than respect. Not to insist on later intermixtures of the Eastern and Western texts, which are antecedent to the existence of almost every manuscript with which we are acquainted<sup>19</sup>; we need not pass those concessions, which the force of truth has extorted from our opponents, for a proof that these texts are inextricably confused, and blended together<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Vid. supr. p. 315. n. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Vid. supr. p. 54. n. 17. 221. n. 79. 83. nn. 69 et 70.

<sup>18</sup> Vid. supr. p. 144. n. 37. 137. n. 74. 171. nn. 137 et 138.

<sup>19</sup> Vid. supr. p. 14. sqq. comp. p. 22. n. 40.

<sup>20</sup> Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. cxxviii. Ex his manifestum jam est—*nullum superesse Codicem*, qui ubique *unam atque eandem recensioem ita exprimat*, ut lectiones ex aliis recensioibus admixtas habeat nullas, trium quos inter se comparavimus Codicum exemplo constare potest. Nonnunquam enim *Origines et D conspirant, dissentiente Codice L*; itemque *D*

Admitting any force to exist in the foregoing remarks, it is still a point in dispute, that the Palestine or Western text is antecedent to the text of Byzantium. If all that has been hitherto advanced be not fundamentally erroneous, neither of those texts can be antedated to the fourth century<sup>21</sup>; at which period the last-mentioned text demonstrably existed<sup>22</sup>. A priority may be indeed claimed for the Alexandrine or Palestine text, on account of its alliance to Origen's writings. But not to insist on the possibility of this text having been *interpolated* from his writings; the inconstant readings of that early father renders this plea at best inconclusive; as it evinces the antiquity of the Byzantine text, by the same proof that it establishes that of the Alexandrine.

Such appear to be the fundamental errors in M. Griesbach's system; which have spread unsoundness through his whole superstructure. But objections do not apply more forcibly to the plan on which he has built, than to the materials which he has employed in erecting his structure. We find neither solidity nor consistence in the different parts of his system. His theory, which is founded on an assumption of the existence of an Alexandrine and Western recension, is borne out by the coincidence of those manuscripts, which he considers antient, with the quotations of Origen. But we have only to take his own account of the state in which he

*et L interdum concinnunt, refragante Origene."* Conf. pp. cix. cxi. Proleg. N. T. p. lxxviii. b.

<sup>21</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 25. 70. 130. &c.

<sup>22</sup> Vid. supr. p. 119. conf. pp. 70, 71.

finds the best part of his materials, in order to discover the extreme insecurity of the fabrick, which he has buttressed with props so unsound, and raised on so hollow a foundation.

With respect to *the testimony of Origen*, which is the basis of his system ; he admits sufficient for us to see, that when *strict* verbal accuracy is sought, it is not entitled to the smallest attention. According to M. Griesbach's voluntary concessions, his works must have gone through a course of progressive deterioration, which must leave us at a distance infinitely more remote from a knowledge of the pristine state of his text, than of that of the inspired writings. It appears, in the first place, that no reliance can be placed on the printed editions of his works, as retaining his text ; and as little on the fidelity of his different transcribers<sup>23</sup>. Admitting his testimony subject to these errors, it is further conceded, that no dependence can be safely rested on his accuracy of quotation ; as he constantly deserts his written authorities<sup>24</sup>. And supposing that we have miraculously escaped an error in pursuing a reading through these chances ; it is further

<sup>23</sup> Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. cix. "*librarii etiam qui Origenis opera transcribendo propagarunt, et editores qui typis excudi ea curarunt, sæpenumero justo negligentiores fuerunt in describendis aut recensendis locis e S. S. citatis, eosque e Codicibus junioribus aut editionibus bibliorum Græcorum, quibus adsueti ipsi erant, interpolarunt.*"

<sup>24</sup> Id. ibid. p. cviii. "*tenendum est—non ubique satis certo nobis constare, quid in suo exemplari legerit Origenes ; nam non solum paullo liberius interdum oracula S. S. excitavit, pallulum immutato uno et altero vocabulo, aut constructionis ordine,*" &c.



granted, that there is no security in depending on the very copies which he used, as they too were sufficiently often corrupted <sup>25</sup>.

With regard to *the character of those Manuscripts*, on which our critick chiefly depends, it finally proves to be the case, that they do not justify his speaking of them in terms more respectful. It does not appear, that in the course of his inquiries, he discovered one which preserved either of his favourite recensions, unless in a state of corruption <sup>26</sup>. In numberless instances he demonstrates their defects, and traces the error to its origin <sup>27</sup>. Nay, in one sweeping clause, he demolishes their authority, by openly proclaiming, even of those which he holds in the highest repute, that they are fouled, in every page, with corruptions from mar-

<sup>25</sup> Id. ibid. "tenendum est, *exemplar Origenis*, utut præstantissimum, et alii nulli secundum, *non tamen ab omni omnino labe immune fuisse*; fieri igitur potuisse, ut in nostro codice [L] conservaretur prisca et nativa lectio—*ubi Origenis exemplar interpolatum jam esset*." Conf. p. cxxxii.

<sup>26</sup> Vid. supr. p. 318. n. <sup>20</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Griesb. ibid. p. cvi. "Certe exemplari usus est, [librarius qui Cod. L. scripsit], in *cujus margine* a manu recentiori *annotatæ erant* lectiones variæ, e junioribus libris decerptæ, quas cum librarius noster correctiones esse autumaret, passim prætulit eas antiquis et genuinis lectionibus, quæ in archetypî sui textu primitus exstabant. *Atque sic irrepsere in codicem nostrum lectiones nonnullæ sed perpaucæ* juniores nullius pretii." Conf. p. 96. If the point were worth disputing in the present place, the assertion might be reversed, and the contrary conclusion to what is here assumed as true, might be just as easily established.

ginal scholia, and from the interpretations of the antient fathers<sup>28</sup>.

With respect to *the testimony of Versions*, we find as little reason to repose a greater degree of confidence in them, than on the authority of particular Manuscripts. The Coptick and Sahidick, the later Syriack and Italick<sup>29</sup>, cannot be accounted antient or separate witnesses. As these versions are divided by the Eusebian sections<sup>30</sup>, they possess internal evidence of having in some measure descended from the Palestine edition. An agreement between such witnesses, may thus furnish evidence in favour of the reading of Eusebius's text, but none whatever of the text of the Apostles and Evangelists. With respect to the Persick and Arabick<sup>31</sup>,

<sup>28</sup> Griesb. Præf. in Nov. Test. Sect. II. p. l. "Cæterum nullius codicis vitia de consulto me celasse aut dissimulasse, satis inde patet quod innumeros gravissimosque errores, in iis commissos codicibus, quos cæteroqui magni facio, velut B C D L 1 33 124 157, &c. ingenue indicavi." Conf. Sect. III. p. lxiv.

<sup>29</sup> In the present instance I would be understood to mean that edition of the Old Italick, which was revised by St. Eusebius Vercellensis, and through his influence generally adopted in the Latin Church, between the times of Dioclesian's persecution, and the reception of a new revisal, made by St. Jerome.

<sup>30</sup> Adler, de Verss. Syriacc. Lib. II. p. 50. "Idem Thomas Evangelia [Vers. Syr. Philox.] in capitula vel sectiones distribuit, et pericopas diebus festis recitandas constituit." Conf. supr. p. 82. n. 63. p. 29. n. 30. Woid. Prolegg. in Vers. Sahid. Fragmentt. p. 140.

<sup>31</sup> No one, it is presumed, will claim a higher antiquity for these versions, than the age of Constantine, when Eusebius re-

they follow the fate of the same edition. Of these versions, however, as well as of the Gothick<sup>32</sup>,

vised the Scripture. Whether we conceive them made in that age, or at a subsequent period, we can easily account for their affinity to the Palestine edition, by making due allowances for the influence of Eusebius's text, as authorised by Constantine; vid. supr. p. 26. n. 44. conf. p. 34. n. 62. It is certain, that this pious prince took the Christians in Persia under his protection, and propagated the Gospel more extensively in Arabia; Euseb. Vit. Const. Lib. IV. cap. viii. p. 631. l. 2. *πυθομένοις γέτοι παρα τῷ Περσῶν γένει πληθύνειν τὰς τῷ Θεῷ ἐκκλησίας, λαὸς τε μυριάσδους ταῖς Χριστῷ ποίμναις ἐναγγελάζεσθαι, χαίρων ἐπὶ τῇ τέτῳ ἀκοῇ, οἷά τις κοινὸς τῶν ἀπαρταχθῆ κηδεμῶν πάλιν κἀνταῦθα τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων εἰσήγε πρόνοιαν.* Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. xix. p. 49. l. 31. *αὐδὺς ἦν μνημονευτέον καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν τῷ βασιλείῳ [Κωνσταντίνῳ] ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς ἐπλαλύνετο· τηλικαῦτα γὰρ Ἰνδῶν τε τῶν ἐνδοτέρῳ καὶ Ἰβήρων τὰ ἔθνη, πρὸς τὸ χριστιανίζειν ἐλάμβανε τὴν ἀρχήν.* Conf. Euseb. Vit. Const. Lib. I. cap. viii. p. 502. l. 20. Lib. IV. cap. l. p. 654. l. 15—21. It is equally certain, that, as this prince was ambitious to diffuse the knowledge of revelation, and multiply copies of the Scripture, (Euseb. ib. Lib. I. cap. viii. p. 502. l. 26. Lib. III. cap. i. p. 576. l. 17.) the Gospel was read in Arabia in the reign of his successor, Constantius. Theophilus, who was deputed by this prince on a mission to that country, and founded three churches in it, brought back this information, on his return to the Emperour; Philostorg. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. § 5. p. 488. l. 17. ed. Read. Cant. 1720. *καὶ κειθεν [Θεόφιλος] εἰς τὴν ἄλλην ἀφίκετο Ἰνδικὴν [τὴν μεγάλην Ἀραβίαν l. 27.], καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ εὐαγγῆς δρωμένων ἐπαναρθώτατο. καὶ γὰρ καθεζόμενοι τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐποιεῖν το τὴν ἀκρόασιν, κ. τ. εἰ.*

<sup>32</sup> As the Goths embraced Christianity through motives of policy, to conciliate the Emperour Valens, who was addicted to Arianism, they adopted the faith with the errors of that heresy; Conf. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. i. p. 213. l. 29. cap. xxxiii. p. 256. l. 1. sqq. At the early period when this Emperour reigned, the Gothick version was made; Id. ibid.



Saxon<sup>33</sup>, and Slavonick<sup>34</sup>, the testimony of which

p. 256. l. 8. τότε δὲ καὶ Ὁυλφίλας ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἐπίσκοπος, γράμματα ἱφεῦρε Γοτθικά· καὶ τὰς Θείας Γραφὰς εἰς τὴν Γότθων μεταβαλὼν τὰς βαρβάρους μανθάνειν τὰ θεῖα λόγια παρασκεύασεν. But as this translation was made during the period when the Church was under the dominion of the Arians, and by a person who propagated the errors of those hereticks among the Northern tribes, it was obviously accommodated to the text revised by Eusebius. We thus easily account for the affinity discoverable between the Gothick Version and the Palestine text, or, as M. Griesbach terms it, the Alexandrine Recension. It is worthy of remark, that at this period St. Athanasius was alive, who revised Eusebius's text under the Emperour Constans; vid. supr. p. 131. sqq. Socrat. ibid. cap. i. p. 214. l. 19. ὉΥάλης δὲ Ἀρειανὸς αὐξῆσαι προαιρέμενος, δεινὰ κατὰ τῶν μὴ τοιαῦτα φρονήλων ἐργάσατο, ὥς προῖν ὁ τῆς ἰστορίας δηλώσει λόγος. κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τόνδε, τῆς μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίας προεσέηκει Λιβέριος· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τῆς μὲν ὁμοουσίας πίστεως, Ἀθανάσιος· τῆς δὲ Ἀρειανισμοῦ Λέκιος.

<sup>33</sup> The testimony of the Gothick version being disposed of, we have nothing to apprehend from the Anglo-Saxon or Slavonick. What influence the Gothick or Latin Vulgate may have had on the former of these last-mentioned versions, I am unable to determine; the destruction of the sacred books, as far westward as Britain, and the dispersion and influence of Eusebius's edition, as authorised by the Emperour Constantine, will sufficiently account for any affinity this version may possess to the Palestine edition; vid. supr. p. 27. n. <sup>46</sup>. The British Churches are certainly numbered among those who are mentioned in the Epistle of Constantine, as having concurred in the decision of the Council of Nice, respecting the time of keeping Easter; Epist. ap. Euseb. Vit. Constant. Lib. III. cap. xix. p. 588. l. 37. ἵν' ὅπερ δ' ἂν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν τε καὶ Ἀφρικὴν, Ἰταλίαν τε ἅπασαν Ἀιγυπτὸν, Σπαρτίαν, Γαλλίαν, Βρετανίαν, Λιβύαν, — μὴ καὶ συμφώνῳ φυλάττεται γνώμη, ἁσμένως τῷτο καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα προσδέχεται σύνοσις. The historian further observes, that copies of this Epistle were dispatched into *all the provinces* of

is unaccountably drawn into the decision of the present question, it must be observed, that if they are admitted as antient witnesses, they cannot be received as separate authorities.

Descending from the testimony of Manuscripts and Versions to that of *the primitive Fathers*, we find no more reason to admit their voice, as definitive, against the tradition of the Church and the authority of the Greek Vulgate. The testimony of Eusebius, Athanasius, Basil, and Cyril, cannot reckon as the evidence of antient or separate witnesses<sup>35</sup>; their concurrence proves no more than is proved by the coincidence of the Coptick and Philoxonian version; that this conformity is derived

the Empire; Ibid. cap. xx. p. 589. l. 28. ταύτης βασιλεὺς ἐπιστολῆς ἰσοδυναμεῖσαν γραφὴν ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας διέπέμπετο· ἐνοπλίζεσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὁσίας, παρέχων τοῖς ἐντυχάνεσι. As he addressed an Epistle to Eusebius on the subject of keeping Easter; he at the same time enjoined him to prepare copies of the Scripture; Euseb. ib. Lib. IV. cap. xxxiv. p. 644. l. 29. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῷ Θεῷ πεπονημένος, περὶ καλῶς κευῆς θεοπνεύσων λογίων εἰς ἡμέτερον πρόσωπον ἐπέλιθει τὸ γράμμα· ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀγιωσύνης τῷ Πάσχα ἐορίης.

<sup>34</sup> This Version, according to M. Griesbach, follows the Byzantine text, instead of the Alexandrine; Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. Sect. III. p. lxxv.—“ *hæc recensio, quam Constantinopolitanam hinc nominare licebit, in Patriarchatu Constantinopolitano potissimum propagata ac per librariorum innumeros deinceps longe lateque disseminata, et in Slavonicam etiam Versionem (cujus tamen codices ipsi inter se haud raro dissentiunt,) transfusa.*”

<sup>35</sup> On this subject I shall have an opportunity of speaking at large hereafter.

from the text of Eusebius. The concurrence of Clement and Origen in the East, with Tertullian and Cyprian in the West, may be conceived entitled to greater attention<sup>36</sup>. But, in the first place, the very existence of such a coincidence of testimony, must be disputed<sup>37</sup>. And granting that it exists in some cases, it is still a point to be proved, that it at all identifies the Scripture text used by those antient fathers.

The works of those early writers lie under the positive imputation of being corrupted<sup>38</sup>. The co-

<sup>36</sup> Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. cxviii. “ Hinc enim colligimus, plerasque lectiones Codicis D—extitisse jam in illis libris Græcis, e quibus conficta est Versio Latina Vetus, qua usi sunt Tertullianus, Cyprianus, alique.—recte etiam pro antiquissima eam a nobis haberi, cum eandem in Tertulliani et Cypriani allegationibus jam inveniamus. Sed altera Recensio, quam proper perpetuum patribus Alexandrinis et cum versionibus in Ægypto confictis Alexandrinam appellamus æque vetusta est, utpote quæ Clementis jam et Origenis ævo existit.”

<sup>37</sup> I subjoin a few examples of remarkable texts, in which Origen differs from Clement, and Cyprian from Tertullian. Mat. v. 48. ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἑρανοῖς, *Vulg. Clem.* ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἑράνιος. *Vat. Orig. Ib. x. 39.* εὐχθήσει αὐτήν. *Vulg. Orig.* σώσει αὐτήν. 33. *Clem. Luc. xii. 9.* ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων. *Vulg. Orig.* ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων. *Cant. Clem. Mat. xxv. 41.* τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ *Vulg. præparatum diabolo.* ὁ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ με τῷ διαβόλῳ *Cant. quem paravit pater meus diabolo. Cypr. Gal. i. 9.* ἄγγελος ἐξ ἑρανεῦ, εὐαγγελίσθηαι παρ’ ὁ. *Vulg. angelus de cælo aliud adnunciet præterquam. Cypr. ἄγγελος ἐξ ἑρανεῦ εὐαγγελίσθηαι. Alex. angelus ex cælo aliter evangelizaverit. Tert.*

<sup>38</sup> The monks of Palestine brought this charge against those who took a part in the Nestorian and Eutychian controversy,



pies of Clement and Origen were corrupted in their life time<sup>39</sup>; the manuscripts from which Tertullian's

which arose very shortly after the death of St. Athanasius; Epist. Monn. Palest. ap. Evagr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. xxxi. p. 363. l. 34. καὶ ἐ δαῦμα, καὶ γὰρ καὶ λόγους πατέρων πολλάκις γενομένους· πολλὰς δὲ Ἀποлинаρίου λόγους, Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ Θαυματουργῷ, καὶ Ἰερίῳ, διὰ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν ἀναλεγεύμενοι· οἷς μάλιστα τὰς πολλὰς πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἀσεβείας σφειερίζονται. Ruffinus, about the same period, brings the same charge against the heterodox, not only of the Greek but of the Latin Church; Rufin. de Adult. librorr. Orig. " Verum ne cui forte minus ad credendum videantur idonea ea quæ ex libris Græcorum Scriptorum exempla protulimus,—non pigebit etiam Latinis Scriptoribus talia quædam accidisse monstrare, et calumnias immensas, ex adulteratione librorum suorum, sanctis et probatissimis viris esse commotas. Et ne quid apertæ credulitati desit, res quæ sint adhuc memoriæ nostræ retexam, quo testimonii veritas neminem lateat." Int. Operr. spectt. ad Orig. Tom. IV. p. 53. b.

<sup>39</sup> Thus much is apparent from the controversy between Ruffinus and St. Jerome, on the adulteration of Origen's works; Rufin. de Adult. libror. Orig. p. 50. sqq. S. Hier. Apolog. adv. Ruffin. Lib. II. capp. iv. v. p. 244. sqq. The charge of Ruffinus is expressed in the following words; Rufin. ib. p. 50. b. " Et quamvis *quamplurimi sint ex veteribus* in quorum libris *hujusmodi deprehenditur adulterium*, paucorum tamen sufficit adhibere testimonia, ex quibus facilius quid etiam *Origenis libris acciderit*, agnoscatur." After which he particularly specifies Clement of Alexandria, and then quotes an Epistle of Origen, in which that early father utters the same complaint, of his works having been corrupted in his life time. St. Jerome replies in the following terms, S. Hier. ib. cap. v. p. 246. " Præmissa *falsatione* ab hæreticis Apostolorum, et *utriusque Clementis*, atque Dionysii, venit *ad Originem*."—The merits of this part of the controversy between Ruffinus and St. Jerome, are summed up by the learned P. Huet, and decided in favour of the former; Origenn. Lib. II. cap. iii. § x.

works have been printed are notoriously faulty<sup>40</sup>; and the copies of Cyprian demonstrate their own corruption, by their disagreement among themselves, and their agreement with different texts and revisals of Scripture<sup>41</sup>. It is likewise indisputable,

<sup>40</sup> Rigalt. de Tert. Præf. [p. ii.] “Tanti viri scripta legentibus, etiam haud mediocriter litteratis, occurrunt difficilia non pauca, sermonis et scripturæ. Nam sermonis quidem Africani superbia, doctrinarum ferme omnium dote præstans, lectores sibi poscebat ad nutum attentissime sagaces. Posteaquam vero in longe alios incidit, *mutari cæpit a quibus non potuit capi: et spurias dictiones pro legitimis, adulteræ manus in vererecundia sparsit.* Scripturæ autem nativæ ruina, auctoris verbis semel interceptis, ut obtrito corpore, sensum una quoque ipsum et mentem profligavit. *Sic pessimi correctores emendatissima perdidere.*—Dira natio tam fœde Septimii nostri libros, adeo quoque pridem vexavit, ut jam falsi vetustas longi temporis præscriptionem obstruat veritati. Quod si veterum librorum appelles fidem, *etiam veterum librorum fide falsissimæ lectiones adseruntur.* Nam sunt et *libri veteres depravatissime correcti;* neque ulla spes reducendæ unquam veritatis, nisi tam veteres nanciscamur, ut sint omni correctorum antiquitate vetustiores.”

<sup>41</sup> Fell. not. in Cypr. Lib. Testim. p. 17. “Sperabam quidem ex largo hoc quod in tractatu isto habetur Scripturarum spicilegio, ad Versionis Latinæ quæ Hieronymianam præcessit restitutionem, gradum aliquem præstrui potuisse. Et certe si modo sibi ubique constaret Cypriani textus, loca illa quæ a lectione vulgata discrepare deprehenduntur, *pro Antiquæ Versionis reliquiis non immerito haberemus.* Sed cum ea sit *lectionum in MSS. codicibus varietas*, ut plura simul occurrant quæ a vulgatis discrepent; et in his quid a Cypriano scriptum fuerit, *codicibus sibi ipsis non respondentibus*, minime constet: porro cum primorum sæculorum patres, in S. Scripturis laudandis, diversimode se habeant; *curam hanc ceu tantum non deploratam censemus.* Flam. Nobilius, alii que viri eruditi, Tertulliani, Cy-

that these fathers not only followed each other<sup>42</sup>, adopting the arguments<sup>43</sup> and quotations<sup>44</sup> of one

*priani, Hilarii, Ambrosii, Hieronymi, et Augustini lectiones Scripturarum, ex libris impressis affatim ingerunt; parum memores in codicibus MSS. rem aliter atque aliter passim se habere."*

<sup>42</sup> The works of Tertullian opened a channel through which the peculiar texts, that were cited by Justin Martyr and St. Irenæus, might be transmitted to St. Cyprian and other Latin writers. Tert. adv. Valentinn. cap. v. p. 248. "*Mihi autem cum archetypis erit limes principalium magistrorum, non cum adfectatis ducibus passivorum discipulorum. Nec undique dicemur ipsi nobis finxisse materias, quas tot jam viri sanctitate et præstantia insignes, nec solum nostri intecessores, sed ipsorum hæresiarcharum contemporales, instructissimis voluminibus et prodiderunt et retulerunt: ut Justinus Philosophus et Martyr, ut Miltiades Ecclesiarum sophista, ut Irenæus omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator, ut Proculus noster, virginis senectæ, et christianæ eloquentiæ dignitas: quos in omni opere fidei, quemadmodum in isto, optaverim assequi."*

<sup>43</sup> Thus, Is. lxx. 2. "I have spread out my hands all the day," is applied to our Saviour on the cross, by Just. Mart. Apol. p. 76. a. Tertul. adv. Jud. cap. xiii. p. 105. S. Cypr. adv. Jud. cap. xx. p. 44. Again, Amos viii. 9. "I will cause the sun to go down at noon," is applied to our Lord's passion, by S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. IV. cap. xxxiii. p. 273. Tert. adv. Marc. Lib. IV. cap. xlii. p. 450. S. Cypr. adv. Jud. cap. xxiii. p. 46. In the same manner Is. lvii. 1. "the righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart," is applied to the same subject, by Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 234. c. d. S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. IV. cap. xxxiv. p. 276. Tert. adv. Marc. Lib. III. cap. xxii. p. 398. S. Cypr. adv. Jud. cap. xiv. p. 40.

<sup>44</sup> Instances constantly occur of Origen following Clement, and Cyprian following Tertullian in readings, which are found in no manuscript or version; Mat. x. 26. ἔδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ κεκαλυμμένοι, ὃ ἐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, καὶ κρυπτόν ὃ ὁ γνωθήσεται Vulg. ἔδὲν κρυπτόν, ὃ ὁ φανερωθήσεται, ἔδὲν κεκαλυμμένον ὃ ἐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται.



another; but that they quoted from the heterodox as well as the orthodox<sup>45</sup>. They were thus also

*Clem. Orig. Mat. vi. 33.* καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. *Vulg.* καὶ πάντα κ. τ. εἰ. αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται· καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπεράνια, καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. *Clem. Orig. Euseb. 1 Thes. v. 21.* πάντα δὲ δοκιμάζει· τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε *Vulg.* γίνεσθε δὲ δόκιμοι τραπεζίται· τὰ μὲν ἀποδοκιμάζοντες, τὸ δὲ καλὸν κατέχοντες. *Clem.* δόκιμοι τραπεζίται γίνεσθε, καὶ τὴν Παύλου διδαχὴν φάσκοντες· Πάντα δοκιμάζετε τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε. *Orig. Mat. vi. 13.* καὶ μὴ εἰσένεγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν. *Vulg.* ne nos inducas in tentationem, id est, ne nos patiaris induci. *Tert. et ne nos patiaris induci. Cypr. Joh. iii. 6.* πνεῦμά ἐστι. *Vulg.* spiritus est, quia Deus spiritus est et ex Deo natus est. *Tert. Cypr. 1 Cor. vi. 20.* δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι. *Vulg.* Glorificate et tollite Deum in corpore vestro. *Tert. Glorificate et portate Deum in corpore vestro. Cypr.* The two last readings are however found in some MSS.

<sup>45</sup> Origen expressly quotes from the Hebrew Gospel, declaring that he referred to it not as authority, but in illustration: in *Mat. Tom. III. p. 671.* “Scriptum est in Evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebræos: si tamen placet alicui recipere illud, non ad auctoritatem, sed ad manifestationem propositæ quæstionis; ‘Dixit’ inquit, ‘ad eum alter divitum: Magister,’ &c. He thus not only quotes, but comments on texts of that Gospel, indiscriminately with those of the Scripture; *Com. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 64. a.* εἰάν δὲ προσίεται τις τὸ καθ’ Ἑβραίων· Εὐαγγέλιον, ἵνα αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ φησιν· ‘Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ με τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριῶν με, καὶ ἀπένεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβάρ.’ ἐπαπορήσει πῶς μήτηρ Χριστοῦ τὸ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου γεγεννημένον Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον εἶναι δύναται· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸτο ὁ χαλεπὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι. κ. τ. εἰ. Another example has been already given *supr. p. 273. n. 227.* Hence St. Epiphanius traces the reading of *1 Thes. v. 21.* or *Mat. xxv. 27.* quoted *supr. p. 329. n. 44.* to the heretick Apelles; *S. Epiph. Hær. xlv. p. 382. b.* Οὕτως γὰρ, φησιν, ἔφη ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ. ‘Γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται.’ which has been cited by a long succession of writers from Clement to Chrysostome. *Conf. Orig. Tom. I. p. 912. b. 1.*

likely to transmit from one to another erroneous quotations, originally adopted from sources not more pure than heretical revisals of Scripture<sup>46</sup>. When a few of these readings were recommended by the successive adoption of different fathers, they were easily transferred from their comments to the margins of particular manuscripts, and were thence transplanted into the text from the margin<sup>47</sup>. New

<sup>46</sup> The orthodox, in reasoning against the hereticks, frequently derived their authorities from those Scriptures which were acknowledged by their opponents. S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. xii. p. 198. “ Unde et Marcion et qui ab eo sunt, ad intercidendas conversi sunt Scripturas, quasdam quidem in totum non cognoscentes, secundum Lucam autem Evangelium, et Epistolas Pauli decurtantes, hæc sola legitima esse dicunt, quæ ipsi minoraverunt. Nos autem etiam ex his, quæ adhuc apud eos custodiuntur, arguemus eos, in altero conscriptione. Conf. S. Epiphani. Hær. XLII. p. 310. b. An example of this mode of conducting the controversies maintained against the hereticks, has been already given from Tertullian; supr. p. 147. n. <sup>89</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> The following appear to be readings which have demonstrably originated in this manner; Mat. x. 23. φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην. Vulg. φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν καὶ ἐν ταύτης διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην. Orig. 1. 33. 22. al. φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην, εἰάν δε ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην. Cant. φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ διώκωσιν, πάλιν φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην. Orig. alibi. Act. iv. 25. ὁ διὰ σώματος Δαβὶδ τῷ παιδὸς σου εἰπών. Vulg. ὁ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου διὰ σώματος Δαβὶδ τῷ παιδὸς σου εἰπών. Didym. Syr. Copt. ὁ τῷ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου σώματος Δαβὶδ παιδὸς σου εἰπών. Vat. Alex. Laud. Syr. p. Ib. iv. 31. ἐλάλην τὸν λόγον—μετὰ παρρησίας. Vulg. ἐλάλην τὸν λόγον—μετὰ παρρησίας παντὶ τῷ θέλοντι πιστεῦειν. Iren. Cant. Laud. Ib. 32. ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία. Vulg. ἡ καρδία καὶ ψυχὴ μία, καὶ ἐκ ἧν διάκρισις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡδεμία. Cant. καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία,

revisals of Scripture were thus formed, which were interpolated with the peculiar readings of scholiasts and fathers<sup>48</sup>. Nor did this systematick corruption terminate here; but when new texts were thus formed, they became the standard by which the later copies of the early writers were in succession corrected<sup>49</sup>. From such progression in error, it is

καὶ ἐκ τῆν χάρισιμος ἐν αὐτοῖς τις. *Laud.* Ib. xv. 20. ἀπέχεσθαι—τῷ αἵματος. *Vulg.* ἀπέχεσθαι—τῷ αἵματος, καὶ ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν ἐαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖν. *Iren. Cant. Sahid.* The variations in these readings, or the embarrassment which they create in the sense, sufficiently declare them to be interpolations of explanatory glosses taken from the fathers. Similar examples of interpolations of the Latin Version have been given *supr.* pp. 146, 147. nn. <sup>88</sup> et <sup>89</sup>. p. 127. n. <sup>45</sup>. The passage referred to in the last note, and inserted in the Verceli MS. after Mat. iii. 15. is traced by St. Epiphanius to the Hebrew Gospel. S. Epiph. Hær. xxx. p. 138. b. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς Εὐαγγελίῳ ἔχει, ὅτι κ. τ. ε. ἦλθε Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη—καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα.

<sup>48</sup> The peculiar readings which have been pointed out in the Cambridge and Verceli MSS. *supr.* p. 127. n. <sup>45</sup>. p. 146. nn. <sup>88</sup> et <sup>89</sup>. &c. sufficiently prove them to be revisals, which have been made in this manner.

<sup>49</sup> The number of MSS. which we retain of St. Cyprian's works, enables us to verify this assertion, particularly in his quotations; which occasionally conform to the three species of text which were published of the Latin Version. An antient MS. of his Book of Testimonies is preserved in the British Museum, Cotton. Cal. A. xv. f. 41. I collated it in one of the longest and most remarkable passages which St. Cyprian has quoted, Mat. xxv. 31—46, and which he has repeated three times in his writings. Lib. I. adv. Jud. p. 51. Lib. III. Testimon. p. 59. De Operr. et Eleemm. p. 207. But while it differs considerably from the Brescia, Verceli, and Verona MSS. it agrees verbatim with the modern Vulgate. It can be



evident that nothing but uncertainty can be the result, when we proceed to determine the antiquity of any reading or text, by its consent with the present copies<sup>50</sup> of the works of the early writers.

In fine, when this system is pushed to its necessary extent, it ends in establishing such paradoxes, as subvert, by their inconsistency, the principles of the system out of which they arise. On estimating the antiquity of any text, by its coincidence with the readings of particular fathers, whose works have undergone successive corruption; it necessarily happens, that when that text is most systematically corrupted, it possesses the best claims to be accounted antient. Such is the virtual concession which M. Griesbach is reduced to the necessity of

therefore no matter of wonder, that Tertullian and Cyprian not only differ from themselves, but that they occasionally conform to different texts or recensions.

<sup>50</sup> Still more uncertain must be our ground when we pretend to determine the true readings of the primitive fathers from antient translations; for these were certainly adapted to the received text of the countries in which they were made. We thus find, that they frequently differ from the originals. A few examples will illustrate this assertion. Mat. ix. 13. καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰς μετανόαν. *Vulg.* Barnab. vocare justos sed peccatores. *Verc. Barn. Interpr.* Rom. v. 14. ἐπὶ τὰς ἁμαρτησαντας. *Orig.* in eos qui non peccarunt. *Vulg. Orig. Interp.* Hence also we find the translation frequently contradicts itself, as it is rendered conformable to different texts; Mat. xxv. 41. qui præparatus est diabolo. *Gr. Vulg. Orig. bis.* quem præparavit Deus diabolo. *Orig. sæpe.* That the genuine reading of Mat. ix. 13. xxv. 41. is retained in the Greek Vulgate, has been already made evident from the context of the Italick Version, *supr.* p. 180. n. <sup>156</sup>. p. 183. n. <sup>160</sup>.

making, in explaining his system. He very freely admits, that neither of those texts on which his system is built, is consistent in itself<sup>51</sup>; as we might well conjecture, from the heterogeneous materials which enter into their composition. Nay more, he is forward to confess, that the manuscripts from which those antient texts were originally formed, were grievously corrupted<sup>52</sup>. Reasoning from his own concessions, of course *this corruption of the sacred text* must have preceded the times of Clement

<sup>51</sup> Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. xxviii. “ Scimus enim, omnes Recensiones variis vicissitudinibus domesticisque casibus obnoxias, et procedente tempore, multis modis immutatas, aut cum aliis recensionibus permixtas confusasque.” Id. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. Sect. III. p. lxxviii. “ Nulla Recensio in codice ullo jam superstite reperitur intaminata. Eo temporis intervallo, quod inter Recensionum origines et codicum hodie extantium natales intercessit, singuli codices Recensionum omnium multifariam fuere corrupti. Quilibet librarius in apographo suo exarando sphalmata quædam commisit; erepserunt e margine, vel aliunde nova interpretamenta, glossæ, additamenta; negligens et festinans scriba nonnulla passim omisit; alterius Recensionis lectiones illatæ sunt in alterius familiæ libros.” Id. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. cxxi. “ Hinc nosmet ipsi, quamquam utramque illam Recensionem [Alex. et Occident.] magni, ut par est, faciamus, tamen in nostra Nov. Test. editione lectiones sexcentas Alexandrinas, et millenas Occidentalis vel prorsus damnavimus, vel improbables saltem esse pronuntiavimus; immo haud paucas lectiones in utriusque Recensionis codicibus obvias repudiavimus.”

<sup>52</sup> Id. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. cxxi. “ Ultro tamen fatemur nullam Recensionem a nævis immunem esse, aut unquam fuisse. Nam nec Alexandrina neque Occidentalis ex autographo profluxit, sed utraque ex apographis passim interpolatis derivata est.”

and Tertullian, which are his earliest vouchers, and must be necessarily referred to *the age* which directly succeeded to *the apostolical*<sup>53</sup>! After the concession of this point, it is difficult to discover what further objections remain to be made to this system. To me it appears, that the person would subvert M. Griesbach's theory to the foundation, who would prove, that this conclusion necessarily followed from the principles on which it was founded. That the sacred text should have been thus grossly corrupted at this primitive period, and yet have so far preserved its characteristick peculiarities to the present day, that we should be able to recover any just notion of it, is a paradox so monstrous, that the man who maintains it, may, I conceive, be left in unmolested enjoyment of his opinion, as not worth the pains of convincing.

Thus hearing the advocate of this system out, and reasoning merely from his own concessions, it is, I trust, apparent, that no reliance can be placed on it; as it rests on the credit of vouchers, who, by his own confession, are grossly and systematically corrupted. In fact, it requires but a slight exertion of sagacity to discover, that the theory of sacred criticism must be absolutely inverted in that

<sup>53</sup> Id. Prolegg. in Nov. Test. Sect. III. p. lxxiv. "Posteriorem hunc textum, quem, *post Clementem et Originem*, Alexandrini ac Ægyptii potissimum adhibuerunt ac disseminarunt, non incommode Alexandrinum dixeris. Alter inde a *Tertulliani tempore* ab Afris, Italis, Gallis aliisque occidentalibus usurpatus haud inepta Occidentalis nomine insigniri potuit." — Conf. sup. p. 326. n.<sup>36</sup>.



system, which supposes the sacred text to have been grossly corrupted in two principal branches, in the age which succeeded the apostolical. As it is impossible to proceed a step, in inquiries like the present, without reasoning from some assumed probabilities; it is difficult to conceive what can be deemed probable, if the direct *contradictory* of what is here taken *as true*, be not considered *morally certain*. Assuming it as a fundamental principle, that the sacred text could *not* have been corrupted at a period thus early; the text, of course, which merits no better character, must be referred to that early period, in subversion of the first principles, from which all our reasoning is deducible. It is vain to hang the authority of such a text on the testimony of ancient manuscripts, fathers, or versions, in violation of this fundamental principle. Until we have established the integrity of those vouchers, the principle on which we build must want stability. To take the consent of those witnesses as an evidence of their integrity, is to reason against the undisputed fact of their having been corrupted by one another. And to refer them, in consequence of this coincidence, to the primitive age of the church, is to act in forgetfulness of an equally positive fact;—that since that early period, the sacred text has undergone revisals, in which it was not merely liable to interpolation, but positively acquired those peculiarities, which are now taken as evidence of its antiquity<sup>54</sup>. We may be indeed told, that a critick,

<sup>54</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 72. n. <sup>37</sup>. p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>. pp. 14—33.

who is moderately skilled in his art, well knows how to clear those obstacles<sup>55</sup>. But while ten lines of proof would be worth volumes of such modest assertions, it seems to be rather inauspicious to the success of such undertakings, that they should commence, and proceed, and terminate, without any attention<sup>56</sup> to the changes which the text has positively undergone, since the time of its first publication.

II. Such appear to be the most striking objections which lie against the plan proposed by M. Griesbach for restoring the corrupted integrity of the canonical Scripture. As his fundamental rule<sup>57</sup>, with which I am not in the least disposed to quarrel, is thus unapplied and inapplicable to his theory; it now remains that we should enquire, how far it may be accommodated to the principles of that, on which I have ventured to believe the integrity of the same text may be defended. To such a mode of defence, we may give the preference, not only because it is least exposed to the exceptions of the

<sup>55</sup> Griesb. Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. cxx. “Viri criticæ artis beneperiti ejusmodi maculas, quibus codices singuli polluti sunt nullo negotio abstergunt; comparatis inter se pluribus ejusdem Recensionis codicibus, versionibus, et patribus, ac adhibitis regulis criticis, quæ interpolationes seriores et glossemata a lectionibus genuinis ac primitivis discernere docent.” Conf. Prolegg. in Nov. Test. p. lxiv. sqq.

<sup>56</sup> Id. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. Sect. III. p. lxxiv. “Origo variarum textus Novi Test. Recensionum, deficientibus documentis satis vetustis ac testimoniis, *historice declarari nequit*, nec hujus loci est, conjecturis defectum illum sarcire.”

<sup>57</sup> Vid. supr. p. 315. n. 8.

objectour, but as it affords as advantageous ground as can be easily chosen, for vindicating the Greek Vulgate.

Laying it therefore down as a principle agreed upon, that the best witnesses of the integrity of the sacred text, are those which are most antient, and which deliver a separate testimony; the main point of enquiry consequently is, where such witnesses may be discovered. After this difficulty is surmounted, an appeal must be made to their joint testimony, to decide the point in dispute, respecting the relative purity of the Palestine and Byzantine editions.

The space to which our enquiries are limited, in seeking those antient and separate witnesses, is necessarily bounded by that tract of country, in which we are infallibly assured the Gospel was planted, and copies of the Scripture dispersed, at the earliest period. This consideration directly fixes our attention on the Syriack Church in the East, and the Latin in the West; as being witnesses possessing, above all others, the necessary requisites, of being antient and separate. Situated at nearly equal distances on each side of the Greek Church, which must be considered the natural witness of the sacred text, as speaking the language of the New Testament; those churches are of the most remote antiquity, as founded by the apostles. The versions which they used, whether made in the apostolical age, or not, are confessedly more antient than any with which we are acquainted.

The antiquity of these vouchers, is, however,



determinable for a definitive, and an immense period. The old Syriack version cannot be brought down lower than the fourth century, the Old Italick not lower than the third; as both translations are quoted by the writers who lived at these different periods<sup>58</sup>. Though both versions underwent considerable alterations at this period, two revisals of the Latin version having been published, by St. Eusebius, and St. Jerome, and probably of the Syriack version also<sup>59</sup>, by some unknown persons: it is probable, that both retained most of the characteristick peculiarities which distinguished them, when they were originally published. But this point will be placed beyond mere conjecture, by the consent of those versions with the Greek Vulgate, when it is rendered apparent, that they were neither corrected by it, at that time, nor at any subsequent period. For assuming this to be the case, there can be no mode of accounting for their agreement among themselves, but by supposing them to preserve their conformity to the common source from whence they have respectively descended.

The antiquity of these versions being not less remote than the fourth century, it follows, of course, that they must be separate witnesses; as far, at least, as they are coincident with the Greek Vulgate. For let us assume, that they have been corrected by each other; and either the original, or one of the translations, must be considered the common source of their agreement.

<sup>58</sup> Vid. supr. p. 25. n. <sup>43</sup>. pp. 70, 71.

<sup>59</sup> Vid. supr. p. 49. n. <sup>9</sup>. p. 82. n. <sup>66</sup>.

But that the Vulgar Greek, with which we are at present concerned, could have been corrupted from either of those versions, is a supposition so utterly improbable, as not to deserve a moment's consideration. The point before us consequently admits of no alternative, but that it must be the source of the agreement of the original and these translations; admitting that they have had an immediate influence on each other. The antiquity, however, of both versions, renders it wholly impossible that they could have been new-modelled by this text.

According to the principles of our opponents, the vulgar text, or Byzantine edition, had scarcely an existence in the fourth century<sup>60</sup>, when those versions were generally received. It is therefore utterly impossible, that at that period it could be taken as the model, by which they were corrected; unless indeed the point be conceded, which is the main object of this inquiry to evince, that the vulgar Greek is of the most remote antiquity.

The fact, however, is, that so enlightened was that age, and so intimately are we acquainted with its history, that we can give a clear and consistent account of every considerable change, which the sacred text underwent, at the same period. Christianity then assumed a new form, under the Emperor Constantine, in becoming the established religion. Under the auspices of this monarch, a new revision of the sacred writings was published by Euse-

<sup>60</sup> Vid. supr. p. 126. n. <sup>40</sup>. Conf. Griesb. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. Sect. III. p. lxxv.

bis; to the influence of which we must impute almost every considerable change which the text underwent in the original or in translations<sup>61</sup>. The extension of Christianity about this period, added to the list of Versions, a Gothick and Ethiopick, if not an Armenian and Arabick, translation<sup>62</sup>. Revisals of the Old Italick and Syriack, undertaken in the same century, produced the Latin Vulgate and Jerusalem Syriack. The agreement of these versions with each other, and with the Greek manuscripts, imported into the West from Palestine, and divided by the sections of Eusebius<sup>63</sup>, enables us very clearly to determine his edition, which was authorised, from the reign of Constantine to that of Theodosius<sup>64</sup>. As the Syriack and Italick provinces were exposed to the same casualties<sup>65</sup>, which destroyed the sacred books as far westward as Britain<sup>66</sup>; the versions which were generally received in those regions, most probably underwent some change at this period. But this change pro-

<sup>61</sup> Vid. supr. p. 25. sqq. p. 322. sqq.

<sup>62</sup> Vid. supr. p. 48. n. 7. p. 322. sqq.

<sup>63</sup> Griesb. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. Sect. III. p. lxxiv. Hic [textus Alexandrinus] cum Evangeliorum Codicibus C, L, 33, 102, 106, et (in postremis Matthæi capitibus, Marco, Luca, et Joanne) Vaticano B, *versionibus Coptica, Æthiopica, Armenica, Syra Philoxeniana*, et allegationibus Eusebii, &c.—*concinere solet.*"

<sup>64</sup> Vid. supr. p. 29. n. 49. p. 152. n. 100.

<sup>65</sup> Such is Eusebius's express declaration, as quoted supr. p. 295. n. 293. δι' ὅλης Ἀιγύπτου, Συρίας τε καὶ τῶν ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικῶν κλίμα.

<sup>66</sup> Vid. supr. p. 27. n. 46.



ceeded not from the Byzantine, but the Palestine text. And we consequently find, that the revisal of Eusebius, has had some influence on the Old Italic and Syriack; as both versions agree with the Palestine text, in omitting some remarkable passages<sup>67</sup>. But this consideration does not affect the main point in dispute; that those versions are wholly free from the influence of the Byzantine text: admitting which to be the case, it must follow, that they are separate, as we have seen, they are antient witnesses.

As the influence of Eusebius's text, and the authority of those Emperours who favoured the Arian heresy, render it next to impossible that the Byzantine text should have had any effect on the Old Italic and Syriack versions, at this early period; the history of those versions, and the state of the Latin and Syrian Churches, render it wholly impossible, that the vulgar Greek should have attained, at a subsequent period, such influence over the Oriental and Western versions, that it should be taken as the standard by which they were corrected.

The case of the Western version may be summarily decided. At the close of the fourth century it was revised by St. Jerome; and the extraordinary reputation of that learned father, renders the supposition not merely improbable, that any person would undertake to do over again, what he had so ably accomplished; but absurd in the extreme, that such a person would complete the task, without

<sup>67</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 35. *sqq.*

availing himself of the improvements made by St. Jerome. This, however, has not been the case, with the text of the Brescia manuscript, which I am alone concerned in defending; as it contains those errors of the primitive Latin version, which were corrected in the modern Vulgate<sup>68</sup>. These characteristic marks, and some others, which have been already pointed out<sup>69</sup>, very decisively evince, that the text of this manuscript cannot be brought lower than the close of the fourth century.

The case of the Syriack version is not involved in greater difficulty. As the Peshito, or Syriack Vulgate, is the received text of the two great sects into which this Church is divided<sup>70</sup>; it is impossible that any general corruption of this text could have taken place since the year 451, and the meeting of the Council of Chalcedon. After this period, those re-

<sup>68</sup> Vid. supr. p. 166. n. <sup>129</sup>. sub fin.

<sup>69</sup> Vid. supr. p. 173. sqq. p. 181. sqq.

<sup>70</sup> Walt. Prolegomm. in Bibl. Polyglott. Sect. XIII. p. 89. § 3. "*Præter hanc Versionem Syriacam, quam Simplicem et Antiquam appellant Maronitæ, qua sola in Divinis publice utuntur, — aliam etiam habent recentiore ex Græco expressam, tam Vet. quam Nov. Testamenti.*" Id. ibid. p. 92. § 3. "*De Versione Syriaca testatur Sionita, quod ut semper in summa veneratione et auctoritate habita erat apud omnes populos, qui Chaldaica sive Syriaca utuntur lingua, sic publice in omnibus eorum ecclesiis antiquissimis, constitutis in Syria, Mesopotamia, Chaldaea, Ægypto, et denique in universis Orientis partibus, dispersis ac disseminatis, accepta et lecta fuit.*" Having specified the Nestorians and Jacobites, he subjoins; "*ex hoc calculo liquet præcipuas per totum Orientem christianorum ecclesias, longe lateque propagatas, Scripturas et officia sacra lingua Syriaca legere et celebrare.*"

ligious differences, which had commenced under Ibas, Theódorus Mopsuestenus, and Theodorit<sup>71</sup>, and which were widened under Barsumas, Philoxenus, and Severus<sup>72</sup>, rapidly spread through the

<sup>71</sup> Beth-arsem. ap. Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. Tom. I. p. 203. “ *A Theodoro [Nestorianum errorem] accepit Ibas, qui præter alias multas blasphemias, quibus præfatos magistros suos ad amussim imitabatur, istam in quadam sua oratione adjecit dicens, ‘ Ego Ibas nequaquam invideo Christo, qui Deus factus est: nam Deus appellatus est, quum homo esset mei similis, et ejusdem mecum naturæ.’* Quapropter anathematis sententia lata fuit in Ibam, et Theodoretum Cyri, unacum omnibus eorundem sociis et sectariis. Id. ibid. p. 204. “ *Ab Iba Nestorianum errorem accepit Mares quidam ex urbe Hardeschir; atque inde cæpit Persarum regio Nestorianismo infici per Ibæ epistolas, et per magistrorum ejusdem Orationes atque Commendaria (Nestorii nimirum, Theodreti, Theodori Mopsuesteni, ac Diodori) quæ in Syrorum sermonem convertebantur.*” Conf. Assem. Dissert. de Syris Nestoriann. § ii. Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. p. lxix.

<sup>72</sup> Asseman. Dissert. de Monophysitt. § ii. Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. i. “ *In Oriente Barsumas Archimandrita, qui Conciliabuli Ephesini pars haud exigua fuit, Syrorum enim monachorum nomine ei interfuit, postquam a Concilio Chalcedonensi justam damnationis sententiam excepit, in Syriam regressus, eandem hæresim popularibus suis propinavit: nec iis dumtaxat, sed et finitimis Armenis, ad quos Samuelem discipulum suum misit—.* Atque hæc fuere Monophysismi initia in Syria, Mesopotamia, et Arabia; auctore scilicet Barsuma, ejusque discipulis, qui eandem plane cum Eutyche opinionem tenebant.” Id. ibid. p. iii. “ *Ad Syros quod spectat, licet iis Barsumæ Eutychisque sententia ab initio placuerit, hanc tamen paulo post rejecerunt: quando nimirum Philoxenus Xanajas Mabugi sive Hierapoleôs episcopus, et Petrus Gnapheus Antiochenæ sedis invasor, nec non hæretici Imperatores, Zeno atque Anastasius, aliud ejusdem temperamentum per Orientem*



East, from Edessa and Antioch, to Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. It is therefore wholly inconceivable, that both sects should agree in correcting the received text<sup>73</sup>; or that one of them, having introduced any change into that text, could prevail on the other to accept it as the authorised version. During the period which intervenes between this early age, and that in which Eusebius revised the original Greek, it is equally inconceivable, that any other Greek text but the Palestine, could have had any influence on the Syriack translation. The internal evidence of the later Syriack version, which was made under the auspices of Philoxenus<sup>74</sup>, by whose exertions Eutychianism was established in Syria, clearly proves, that the influence of the Palestine text had continued during the whole of this period; as that version corresponds with the Palestine text<sup>75</sup>; where the vulgar Syriack corresponds with the Byzantine. During the reigns of the elder and younger Theodosius, which nearly occupy the space of time intervening between the years 400 and 450, it is not possible to conceive how the Byzantine text could have acquired such authority in Syria, as to influence the authorised version. Previously to that period, the preponderancy of the Arian fac-

*disseminarunt. Severus ut eandem sectam stabiliret, plurimum operæ contulit: cujus studium æmulati sunt diversarum Syriæ, Ciliciæ, Mesopotamiæ, et Capadociæ urbium episcopi," &c.*

<sup>73</sup> Vid. supr. p. 343. n. <sup>70</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Vid. supr. p. 77. n. <sup>50</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> Vid. supr. p. 341. n. <sup>63</sup>.

tion in this country<sup>76</sup>, rendered it wholly impossible, that any text should have prevailed over the edition of Eusebius, whose interests were identified with those of that heresy.

It is indeed true, that the Emperour Charlemagne undertook the correction of the Latin translation by the Syriack and Greek<sup>77</sup>; from whence it may be conceived, those versions have acquired a resemblance, which cannot be deduced from their common original. But we have only to remember that the correction of the former version was undertaken in the middle of the eighth century, and that the Vulgate of St. Jerome became the authorised text from the middle of the sixth<sup>78</sup>; in order to discover that

<sup>76</sup> At the time when the Emperour Valens published an edict against the orthodox, shortly after the death of St. Athanasius, Conf. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. xvii. p. 232. l. 26. Sozom. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xviii. p. 240. l. 9. the following description is given of the state of Syria; Sozomen. ibid. cap. xxi. p. 243. l. 45. Συρία δὲ καὶ τὰ περίξ ἔθνη, καὶ μάστιγα ἢ τῶν Ἀντιόχειον πόλεις, ἐν ἀταξίαις καὶ ταραχαῖς ἦσαν, πλείοντων μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀρεῖα φρονούντων, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἔχόντων. Under Constantius and Valens the same historian declares, they became thus numerous and powerful; Id. Ib. Lib. VII. cap. vi. p. 284. l. 8. ἔτι δὲ ἔσται [οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ] πλῆθος ὄντες ἐκ τῆς Κωνσταντίας καὶ Ὀυάτιδος ῥοπῆς ἀδείεστον συνήθηες, περὶ Θεῶ καὶ ἐσίας αὐτῶν δημοσία διελέσθω. In the first consulship of Gratianus and Theodosius, they are represented as having possession of every church in Syria, without the precincts of Jerusalem; Id. Ibid. cap. ii. p. 280. l. 17. ἐν τέττῃ δὲ πλὴν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐπὶ τῶν ἁπλῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οἱ τὰ Ἀρεῖα φρονεῖντες ἐκράτην. Conf. supr. p. 29. n. 49.

<sup>77</sup> Vid. supr. p. 21. n. <sup>36</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> Vid. supr. p. 33. n. <sup>59</sup>.

this consideration does not affect the main point in dispute, which is confined to the primitive Latin version. It may indeed account for some resemblances, which the old Syriack bears to the modern Vulgate, and to those manuscripts on which the latter version has had some influence<sup>79</sup>; but it has little relevancy to the pure copies of the Old Italick, and none whatever to the Brescia manuscript, which is free from that influence. At all events, however adequate such a supposition may be deemed to account for the affinity of the Latin and Syriack versions; it is wholly inadequate to account for that of the Syriack translation and the original Greek; which are the witnesses whose integrity I am particularly employed in defending against any charge which may affect their integrity, as forming separate witnesses to the text of Scripture.

Regarding, therefore, the subject before us in every view, and judging of it by the light reflected on it from the history of the text and versions of the New Testament, it as certainly appears, that the *primitive* Syriack and Latin versions are ancient and separate witnesses when adduced in favour of the Byzantine Greek; as that the *later* Western and Oriental versions, which are cited in support of the Alexandrine text, derive their common affinity from the immediate influence of the Palestine text, as revised by Eusebius.

Here therefore we may lay the foundation of the defence of the Greek Vulgate: in asserting that the

<sup>79</sup> Vid. supr. p. 22. conf. p. 20. n. <sup>35</sup>.



Latin and Syriack versions, to which an appeal is now to be made, on the verbal integrity of the text, are ancient and separate witnesses.

The bond of connexion by which every part of the system, which rises upon this foundation, is held together, is the connected testimony of tradition. Whether we consider the original Greek, or the two versions, which are the witnesses of its integrity, the evidence of these vouchers is held together by this connecting principle, for the immense period of fourteen centuries<sup>80</sup>. From the very concessions of our adversaries, it appears, that the vulgar text of the Greek, the Latin, and the Syriack Church, has existed for the whole of that time<sup>81</sup>. As the tradition extended far above this period, it is implied in the very nature of this species of evidence, that it could not have sustained any considerable change during the earlier part of that term; unless from the operation of some powerful cause, and for a very limited time. It is wholly inconceivable, that any age would accept a text, transmitted by their immediate predecessors, having weaker evidence of its integrity, than their predecessors

<sup>80</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 114.

<sup>81</sup> Griesb. *Prolegomm.* in *Nov. Test.* Sect. lxxv. "Hi omnes [Codd. A E F G H I] in Evangeliiis cum iis fere Patribus (quantum ex imperfectis horum collationibus colligere licet,) qui sæculo quarto creunte quintoque et sexto in Græcia, Asia Minore, et provinciis vicinis floruerunt, fuitque hæc Recensio, quam Constantinopolitanam hinc nominare licebit." That the Latin and Syriack version are equally antient, may be seen on referring to the authorities already cited; *supr.* p. 25. n. <sup>43</sup>. p. 70. n.

had, in adopting it from those who preceded them. This reasoning is applicable to the present age, and may be applied to every age which has preceded; until we ascend from our own times to those in which the tradition commenced. The testimony of tradition is thus adequate to its own vindication; and admitting its integrity to be thus unimpeachable, we must thence necessarily infer the integrity of the text which it supports. This mode of reasoning, which is true in theory, may be easily verified in fact. By the destruction of the sacred books in the persecution of Dioclesian, and the publication of a new text under Constantine; the course of tradition was interrupted in the region occupied by the Greek, Latin, and Syriack texts. Yet, though these causes must have powerfully operated to turn the stream in a new direction, it speedily recovered its natural course. In forty years, the traditionary chain was re-united, and the vulgar Greek restored at Byzantium<sup>82</sup>. The Latin and Syriack texts, as existing merely in a translation, and consequently as separated from the parent source, had greater obstacles to surmount, in regaining their original tenour. The immediate authority of St. Jerome and Eusebius in the different regions where the Latin and Syriack were received, must have also given these versions a stronger bias towards the Palestine text, than to the Byzantine. Yet against the operation of these causes, the influence of tradition insensibly prevailed; and notwithstanding the near

<sup>82</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 123, 124.

alliance between these versions and the former text, they possess a close affinity to the latter<sup>83</sup>. Now, as we have just seen, that this relationship cannot be in the collateral degree, but in the hereditary line, since those versions have not been corrected by the vulgar text; the affinity sufficiently proclaims how far they are supported by the authority of tradition, as it is only through it, that they can possess an alliance to the Greek Vulgate.

The foundation of the system which it is my object to establish, is, therefore, I trust, not less securely laid, than the connecting principle, by which it is held together, firmly cemented. But the same strength and consistency will, I hope, be found to exist in the materials which are employed in the superstructure. And in evincing this point not less than the preceding, sufficient is granted us, in the concessions of our opponents, to bear out all our deductions.

With respect to the evidence of *Manuscripts*, on which our main dependance is rested, it is not disputed, that they are faithful to the tenour and testimony of tradition, as far as it extends. Through the fourteen centuries, for which the vulgar text has confessedly existed, they agree with one another; and though their number is proportionably multi-

<sup>83</sup> Griesb. *ibid.* p. lxxv. "Nulli harum recensio[n]um [Occident. Alexandr. Constantinopol.] *Syriaca Versio*, prout quidem typis excusa est similis est, *verum nec ulli prorsus dissimilis est. In multis concinnit cum Alexandrina, in pluribus cum Occidentali, in nonnullis etiam cum Constantinopolitana,*" &c. Vid. *infr.* p. 352. n. 90.



plied with the progression of time, at the end of this immense period, this agreement is preserved<sup>84</sup>. Among the many concessions which are made us, this is not the least important to the establishment of the conclusion for which I contend. It is indeed true, that the Egyptian and Palestine texts are almost wholly preserved in manuscripts which are of greater antiquity than any which preserve the Byzantine; the Alexandrine, Vatican and Cambridge manuscripts conforming to the former editions instead of the latter. But while it can be never inferred from the antiquity of these manuscripts, that the Egyptian or Palestine text is prior to the Byzantine; it may be concluded from their preservation for so long a time, that the manuscripts have not been in use, and that the text which they contain is of course unsupported by the uninterrupted testimony of tradition. From their antiquity, in fact, we can only infer that they were written at a period and in a country wherein the Egyptian or Palestine texts respectively prevailed; and from their preservation, that they have been regarded as relicks in the monasteries, in which they have been preserved<sup>85</sup>. Yet, waving these considerations, the testimony of two of these manuscripts, and those which are apparently the most antient, may be fairly cited in favour of the vulgar text. With this text the Vatican manuscript is found to coincide in the

<sup>84</sup> Vid. supr. p. 108. n. <sup>137</sup>. p. 118. n. <sup>16</sup>. p. 126. n. <sup>40</sup>. Conf. Griesb. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. Sect. III. p. lxxii.

<sup>85</sup> Vid. supr. p. 18. n. <sup>33</sup>. p. 121. et n. <sup>21</sup>.

opening chapters of St. Matthew<sup>86</sup>, and the Alex-drine in the whole of the Gospels<sup>87</sup>: whatever be the antiquity of these manuscripts, it is consequently subsequent to that of the Byzantine text. Such being the case with the oldest manuscripts with which we are acquainted, the Greek Vulgate has nothing to apprehend from the testimony of the Codex Cantabrigiensis. As this manuscript is divided by the sections of Euthalius, it cannot be older than the middle of the fifth century<sup>88</sup>; but that the Byzantine text existed previously to this period, is fully allowed us<sup>89</sup>: by this concession, of course, the testimony of the Cambridge manuscript is left little weight, when cited against the Greek Vulgate.

With regard to the testimony of *Versions*, our choice is principally limited to the Latin and Syriack translations. It is however sufficient, that in their evidence we possess the testimony of ancient and competent witnesses; and that their testimony is admitted, even by the concession of our adversaries, to be virtually on our side<sup>90</sup>. And however the in-

<sup>86</sup> Vid. supr. p. 341. n. <sup>63</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> Vid. supr. p. 123. n. <sup>27</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> Marsh. Michael. Vol. II. p. 715. n. <sup>122</sup>. " If we argue therefore from the omission of the Ammonian sections, we may fairly conclude, that the *Codex Bezae* is as old as the fifth century. But as the writer of this manuscript inserted sections in the Acts of the Apostles, which imply the previous existence of the Euthalian sections, I would not ascribe to it greater antiquity." Conf. supr. p. 85. n. <sup>79</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> Vid. supr. p. 348. n. <sup>81</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Griesb. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. Sect. III. p. lxxv.

trinsick weight of this evidence may be disputed, its momentum is encreased by the comparative lightness of the testimony by which it is counterpoised. The Coptick, and later Syriack, the Ethiopick, Armenian, and Gothick versions, which are the natural allies of the Palestine text, cannot stand in competition with the old Italick, the antient Syriack and the Vulgate, which are the unbiassed witnesses of the Byzantine Greek. That the former versions should possess an affinity to the corrected text of Eusebius instead of the vulgar Greek, has been owing to circumstances which have been already

“ *Recentior quidem Vulgata quippe quæ multis in locis ad juniores Codices Græcos reficta est, quod Syriacæ etiam accidissem arbitror,*” &c. We are here agreed on the fact, that the vulgar Latin and Syriack Versions correspond with the multitude of modern MSS. which contain the Vulgar Greek; but completely at issue as to the cause of this agreement. M. Griesbach supports his assumption by the argument contained in the word “ *arbitror;*” the force of which I leave to be appreciated by his disciples. I have already stated what appears to me to amount to a proof, that the old Syriack Version could not have been thus corrupted from the modern Greek: and as much might be advanced to prove, that the charge of corruption from the same source is equally without truth, when applied to the modern Vulgate. Admitting that the Latins were competent to the task of correcting their translation by the Greek, which is a supposition that I not only question, but shall undertake in the sequel to disprove; it is, however, an absurdity too gross for me to admit, that they would undertake not merely to correct *St. Jerome’s* version, but to recast it by modern copies of the Greek, while he had expressly corrected it by the antient. In this single consideration, the αἰτὶς ἵσα of M. Griesbach finds a sufficient reply.



explained<sup>91</sup>. Their immediate connection with that edition, if not their direct descent from it, renders the joint testimony of such witnesses entitled to very little attention; when weighed against the concurring evidence of witnesses like the Greek, Syriack, and Latin texts, which have not been yet even presumptively proved to have had the smallest influence on each other.

With respect to the testimony of *ancient Fathers*, the Greek Vulgate is not left unsupported by their authority. Of those who preceded the Council of Nice, none but Clement and Origen of the Greek Church, and Tertullian and Cyprian of the Latin, have made copious extracts from Scripture<sup>92</sup>; but sufficient has been already advanced to prove, that implicit reliance cannot be always placed on their authority. It may be however observed in support of the vulgar text, that in all points of importance, their testimony may be cited in its favour<sup>93</sup>. We

<sup>91</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 322. sqq.

<sup>92</sup> The controversies of Justin Martyr, as directed against the Jews and Pagans, are necessarily void of references to authorities, which the Christian Apologist's adversaries did not acknowledge. Of St. Irenæus's quotations, we unfortunately know no more than can be seen through the medium of a translation, which has been obviously accommodated to a barbarous version, which prevailed in the West when his works were translated.

<sup>93</sup> In the quotations extracted from Origen, and inserted in the *Symbb. Critt.* Tom. II. p. 241. sqq. M. Griesbach has prefixed to the *express references* the mark §. and noted the readings of the Vulgar Greek which deviate from them, in his lower margin. After some search after these passages, I find, that out of the *great variety* of instances cited, Origen is observed

may, however, appeal to still earlier witnesses, among the apostolical fathers, on the integrity of the Greek Vulgate. Though those primitive writers are not copious in their Scripture quotations, they are often found to correspond with the Vulgar Greek, in readings wherein that text differs from the Palestine<sup>94</sup>. With regard to those writers who flourished in the age which succeeded the Council of Nice; our adversaries are free to claim Eusebius, Basil, Cyril, and others, who followed the latter edition, as the authorised text; while they give us up their contemporaries, who favoured the text of Byzantium<sup>95</sup>.

to differ from the Vulgar Greek, not in twenty places; of which three only are admitted by M. Griesbach into the text of his Greek Testament. I subjoin the examples; adding an asterism to the readings adopted by M. Griesbach. Matt. iii. 8. καρπὸν ἀξίον\*. *Orig.* καρπὸς ἀξίος. *Vulg.* ib. v. 32. μοιχευθῆναι. *Orig.* μοιχᾶσθαι. *Vulg.* ib. xv. 34. παραγγέλλει. *Orig.* ἐκέλευσε. *Vulg.* ib. xvii. 20. ἔιδεν. *Orig.* ἐντεῦθεν. *Vulg.* ib. xix. 17. ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τῆ\*. *Orig.* λέγεις. *Vulg.* ibid. 29. πολλαπλασίονα. *Orig.* ἑκατονταπλασίονα. *Vulg.* ibid. deest. γυναῖκα. *Orig.* γυναῖκα. *Vulg.* Mar. x. 46. ἔρχεται. *Orig.* ἔρχονται. *Vulg.* Luc. iii. 5. εὐδείας. *Orig.* εὐδεῖαν. *Vulg.* Joh. viii. 38. ἀ ἠκούσατε. *Orig.* ὁ ἠώρακατε. *Vulg.* viii. 42. τῆ\*. *Orig.* deest. *Vulg.* ib. xiii. 18. τίνος. *Orig.* οὗς. *Vulg.* ibid. 26. βάψω. *Orig.* βάψας. *Vulg.* ibid. 30. ἐξῆλθεν εὐθύς. *Orig.* εὐθύως ἐξῆλθεν. *Vulg.* 1 Cor. vii. 34. πνεύματι καὶ σώματι. *Orig.* καὶ σώματι καὶ πνεύματι. *Vulg.* 1 Thes. ii. 6. ῥήπιοι. *Orig.* ῥήπιοι. *Vulg.* On these readings it must be however observed, that three only; those, namely, which are adopted by M. Griesbach, are unequivocal. On this subject, however, I shall speak more at large in the sequel.

<sup>94</sup> The authorities which support this assertion will be produced in the sequel.

<sup>95</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 348. n. 81.

From the premises thus laid down, we may proceed to make the necessary inferences. Instead of the rules for determining the verbal integrity of the sacred text, deduced by M. Griesbach from the testimony of the Alexandrine and Western recensions<sup>96</sup>; I would beg leave to propose the following, founded on the testimony of the Greek Vulgate and the Old Italick and Syriack Versions, viewed comparatively with that of the Egyptian and Palestine texts, and the later Eastern and Western Versions.

1. When the Palestine text agrees with either the Egyptian or Byzantine, the coincidence can reckon but as the testimony of a single witness; but when the Egyptian and Byzantine texts agree, they confirm the reading which they support, by the testimony of antient and separate witnesses.

2. When the Egyptian and Palestine texts agree, and yet dissent from the text of Byzantium; the consent of the Old Italick or Syriack Version with the Byzantine Greek outweighs the testimony of the antecedent witnesses.

3. When the Old Italick and Syriack Versions agree with the Palestine text, and dissent from the text of Byzantium; the consent of the later Eastern and Western Versions with the Byzantine text will adequately confirm a various reading of the Greek Vulgate.

The reasonableness of these rules may be easily evinced from the foregoing observations. It must

<sup>96</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 317.



be here evident at a glance, that there is scarcely any witness from which the Palestine text can receive support; scarcely any but the Palestine, from which the Byzantine text must not derive confirmation. From the fundamental principles already laid down, it appears, that in order to entitle any witness to a voice, it must deliver a separate testimony<sup>97</sup>. But so universal has been the ascendancy of Eusebius's text, which is identical with the Palestine edition, that not a text or version with which we are acquainted can be said to be free from its influence<sup>98</sup>. No other text of course, not excepting the Byzantine, can appeal to its testimony, or afford it support, as a separate witness. But as every text and version, which we know, was originally formed independent of the text of Byzantium; as none of them has subsequently possessed any influence on it, and as it has had no influence on any of them; the concurrence of any with this text must reckon as the testimony of a separate witness. A very few observations will now enable us to determine the weight of testimony which may be adduced in favour of a various reading from an application of the foregoing rules.

1. When the Egyptian text agrees with the Byzantine, the Palestine edition must stand by itself; as there is no fourth edition with which it can be coincident. In this case, the Palestine text must want every requisite which can give it authority as

<sup>97</sup> Vid. supr. p. 315. n. 8.

<sup>98</sup> Vid. supr. p. 25. sqq. p. 322. sqq. p. 340. sqq.

an adequate witness. Of itself, it is destitute of the support of tradition; and it wants, by supposition, the support of an antient and separate witness. But the weight of this species of testimony is, in this case, on the side of that reading which is supported by the joint evidence of the Egyptian and Byzantine editions. It possesses the authority of tradition in the testimony of the latter text; and that of consent in the concurrence of the former<sup>99</sup>.

2. When the Egyptian and Palestine texts agree, their consent can reckon but as the testimony of a single witness; as these texts have had an immediate influence on each other. When opposed, in consent, to the Byzantine, the various readings which are avouched by the different witnesses thus opposed to each other, are supported by equal authority. The testimony of either the old Italick, or Syriack version, if adduced on the side of the Byzantine text, must of course turn the scale in its favour. And the reading which is supported by this weight of evidence, possesses every thing requisite to prove it genuine. It possesses the authority of

<sup>99</sup> On the testimony of the Byzantine and Egyptian recensions, we may venture to restore the following readings of the vulgar Greek to their proper places in the sacred text; having been removed from it, in the Corrected Text, as revised by M. Griesbach. Mat. xxvi. 60. καὶ ἔκ ἐβρον. Mar. vi. 34. ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Ib. ix. 7. λέγουσα\*. Ib. xii. 33. ὁ Θεός. Luc. vi. 7\*. αὐτὸν. Ib. xiii. 35. ἔρημος\*. Ib. xvii. 4. ἐπὶ σε. Joh. i. 26. αὐτὸς ἵεν.\* Ibid. 29. ὁ Ἰωάννης.\* Ib. iii. 2. τὸν Ἰησοῦν.\* Ib. vi. 43. ἔν.\* Ib. xvi. 3. ὑμῖν.\* Ibid. 16. ἐγώ. Those marked [\*] are supported by other witnesses than the Egyptian and Palestine texts: conf. n. <sup>100</sup>.

tradition in the Byzantine text; and that of consent, in those antient and separate witnesses, the Italick and Syriack Versions<sup>100</sup>.

3. When the old Italick and Syriack versions agree with the Palestine and Egyptian texts; the concurrence of these witnesses may be merely owing

<sup>100</sup> On the testimony of the Greek Vulgate, supported by the Old Italick and Syriack versions, we may venture to restore the following readings to their proper places in the sacred text, from whence they have been removed by M. Griesbach. Mat. vi. 1. ἐλεημοσύνην, del. δικαιοσύνην. Ib. xii. 35. τῆς καρδίας†. Ib. xv. 4. σου. Ib. xix. 19. σε. Ibid. 26. ἐγὼ. Ib. xx. 6. ἀργύς. Ib. xxi. 33. τις. Ib. xxiv. 36. με.† Ib. xxv. 31. ἅγιοι. Ib. xxvii. 64.† οὐκ τὸς. Ib. xxviii. 20. ἀμὴν. Mar. i. 2. ἔμπροσθεν σε†. Ib. v. 40. ἀνακείμενον. Ib. vi. 2. ὅτι.† Ib. vii. 2. ἐμέμφαντο. Ib. ix. 7. λέγουσα. Ibid. 24. κύριε†. Ibid. 38. ἐν. Ibid. 41. με.† Ib. x. 40. με†. Ib. xii. 5. πάλιν. Luc. ii. 33. Ἰωσήφ, del. ὁ πατήρ. Ib. iii†. 19. Φιλίππε. Ib. iv. 41. ὁ Χριστός. Ib. x. 11. ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. Ib. xi. 29. τῷ προφήτῃ†. Ib. xiii. 35. ἔρημος. Ib. xvi. 15. ἐσιν. Ib. xvii. 4. ἐπὶ σε.† Ibid. xviii. 3. τις. Ibid. xxii. 62. ὁ Πέτρος. Ib. xxiv. 49. Ἰερουσαλήμ. Joh. i. 26. αὐτός ἐστιν. Ibid. 29. ὁ Ἰωάννης. Ib. vi. 43.\* 45. ἔν. Ibid. 58. τὸ μάννα. Ibid. 69.† τῷ ζῶντος. Ib. vii. 26. ἀληθῶς. Ib. viii. 53. σὺ. xί. 41. ἔ. ἦν.\* Ib. xii. 26. κ.† Ib. xvi. 3\*. ὑμῖν. Ibid. 25. ἀλλ'. Ib. xxi. 25. ἀμὴν.\* In the following places ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Matt. viii. 29. xiv. 25. Marc. xi. 15. Luc. xxiv. 36. Joh. i. 44.† iii. 2. iv. 46. xi. 45. In the following places, αὐτὸς. s. αὐτῷ. s. αὐτῷ. s. αὐτοῖς. Matt. viii. 25.† xii. 3.† xvi†. 8. xix. 25.† xxv. 44.† Mar. ix. 26. Luc. vi. 7.† viii.† 21. xi.† 28. xvii. 9. xxiii. 25. And in the following places καὶ, Mar. x. 14. 28.† Luc. vi. 28. xv.† 19. xx. 31. Joh. iv. 36. xii.\* 26. Thus marked [†] want the testimony of the Primitive Italick (*Brix.*); but thus [‡] supply its place with the revised Italick (*Verc. &c.*) Thus marked [‡] want the testimony of the Primitive Syriack (*Peshit.*); but thus [\*] supply its place with the revised Syriack (*Syr. Philox.*) All



to the influence of Eusebius's edition<sup>101</sup>; their joint evidence can then of course reckon but as the testimony of a single witness. The testimony of the later Versions, for instance, the Italick or Syriack, when cited on the side of the Byzantine text, will of course turn the scale in favour of the latter; and this weight of testimony will be fully adequate to support the various reading, which is of doubtful authority. In supposing the extensive influence of Eusebius's text, we easily account for the *dissent* of the older versions from the vulgar Greek; for this variation has proceeded from their being modelled after the former edition. But the *consent* of the later versions with the vulgar Greek, can be only accounted for, by admitting their agreement with the primitive translation, from which the old and later versions have respectively descended: to which also, it is presumed, they conformed previously to the influence of Eusebius's text, or to their having been re-cast into new translations. As the later versions have been formed on the basis of some primitive translation, it is self-evident that many of the readings of the primitive version must be preserved in the derivative. It is possible of course, that the latter may preserve the primitive reading, while the former has undergone those changes by which it has been obliterated. And where the reading, which is thus preserved, agrees with the original Greek

other readings, unless contradicted by these marks, are supposed to have the testimony of *both* Primitive Italick and Syriack versions.

<sup>101</sup> Vid. supr. p. 25. sqq. p. 322.

text, from which all translations have been made, the very coincidence is adequate to identify it as a reading of the primitive version. Though a later version is but a modern witness, it may thus deliver an antient testimony. Consequently the reading which is supported by this weight of evidence, possesses every thing requisite to prove it authentic<sup>102</sup>.

4. With respect to the Manuscripts which may be cited in favour of this system, it remains to be observed, that the weight of their testimony does not depend on the age of the copies, but on their number and coincidence, as witnesses, and the antiquity of the text, which they support by their concurring evidence<sup>103</sup>. From the conspiring testimony of ma-

<sup>102</sup> The following readings of the Greek Vulgate, which are rejected by M. Griesbach from the sacred text, though not possessed of equal authority as those cited in the last note but one, may possibly be genuine, on the testimony of the revised Italick and Syriack. Matt. v. 27. † τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. Ib. ix. 13. εἰς μετανόαν. † Ib. xvi. 20. Ἰησοῦς. Ib. xxvi. 9. † τὸ μύρον. Ib. xxiii. 8. † ὁ Χριστὸς. Luc. iv. 8. ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου Σατανᾶ. † Ib. xvi. 25. σὺ. Joh. v. 30. πατὴρ. † Ib. xvi. 16. ἐγὼ. † Thus marked [†] want the testimony of the revised Italick, though they possess that of the revised Syriack. Thus marked [‡] want the testimony of the revised Syriack, though they possess that of the Italick.

<sup>103</sup> Griesb. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. Sect. III. p. lxix. "*Ætas testium non unice nec præcipue judicanda est e membranarum vetustate; potuit enim seculo v. c. decimo quarto e codice longe antiquissimo apographum fieri, quod exemplar suum exactissime repræsentaret; sed contra etiam quinto jam seculo, quo e codicibus hodie superstitibus vix unus aut alter referri poterit, præter textum genuinum extitit alius, in quo lec-*

manuscripts, versions, and fathers, it appears, that this text must have existed at least at the close of the fourth century. But no manuscript with which we are acquainted, possesses internal evidence which will warrant our placing it higher than this early period <sup>104</sup>. The testimony of none of course can be cited, as disproving the priority of the text which exists in the most modern of those manuscripts that conform to the vulgar edition. To establish the integrity of this text, is the main object of our endeavours; and if it be not evinced, by the concurrence of those innumerable witnesses who agree in a testimony, which has been perpetuated for fourteen hundred years <sup>105</sup>; the labour must be unavailing, which endeavours to prove it, by the coincidence of a few manuscripts, of which we cannot certainly know the origin.

Beyond these considerations, and above this period, we cannot extend our positive proofs, in favour of the integrity of the Byzantine text; but I am not aware, how they can be extended above it, in favour of the Palestine edition. After examining the tes-

*tiones haud paucae juniores in primitivarum locum irrepserant. Itaque textus ipsius potius quam librarii aetas indaganda est. Haec vero judicatur, e crebro consensu cum aliis testibus, (in primis cum Versionibus et Patribus,) de quorum aetate nobis constat," &c.* Though this remark is assigned a very different application by its learned authour, yet, as expressing a general truth, which, I trust, is fully as applicable to the system which I labour to support, as that to which it is applied, I here quote it as authority.

<sup>104</sup> Vid. supr. n. <sup>103</sup>. conf. p. 71. p. 350.

<sup>105</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 114. 118. et nn. in locc.



timony of versions and manuscripts as far as it extends, our only appeal lies to the external evidence of the fathers. And here, it must be confessed, appearances seem to set strongly in favour of the text of Palestine. The early writers who have been cited in support of this text, as having followed it in their quotations<sup>106</sup>, may be thought to outweigh the strongest presumptive evidence which may be adduced in favour of the Byzantine. But the testimony of none of them but Origen reaches higher than the fourth century. After a little further insight into the nature of his evidence, we may be probably led to admit, that it is not so decidedly against the vulgar edition, as may be imagined.

As the main object of the advocates of the Palestine text has been to rest the credit of this text on the authority of Origen<sup>107</sup>; my object has been to shift it upon that of Eusebius<sup>108</sup>. Sufficient, I trust, has been already advanced to prove, that the testimony of Origen rather identifies it as the text of Palestine than of Alexandria<sup>109</sup>: and consequently proves it the text of Eusebius, who revised the Palestine edition<sup>110</sup>. It is certain, that the works of Origen, in which it is conceived to be preserved, were written in Palestine; and that in the precipitancy with which Origen fled from the enmity of Demetrius<sup>111</sup>, when

<sup>106</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 316.

<sup>107</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 310. n. <sup>10</sup>. p. 316. nn. <sup>11</sup> et <sup>12</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 25. sqq. p. 340. sqq.

<sup>109</sup> Conf. *supr.* p. 8. sqq. 79. sqq.

<sup>110</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 72. n. <sup>37</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> Origen alludes to the enmity of Demetrius, and his own flight

he sought refuge in that country, he was compelled to leave his books at Alexandria<sup>112</sup>. Of the remains of his writings, which have descended to our times, only some fragments of the “Principia<sup>113</sup>,” and two short books of his “Commentaries,” were written in this city<sup>114</sup>. The last books of his expositions of St. John, and the whole of those of St. Matthew<sup>115</sup>,

from Alexandria, in the following terms, in a work which he began at Alexandria, but finished in Palestine; Comment. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 101. c. *καὶ μέχρι γε τῆ πέμπτης Τόμου, εἰ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν χειμῶν ἀνιπράττειν ἰδόνει, τὰ δεδόμενα ὑπηγορεύσαμεν· ἐπιτιμῶντος τοῖς ἀνέμοις, καὶ τοῖς κύμασι τῆς θαλάσσης τῷ Ἰησοῦ. καὶ ἐκ τῆ δὲ ἐπιπεσόντος προεληλυθότες ἐξεληύσθημεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου κ. τ. εἰ.* Conf. p. 102. a. et infr. n.<sup>112</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> Orig. *ibid.* p. 102. b. *ἴσθι δὲ ὅτι ἀπὸ πολλῆς προθυμίας διυτέραν ταύτην ἀρχὴν ποιῆμαι ἔκτε Τόμου, διὰ τὸ τὰ προὑπαγορευθέντα ἡμῖν, ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἢ οἶδ' ὅπως μὴ ἐκκομῖσθαι.*

<sup>113</sup> These fragments are contained in the Philocalia, which consists of a cento of passages extracted from Origen's works by St. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen. The only passages of the Commentary on the New Testament which it preserves, are three fragments; one from the Acts, and two from the Epistle to the Romans; inserted by the Benedictine fathers, Tom. IV. p. 457. and p. 462. n. <sup>1</sup>. p. 580. n. <sup>2</sup>. and in Dr. Spencer's edition of the Philocalia. at pp. 32. 34. 90. ed. Cant. 1677.

<sup>114</sup> The third and fourth books of the Commentaries on St. John, which were written by Origen previously to his departure from Alexandria, *vid. supr.* n. <sup>111</sup>. are lost; with the exception of a few fragments. Conf. *supr.* n. <sup>112</sup>. *infr.* n. <sup>116</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> The last books of the Commentaries on St. John were undertaken by Origen after his arrival in Palestine; *vid. supr.* n. <sup>111</sup>. But at the time they were written, the Commentaries on Matthew were not begun, as Origen shews by his declarations when engaged in the former work; Orig. Comment. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 192. a. *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν εἰς τὸ παρὰ*

together with his treatise on Prayer<sup>116</sup>, and his reply to Celsus<sup>117</sup>, were written on his settlement in Palestine. These last works, however, contain the only parts of his writings which possess any Scripture references<sup>118</sup>, from which we can discover the text that he followed in his quotations; the Philocalia, which preserves the remains of his "Principles," being miscellaneous in its subject, possesses no references to the New Testament, but those which have been already specified.

τῷ Ματθαίῳ λεκτέον, τῷ ἰλοκλήρῳ καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα ἀκριβεστέρον λόγον εὐκαιρότερον, ὅταν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἡμῖν λέγειν δοῖται.

<sup>116</sup> Patr. Benedictt. Monit. in Orig. de Orat. Tom. I. p. 196. "De anno quo hic de Oratione libellus scriptus est—id unum ex iis quæ leguntur num. 23." [conf. p. 235. c.] "discimus, scriptum illum esse, editis jam in Genesim Tomis. Cum autem octo solum priores in Genesim Tomi ante Annum 231. quo ex Alexandria urbe decessit Origenes, similiterque quatuor de Principiis libri post primum in Genesim Tomum conscripti sunt, merito colligimus librum περὶ Εὐχῆς post Origenis ex Alexandria discessum elucubratum esse, et quatuor περὶ Ἀρχῶν libris esse posteriore." "

<sup>117</sup> The date of this work is determined by Eusebius, who fixes it to the year 249, when Origen had attained his sixtieth year, and was nearly twenty years settled in Palestine; Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xxxvi. p. 299. l. 10. ἐν τῷ καὶ [ὁ Ὁριγένης ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γενόμενος] τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένον καὶ ἡμῶν Κέλσῳ τῷ Ἐπικερείῳ Ἀληθῆ λόγον ὁκτὼ τὸν ἀριθμὸν συγγράμματα συνίσταται.

<sup>118</sup> All the Homilies of Origen were composed in Palestine, after he had attained his sixtieth year; of these compositions, however, those on Jeremiah only are preserved in the original; Euseb. ibid. p. 299. l. 3. Τότε δὴτα—ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐξήκοντα φασὶν ἔτη τὸν Ὁριγένην γενόμενον ἅτε μεγίστην ἢδε συλλεξάμενον ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς παρασκευῆς ἔξιν, τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ λεγομένας αὐτῷ διαλέξεις ταχυγράφοις μεταλαβεῖν ἐπιτρέψαι· ἔ πρότερόν ποτε τῷτο γενέσθαι συλκεχωρηκότα.



The whole of the presumptive evidence, which arises from these preliminaries, consequently tends to prove, that the text which Origen followed, in his Commentaries, was the Palestine, not the Alexandrine. The remark is of importance, as in forming a running exposition, he must have followed the text which was before him; and he has indeed prefixed it in several instances to the comment<sup>119</sup>. It is of importance also to observe, that in composing his Commentaries, he preserved a peculiar plan in his quotations, which he neglected in delivering his Homilies<sup>120</sup>: having followed the corrected text of his Hexapla in the former, and that of the Greek Vulgate in the latter compositions<sup>121</sup>. These cir-

<sup>119</sup> Vid. Comment. in Matt. Tom. III. p. 442. a. sqq.

<sup>120</sup> These Compositions are thus distinguished by St. Jerome; Hier. Proleg. in Comment. in Ezech. Orig. Tom. III. p. 354.—“scias Origenis opuscula in omnem Scripturam esse triplicia. Primum ejus (opus) *Excerpta, quæ Græce Σχόλια* nuncupantur, in quibus ea quæ sibi videbantur obscura, atque habere aliquid difficultatis, *summatim breviterque perstrinxit*. Secundum *Homiliaticum genus*, de quo et præsens interpretatio est. Tertium quod ipse inscripsit *Τόμους*, nos Volumina possumus nuncupare, in quo opere tota ingenii sui vela spirantibus ventis dedit, et recedens a terra in medium pelagus aufugit.”

<sup>121</sup> S. Hier. in Proœm. Tradd. Hebr. Tom. III. p. 451. “De Adamantio autem sileo; cujus nomen, si parva licet componere magnis, meo nomine invidiosius est: qui cum in *Homiliis suis*, quas ad vulgum loquitur, *Communem Editionem* sequatur; in *Tomis*, id est in disputatione majori, Hebraica veritate stipatus, et suorum circumdatus agminibus, interdum linguæ peregrinæ quærit auxilia.” The auxiliaries, whose assistance Origen thus sought in his written compositions, were the Ebionite hereticks, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, who revised

cumstances, being kept fully in view, a few considerations will enable us to appreciate the weight of the testimony which he has borne to the verbal integrity of the inspired writings.

In the first place, the Commentaries of Origen, which are the main support of the Palestine text, abound in references to apocryphal works and heretical revisals of Scripture.<sup>122</sup> They were undertaken at the request of Ambrose<sup>123</sup>, who had been a convert from heresy<sup>124</sup>, and who gave them to the

the Septuagint, for the purpose of doing away the strong tendency which that translation bore to the tenets of the Catholics. Nor was Origen ashamed of like associates in composing his Commentaries on the New Testament. In the earliest of these works, the Tomes on St. John, he constantly refers to Heracleon the Valentinian's Commentary on the same Gospel, and quotes from the heretical Scriptures as well as the canonical: vid. Hom. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 117. d. conf. infr. n. <sup>122</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> Instances of this kind have been already produced; supr. p. 330. n. <sup>45</sup>. That they occurred more frequently in the original copies of Origen's works, than those from which our printed editions were formed, is rendered probable, from their being sometimes found in the antient Latin translation, though wanting in the Greek original; a long extract from the Hebrew Gospel, *inserted in the Commentary on St. Matthew*, may be cited as an example. Vid. Orig. Tom. III. p. 671. conf. Tom. IV. p. 289. n. <sup>b</sup>. Pamph. Apol. p. 18. a.

<sup>123</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xxiii. p. 287. l. 4. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ Ὀριγῆναι τῶν εἰς τὰς Θείας Γραφὰς ὑπομνημάτων ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ, Ἀμβροσίῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα παρορμηθέντι αὐτὸν μυρίαις ὁσαὶ ἔνι προλεποαῖς, ἢ ταῖς διὰ λόγων καὶ παρακλήσεσιν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφ' ὀρθότητάς τῶν ἐπιηδεῖων χορηγαίαι. Conf. Orig. Hom. in Joan. Tom. IV. pp. 3. b. 4. a.

<sup>124</sup> Euseb. ibid. cap. xviii. p. 278. l. 19. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀμβρόσιος τὰ τῆς Ὁυαλενίνου φρονῶν αἰρέσεως, πρὸς τῆς ἐπὶ Ὀριγῆναι προ-

world without the consent of their authour; who lived to repent of the errors, which they contained<sup>125</sup>. That compositions of this equivocal character, and which have been notoriously corrupted<sup>126</sup>, should frequently deviate from the vulgar Greek, seems rather to convey a negative proof of its integrity. But Origen likewise affords the same text positive support, in his inconstant readings; occasionally agreeing with the Byzantine text, while

βινομένης ἀληθείας ἐλεγχθεὶς—τῇ τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ὁρδοδοξίᾳ, προσέ-  
δῃται λόγῳ.

<sup>125</sup> Vid. sup. p. 10. n. 11.

<sup>126</sup> Orig. Ep. ad amice. Alexandr. Tom. I. p. 5. b. “ Sed nihil mirum mihi videtur, si adulteretur doctrina mea ab inimicis meis, et tali adulterio corrumpatur, quali adulterio corrupta est Epistola Pauli Apostoli.—Talia ergo quædam video etiam nobis accidere. Nam quidam auctor hereseos cum, sub præsentia multorum, habita inter nos fuisset disputatio, et descriptum accipiens ab his qui descripserant Codicem, quæ voluit, addidit, et quæ noluit abstulit, et quod ei visum est permutavit, circumferens tanquam ex nomine nostro, insultans et ostendens ea quæ ipse conscripsit. Per quibus indignantes fratres qui in Palæstina sunt, miserunt ad me Athenas hominem qui acciperet a me ipsum authenticum exemplar, quod ne relectum quidem vel recensitum a me antea fuerat, sed ita neglectum jacebat, ut vix inveniri potuerit. Misi tamen, et sub Deo teste loquor, quoniam cum convenissem illum ipsum qui adulteraverat librum, quare hoc fecisset, velut satisfaciens mihi respondit, quoniam magis ornare volui disputationem illam atque purgare. Videre quali purgatione disputationem purgavit: tali nempe quali purgatione Marcion Evangelia purgavit vel Apostolum, vel quali successor ejus Apelles. This curious fragment is preserved by Ruffinus, De Adult. libror. Orig. Tom. IV. p. 51. a. and is acknowledged by St. Jerome, Adv. Ruffin. Lib. II. cap. v. Tom. II. p. 246.



he deviates from the Palestine; nor can it be certainly concluded from his express references, that the text which he used did not conform to the former edition<sup>127</sup>. When due allowance is also made for

<sup>127</sup> Of the examples already cited, p. 355. n. <sup>93</sup>. as expressly referred to by Origen, there are but three, Mat. iii. 8. xix. 17. Joh. viii. 42. which are not found in the Received Text; two of which, Mat. iii. 8. Joh. viii. 44. properly belong to the Greek Vulgate, as existing in the greater number of MSS.: vid. Griesb. nn. in locc. In one instance only, of course, does Origen differ in his express references from the vulgar text: for in the remaining examples, he is obviously misrepresented, when quoted against that edition. As M. Griesbach has been unable to find sufficient authority in the Greek MSS. for these passages, to assign them a place in his Corrected Text; it would appear, that Origen in his express citation of these passages, merely meant to give emphasis to the sense, without thinking of marking a variation in the reading. This is obviously the case with Mat. v. 32. xv. 34. xix. 29. Mar. x. 46. Joh. viii. 38. xiii. 18. 26. 30. 1 Cor. vii. 34. 1 Thes. ii. 6: as will directly appear on turning to Origen; Tom. III. pp. 647. 509. 202. 735. IV. 315. 425. 441. 444. II. 644. III. 662. where those passages are respectively quoted. In Mar. vi. 3. x. 29. Luc. iii. 5. Origen's object is wholly misrepresented, in conceiving him at variance with the Received Text. In opposing Celsus, he declares that our Lord is no where called a carpenter in the Gospels; nor is he called so in Mar. vi. 3: the Evangelist merely stating, that a question on this subject was proposed by the multitude, vid. Orig. Tom. I. p. 659. d. In reasoning on Ib. x. 29, 30. he merely observes, that the Scripture declares, that those who "left houses, brethren, sisters, father, mother, *wife*,—should receive an hundred fold, now in this time—houses, brethren, sisters, mothers, children;" thus omitting "wife" in the second enumeration; *γυναῖκα* is accordingly omitted in the Greek Vulgate; vid. Orig. Tom. I. p. 284. c. In mentioning *οἱ οὐρανοὶ* as the reading of Luc. iii. 4

the influence which his peculiar readings have had on the Palestine text, as revised by Eusebius; it seems to take from his testimony its entire weight, in deciding the question at issue.

When the testimony of Origen is set out of the way, no further obstacle opposes the application of the foregoing rules, to the vindication of the vulgar edition. As the general integrity of this text is attested by vouchers, which render it absolutely unquestionable; our attention is only called towards those passages which have been impeached on evidence apparently credible. This evidence has been

or 5. he refers to the former verse instead of the latter; as will be made apparent from Is. xl. 3. in the sequel; and thus clearly *supports* the Greek Vulgate. In one solitary instance of course Mat. xix. 17. Origen's express references are *opposed* to the vulgar edition; and this too is taken from a tract, which as lying under the bad repute of being corrupted, leaves us rather at a loss to determine, what was really Origen's quotation. Let it be further observed, that in this express reference, Origen's testimony is opposed to that of the Greek Vulgate on a point where this text could not have been possibly corrupted by the orthodox; as the vulgar reading is manifestly less accommodated to their peculiar opinions, than the reading expressly supported by Origen: and in its reading of this text the Greek Vulgate is not only supported by the testimony of those antient witnesses, the primitive Italick and Syriack Versions, but the express allegation of an antient father who lived in the next succession after the apostles; vid. Mat. xix. 17. ut. infr. pp. 372. 381. While the express testimonies adduced from Origen, supr. p. 355. n. <sup>13</sup>. contain a sufficient proof that the Greek Vulgate and this early father have not been interpolated from each other; the express testimony of Origen, when properly understood, contains an extraordinary proof of the verbal integrity of the vulgar edition.

collected and embodied by M. Griesbach; and on the strength of it, he has rejected several passages from the sacred canon, as spurious. Of these passages, however, a very limited number are of the smallest importance; eleven only affecting, and that in a remote degree, any point of doctrine or morals. I shall lay these, in the first place, without exception, before the reader; adding the testimony of the Western Church in corroboration of that of the Eastern; and subjoining the express testimony of some writer, who, as living in the age which succeeded the apostolical, must have written before the sacred text could have been corrupted. In determining the present question, the testimony of the Syriack Church cannot be admitted as authority. Having been infected at an early period in the third century with the heresy of Paul of Samosata<sup>123</sup>, it

<sup>123</sup> Liberat. Diac. Breviar. cap. ii. p. 4. ed. Par. 1675. "Igitur Nestoriani dogmatis author, ut multi volunt, Paulus agnoscitur Samosatenus episcopus, &c. M. Renaudot, in Præf. Liturgg. Orientt. having traced the Nestorian Heresy to the person from whom it derived its name, is thus corrected by M. Assemani, Biblioth. Orient. Tom. I. p. 204. In primis quis Renodotio dixit, Nestorianam Hæresim, in Constantinopolitana Diœcesi potius quam in aliis Provinciis incrementum habuisse?" quum et hoc ipsum qualecumque incrementum a Syris eo pro-  
fectis Hæresis Nestoriana acceperit, velut a fonte rivulum. Hæc enim in Syria ducentis ante annis, Paulo Samosateno Patriarcha Antiocheno auctore, primum eruperat, vicinas provinciis sua contagione afflaverat, ita ut Diodorus Tarsensis, et Theodorus Mopsuestenus, Pauli gentiles, deinde Nestorius ejusdem affinis, antiquum errorem potius quam novum prætulisse dicantur." The origin of Eutychianism is traced to the heresy of Apollinaris, into which extreme Eutyches fell in com-



wholly lapsed into Arianism in the fourth<sup>129</sup>; and was finally rent in the fifth into the different sects of Nestorians and Eutychians<sup>130</sup>. High therefore as its testimony must rank, where merely the verbal integrity of the sacred text is concerned, it can have little weight on the doctrinal. The Arabick numerals, annexed in the subjoined examples to the testimony of the Latin church, indicate the different editions of the Italick version which support the prefixed reading: the primitive or Brescia text, the revised or Verceli, and the new or Vulgate of Jerome, being numbered in their order. An asterism is added to the readings adopted by M. Griesbach in his Corrected Edition.

## Mat. xix. 17.

ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, <sup>a</sup> τί με λέγεις ἁγαθόν; ἔδει; ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός;." *Byz.* Jesus autem dixit ei quid me dicis bonum? nemo bonus nisi Deus. *Ital.* 1.

<sup>a</sup> τί με ἰρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός. *Eg. Pal\**. quid me interrogas de bono? unus est bonus. *Ital.* 2, 3.

Just. Mart. Apol. Maj. p. 63. d. καὶ προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τινός, καὶ ἐπόντος διδάσκαλε ἀγαθὲ, ἀπεκρίντο λέγων ἔδει; ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Θεός; ὁ ποιήσας πάντα.

bating the opposite errors of Nestorius: Liberat. ibid. p. 10.

"Quapropter apparet ex omnibus superius dictis atque prolati, a Paulo Nestorianos fuisse propagatos, et ab Apollinari anius naturæ prædicatores, ut sunt Acephali et Eutychiani."

Vid. supr. p. 344. n. <sup>71</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> Vid. supr. p. 169. n. <sup>135</sup>.

<sup>130</sup> Vid. supr. p. 344. nn. <sup>71</sup> et <sup>72</sup>.

Mar. xiii. 32.

περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἢ τῆς ὥρας ἑδεῖς οἶδεν, ἑδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ  
 ἐν ἑρανῶ, ἢ ἑδὲ ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ  
 Πατήρ. *Byz. Æg\*.* De die autem illo et hora nemo  
 scit neque angeli in cælo, ne-  
 que filius nisi pater. *Ital. 1,*  
*2, 3.*

ἢ desunt, ἑδὲ ὁ υἱός. *Pal.* . . . . .

S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. II. cap. xxviii. p. 158.—Dominus, ipse Filius Dei, ipsum judicii “diem et horam” concessit scire solum Patrem, manifeste dicens; “de die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque Filius, nisi pater solus.”

Luc. ii. 33.

καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς  
 θαυμάζοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς λαλῆμένοις  
 περὶ αὐτῆς. *Byz.* Et erat Joseph et mater ejus  
 mirantes de his quæ diceban-  
 tur de illo. *Ital. 1, 2.*

ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. pater ejus et mater. *Ital. 3.*  
*Æg. Pal\*.*

S. Hier. adv. Helvid.—“Et erant pater illius et mater admirantes super his, quæ dicebantur de eo”—Licet tu mira impudentia hæc in Græcis codicibus falsata contendas,” &c. vid. supr. p. 169. n. <sup>135</sup>.

Ib. xi. 13.

εἰ ἔν ὑμῖς πονηροὶ ὑπάρχοντες  
 οἴδατε ἀγαθὰ δοῦναι τοῖς  
 τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσω μᾶλλον ὁ πα-  
 τὴρ ὁ ἐξ ἑρανῶ ἢ δώσει πνεῦμα  
 ἅγιον τοῖς αἰτῶσιν αὐτόν. *Byz\*.* Si ergo vos cum sitis mali nos-  
 tis bona data dare filiis vestris:  
 quanto magis Pater de cælo  
 dabit Spiritum Sanctum peten-  
 tibus se. *Ital. 1.*

ἢ δώσει ἀγαθὸν δοῦμα. *Æg.* dabit bonum datum. *Ital. 2.*

ἢ δώσει πνεῦμα ἀγαθόν. *Pal.* dabit Spiritum bonum. *Ital. 3.*

Tert. adv. Marc. Lib. IV. cap. xxvi. p. 432. A quo Spiritum Sanctum postulem?—agnosce igitur et Patrem, quem etiam ap-

pellas Creatorem. Ipse est qui scit quid filii postulent. Nam et panem petentibus, de cœlo dedit manna; et carnem desiderantibus, emisit ortygometram; non serpentem pro pisce, nec scorpionem pro ovo.—*Itaque et Spiritum Sanctum is dabit, &c.*

Ib. xxii. 43, 44.

ᾠφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' ἐρανῆ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, ἐκλεινέσκειον προσεύχετο. ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτῷ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοισι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Byz. Æg.\*

Apparuit autem illi angelus de cœlo, confortians eum. Et factus est in agonia, et prolixius orabat: Et factus est sudor illius, quasi guttæ sanguinis decurrentes super terram. Ital. 2. 3.

desunt. Pal.

desunt. Ital. 1.

Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 331. d. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολυθησάντων συνεισάχθαι, ὅτι ‘ ἰδρῶς ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο αὐτῷ εὐχομένῳ, ’ καὶ λεγοῖσιν, ‘ παρελθὲν, εἰ δυνατὸν τὸ πολὺν τῆτο.’

Joh. v. 3, 4.

—ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τῷ ὕδατος κίνησιν. ἄγγελος γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ, καὶ ἐταρассε τὸ ὕδωρ. ὁ ἔν πρώτῳ ἐμβὰς μετὰ τὴν ταραχὴν τῷ ὕδατος, ὑγιὲς ἐγένετο, ᾧ δὴ ποτε κατείχετο νοσήματι. Byz.\*

—spectantium aquæ motum. Angelus autem Domini descendebat, et movebat aquam. Et quicumque prior descendebat in natatoria, sanus fiebat quacumque tenebatur infirmitate. Ital. 2. 3.

desunt. Æg. Pal.

desunt. Ital. 1.

Tert. de Baptism. cap. v. p. 221. Angelum aquis intervenire si novum videtur, exemplum futurum præcurrit. Piscinam Bethsaïdam “angelus interveniens commovebat;” observabant qui valetudinem quærebantur. Nam “si quis prævenerat descendere illuc” quæri post lavacrum desinebat.”



Act. viii. 37.

εἶπε δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος· εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ  
ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, ἔξεστιν. ἀποκρι-  
θὲν δὲ εἶπε· πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ  
Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. *Byz.*

Dixit autem ei Philippus: si  
credis ex toto corde, suscepis.  
Respondens autem dixit: cre-  
do in Christum Filium Dei.  
*Ital. 2. 3.*

..... desunt. *Pal.\**

.....

S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. xii. p. 196. τῶτον εἶναι Ἰησοῦν,  
καὶ πεπληρωσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ γραφὴν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς, καὶ παρα-  
τίκα ἀξιῶν βαπτισθῆναι, ἔλεγε· πιστεύω τὸν Ὑιὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι Ἰησοῦν  
Χριστόν.

Ib. xv. 28.

ἔδοξε γὰρ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ  
ἡμῖν, μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν  
βάρος πλὴν τῶν ἐπ' ἀνάγκης τέτων·  
ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων, καὶ αἵμα-  
τος, καὶ πνικτῶ, καὶ πορνείας. f  
ἐξ ὧν διακληροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξετε.  
Ἐρρώσθε. *Byz. Pal.\**

Placuit enim Sancto Spiritui  
et nobis, nihil amplius imponi  
vobis oneris, quam hæc quæ  
necessaria horum: abstinete  
ab immolatis, et sanguine, et  
suffocatis, et fornicatione, a qui-  
bus observantes vos ipsos bene-  
agetis. Valete. *Ital. 2. 3.*

f add: καὶ ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς  
γίνεσθαι ἐτέροις μὴ ποιεῖν. *Æg.*

Tert. de Pudic. cap. xii. p. 563. Primam hanc regulam de  
auctoritate Spiritus Sancti, Apostoli emittunt ad eos, qui jam  
ex nationibus allegi cœperant. “ Visum est,” inquit, “ Spi-  
ritui Sancto et nobis nullum amplius vobis adjicere pondus,  
quam eorum a quibus necesse est abstineri, a sacrificiis, et a  
fornicationibus, et sanguine, a quibus observando recte agitis,  
vectante vos Spiritu Sancto.” Clem. Alex. Pædag. Lib. II.  
p. 202. ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων, καὶ αἵματος, καὶ πνικτῶν, καὶ τῆς  
πορνείας· ἐξ ὧν διακληροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξετε.

Col. i. 14.

ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν<sup>c</sup> διὰ  
τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν  
ἁμαρτιῶν. *Byz.*

In quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem ejus, remissionem peccatorum. *Ital.*  
3.

.....<sup>c</sup> des. διὰ τῷ αἵματι ...<sup>c</sup> des. redemptionem per  
αὐτοῦ. *Pal.\** sanguinem ejus. *Ital.* 2.

S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. V. cap. ii. p. 293. Sanguis enim non est nisi a venis et carnibus, et a reliqua quæ est secundum hominem substantia, qua vere factum est Verbum Dei. Sanguine suo redemit nos, quemadmodum apostolus ejus ait; "in quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem ejus, remissionem peccatorum."

Ib. ii. 2.

—εις, ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. — in agnitionem mysterii Dei Patris et Christi Jesu, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi. *Ital.* 3.

<sup>f</sup> desunt. καὶ Πατρός καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Pal.\** quod est Christus. *Ital.* 2.

Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. V. cap. x. p. 683. καὶ πάλιν οἷον φιλοτιμώμενος ἐμφάναι τὴν γνώσιν, ὡδὲ πως γράφει· "καθ' ἑαυτὸν πάντες ἀνθρώποι ἐν πᾶσι σοφία, ἵνα παραστήσωμεν πάντα ἀνθρώπον τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ· ὅτι πάντα ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώποι· ἵπερ ὁδοὺς ἀν' ἡν ἀπίστος· ὅτι μὴν πάντα, τὸν πιστεύοντα τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ· ἵπερ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων ἡ γνώσις διαρρέουσα ἐκφέρει· συμβασιδέντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ, καὶ εἰς πᾶν πλῆτος τῆς πληροφροσύνης τῆς συνίσεως, εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν ᾧ εἰσι πάντες οἱ θεσάυροι τῆς γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι."

1 Joh. iv. 3.

καὶ παν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔχοντα Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, "ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔκ ἐστι." *Byz.* et omnis spiritus qui non confitetur Jesum Christum in carne venisse, non est ex Deo. *Ital.* 2.

ἔ des. Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα. qui solvit Jesum. *Ital.* 3.  
*Pal.\**

S. Polycarp. ad. Philipp. cap. vii. p. 188. "πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθῆναι, ἀνίχριστός ἐστι καὶ ὃς ἂν μισθοδύνη τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου—ἔτος πρωτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

In the concurring testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches, thus adduced in favour of the Greek Vulgate, we have the entire weight of the presumptive evidence which is adducible on the present question;—that each of the readings, supported by those early vouchers, existed in the sacred text, from time immemorial. This evidence is, however, rendered positive by the express testimony of the primitive fathers, who have appealed to the texts before us, in the age which succeeded the apostolical. In the examples which have been adduced, and which constitute *the whole* of those of the smallest importance which have been impeached by M. Griesbach; *one* only is destitute of the authority of some one of those primitive witnesses. And this example is so firmly sustained by the external testimony of the vulgar texts of the Greek, Latin, and Syriack <sup>131</sup> churches, and by the

<sup>131</sup> Vid. supr. p. 169. n. <sup>135</sup>, p. 359. n. <sup>120</sup>.



internal evidence of the sacred context, that not a doubt can be entertained of its being authentick. As to the remaining texts, the testimony of St. Polycarp, Justin Martyr, St. Irenæus, and Tertullian, speak so plain a language with respect to them, as not to leave room for a cavil on their authenticity. Two testimonies from St. Irenæus have been indeed adduced from a Latin translation; but the least attention to the scope and context of this primitive writer, must convince the most sceptical inquirer, that the reading of the vulgar text must have been before him while he was writing. A little closer attention to the testimony of Clemens Alexandrinus, will, I trust, also evince, that a similar conclusion must be formed respecting his allegation: and that we must infer from his mode of quotation, that he read in his copies, as we read, at this day, in the Greek and Latin Vulgate<sup>132</sup>. I do not long delay

<sup>132</sup> From what has been already adduced from Clement, it must appear, that more existed in the text, than that early father has quoted. This is more fully evinced in the tenour of his subject and reasoning. (1.) After referring to Eph. iii. 3, 4. it is observable, that he sets out with declaring there is a species of knowledge which is communicated only to the initiated; Clem. ub. supr. p. 682. l. 24. ἔστιν γὰρ τις καὶ τελείων μάθησις· περὶ ἧς πρὸς τὰς Κολοσσαεῖς γράφων φησὶν, ‘ἐκ πανόμειδα’ καὶ π. ε. (2.) He expressly prefaces the passage before us, by declaring that it contained knowledge not extended to every one; Id. ibid. p. 683. l. 10. ἐπεὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων ἡ γνώσις, διαρρήδην ἐπίφει· ‘συμβιβασθέντες’ καὶ τ. ε. (3.) If he does not here admit, that the apostle ‘openly sets forth’ διαρρήδην ἐπίφει, what he proceeds to insinuate, he however adds, that there were some things committed also to the Hebrews, in unwritten tradition; Id. ibid. l. 21. ἣν γὰρ τινεσὶ ἀγραφῶς παραδιδόμενα αὐτίκα

to anticipate any objections which may be made to those testimonies, on the suspicion of their being interpolated from the vulgar edition. As the passages involve peculiarities, not merely verbal, they could not have been altered with ease; and as they do not relate to any contested point of doctrine, and have never been quoted to decide any, there could be no object in such a sophistication. They are indeed so completely interwoven with the subjects of the different writers, in whose works they are

τοῖς Ἐβραίοις. (4.) It is observable, that the reading ἐν Χριστῷ is found in no manuscript; and if this be considered the reading of Clement's text, it renders his quotation wholly nugatory. (5.) The phrase τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ Πατρί καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ is the reading of the Greek and Latin Vulgate, and it adds the greatest force and appositeness to Clement's quotation. As this phrase asserts the mystical union of "the Father and Christ" the Son, as one "God," it is not only that species of knowledge, but the only species which Clement's religion prohibited him from divulging to the Heathen. (6.) While, of course, he must have read *something* of this kind in his text; he has sufficiently indicated that it was the passage before us, by alluding to it under the term ἐν Χριστῷ. For this phrase, and the whole of this explanation, is thus confirmed by S. Hilary, in referring to the passage before us, de Trinit. Lib. IX. § 62. col. 1025.—"in agnitionem sacramenti (μυστήριον) Dei Christi, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiæ et scientiæ absconsi, [Col. ii. 2, 3.] Deus Christus sacramentum est, et omnes thesauri sapientiæ et scientiæ in eo latent. Portioni vero, et universitati non convenit." Clement, of course, knowing that the doctrine was ἐν Χριστῷ, or μυστήριον ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπόκρυφον, properly substituted this phrase in his works, which were published among the Heathen, for the true reading τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ Πατρί καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ, which his religion prohibited him from divulging. Conf. S. Hier. Tom. V. p. 375. g.





Ib. xv. 8.

ἐγγίξει μοι ὁ λαὸς ὅτις τῷ στόματι  
αὐτῶν καὶ—*Vulg.*

adpropinquat se mihi populus  
hic ore suo, et— *Ital.* 1.

desunt. *Syr.*

desunt. *Syr.*

Ib. xviii. 29.

εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. *Vulg.*

ad pedes ejus. *Ital.* 1.

كل في رجله

ad pedes ejus. *Syr.*

Ibid. 35.

τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν. *Vulg.*

peccata eorum. *Ital.* 1.

هو كل خطيئته

errata ejus. *Syr.*

Ib. xix. 17.

τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἀγαθός,  
ὃ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός. *Vulg.*

quid me dicis bonum? nemo  
bonus nisi unus Deus. *Ital.* 1.

قَالَ لِي مَاذَا  
أَقُولُ لَكَ مَاذَا  
أَقُولُ لَكَ مَاذَا

quid vocas me bonum; non est  
bonus nisi unus Deus. *Syr.*

Ib. xx. 22, 23.

καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι,  
βαπτισθῆναι . . . . καὶ τὸ βάπ-  
τισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτί-  
σθε. *Vulg.*

aut baptisma baptizari quo ego  
. . . . et baptisma quo ego bap-  
tizor baptizamini. *Ital.* 1.

أَلَا خُصَمَاءُ خُصَمَاءُ  
خُصَمَاءُ خُصَمَاءُ  
خُصَمَاءُ خُصَمَاءُ

aut baptisate quo ego bapti-  
zor baptizabimini . . . . baptis-  
mate quo ego baptizor bap-  
tizabimini, *Syr.*

## Ib. xxvii. 35.

ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς  
προφήτης· διμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά  
με αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν  
με ἔβαλον κλῆρον. *Vulg.*

ut impleretur quod dictum est  
per prophetam; diviserunt sibi  
vestimenta mea, et super ves-  
tem meam miscrunt sortem.

*Ital. 2.*

ܐܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
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ut impleretur id quod dictum  
est per prophetam: partiti  
sunt vestimenta mea inter se,  
et super vestem meam jecerunt  
sortem. *Syr.*

## Mar. iv. 24.

καὶ προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀκού-  
ουσιν. *Vulg.*

et adjicietur vobis credentibus.

*Ital. 1.*

ܐܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
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et adjicietur vobis ipsis qui au-  
ditis. *Syr.*

## Ib. vi. 11.

ἀμὲν λέγω ὑμῖν ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται  
Σοδομοῖς καὶ Γομόρροις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ  
κρίσεως, ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ. *Vulg.*

amen dico vobis, tolerabilius  
erit Sodomis, aut Gomoris in  
die judicii, quam illi civitati.

*Ital. 1.*

ܐܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
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et equidem dico vobis tranqui-  
liorem fore Sedoum et Omouro  
in die judicii, civitate illa.  
*Syr.*

## Ibid. 33.

οἱ ὄχλοι [καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν] αὐτὸν  
καὶ προῆλθον αὐτὸς καὶ  
συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτόν. *Vulg.*

et cognoverunt eos multi .....  
et prævenerunt eos, et conve-  
nerunt ad eum. *Ital. 1.*

ܐܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
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[et agniti sunt] illi: et .....  
coram eo illuc.







Ib. viii. 59.

διελθὼν διὰ μέσων αὐτῶν, καὶ παρ- transiens per medium eorum  
ἦγεν ἑτάως. *Vulg.* et ibat. *Ital.* 1.

وَأَبْدَلَهُمْ جَمْعًا وَفَرَّقَهُمْ transiitque per medium eorum  
et abiit. *Syr.*

In the whole of these extracts there are but three passages which are not supported by the concurring testimony of the Oriental and Western Churches; one only which is not supported by the positive testimony of either of those antient unimpeachable witnesses. For Mat. xv. 8. is destitute of the support of the Syriack version; and Luk. x. 22. Joh. vi. 22. of that of the primitive Italick; while Mat. xxvii. 35. is not only absent from the latter translation, but wanting in many copies of the former, as well as in many of the Greek Vulgate<sup>133</sup>. But the

<sup>133</sup> Marg. Vers. Syr. Philox. Matt. xxvii. 35. Tom. I. p. 149. ed. Oxon. 1778. "Partiti sunt) Hæc Periocha Prophetæ non inventa est in duobus exemplaribus Græcis, neque in illo antiquo Syriaco." The learned editour ingeniously observes; in Præf. Sect. vi. p. xxix. "Ad Matt. xxvii. 35. monet criticus, hanc pericopen non inveniri in duobus exemplaribus Græcis, neque in antiqua, vel Simplici, Syriaca. *Nec hujus notæ auctor fuit Thomas*: quia si hanc pericopen in textu Polycarpi invenit, et non in exemplaribus suis Græcis, quomodo non obelo illam damnavit. Prof. Adler however observes, on the pericope or verse before us; Nov. Test. Syriacc. Verss. Lib. II. p. 96. "Desunt revera hæc verba in codicibus versionis Syriacæ antiquioris, et in prima editione Viennensi, ubi tamen inter errata supplentur, e quibus deinde in sequiores editiones irreperunt. Desunt quoque, a voce κλήρον ad κλήρον, in ple-risque nisi omnibus probatis codicibus Græcis, et sine dubio sunt rejicienda.

dissent of those antient versions from the former passages, does not in the least impeach their authenticity. As in these omissions the Syriack and Italick Versions accord with the Palestine text, their negative testimony against the vulgar Greek must be imputed to the influence of Eusebius's edition; while their positive testimony in favour of the same text can be only accounted for by admitting their coincidence with the original Greek text, from which all editions have descended<sup>134</sup>. That in Mat. xv. 8. the Brescia manuscript possesses the genuine reading, has been already rendered apparent, from a comparative view of the copies of the Italick translation<sup>135</sup>. In fact the dissent of the latter copies of this version from the vulgar Greek, may be traced to the influence of Origen's writings; to which we must impute the deviation of the Palestine text, in the instances before us, from the Greek Vulgate. And the extensive influence of Eusebius's text renders it difficult to pronounce on the authenticity of Mat. xxvii. 35. The absence of this text from the Palestine edition is easily accounted for, as I hope in the sequel to prove; its total absence from the primitive Italick version, and partial absence from the Syriack, is of course accounted for, in the former consideration. But its partial introduction into the Syriack, and general admission into the Greek, create a difficulty which is not so easily solved. Could we admit the truth of the account which St.

<sup>134</sup> Vid. supr. p. 357. sqq.

<sup>135</sup> Vid. supr. p. 185. n. <sup>163</sup>.



Jerome has given of Lucianus's text<sup>136</sup>; the interpolation of the original might be laid to his account, as it perfectly answers the description which he has given of Lucianus's alterations<sup>137</sup>, and as such is omitted in the modern Vulgate. The influence of Lucianus, whose text prevailed from Byzantium to Antioch, of which latter city he was a presbyter, would fully account for the admission of this verse into the Syriack translation. But we have every reason to believe St. Jerome mistaken in his judgment of Lucianus's edition<sup>138</sup>. And in favour of this verse, it must be observed, that its introduction into the Gospel of St. Matthew is most conformable to the manner of that Evangelist, who is always so particular in his quotations from the prophetic Scriptures, that it can be scarcely conceived he could have wholly omitted this extraordinary passage. The oblique manner in which it is referred to by the other Evangelists<sup>139</sup>, seems to establish the same conclusion; as its explicit citation in the Gospel of St. Matthew rendered it merely necessary that they should refer to it obliquely.

In making the above citations, I have confined my attention to the passages rejected by M. Griesbach from the Gospels, not merely from choice, but necessity. Neither the primitive Italick nor Syriack Version extend beyond that part of the New Testament; the Acts and Epistles of the former

<sup>136</sup> Vid. supr. p. 100. n. <sup>125</sup>.

<sup>137</sup> Vid. supr. p. 157. n. <sup>109</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 137, 138. conf. p. 151.

<sup>139</sup> Comp. Mar. xv. 24. Luk. xxiii. 34.

Version being wholly lost, and those of the latter having been considerably altered since the Gospels were rendered, if not wholly translated, at a subsequent period<sup>140</sup>. But in this loss there is not so much to regret, as may be at first imagined; for we do not require the remaining parts of those versions to determine the matter at issue. As in the different classes of manuscripts, one species of text prevails through every part of the text; those copies which are of the same class having the Gospels

<sup>140</sup> The partial propagation of the Gospel in Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Moesia, in the fourth century, renders it probable that select parts from the New Testament at least, were translated for the use of the churches established in those regions: vid. *supr.* p. 48. n. <sup>7</sup>. pp. 322. n. <sup>31</sup>. 323. n. <sup>32</sup>. The state of the Gothick and Ethiopick versions, if not of the Sahidick, and the history of the Armenian version, fully confirm this supposition. The first named version does not extend beyond the Gospels; vid. *Le Long. Bibl. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 371. col. 2. a.* The second contained several important omissions, which were supplied in the London Polyglot, vid. *Le Long. ibid. p. 128. col. 1. e.* Great additions were made to the Armenian version in the year 1333 by the Romish missionaries, who laboured at an early period to reduce the Armenian church to a state of subjection to the Roman Pontiff: *Galan. Hist. Armen. p. 483. ed. Colon. 1686.* In the thirteenth century it was revised and corrected throughout by the Latin Vulgate; vid. *Marsh. Michael. chap. vii. p. 103.* The Persian and Arabick have been completed, and revised throughout by the Coptick and Syriack; *Marsh. Michael. Ibid. pp. 77. 83. 105.* We may thus easily account for peculiar readings, which are frequently retained in the modern version, which are not found in the antient; those readings existing in such parts of the translation as were made before the version was completed, by the last revisal.

agreeing with the Acts and Epistles; when we establish the superiour purity of any class, in the principal part of the text, we may thence legitimately infer that of the remainder. Or to reduce this matter to more certain principles; when, by the assistance of those auxiliaries, the Eastern and Western versions, we have ascertained what manuscripts of the original Greek will furnish the genuine text, on a comparative view of the subject; we may thence relinquish the accessories, and on the comparative testimony of the principals, determine the authentick text of Scripture. In this undertaking considerable use may be likewise made of the versions; whatever be the changes which they may have undergone, since their first formation. As we know the original text by which they have been retouched, and the points in which they have been affected; the Palestine text being the model by which they were shaped, and points of doctrine being those in which they have been influenced; a slight calculation will enable us, if not to recover the primitive reading of the translation, yet to appreciate its lightness when weighed against the authority of the original. In fact, a very small allowance made for the alterations which the Syriack Vulgate may have sustained, still leaves the testimony of that version as fully on the side of the vulgar Greek, in the Epistles and Acts, as in the Gospels. Taking into account, together with its testimony, the evidence of those later witnesses, to whom an appeal lies in the present subject; we may thence deduce a perfect defence of the Greek Vulgate, on every point of



the smallest importance, in which its integrity has been impeached as corrupted<sup>141</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> The following list of texts, which constitute the whole of the passages which are of any importance, on account of their length, that M. Griesbach has wholly rejected from the Acts and Epistles, may be restored to the sacred text on the testimony of the annexed authorities: Act. ii. 30. τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσειν τὸν Χριστόν. *Byz. Æg. It.* 2. 3. Ib. ix. 6. σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. Τρέμων τε καὶ θαμβῶν εἶπε· Κύριε τί με θέλεις ποιῆσαι; καὶ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν. *Byz. Syr. 2. It.* 3. *Æth. Ar.* Ib. x. 6. ὅτος λαλήσει σοι, τί σε δεῖ ποιεῖν. *Byz. Æg. It.* 3. *Copt.* Ib. xv. 18. ἐστὶ τῷ Θεῷ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. *Byz. Æg. Syr. 1. It.* 2. 3. Ib. xxii. 20. τῇ ἀναιρέσει αὐτοῦ. *Byz. Syr. 1. Ar. 2.* Rom. vi. 12. αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ. *Byz. Pal. Syr. 1. 2. It.* 3. Ibid. viii. 1. μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπαλῶσιν. *Byz. Syr. 1. It.* 2. 3. *Ar.* Ib. xi. 6. εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων, ἐκτί ἐστὶ χάρις· ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκτί ἐστὶν ἔργον. *Byz. Syr. 1. Ar.* Ib. xv. 29. τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῷ. *Byz. Syr. 1. It.* 3. *Ar.* 1 Cor. vi. 20. καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὑμῶν, ἅτινά ἐστὶ τῷ Θεῷ. *Byz. Syr. 1. Ar.* Ib. x. 28. τῷ γὰρ Κυρίῳ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτοῦ. *Byz. Syr. 2. Ar.* Gal. iii. 1. τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθισθαι; *Byz. Syr. 2. Æth. It.* 3. *Arab.* Eph. iii. 9. διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Byz. Syr. 2. Arab.* Phil. iii. 16. κανόνι τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν. *Byz. Syr. 1. It.* 3. *Ar.* Ibid. 21. εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸ. *Byz. Syr. 1. 2. Ar.* Col. i. 2. καὶ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. *Byz. Syr. 2. It.* 3. *Ar. Æth.* 1 Thes. iii. 2. καὶ διάκονον—ἡμῶν. *Byz. Syr. 1. Ar.* 1. 2. Heb. ii. 7. καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου. *Byz. Syr. 1. 2. It.* 2. 3. *Ar. Æth.* 1 Pet. i. 23. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. *Byz. Syr. 1. It.* 2. 3. *Ar.* 1 Joh. v. 13. τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ὑιοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, *Byz. Arab.* Apoc. i. 8. ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος. *Byz. Syr. 2. It.* 3. *Copt.* Ibid. 10. ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος. καὶ. *Byz. Syr. 2. Arab.* Ib. v. 14. ζῶντι εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. *Byz. Syr. 2. It.* 3. Ib. xi. 1. καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἰς ἡκεῖ. *Byz. Syr. 1.* Ib. xiv. 5. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Byz. Syr. 2. It.* 3. Ib. xv. 2. ἐκ τοῦ χαράγματος. *Byz. Syr. 2. Arab.* To which the following may be added from the Gospels; Mar. iii. 5. ὑγιὲς ὡς ἡ ἄλλη. *Byz. Æg. It.* 2. *pæne.* Ib. ix. 38. ὁς ἐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν. *Byz. Æg. It.* 2. *Syr. 2.* Luc. vii. 31. εἶπε δὲ ὁ

That no other text of the Greek but the Palestine edition has had any influence on the old Italick and Syriack, or their descendants, the versions of Philoxenus and St. Jerome, I have already endeavoured to prove<sup>142</sup>. The corrections which the Latin Vulgate received, under the Emperour Charlemagne, may be indeed conceived to invalidate its testimony, when adduced, as a separate witness, with the Syriack, in favour of the original Greek<sup>143</sup>. But when we observe the distinction which must be made between the Byzantine and Palestine texts; no corrections which the Latin version could have sustained at this period, or antecedently, can affect its testimony, when adduced on the side of the former edition.

From the fourth to the eighth century inclusive, there were few persons who were adequate to the task of revising the Latin translation; and from the knowledge which we possess of their history, it must be inferred, that none but St. Jerome and St. Eusebius engaged in this undertaking. In the fourth and fifth centuries, a knowledge of Greek was a rare attainment among the Latins<sup>144</sup>. Many were certainly able to read it<sup>145</sup>; but destitute of so incon-

Κύριος. *Byz. It.* 1. *Ib.* vii. 44. τῆς κεφαλῆς. *Byz. It.* 1. *Ib.* ix. 1. μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. *Byz. Pal. It.* 1. 2. 3.

<sup>142</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 342. sqq.

<sup>143</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 21. n. 36.

<sup>144</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 57. n. 25.

<sup>145</sup> Not only S. Hilary, Eusebius Vercellensis, and Lucifer Calaritanus possessed so much knowledge of Greek, but Philastrius, Ambrose, and his friend Gaudentius. The long intercourse which the former maintained with the Greeks, and the

siderable yet necessary assistance as a Lexicon, few would undertake to translate it. St. Jerome and his contemporary, Ruffinus, are remarkable exceptions;

active part which they took in the affairs of the Eastern church, contain a sufficient proof of the above assertion; vid. supr. p. 54. n. 17. Philastrius' tract on Heresy contains much information, which could only be derived through this source; St. Ambrose frequently refers to the Greek, and has adopted the greater part of his treatise on the Holy Spirit from St. Basil's *treatise*, on the same subject; which he could only attain through a knowledge of the language in which it was written; vid. *Patr. Bened. Monit. in Ambros. de Spir. Sanct. Tom. II. col. 596, 597.* Gaudentius, as appears from several passages in his works, must have had some knowledge of Greek; as he sometimes compares the readings of the Greek and Latin copies of Scripture, and corrects the one by the other: vid. *Orthodoxogr. Tom. II. pp. 1835. 1844.* The request which he made to Ruffinus to undertake the translation of a work ascribed to Clemens Romanus, contains a sufficient proof however that his skill in this language did not qualify him for the office of a translator, which was discharged with difficulty even by Ruffinus; *Ruffin. Peror. in Expl. Orig. sup. Ep. ad Romm. ap. Orig. Tom. IV. p. 689. b. Post hoc sane vocat nos opus quod olim quidem injunctum est, sed nunc a beato Gaudentio episcopo vehementius perurgetur, Clementis scilicet Romani episcopi, Apostolorum ac successoris de Recognitione libri ut in Latinum vertantur. In quo opere bene novi, quod laborem labor multiplicat, si sortem suscipiat. Satisfaciam sane in eo amicis meis," &c. conf. p. 688.* St. Eusebius of Verceli, and St. Jerome, were probably the only persons of the age competent to the task of forming a literal version of the sacred text; and both accordingly devoted a great portion of their lives to that undertaking. The former owed his knowledge of Greek to his having been banished to Cappadocia; the latter to his long residence in the East; vid. supr. p. 237. n. 138. conf. *S. Hier. Cat. Scriptt. Eccless. in Euseb. Verc. Tom. I. p. 130.*



but the reputation which they acquired, as translators, the latter on very slender pretensions<sup>146</sup>, sufficiently reveal how very rare the endowment was at this period. As we descend below this period, instances are still more rare of those who possessed this qualification. The subjugation of the Western Empire by the Goths, who extended their arms into Africa<sup>147</sup>, rendered this age particularly unpropi-

<sup>146</sup> The charge of unfaithfulness in translating from the Greek is brought against Ruffinus by St. Jerome; S. Hier. Apol. adv. Ruffin. Lib. II. cap. v. Tom. II. p. 246. And some fragments, which are preserved of Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, which Ruffinus undertook to translate at the request of Heraclius, fully justify the charge of St. Jerome. The Benedictine editours introduce the first of those fragments to our notice, with the following observation; Orig. Comment. in Ep. ad Romann. Tom. IV. p. 462. n. m. "Quam infida sit Ruffini interpretatio, liquet ex Græcis, quæ Philocaliæ cap. xxv. sic repræsentantur, &c. Pliny the elder, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, were the most learned men of the age in which they lived; yet their attempts at rendering Greek into Latin, and Latin into Greek, exhibit some curious mistakes. The subjoined passage of Tertullian is rendered as follows by Eusebius; Tert. Apol. cap. v. p. 21. "Consulite Commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romæ orientem cæsariano gladio ferocisse." Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xxv. p. 83. l. 22. ἐνύχθις τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ὑμῶν. ἐκεῖ εὐρήσεις πρῶτον Νέρωνα τῆτο τὸ δόγμα, ἥνικα μάλιστα ἐν Ρώμῃ τὴν ἀναβολὴν πᾶσαν ὑπολάξας, ὥμδε ἢν εἰς πάντας, διώξαι. The use of τὸ δόγμα and ἥνικα, for τὴν αἵρεσιν and ὅτι, not to speak of the general misconception of the sense, are slight errors, compared to the shameful mistake of rendering *orientem* by τὴν ἀναβολὴν. The reader who would see similar instances of mistranslation in Pliny, may consult Salmas. Pliniann. Exercitt. in Solin. Tom. I. p. 127. d. sqq.

<sup>147</sup> Vid. supr. p. 296. n. 3<sup>21</sup>.

tious to study. Sedulius Hibernensis, who impelled by an insatiable thirst for information, travelled as far eastward as Asia, whither literature was now retiring from the West<sup>148</sup>, is a singular instance of a person acquainted with Greek<sup>149</sup> in an age, when the light of science had nearly set in the western hemisphere. The difficulties with which Cassiodorus had to contend in the next age, in procuring a competent person to revise the Latin translation<sup>150</sup>, sufficiently proclaim how very unusual

<sup>148</sup> Sixt. Sinens. Biblioth. Sanct. Lib. IV. p. 219. b. ed. 1510. "Velut alter Apollonius Tyaneus, [Sedulius] *fugientem sapientiam* toto terrarum orbe perquirens, Britanniam, Hispaniam, Galliam, Italiam, *Græciam, et Asiam*, miro discendi ardore perillustravit," &c. Honourable mention is made of Sedulius by Cassiodorus; vid. Usser. Antiquitt. Brit. Eccles. cap. xvi. p. 407. sqq.

<sup>149</sup> A Greek Psalter transcribed in the ninth century from an autograph of Sedulius is still preserved, and is described by the learned Benedictine, B. de Montfaucon, Palæogr. Græc. Lib. III. cap. vii. p. 236. On the execution of the work, the learned antiquary observes; Ibid. p. 236. "Etsi vero non ita perite exaratus sit codex, nihil stupendum in Latino scriba: nam si Græci calligraphi ejusdem ætatis frequenter vocalium commutationes—admittunt; quid mirum si Latinus scriba, αἰνεῖται pro αἰνεῖτε dicat, γινώσκει pro γινώσκει et similia: sed tamen non ita frequenter sensum interturbat: quo videatur, Græce non imperitum, ut illa ætate, Sedulium Scotum."

<sup>150</sup> Of these difficulties, Cassiodorus, who had been at infinite pains to collect not only books, but translatours and expositours, out of all parts of the world, [vid. Cassiod. de Instit. Divin. Litter. capp. viii. ix. p. 544. ed. Rotom. 1679.] speaks in the following terms; Id. ibid. in Præf. p. 537.—gravissimo fateor dolore permotus, quod scripturis divinis magistri publici deessent—. Nisus sum ergo cum beatissimo Agapito Papa



the same qualification was in the age when he flourished; the school of Nisibis, situated at the extreme borders of Syria, having been the nearest place from whence a person qualified to discharge this office, could be procured. Junilius, a contemporary of Cassiodorus, mentions, as an unusual circumstance, his having seen one person, a Persian,

who had been educated at Nisibis, and possessed of a more than ordinary endowment<sup>51</sup>.

Assuming that the Greek text had any influence on the *Latin Vulgate*, it must have been that text which existed in the Palestine edition; for with it were the orientists were acquainted. When we are therefore informed, that the correction of this edition was undertaken from the Syriack and

Romer ut simul apud Alexandriam, multo tempore falsa  
 et iniqua opinio etiam in Asia civitate Syrorum, ab  
 ecclesiastico fere expositi, collata expensis in urbe Romana  
 et in ecclesiis totius orbis peritias exciperent christiane, unde et  
 salutem salutem, ecclesiastico atque purissimo  
 et ad suum linguam converteretur. Sed cum per bella feroci-  
 et iniqua etiam in Italia regno christianum, desiderium  
 et in ecclesiis totius orbis peritias exciperent christiane, unde et  
 salutem salutem, ecclesiastico atque purissimo  
 et ad suum linguam converteretur. Sed cum per bella feroci-

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Greek<sup>152</sup>; the only reasonable inference is, that the Syriack was the Philoxenian version, the Greek the Palestine text, which were employed in the revisal. This supposition is fully confirmed by the coincidence which exists between that text and version, and the affinity which both possess to the modern Vulgate<sup>153</sup>. That the readings of the latter version were more than collated with the Greek and Syriack texts, and the true readings more than *ascertained*, from different copies of the translation, which was originally made from the Palestine edition, is rendered wholly improbable by many considerations<sup>154</sup>. To recast the translation by a differ-

<sup>152</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 21. n. 36.

<sup>153</sup> In the passages quoted, *supr.* p. 380. sqq. from the antient Syriack, the Vulgate dissents from that version, and agrees with the Palestine text, *omitting* all that the Syriack *retains*, but Joh. i. 27. In the printed editions, Matt. xxvii. 35. Luc. xvii. 36. 55. which occur in the Syriack, are retained also in the Vulgate; but in the Roman Corrections subjoined to the Bible of Sixtus V. they are marked as absent from some manuscripts of the vulgar Latin version. It is extraordinary, that in the only remaining passage of any length, Luc. vii. 31. εἰπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος, in which the Greek and Syriack Vulgate differ, which otherwise generally agree; the Latin Vulgate, *differing from the latter*, agrees with the former. As it is highly improbable that the criticks of Charlemagne's days, attended to minute verbal differences; these examples will abundantly demonstrate, that the Greek text and Syriack version, by which they corrected the Gospels, could not have been the vulgar edition.

<sup>154</sup> One of the strongest reasons appears to be this; the reading of the Latin Vulgate might be thus ascertained with great precision and ease; as this version, as well as the Philoxenian Syriack, was made from the Palestine Greek. Had the revi-

ent text, if practicable, would have been an useless attempt, and inconsistent with the high veneration in which St. Jerome's translation was held<sup>155</sup>. It was this veneration which must surely have directed the authours of this revisal to Palestine, where they could not be ignorant the Vulgate was framed, in search of the Greek, from whence that version was made originally. And the preface prefixed by St. Jerome to the Gospels, directed them not merely to the original, from whence it was derived, but to extraneous sources, which were naturally conceived to exist in the Palestine text and Syriack translation<sup>156</sup>. Whatever might have been the care employed in correcting the modern Vulgate, it could thus have extended to little more than restoring its original readings. And thus much is apparent from the internal evidence of the copies of the Vulgate, which

sers proceeded greater lengths in restoring the text, they must have transgressed the intentions of Charlemagne: Carol. Magn. ap. P. Mabil. in Annal. Tom. I. p. 25. " Igitur quia curæ nobis est, ut Ecclesiarum nostrarum ad meliora semper proficiat status, oblitteratam pene malorum nostrorum disidia reparare, vigilantibus studio literarum satagimus officinam; et ad per-noscenda sacrorum librorum studia, nostro etiam quos possumus invitamus exemplo, inter quæ jampridem universos Veteris ac Novi Testamenti libros, *librariorum imperitia depravatos*, Deo nos in omnibus adjuvante, ad amussim correximus."

<sup>155</sup> Vid. sup. pp. 32, 33. nn. <sup>57</sup> et <sup>59</sup>.

<sup>156</sup> Vid. sup. p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>. S. Jerome, in declaring, in that Preface, "*cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata*," was naturally conceived to include the Syriack version. Of this translation it is certain, his predecessour, Eusebius, if not Origen, made some use, in revising the Old Testament, as will appear in the sequel.

were corrected by Alcuine, under Charlemagne; and which have descended to our times<sup>157</sup>; it does not appear that these copies approximate more to the vulgar text of the Syriack and Greek, than any other copies of that translation.

Nor is the integrity of the *Syriack Vulgate* less capable of vindication, from the charge of those who would insinuate, that it has been corrupted from the Greek Vulgate. That such a corruption could not have taken place, subsequently to the year 450, when the Philoxenian version was formed, has been already evinced, from the history of the Syrian church since the middle of the fifth century<sup>158</sup>. And the bare consideration, that this version was framed, at that period, by the Palestine text, renders the conception absurd in the extreme, that the primitive version could have previously coincided with the same edition: the eviction of which agree-

<sup>157</sup> Such is the celebrated Vallicella Bible, mentioned under the following terms by M. Blanchini, Evangeliar. Quadrupl. P. II. f. deiv. Descriptio insignis Cod. Vallacelani, complectentis Biblia Sacra utriusque Testamenti, exarata proprio manu, ab Alchuino Anglo, Sancti Bedæ discipulo." This MS. is however classed by M. Blanchini, among those which are described under the following title; Id. ib. dxcix. " Descriptio aliquot Codicum Latinorum Antiquæ Italæ puræ putæ Hieronymianæ." The subscription of the MS. Bible of St. Germain des Prez, which has been already quoted, supr. p. 32. n. <sup>57</sup>. contains a stronger confirmation of the above assumption; that the integrity of the Latin Vulgate was rather restored than violated under the revisal of Alcuine; and that its affinity to the Syriack must be sought in the Palestine text, which had some influence on this version and St. Jerome's.

<sup>158</sup> Vid. supr. p. 343. sqq.



ment is essentially necessary to the establishment of the assumption, that the latter version has been subsequently *altered*, to correspond with the text of Byzantium. As the Peshito, or Syriack Vulgate, has never sunk in the esteem of the Syrian church; the formation of a new version cannot be imputed to the circumstance of the old having become obsolete in its language, or fallen in its reputation: nor to any other cause, but the publication of a Greek text, which attained to higher repute than that from which the original version was formed. Had it been in consequence of the corruption of the primitive translation, from some modern Greek text, it must be obvious, that the only plan left to those who would undertake to remedy this evil, would have been to restore the primitive readings, by a collation of the old copies of the version with those of the original. But this is a supposition which is not only refuted by the internal evidence of the version, which possesses no such corrections; but is wholly irreconcilable with the veneration in which the vulgar version is held by the Syrians<sup>159</sup>. In fact, the whole of the

<sup>159</sup> Gabr. Sionit. Præf. in Psalt. Syriac. p. iii. Quamvis linguæ Syriacæ usus communis sit apud distinctas diversarum religionum nationes, *sacrorum tamen voluminum integritas summa semper cum religione servata est ab omnibus*, ita ut nulla vel minima discrepantia in eorum lectione deprehendatur. Viget autem ea lingua primo *apud Chaldæos Mesopotamiæ populos, Hæresi Nestorianæ misere obligatos*; tum *apud Syros Jacobitas, qui Dioscoridis, Eutychetis, et Jacobi falsa dogmata secuti, Monothelitarum nomine dignoscuntur*; tertio *apud Maronitas nostros, etiam Syros, qui ab avita fide Catholica Romana nunquam desciverunt.*”

circumstances of the case, tend as fully to prove, that the text with which the primitive version agrees was antient, as that by which the latter version was formed, was modern<sup>160</sup>. From which consideration the priority of the Byzantine to the Palestine text, follows of course; as it is with the former that the primitive version corresponds, while the revised corresponds with the latter. Admitting this to be the case, which it will not be found easy to disprove, the unsupported assumption, that the Syriack Vulgate has been corrected by the Byzantine Greek, requires no further refutation. Such an assumption can be only maintained on the grounds of the affinity discoverable between the Syriack and Greek; which affinity must be thus attributed to this obvious cause; that the one was originally made from the other.

<sup>160</sup> It has never been doubted, that the later version has been formed after the Palestine text, which was published by Eusebius, and which accorded in the Old Testament with Origen's Hexapla. Walt. Prolegomm. in Bibl. Polyglott. Sect. xiii. § 3. p. 89.—*versionem habent [Syri] ex Hebræo antiquissimam, quam in his Bibliis exhibemus, et illa quam postea hauserunt ex Græco, non erat ex mixta aliqua editione, sed ex ea quam in Origenis Hexaplis puram esse et genuinam, omnes veteres, imo ipse Hieronymus, uno ore affirmarunt.*" This however is rendered indisputable by the subscription of the Ambrosian MS. of the Philoxenian Version; a specimen of which has been published by M. De Rossi. Spec. ined. Hexaplar. Biblior. Vers. Syro-Estrang. in Diatrib. § vi. [p. x.] Parm. 1778. "Modo ad Codicem ipsum redeamus, qui hac epigraphe explicit; *Descriptus est et effectus ex exemplari Eusebii et Pamphili. Ad ejus scilicet normam, quod ipsi emendarunt ex bibliotheca Origenis.*"

As these considerations seem adequate to vindicate the integrity of the Syriack Vulgate; they involve an equally strong argument in favour of the antiquity of this translation, which is universally admitted to be the most antient of the Oriental versions<sup>161</sup>. That this version existed in its present *mutilated form*, previously to the fourth century, I cannot be easily brought to conceive. The extravagant antiquity ascribed to it by the native Syrians<sup>162</sup> and Orientalists<sup>163</sup>, is clearly entitled to no

<sup>161</sup> Walt. ut suprà. § 8. p. 89. "Quod ad utilitatem hujus linguæ spectat—addere licet, quod in ea extat vetustissima translatio, Vet. Test. ex Hebræo, et Nov. Test. ex Græco, quæ omnes post Christum factas antiquitate superat." Renaudot. ap. Le Long. Biblioth. Sacr. Tom. I. p. i. cap. ii. p. 93. "Versio Syra, qua vulgo Syri omnes utuntur, ex Hebraico facta est omniumque versionum Orientalium est antiquissima." Conf. infr. n. <sup>165</sup>.

<sup>162</sup> Walt. ibid. p. 90. § 15. "—Sionita in Psalm. Syr. ex Saodedo quodam episcopo Hadethiensi, antiquo apud Syros scriptore. Fatetur tamen ibidem Sionita, quorundam Syrorum sententiam esse, totam Vet. et Nov. Test. Versionem factam fuisse tempore S. Thaddæi (quem Addæum vocant) et regis Abgari; priorem vero sententiam probabiliorem judicat, quæ mihi improbabilior videtur."

<sup>163</sup> Abul-Pharâ. Hist. Arab. p. 184. a Pocock.—"siquidem exemplar—quod Simplex appellatur, quia qui illud elaborarunt de ornatu verborum solliciti non fuerunt, convenit cum exemplari Judæorum. At Syri Occidentales duas habent versiones; simplicem illam quæ e lingua Hebraica in Syriacam translata est post adventum Domini Christi tempore Addæi Apostoli, vel juxta alios, ante eum tempore Salomonis filii David et Hiram; et alteram figuratam juxta LXX seniorum interpretationem e lingua Græca in Syriacam traductam longo post Salvatoris incarnationem."



attention. So great a work as the translation of the whole Bible into the language of that people, must have been effected by labour and time. That part of the version which contains the Old Testament has been attributed to the Jews<sup>164</sup>; and the mere circumstance of this part of the canon having been the first that was translated, seems decisive of the fact. The Christians possessed no knowledge of the Hebrew, from which this version was made<sup>165</sup>, and were not even in possession of the original, until the publication of Origen's Hexapla<sup>166</sup>. In

<sup>164</sup> Author. Synops. Nov. Bibl. Polyglott. p. 18. "Syrus duplex est Bibliorum versio, ex Græco una facta est—ex Hebræo altera—. Ebraica verba ita presse exprimit, ut a Judæo potius quam ab homine Christiano profectam fuisse crediderim. Suspicio illam olim in usum Judæorum, qui in synagogis suis Ebraice et Chaldaice legebant, conditam fuisse, et ab his ob Chaldaicæ et Syriacæ dialectorum affinitatem ad Syros transiisse." Ap. Le Long. *ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 401. n. <sup>163</sup>. &c. It is mentioned by Eusebius as a singular instance of the indefatigable diligence of Origen, who, according to the admission of the Pagans, was the most learned person of his times, that he studied Hebrew; *vid. supr.* p. 213. n. <sup>59</sup>.

<sup>166</sup> Eusebius represents the possession of a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures as peculiar to Origen; Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. xvi. p. 275. l. 21. *Τοσαύτη δὲ εἰσηγείῃ τῷ Ὀριγῆναι τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηνεριβαμένη ἐξέτασις, ὥς καὶ τὴν Εβραϊδα γλῶσσαν ἐκμαθεῖν. τὰς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐμφορομένας προλιπύνας αὐτοῖς Εβραίων στοιχείοις Γραφαῖς, κλῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι.* And St. Jerome speaks of him as learning Hebrew contrary to the prejudice of his country; S. Hier. Cat. Scriptt. Eccl. in Orig. Tom. I. p. 126. "Et quod tantum in Scripturas divinas habuerit studii, ut etiam Hebræam linguam contra ætatis gentisque suæ naturam edisceret."

compiling this great work, in the third century, Origen probably made some use of the Syriack version, having frequently referred to it in his margin <sup>167</sup>. In the fourth century, it is noticed by Eusebius, Basil, and Ambrose <sup>168</sup>; and is expressly quoted

<sup>167</sup> Montfauc. Prælimm. in Hexapl. Origen. cap. i. § vii. p. 18. “Samaritani et Syri lectiones in marginibus vetustissimorum exemplarium quæ Hexaplorum fragmenta exhibent, sæpe observantur; Syri quidem in plerisque Scripturæ libris; Samaritani vero in Pentateucho tantum:—Cum autem illæ Samaritani lectiones, non in vetustis codicibus tantum, sed etiam apud patres quarti, quinti, et sequentium sæculorum occurrant, probabile sane videtur ipsum Originem lectiones illas Samaritani in margine Hexaplorum posuisse. Idem porro dicendum de Syro, cujus interpretationes passim reperiuntur, in Genesi Exodo,” &c. Whatever be considered probable on this subject, it must be inferred, that this version, which is quoted in the Hexapla, was the Peshito, from its coincidence with the Hebrew; vid. infr. n. <sup>168</sup>.

<sup>168</sup> Walt. Prolegomm. in Bibl. Polygl. p. 91. “Quicquid vero sit de hoc Hieronymi testimonio” (vid. supr. p. 397. n. <sup>156</sup>.) certum est Syriacæ versionis apud multos veterum Græcorum et Latinorum fieri mentionem. *Basilii Magni* Hom. 1. in Hex. ad Gen. i. 2. ex Syro interprete מרחם exponit, —. *Ambrosius* Hex. Lib. I. cap. viii. in eundem locum citat Syrum—*Procopius* in Exod. xxii. memorat Syrum vertisse ‘excute, tacuifacite,’ συσταλάσας. *Theodoretus* in cap. iii. Jonæ Syros codices citat, ut in Ps. civ. cxiii. cxvi. *Chrysostomus* in Ps. xciv. et Heb. xi. Syri codicis etiam meminit. *S. Augustinus* De Civitate Dei Lib. XV. cap. xiii. —. Ad hæc sæpissime τῶ Σύρος mentionem habemus in antiquissimis Scholiis Græcis,” &c. Montfauc. ibid. p. 19. “Syri porro lectiones adferuntur ab *Eusebio Cæsariensi*, a *Diodoro Tarsensi* frequentius; ab *Eusebio Emiseno*, *Hieronymo*, *Theodoreto* et aliis. Quodque notandum est, iidem, maximequæ *Diodorus*, Syrum cum Hebræo jungunt hoc pacto; ὁ Σύρος καὶ ὁ Ἑβραῖος, vel, ὁ Ἑβραῖος καὶ ὁ Σύρος, quando



out of the Old and New Testament, by Ephrem, the Syrian<sup>169</sup>. In this century, of course, the translation must have been completed. But the difference of style existing between the Gospels and the Acts and Epistles, renders it not merely probable that the translation was formed at different times; but that the Gospels, as might naturally be conceived, were formed at a comparatively early period. This supposition is not merely confirmed by the peculiar character of the style, which is more pure than that of the Acts and Epistles, and bears internal evidence of greater antiquity<sup>170</sup>; but by the absence of Eusebius's sections, which cannot be supposed to have existed in the Palestine text, when the version of the Gos-

scilicet *amborum interpretationes conveniunt, quod sæpe contigit.*"

The learned authour, Ib. § ix. p. 20. raises some objections to the notion of a Syriack version, from the Hebrew having existed in this early age; which he deduces from the circumstance of this version containing some *Greek terms*. But nothing can be concluded from hence against the existence of the Syriack Vulgate at this period, as the Syriack language, in which it is written, abounds in Greek terms. In the following observation, he seems to answer his own objections on this point: Id. ibid. p. 20. "Verum non desunt exempla alia quæ huic opinioni adversari videntur, ut est illud ex Didymo, Gen. viii. 7. ὁ Σύρος ἔχ' ὁμοίως τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ· λίγαι γὰρ, 'ὑπέριψι,' καὶ ὁ Εβραῖος.

<sup>169</sup> Vid. supr. p. 25. n. 43.

<sup>170</sup> Simon. Hist. des Vers. chap. xv. p. 187. "Au reste cette Version n'est pas tout-à-fait *si simple dans les Epîtres* de St. Paul, *que dans les Evangiles*. Comme le stile, de ces Epîtres est obscur et embarrassé, l'Interprete Syrien s'y est donné plus de liberté, s'éloignant quelquefois de son original. Il s'émancipe dès *les premiers mots* de l'Epître aux Romains," &c. Comp. Marsh. Michael. Vol. II. chap. vii. § 8. p. 40.



pels was made. All these considerations taken together, claim for the first part of this version an antiquity not less remote than the third century. And this assumption is rendered more probable, by many corroborating circumstances. The establishment of the Palestine school under Origen excited a spirit of literary exertion among the Syrians at this period; and directed their attention to biblical criticism<sup>171</sup>. With the declension of the Greek power in the East, on the extension of the Roman conquests to the remotest bounds of the civilized world, the authority of the Greek language simultaneously declined<sup>172</sup>. The Syrians now began to cul-

<sup>171</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xxx. p. 294. l. 27.

Τῷ δὲ Ὀριγέει ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας τὰ συνήδη πρᾶττονι, πολλοὶ προσήεσαν, ὃ μόνον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς μυρίοι φοιτηταὶ τὰς παλαιοὺς ἀπολιπόντες.—ἔς—τῆς προτέρας σπουδῆς τῇ θείᾳ ἀσκησιν ἀνικαλάλλασθαι πρὸ τρέψατο.

<sup>172</sup> The peculiar attention with which the natives of Palestine and Syria cultivated Greek, may be collected from the writings of Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus, &c. who wrote in that language. The principal writers among the Jews as well as Christians, neglecting their vernacular tongue, devoted themselves exclusively to the cultivation of that language, as is apparent from the works of Josephus and Philo, who are supposed, particularly the latter, to have had very little knowledge of Hebrew or Chaldee. Bardesanes, in the second century, wrote in Syriack; but to obtain his works a circulation in Palestine, it was found necessary by his disciples to translate them into Greek; Euseb. ibid. Lib. IV. cap. xxx. p. 194. l. 16.—  
πληθυνεσων τῶν αἰρέσεων, ἐπὶ τῆς Μίσης-τῶν-πολαμῶν, Βαρδησάνης ικανώτατός τις ἀνὴρ, ἔν τε τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ διαλεκτικώτατος, —  
διαλόγου συγγραμμενος, τῇ οἰκείᾳ παρεδωκε γλώττῃ τε καὶ γραφῇ, μὲν καὶ πλείων ἑτέρων αὐτῷ συγγραμμάτων· ἔς οἱ γνώριμοι (πλείστοι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ δυνατῶς τῷ λόγῳ παρισταμένῳ) ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ

tivate their native tongue, and one of the first efforts to give it a written existence, was employed in converting the best of books, into the vernacular language. But the peculiar character of that part of the version which was first formed, conveys a proof, which is at once demonstrative of its antiquity, and of its freedom from later corruption; a proof which is rendered decisive, by the wide and early dispersion of this translation, which rendered its general corruption impossible<sup>173</sup>. From the extraordinary

τῆς Σύρων μεταβεβλήκασι φωνῆς. A like observation may be made on the works of Ephrem Syrus, who wrote in the fourth century; 3. Hier. Cat. Scriptt. Eccless. in Ephr. Tom. I. p. 131. “Ephraem, Edessenæ ecclesiæ diaconus, multa Syro sermone composuit:—Legi ejus de Spiritu Sancto volumen, quod quidam de Syriaca lingua verterat; et acumen sublimis ingenii etiam in translatione cognovi.” As translations are rarely made into languages which are not more generally understood, than those in which the originals are written; these authorities very sufficiently evince the continuance of Greek in Syria, as low as the close of the fourth century. Towards the middle of the next century, matters assumed a different appearance; the translation of the works of Ibas, Theodorit, Theodorus Mopsuestenus, Diodorus Tarsensis, &c. into Syriack at this period, sufficiently declare, that this language had already begun to supersede the Greek: vid. supr. p. 344. n. <sup>71</sup>. A revisal of the Syriack Version was consequently undertaken about this time by Polycarp, under the auspices of Philoxenus; probably with the view of extending the Eutychian heresy in Syria, for which purpose the original Version, which had been so long used by Paulianists and Arians, was little calculated; vid. supr. p. 371. n. <sup>128</sup>. p. 346. n. <sup>76</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> Walt. Prolegomm. in Bibl. Polyglott. Sect. xiii. § 3. p. 92. “Qui vero hac lingua [Syriaca] sacra sua celebrant, ut a doctiss. Bierewood recensentur, sunt, (1.) Maronita in

agreement of the primitive Syriack version and the Greek Vulgate, we of course deduce a like conclu-

Monte Libano. —. Habent isti Maronitæ Patriarcham, qui sedem Patriarchalem plerumque habet *in monte Libano, aliquando in Tripoli*; Scripturas vero et cultum publicum lingua Syriaca, sive Maronitica—lingua scilicet quæ olim omnibus Vulgaris et adhuc vicis quibusdam et pagis per montem Libanum manet.—(2.) Nestoriani a Nestorio Heresiarcha olim dicti,—qui *magnam partem Orientis*—hodie occupant; nam præter *regiones Babyloniam, Assyriam, Mesopotamiam, Parthiam et Mediam*, in quibus frequentes degunt; etiam longe lateque *ex parte Septentrionali ad Cathaiam, et ex Australi Indos versus propagantur*. Patriarcham habent in Muzal ad ripas Tigridis in Mesopotamia. (3.) Jacobitæ dicti a Jacobo Syro,—cujus sectatores multi hodie conspiciuntur *in Syriam, Cyprum, Mesopotamiam, Babyloniam, Palæstinam* dispersi. Patriarcham habent, postquam ab Antiochena jurisdictione se subdlexerunt, cujus sedes est in urbe Caramit, antiqua Mesopotamiæ metropoli, qui se Patriarcham Antiochenum vocat.—(4.) Coptæ vel Coptitæ qui (in religione, Jacobitæ) *per Ægyptum* in sacris linguam Syriacam usurpant.—(5.) Indi sive S. Thomæ Christiani.—(6.) Hisce tandem addendi Christiani, qui *insulam Zocotoram* extra sinum Arabicum inhabitant: utrum Jacobitæ sint an Nestoriani variant autores.—Ex hoc calculo liquet *præcipuas per totum Orientem Christianorum Ecclesias, longe lateque propagatas, Scripturas et officia sacra lingua Syriaca legere et celebrare,* &c. That a dispersion of the Syriack Vulgate thus wide must have taken place at an early period, is apparent from the history of the Syrian Church. The commercial intercourse maintained between Arabia and India, opened a communication between those countries, through which numberless christian settlers extended themselves along the coast of Malabar to the island of Ceylon. The banishment of the Nestorians, and the subversion of the school of Edessa, whither the Persians resorted to study, under the Emperour Zeno, probably tended to increase the number of emigrants, and to extend the Syrian heresies as far eastward as India: vid. Beth-Arsem. Ap.



sion to that which has been already deduced from a similar agreement between the vulgar Greek and the primitive Latin translation <sup>174</sup>. From hence we must infer, that the original text, which corresponds with those most antient versions, must be nearly coincident with that from which these versions were at least formed in part, in the primitive ages.

Assem. Biblioth. Orient. in Ib. § vii. Tom. I. p. 204. Hence Cosmas Indicopleustes, who visited this country about the year 520, speaks of the Indian coasts, from Malabar to Ceylon or Sielediva, as possessing christian churches; a bishop at that time residing at Calicut, who acknowledged the Archbishop of Persia as his Metropolitan. Cosm. Indicopl. Lib. III. ἐν τῇ Ταπεροβάτῃ νήσῳ ἐν τῇ ἰσωλῒρα Ἰνδία ἵδρα τὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγός ἐστι, καὶ ἐκκλησία Χριστιανῶν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ καὶ κληρικοί καὶ πῖστοι, ἔκ οἷδα δὲ καὶ περαιτέρω ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Μαλί, ἵδρα τὸ πέπερι γίνεται καὶ ἐν τῇ Καλιάνα δὲ τῇ καλεμένη, καὶ ἐπισκοπὸς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Περσίδος χειροτονούμενος. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλεμένη Διοσκορίδης κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγός. Ap. Montf. Nov. Collect. Patrr. Tom. II. p. 179. e. Montfauc. Præf. in Cosm. Topograph. cap. iii. p. x. “ In altera Indiæ ora, quam hodie Malabaricam dicimus, hæ urbes et emporia celebriora erant, Sindu, Orrotha, *Calliana*: eadem ut videtur, quam hodie *Calicutum* vocamus; Sibor et Male, quinque emporia habens—. Ex Male haud dubie, Malabar factum est. Nam *Male barr* continens *Male* significat.” Id. ibid. § vi. “ In Male supra memorato emporio, aderat Christianorum Ecclesia; similiter in Sielediva Insula Ecclesia christianorum, cum presbytero et diacono in Perside ordinatis. Item apud Bactros, Hunnos—, reliquos Indos, Persarmenos, Medos, Elamitas, atque in tota Persidis regione Ecclesie infinitæ erant, Episcopi, christianique populi magno numero, martyres multi, monachi, hesychastæ. Similiterque in insula quæ Dioscoridis vocabatur, nunc *Zocotora* vitiato nomine, in mari Indico sita—clerici erant ex Perside missi, atque Ecclesia christianorum, qui ibidem magno numero versabantur.”

<sup>174</sup> Vid. supr. p. 154. &c.

The testimony of those antient and separate witnesses, the primitive Latin and Syriack Versions, now bears down the scale with accumulated weight in favour of the Greek Vulgate, which is confessedly supported by the uninterrupted testimony of tradition, for fourteen hundred years. Beholding the age of this text identified with the fourth century, by the concurring testimony of manuscripts, versions, and fathers, let us, by a single glance of thought, connect that period with the times of the Apostles, and those in which we live. Let us consider the uniformity which pervades the Manuscripts of every age, ascending from the present period to those times, and their coincidence with the writings of those Fathers, who flourished in the intervening ages. Having this positive proof of the integrity of tradition, for the whole of that period, in which the testimony of Manuscripts can be ascertained; let us then follow up that of the authorised Versions of the oldest Churches, which we are infallibly assured were received in the age where the testimony of Manuscripts fails. Supported by these vouchers, which carry us up to a remote and indefinite period; let us consider the history of the original text, for the period which remains unto the apostolical age. Let us estimate the possibility of its having been corrupted in the earliest ages; of its having been sophisticated by Lucianus, who professed merely to transmit the vulgar text, and who possessed no authority to impose a sophisticated text upon his contemporaries. Observing that St. Jerome attests the prevalence of Lucianus's text at the very

period to which our demonstrative proofs of its integrity extend <sup>175</sup>; let us then remember by how few links the chain of tradition is connected from the age in which he flourished to that in which the apostles wrote; that the intervention of two persons connects the times of Athanasius with those of Origen, and two more the times of Origen with those of the Apostles. Finally observing, that amid the mass of evidence which has been adduced by modern collatours against the vulgar edition, the coincidences with this text are unnoticed, while the minutest deviations from it are sedulously noted down, let it be remembered, that every attempt to impeach its general and doctrinal integrity, even in the most trivial points, has totally failed. Without taking a comparative view of the hollowness of the system by which the rival text which is opposed to it is sustained, I conceive, that to make the just inference which flows from these premises in favour of the integrity of the Greek Vulgate, requires not so much a sound judgment as an honest mind.

In closing the vindication of the Received Text, nothing more remains for its advocate, than to reply briefly to the charge of incompetency which has been urged against those by whom it was formed. The pedigree of this text has been traced by a few steps to Erasmus <sup>176</sup>; and a want of the most neces-

<sup>175</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 71. &c.

<sup>176</sup> Griesb. *Prolegomm.* in *Nov. Test.* Sect. I. p. xxxiii.  
 “Liceat jam tribus verbis Recepti Textus genealogiam repetere. Editiones recentiores sequuntur Elsevirianam, &c. ut *supr.* p. 1. n. 1.”



sary helps to correct the text, of which it is conceived he was destitute, has been urged as a sufficient proof of the inefficiency of his attempt<sup>177</sup>. Of Manuscripts, it is said, he knew little; having possessed none of those antient copies of which his successours have made so much use in amending the text<sup>178</sup>. Of Versions he was even more ignorant; having been wholly unacquainted with those of the Oriental and Western Church<sup>179</sup>. And of Fathers he made little use, having merely followed Athanasius, Nazianzen, and Theophylact, without being conscious of the value of Clement, Origen, and Cyril's testimony, in correcting the text<sup>180</sup>.

<sup>177</sup> Id. ib. p. xxxiv. "Erasmus vero textum, ut potuit, constituit e codicibus paucissimis et satis recentibus, omnibus subsidiis destitutus, præter versionem Vulgatam interpolatam, et scripta nonnullorum, sed paucorum nec accurate editorum Patrum."

<sup>178</sup> Id. ibid. p. viii. "Omnibus pæne subsidiis destituti fuerunt, —. Nam primo nullum habuerunt ex vetustissimis illis atque præstantissimis Codicibus, quorum excerptis nos jam gaudemus, qui innumeris in locis genuinam lectionem exhibent, eamque contra recentiorum librorum futile testimonium fortissime vindicant."

<sup>179</sup> Id. ibid. "Deinde caruerunt Versionibus Orientalibus omnibus, Syriaca utraque, Persicis, Arabicis, Copticis, Æthiopica, Armenica, ut Gothicam taceam et Slavonicam. Latina certe usi sunt translatione, fateor: sed partim innumeris gravissimisque mendis corrupta, partim recentiore tantum illa Vulgata, non vero longe præstantiore Antehieronimiana, quæ Italia vulgo dicitur."

<sup>180</sup> Id. ibid. "Denique caruerunt libris atque Commentariis Patrum Græcis plerisque, quorum summa est in re critica utilitas. Erasmus in secunda editione, Patrum scripta quibus usus est enumerans, Athanasium nominat, Nazianzenum atque Theophylactum. Quanti vero momenti sint in crisi sacra

How far the want of those necessary helps to correct the Greek text, have occasioned the failure of Erasmus, may, I conceive, be easily appreciated from the use which has been made of them by those who have succeeded him in that task. The merit of the Vulgar edition which he published, and of the Corrected Text, which M. Griesbach has edited, must be decided by the internal evidence: and without extending our attention beyond the three doctrinal texts to which M. Griesbach has limited the sum of his important improvements, there is now little reason to doubt which of those candidates for praise is best entitled to our approbation. Had the late editour established the integrity of his text, in all other points, in which he has disturbed the received reading; there can be no room to question, (until the principles of common sense become as inverted as the theory of sacred criticism), that the advantages which the text would have gained from his corrections, would be more than counterbalanced by the disadvantages which it has sustained from his corruptions. But in this undertaking, I am free to conclude, until what I have advanced to the contrary is refuted, he has totally failed. His system appears to be as unsound in theory, as it is deleterious in practice. Among all the passages which have been examined, and which include the whole of those of any importance in which he has violated

Clemens Alexandrinus, Origenes, Cyrillus uterque, alique permulti, vel tironibus, notum est. Quid igitur expectari poterat ab editoribus Novi Testamenti qui tot subsidiis plane necessariis destituerentur?"

the integrity of the sacred canon, he has not adduced a single witness whose testimony is admissible, while he has set aside numbers, whose credit, I scruple not to assert, he was unable to impeach.

Nor let it be conceived, in disparagement of the great undertaking of Erasmus, that he was merely fortuitously right. Had he barely undertaken to perpetuate the tradition on which he received the sacred text, he would have done as much as could be required of him, and more than sufficient to put to shame the puny efforts of those who have vainly laboured to improve upon his design. His extraordinary success in that immortal work may be clearly traced to the wisdom of the plan on which he proceeded. And little more is necessary than to follow him in his defence of that plan, in order to produce, in his own words, a complete refutation of the objections on which he has been condemned; and a full exposure of the shallowness of those principles, on which his labours would be now superseded, by a different system of critical emendation.

With respect to Manuscripts, it is indisputable that he was acquainted with every variety which is known to us; having distributed them into two principal classes, one of which corresponds with the Complutensian edition, the other with the Vatican manuscript<sup>181</sup>. And he has specified the positive

<sup>181</sup> Erasm. Nov. Test. Præf. [p. xviii.] ed. Basil. 1546.  
 “ Hic obiter illud incidit admonendum, esse Græcorum quosdam Novi Testamenti Codices ad Latinorum exemplaria emendatos.—Et nos olim in hujusmodi Codicem incidimus, et *talis adhuc dicitur adservari in bibliotheca Pontificia.*—Hoc eo vi-



grounds on which he received the one and rejected the other. The former was in possession of the Greek Church, the latter in that of the Latin; judging from the internal evidence, he had as good

*sum est admonere, quod jam nunc quidam jactant se trecenta loca notasse ex Codice bibliothecæ Pontificæ, in quibus ille consonat cum nostra Vulgata editione Latina, cum mea dissonat. Quod si nos urgent autoritate Vaticanæ bibliothecæ, Codex quem secutus est in Novo Testamento Franciscus Cardinalis quondam Toletanus, non modo fuit ejusdem bibliothecæ, verum etiam a Leone X missus est, ut hoc veluti bonæ fidei exemplar imitarent. Atque is pene per omnia consentit cum mea editione, dissentiens ab eo quem nunc quidam nobis obijciunt majusculis descriptum literis. Ab illo enim dissentiat oportet, si consentit cum Vulgata Latinorum editione."* In those two instances we have exemplars of the two principal Classes into which the Greek MSS. have been divided. That the MS. of the Pope's library, which is written in the large or uncial letter, and which agrees with the Latin Vulgate, can be no other than the celebrated Vatican MS. will not admit of a doubt, after turning to n. <sup>33</sup> sup. p. 61. This MS. was examined for Erasmus by Paulus Bombasius, and has accordingly had some influence on his edition; vid. *Erasm. Apolog. ad. Jac. Stunic. Op. Tom. IX. p. 353. a. ed 1706. Birch. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. p. xxii.* The MS. which was sent by P. Leo X. to Cardinal Ximenes, as the exemplar of the Complutensian New Testament, is conceived to have been lost with the other MSS. used in compiling that edition. The character of the text of this MS. is not only ascertainable from the Complutensian edition, but from a MS. preserved in the Bodleian library, (Laud. 2. noted by M. Griesbach, Cod. 51.) which harmonizes with it in an extraordinary manner: vid. *Mill. Prolegomm. in Nov. Test. nn. 1092. 1437.* As the Vatican MS. is of the Palestine text, and the Complutensian Codex of the Byzantine; Erasmus in being acquainted with those texts seems to have possessed ample materials for revising the New Testament.

reason to conclude the Eastern Church had not corrupted their received text, as he had grounds to suspect the Rhodians, from whom the Western Church derived their manuscripts, had accommodated them to the Latin Vulgate<sup>182</sup>. One short insinuation which he has thrown out, sufficiently proves, that his objections to these manuscripts lay more deep; and they do immortal credit to his sagacity. In the age in which the Vulgate was formed, the Church, he was aware, was infested with Origenists and Arians<sup>183</sup>; an affinity between any manuscript and that version, consequently conveyed some suspicion that its text was corrupted. So little dependance was he inclined to place upon the authority of Origen,

<sup>182</sup> Id. *ibid.* [p. xxi.] “ Si Græcis in animo fuisset depravare Codices suos, *his potissimum locis depravassent*, in quibus a nobis dissentiunt, veluti de processione Spiritus, de aequalitate trium Personarum, de Primatu Romani Pontificis, de ritu consecrandi et tradendi baptismum et eucharistiam, de conjugio sacerdotum, aut si quid aliud est ejusmodi: at in his nobis consentiunt. *Nec ullus locus proferri valet, qui hoc nomine suspectus haberi possit.* Ego magis suspicor, si quid mutatum est in Græcorum libris, id a Latinis exemplaribus fuisse profectum, posteaquam Romana Ecclesia cæpit absorbere Græciam. Nec tota divulsa est a nobis Græcia: Rhodus et Creta Christum agnoscit, agnoscit Romanum Pontificem: cur horum libris diffidimus. *Et ab his potissimum nobis veniunt exemplaria.*”

<sup>183</sup> Id. *ibid.* “ Risit olim Helvidium Hieronymus, qui sibi stultissime persuaserat, *Græcos codices esse corruptos*: ac dictum hominis stultius esse putat, quam ut sit argumentis refellendum. Et tamen jam tum Oriens ferme omnis hæresibus ferebat Arianorum et Origenistarum. *Ab iis magis timendum erat exemplaribus, quam a schismaticis.*”



who is the pillar and ground of the Corrected edition.

With regard to Versions, it is true he was unacquainted with the antient Italic and later Oriental translations. But were the history of those versions known to the objectour, I trust they would be scarcely opposed to the system of one, who was aware of the necessity of avoiding the contagion of the Arian and Origenian heresies. With the primitive Italic and Syriack Versions he was unacquainted; but I yet remain to be informed, of what other use they could have been made, than to confirm him in the plan which he had judiciously chosen. I have yet to hear of a single text which they could have led him to adopt, which is not found in his edition. His whole dependance was rested on the Greek and Latin Vulgate; and if we may believe himself, he used some antient copies of the latter<sup>184</sup>. Of these he made the best use: confronting their testimony, and estimating the internal evidence of

<sup>184</sup> Erasm. *ibid.* [p. viii.] “ Nos in prima recognitione quatuor Græcis [Codd.] adjuti sumus: in secunda quinque; in tertia præter alia accessit editio Asculana: in quarta, præstò fuit Hispaniensis. Deinde *consultis tum pervetustis tum emendatis aliquot Latinæ linguæ voluminibus*: nec hoc contenti discussis et exploratis probatissimis autoribus,” &c. The following declaration, while it proves that Erasmus was not unduly influenced by the Latin Vulgate, seems to indicate that he was not unacquainted with the peculiar readings of the Old Italic version; *Id. ibid.* [p. xi.] “ Sunt in quibus nostra Vulgata magis probatur editio, aut *Ambrosiana lectio*, quam Græci Codices. Et tamen consentientibus omnibus Græcis exemplaribus, quoniam *illa mutare non licuit Latinæ accomodavimus*, ne non responderent, quum in hoc ipsum adderentur.”



the context with the external testimony of the Eastern and Western Churches, he thence ascertained the authentick text of Scripture<sup>185</sup>. A particular vindication of this part of his plan cannot be demanded from me, who have advanced so much to prove, that it affords the only rational prospect of ascertaining the primitive or genuine text of the New Testament; whatever aid may be derived from other versions and texts<sup>186</sup>, in defending contested readings.

<sup>185</sup> Id. ibid. " Scio res sacras reverenter ac religiose tractandas, et idcirco licet in infima functione versantes, tamen omni quia licuit circumspectione sumus usi. *Contulimus utriusque lingue vetustissimos ac probatissimos Codices*, nec eos sane paucos. Excusissimus veterum ac recentiorum Commentarios, tum Græcos tum Latinos. Observavimus quid diversi legant. *Pensitavimus ipsius loci sententiam*, atque ita demum pronunciavimus quidem, sed lectorem admonuimus, suum cuique judicium liberum relinquentes.

<sup>186</sup> The want of the Syriack Version, and of pure copies of the Latin Vulgate, has been objected as essential defects to Erasmus, in revising the text of the New Testament. As both were used by Lucas Brugensis, together with the Greek, in correcting the text of the Latin Version; and his corrections are subjoined to the Bible of Sixtus V. ed. Antw. 1681: a comparison of Erasmus's readings with the Corrections of L. Brugensis, p. 81. will best illustrate how far the former has failed, from the want of those antient versions. I shall subjoin a short specimen of texts from the first ten chapters of St. Matthew, in which Erasmus and Lucas Brugensis agree with the Greek Syriack and old copies of the Vulgate, against the authority of the modern copies which contain the Received Text of the Romish Churches. Matt. iii. 10. excidetur—mittitur. *Vulg.* exciditur—mittitur. *Erasm. Brug.* Ib. iv. 6. mandavit. *Vulg.* mandabit. *Erasm. Brug.* Ibid. 16. umbræ. *Vulg.*

In using the testimony of antient Fathers, it appears never to have entered his conception, that any utility could be derived from collating them *verbatim* with the text of Scripture. Before the labours of modern criticks, the monks of Upper Egypt and Palestine, who divided their time between this profitable employment, and the perusal of Origen's speculative theology, were probably the only persons who ever engaged in this interesting pastime. Of the value of the works of those early writers, in ascertaining and vindicating the doctrinal integrity of the text, no man was more conscious than Erasmus. With this view he *read* over the works of the principal writers and commentatours<sup>187</sup>; bequeathing the task of collating their quotations with the text of Scripture, to his more dull and diligent successours. With what effect he engaged in such an office, those who are curious to be informed, will best ascertain, by examining the text which he has published. The advocates of the Received Text have little to apprehend from a comparison with the Corrected Text, by which it is now supposed to be wholly superseded. In all those passages in which

et umbra. *Erasm. Brug.* Ib. v. 24. reconciliari. *Vulg.* reconciliare. *Erasm. Brug.* Ibid. offeres. *Vulg.* offer. *Erasm. Brug.* Ib. vi. 22. corporis tui—oculus tuus. *Vulg.* corporis—oculus. *Erasm. Brug.* Ibid. 33. quærite ergo. *Vulg.* quærite autem. *Erasm. Brug.* Ib. viii. 9. constitutus. *Vulg.* deest. *Erasm. Brug.* Vid. *Erasm. nn.* in ll.

<sup>187</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 417. n. <sup>185</sup>. *Erasm. ibid.* [p. xviii.] “ Illud potius spectandum quid legerint veteres Græci, Origenes, Athanasius, Basilus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Chrysostomus, Cyrillus, ac Theophylactus,” &c.

the integrity of the sacred text has been defended, the vindication of Erasmus's text is inseparable from that of the vulgar edition <sup>188</sup>.

It is not, however, my intention to assert, that I conceive the text of Erasmus absolutely faultless <sup>189</sup> but with the exception of some places, in which the reading of the Greek Vulgate has not been preserved <sup>190</sup>, I know not on what authority we might ven-

<sup>188</sup> In those passages of which a vindication has been offered, *supr.* p. 239. *sqq.* p. 251. *sqq.* p. 372. *sqq.* p. 380. *sqq.* p. 358. n. <sup>99</sup>. p. 359. n. <sup>100</sup>. p. 361. n. <sup>102</sup>. p. 390. n. <sup>141</sup>. the Received Text follows the reading of Erasmus's edition.

<sup>189</sup> As the MSS. which contain the Byzantine text are generally coincident in their readings, *vid. supr.* p. 118. n. <sup>16</sup>. p. 126. n. <sup>40</sup>. it is little wonderful that Erasmus, having made choice of that text, should have published an edition, which corresponds with the text which has been since discovered to prevail in the great body of Greek manuscripts. But as every manuscript has some peculiar readings, it can be no less extraordinary, that some phrases should have been admitted by Erasmus into his text, though destitute of the support of the generality of manuscripts. These, however, are so few and inconsiderable, as to be scarcely deserving of notice. After some search after those which are retained in the Received Text, the following are the only instances of interpolations, which I have been enabled to discover in the Gospels; *Mat.* xii. 35. τῆς καρδίας. *Mar.* iv. 4. τῆ ἐξουσίᾳ. *Ib.* vi. 44. ὡσεὶ. *Ib.* xvi. 8. ταχὺ. *Ib.* x. 20. μᾶλλον. *Joh.* xx. 29. Θωμᾶ: to which we may add the following instances of mere expletives; *Mat.* iv. 18. ὁ Ἰησοῦς. *Ib.* viii. 5. τῷ Ἰησοῦ. *Ib.* xiv. 19. κῆ. *Ib.* xxv. 44. αὐτῷ. *Luc.* iv. 8. γὰρ.

<sup>190</sup> Several readings of this kind have been admitted by M. Matthæi, into his edition of the New Testament, on the authority of the Moscow MSS. They are generally prevalent in the uncial MSS. which contain the vulgar Greek, and are constantly supported by the following authorities, *Byz. Pal. Æg.*



ture to correct it. The Egyptian and Palestine texts have been so often convicted of error, in points where the Byzantine text admits of the fullest defence, that their testimony, when opposed to the vulgar Greek, cannot be entitled to the smallest attention<sup>191</sup>. And when the verbal integrity merely

*It. 1. Syr. 1.* The principal Greek MSS. in which they are found, are the Alexandrine, Cyprian, Vatican, and Moscow, which are designated by the letters A, K, S, Mt. V: they likewise occur in the MSS. marked F, G, H, Mt. B, H. in those marked B, C, D, L. and may be generally traced to the writings of St. Chrysostome. There can be little doubt that those readings possess great antiquity; but we must not necessarily infer that they are genuine. It is not impossible that they may have originated in the edition of Eusebius; that they may have been thence retained in the revisal of St. Athanasius; and have thus maintained their place in the Byzantine text, when that text was restored at Constantinople under Nectarius and St. Chrysostome, who succeeded to the government of the Byzantine Patriarchate, on the suppression of the Arian party. The influence of St. Athanasius and St. Chrysostome will sufficiently account for their reception in the Italick and Syriack translations, on which it is certain the text of Eusebius had some influence; as must be collected from the omission of some remarkable passages in those translations which are omitted in the text revised by Eusebius. Conf. *supr.* p. 98. n. <sup>103</sup>. p. 92. n. <sup>101</sup>. And this notion, it may be observed by the way, is strengthened by conformity of the Alexandrine MS. and the Syriack Version. Conf. *supr.* p. 224. n. <sup>10</sup>. p. 350. n. <sup>83</sup>. Whatever opinion be formed of those readings, which generally consist in peculiarities which can be only expressed in Greek, they are scarcely worth contesting; as they may be retained or rejected from the Received Text, without affecting the Authorised Version, which we are principally concerned in defending. Vid. *infr.* p. 424. n. <sup>107</sup>.

<sup>191</sup> A number of those texts, which are supported almost

of the sacred text is concerned, no one, it is presumed, will set the testimony of Versions and Fathers in competition with that of the vulgar edition. I am well aware, that many manuscripts of reputed antiquity exist, which contain the Byzantine text, and yet differ from the Received Text set forth in the printed edition <sup>192</sup>; but numberless circumstances prohibit our correcting it on their authority.

Nothing can be more fallacious than the criteria by which the age of Greek manuscripts is in general determined <sup>193</sup>. To be written in the large or un-

exclusively by the MSS. marked B, C, D, L, have been admitted by M. Griesbach into his Corrected Text; and they are among the most exceptionable of his emendations.

<sup>192</sup> Such are the MSS. marked A, K, S, Mt. V. &c. enumerated in n. <sup>190</sup>. which sometimes differ from the great body of MSS. containing the Greek Vulgate, and at the same time coincide with those containing the Egyptian and Palestine editions. In this case, their testimony, though supported by other uncial MSS. is but of little weight, when set against that of the vulgar edition, for the reasons already specified: vid. supr. n. <sup>190</sup>.

<sup>193</sup> From this sentence, the Alexandrine, Vatican, and Cambridge MSS. are of course excepted; as possessing claims to a remote antiquity, which cannot be reasonably disputed. It has been indeed urged, as an argument against the first of those MSS. that it approximates to the Arabick orthography in inserting the letter  $\mu$  in certain words, contrary to the idiom of the Greek language. It is difficult to answer this objection until we are acquainted with the extent to which it may be urged. If I am not wholly deceived, it is confined to instances like the following, which are noted by Dr. Woide in his various readings: Mar. xii. 40. Luc. xx. 47.  $\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\psi\sigma\iota\alpha\iota$ . Joh. v. 43.  $\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\psi\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . Ib. xvi. 14, 15.  $\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\psi\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$ . Ib. xvi. 24. Act. i. 8. ii. 38.  $\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\psi\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ , &c. But I apprehend we need not go beyond

cial character, without accents or spirits, is among the most decisive marks of antiquity. But I would

the Greek radical to an Arabick root for a solution of this difficulty. That  $\mu$  is retained in  $\lambda\psi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\lambda\psi\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon$ ,  $\lambda\psi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ , I conceive is simply owing to its being found in  $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ; which was *regularly* inflected with the characteristick,  $\mu$ ;  $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ,  $\lambda\eta\mu\psi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\mu\phi\alpha$ . Whether this mode of inflexion was peculiar to the fourth century, or to the city of Alexandria, there is unfortunately no person alive to inform us. It is certainly not peculiar to the Alexandrine MS. since it prevailed in the Cotton Genesis; as appears from the fragments of that most ancient MS. which yields to no other in point of antiquity, when those are excepted which have been dug out of Herculaneum. The following instances will exemplify the above assertion; Gen. xv. 24.  $\lambda\eta\mu\psi\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$ . Ib. xviii. 4.  $\lambda\eta\mu\phi\theta\eta\tau\omega$ . Ibid. 5.  $\lambda\eta\mu\psi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ . Ib. xix. 17.  $\sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\phi\theta\eta\varsigma$ . Ib. xxi. 30. 37. 38. 40.  $\lambda\eta\mu\psi\eta$ . Vid. Walt. Bibll. Polyglott. Tom. VI. tract. xi. With respect to some other objections which have been urged against the antiquity of the Alexandrine MS. which are merely deduced from its orthography, they admit of as easy an answer. The movers of these objections would do well to establish a criterion, in the first place, by which we may judge of the orthography of the fourth century; before they proceed to condemn a MS. as modern, which does not happen to accord with their notions respecting it. If we may judge of the Greek by other languages, its orthography could not have been fixed until a late period, and was then the work of grammarians. This supposition is fully confirmed by the antient inscriptions, which contain the only certain monuments of antient orthography within our reach; but which vary from themselves in numberless instances. Vid. Gruter. Thesaur. Inscriptt. Apend. cap. xix. ed. 1516. Before some standard of language is established by the publication of a Dictionary, it is vain to look for uniformity in the orthography of any nation. Among the Greeks the search must be preposterous, as the want of a knowledge of printing obliged them to employ a number of young persons of both sexes as copyists, besides scribes, who took down what



submit it to the profound in antiquarian research, whether more can be safely inferred from these peculiarities, than that the use of spectacles was not known when those manuscripts were written; a larger character being necessary for the eye, when impaired by age, as the defect admitted of no remedy from optical assistance. And what evinces the uncertainty of such criteria, is the certainty of the fact, that the use of accents was well known in the fourth century, previously to the existence of almost every manuscript with which we are acquainted; and the use of small connected characters must have been known at a much earlier period. St. Epiphanius describes the different accents which occur in the Greek, as adopted in copies of the sacred writings, in the age when he flourished<sup>194</sup>. And the accounts which are recorded of the notaries, or swift-writers, which attended Origen<sup>195</sup> and St.

was dictated. Such was the custom in Origen's times, of whom Eusebius declares; Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xxiii. p. 287. l. 9. ταχυγράφοι γὰρ αὐτῷ πλείους ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν παρῆσαν υπαγορεύοντι, χρόνοις τέταγμένοις ἀλλήλους ἀμείβοιεν· βιβλιογράφοι τε ἐκ ἧτις ἅμα καὶ κόραις ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφεῖν ἡσκημέναις. To persons of the latter description, the transcription of the Alexandrine has been absolutely attributed; Grab. Prolegomm. in Septuagint. cap. i. § 5. [p. xxi.] ed. Oxon. 1707. "Huic ergo Theclæ ejusque in vita monastica sociis vel sociabus Codicem nostrum attribuere nihil vetat," &c.

<sup>194</sup> S. Epiphan. de Menss. et Pond. Tom. II. p. 158. d. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινες κατὰ προσωδίαν ἔσιζαν τὰς Γραφὰς, καὶ περὶ τῶν προσωδῶν τὰδε· ὀξεῖα ['], δασεῖα ['], βαρεῖα ['], ψιλή ['], περισπωμένη [~], κ. τ. ἔ.

<sup>195</sup> Vid. supr. n. <sup>193</sup>. conf. p. 367. n. <sup>123</sup>. Origen speaks in the following terms of his ταχύγραφοι, for whom he was obliged

Chrysostome<sup>196</sup>, when delivering their Homilies, sufficiently prove, that a small and connected character must have been in use, when they lived, similar to that which exists in the most modern manuscripts. The little certainty which can of course be attained, in determining the age of manuscripts by the form, or the size of the letter, consequently deprives those which are written in the uncial character, of any paramount weight in determining the genuine text of Scripture.

For some slight verbal and literal errors in the vulgar Greek, we must indeed compound, as the unavoidable effect of careless transcription; but these do not in the least impeach the integrity of the Received Text or Authorised Version. In the investigation or defence of the truth, they must be lighter than dust in the balance. As they rarely if ever affect the sense, and even in this case do not relate to any point of doctrine or morals, they cannot prove the source of error, or form the ground of controversy. They generally relate to verbal niceties, which are not capable of being expressed in a translation<sup>197</sup>; and as such, cannot be deserving of the

to wait, on his removal from Alexandria to Palestine; Orig. Comm. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 101. d. καὶ οἱ συνήθεις δὲ ταχύγραφοι μὴ παρόντες τῷ ἔχουσιν τῶν υπαγορεύσεων ἐκώλυον.

<sup>196</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. iv. p. 313. l. 36. ὁποῖος δὲ εἰσιν οἱ, τε ἐκδοθέντες παρ' αὐτῶ [τῷ Ἰωάννῃ] λόγοι, καὶ οἱ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀξυγράφων ἐκκληφθέντες, ὅπως τε λαμπροὶ καὶ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ἔχοντες, τί δὲ ἡμεῖς λέγειν, κ. τ. ἔ.

<sup>197</sup> The nature of these deviations from the Received Text, may be appreciated by the following examples, taken from the first ten chapters of St. Matthew; Mat. ii. 11. εὗρον. Rec. εἶδον.

smallest consideration from divines, of whatever importance they may be regarded by criticks or grammarians. Whatever may have been the original reading of the sacred text, there can be little doubt, that the inspired writers could find no difficulty in sanctioning the authorised reading. This inference is clearly deducible from their practice with respect to the Septuagint<sup>198</sup>: and indeed the variations discoverable in their quotations from the Old Testament, and in their narratives of our Lord's discourses, must convince us, that they considered that strict literal accuracy which is now required in their works, as far beneath their attention. In the uncertainty which must attend every attempt to recover their precise words and expressions, where the Greek manuscripts differ, the only wise plan appears to lie in preserving a settled state of things, and in retaining of course that reading which is most general. That reading, however, it is not disputed, is found in the vulgar text of our printed editions. Admitting, that in choosing a text among the manuscripts which contain the vulgar Greek, we have fixed

*K. S. &c. Ib. v. 44. τὸς μισῆσας. Rec. τοῖς μισῶσιν. K. S. &c. Ib. vii. 2. ἀνιμῆρηθήσεται. Rec. μῆρηθήσεται. K. S. V. &c. Ibid. 14. ὅτι. Rec. τί. K. S. V. &c. Ib. viii. 8. λόγον. Rec. λόγῳ. K. S. V. &c. Ib. ix. 17. ἀμφοτέρα. Rec. ἀμφοτέροι. K. G. V. &c. Ibid. 18. ἐλθὼν. Rec. εἰσελθὼν. K. E. V. &c. Ibid. 36. ἐκλελυμένοι. Rec. ἐσκυλμένοι. K. G. S. Ib. x. 8. λεπρὸς καθαρίζετε, νεκρὸς ἐγείρει. Rec. νεκρὸς ἐγείρει, λεπρὸς καθαρίζετε. K. S. V. &c. Ibid. 28. ἐκάλεσαν—οἰκιστὰς. Rec. ἐπεκάλεσαν—οἰκειαστὰς. K. S. V. &c. Ibid. 28. 31. φοβηθῆτε. Rec. φοβεῖσθε. K. S. V. &c. Ib. xi. 16. παιδαγγοῖς. Rec. παιδίοις. K. S. V. &c.*

<sup>198</sup> Vid. sup. p. 310. sqq.



on the worst, any advantage which would arise from a change, would be more than counterbalanced by the disadvantages of innovation. But that the Greek Vulgate merits this character, is a point which will not be readily conceded by its defenders: and the advocates for an improved edition have infinitely more to advance in favour of their schemes of emendation, than they have been hitherto able to urge, before we can assign their Corrected Text the smallest authority. It is sufficient for us, that all their attempts to invalidate the integrity of the Received Text, in any point of the smallest importance, have proved wholly abortive. The same plea will not be easily established in favour of the text which they have undertaken to advocate. If I am not greatly deceived, the corruption of this text may be not only demonstrated, but traced to the source in which it has originated. If this undertaking be practicable, as I trust it is, it must add the greatest weight to the authority of the Greek Vulgate: as it will annihilate the force of every objection which can be raised to the Received Text, from the opposition of a rival edition; and by affording an adequate opportunity of vindicating the tradition of the Church, from every suspicion of corruption, add the last confirmation to that system, by which the authority of the Received Text has been defended.

## SECTION VI.

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THE plenary concession that the Byzantine text has preserved its integrity for fourteen hundred years, leaves the unwarrantable assumption, that it was corrupted in the earliest ages, entitled to very little respect<sup>1</sup>. Were we destitute of proof on this subject, the bare probabilities of the case would be decisive of the point at issue: the task of *proving* the corruption of the Greek Vulgate, would at least devolve on those by whom the charge was urged. The avowed advocate of the Palestine text was fully aware, how necessary it was to the establishment of his theory, that he should succeed in substantiating this charge against it. Having limited the corruption of the vulgar text to a period, in which it is impossible it could have remained undiscovered, had it more than a visionary existence<sup>2</sup>, he believed the task was only to be attempted

<sup>1</sup> Comp. p. 348, n. <sup>81</sup>, pp. 334, 335. nn. <sup>52</sup> et <sup>53</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The origin of the Byzantine recension, which M. Griesbach considers a corruption of the primitive text, is referred by him to the close of the fourth, the fifth, and the following century; conf. supr. p. 348. n. <sup>81</sup>. p. 126. n. <sup>40</sup>. Of the whole range of ecclesiastical history, this is the period of which we

in order to be achieved. His promises on this subject stand recorded by his own hand<sup>3</sup>; what he has offered us in place of a performance, stands attested

possess the most full and explicit documents; Garner. Præf. in Liberat. Diac. § ix. *Scio sæcula duo, quintum sextumque feracissima fuisse scriptorum, qui res easdem, quas Liberatus, memoriæ mandarint.*—Historiam confecerunt præter nominatissimos tres, Theodoretum Sozomenum et Socratem, Priscus Panites sub Theodosio juniore, Joannes Ægeates sub Zenone, et Candidus Isaurus sub Zenone, Eustathius Syrus sub Anastasio, Theodorus lector sub Justino seniore, Joannes rhetor, Basilus Cilix, et Zacharias rhetor sub Justiniano, alique quorum meminerunt Evagrius Theophanes et Nicephorus priorum deflorescentes.” That the writers of this period would not have been withheld by tender scruples from publishing a fact like that under review, if it had any existence, must be evident from the statement of the Palestine monks, who brought the charge of sophisticating the writings of the fathers, against those who engaged in the controversies of the Nestorians and Eutychians; vid. supr. p. 326. n. <sup>38</sup>. We accordingly find that Liberatus, whose prejudices certainly lay towards the party of Nestorius and Theodoret, [vid. Garner. *ibid.* § iii.] mentions a report, which was propagated, that Macedonius had corrupted the celebrated text, 1 Tim. iii. 16. A more convenient opportunity will occur hereafter, to examine how far this charge is founded in truth. As there is therefore no dearth of historical information at the period, to which M. Griesbach has fixed the corruption of Scripture; this single instance will fully demonstrate, that there was no disposition to suppress even a report on this subject, which had the smallest foundation in probability.

<sup>3</sup> Griesb. Nov. Test. Præf. p. xv. ed. 1777. “Nolumus enim Critices Sacræ theoriam hic delineare id quod alio loco commodius fieri poterit.” Id. *ibid.* n. \*. “Primas hujus Theoriæ lineas duxi in ‘Curis meis in historiam Textus Epistolarum Paulinarum Græci’ quarum specimen prius nuper Jenæ 1777. 4. prodiit, posterius mox sequetur.”



by the same voucher<sup>4</sup>. His acknowledged incompetence to substantiate his point, consequently renders the defence of the Greek Vulgate complete; since this text, which is amply supported by positive proofs, is wholly unaffected by positive exceptions.

But the matter at issue must not be suffered to rest on these grounds. However defective the advocates of the Alexandrine text have found their materials, in proving the corruption of the Byzantine; we find no such deficiency in returning the compliment on the Egyptian and Palestine. The corruptions of these texts, if I am not altogether deceived, may be clearly demonstrated, and traced to the very source from whence they have originated. In prosecuting this object, the testimony of Origen may be wholly disposed of; and his evidence, which has been hitherto used to support the Palestine text, may be effectually employed to destroy its credit. If this object be attainable, as I conceive it is, it will annihilate the pretensions of the Palestine text, which, we have already seen, is

<sup>4</sup> Id. Symbb. Critt. Præf. [p. xiv.] “ Sed ingenue fateor, deesse mihi adhuc subsidia nonnulla, quibus carere non potest, qui discrimina non solum ac indolem, sed, quod difficilius est, historiam etiam, origines ac vicissitudines Recensionum veterum omnium ita declarare vult, ut asserta sua peritis arbitris probaturum se esse sperare haud immerito queat.” The declining confidence of our authour at length falls to the ground, and in his last declaration he states; “ *Origo variarum textus Nov. Test. recensionum, deficientibus documentis satis vetustis ac testimoniis, historice declarari nequit,*” &c. ut supr. p. 337. A. <sup>56</sup>.

destitute of positive support from those who have affected to uphold it.

From what has been already adduced on the history of the inspired text, and the connected testimony of tradition, it is apparent, that the received or vulgar text, as preserved by the orthodox, could not have undergone any considerable change from the apostolical age to the times of Origen<sup>5</sup>. Some verbal errors probably arose in particular copies from the negligence of transcribers<sup>6</sup>; but the testimony of this antient father, places it beyond all doubt, that at the period when he lived, the general integrity of the text had remained uncorrupted. His silence on this subject might be construed into a proof somewhat stronger than presumptive: the nice attention which he bestowed on the Septuagint, renders it next to impossible, that any corruption of the New Testament could have escaped his observation, if it really existed. He speaks, it is true, of a difference existing in the copies of his times<sup>7</sup>. But this opinion he offers merely as a con-

<sup>5</sup> Vid. supr. p. 123. sqq. p. 207. sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Origen notes some variations of this kind; Comment. in Mat. Tom. III. p. 532. c. d. ὁ μὲν ἔν Ματθαῖος πεποίηκε κατὰ τινὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τό· ‘ τότε διεείλατο’—ἰστέον μέντοι ὅτι τινὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τῶν κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἔχει τὸ, ‘ ἐπετίμησεν.’ Conf. Ib. p. 588. b. p. 597. d. But from these examples, and all others that I have observed, I cannot see how it can be concluded, that Origen found these variations in the received text: as he indiscriminately quotes, in his Commentaries, from the copies used by the hereticks as well as the orthodox; vid. supr. p. 330. n. <sup>45</sup>. conf. infr. p. 481. n. <sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Orig. ibid. p. 671. c. καὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν

jecture, grounding it on the diversity observable in the accounts which the different Evangelists give of the same incident<sup>8</sup>; and it occurs in a work which is of very little authority, as written while Origen's opinions were far from settled, or deserving of any attention<sup>9</sup>. His opinion must be taken from a different part of his writings; and in his last and greatest work he explicitly states, that he knew of no persons but the followers of Marcion and Valentinus, who had corrupted the Scriptures<sup>10</sup>. As this is the latest opinion which he has delivered on this subject, it must be taken as his definitive sentence.

To some period subsequent to the æra of Origen, we must consequently fix the first change which took place in the received text of Scripture. And

ἀντιγράφων διαφορὰ, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφῶν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκεῖν ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προσιδέντων ἢ ἀφαιρῶντων.

<sup>8</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 670. a. ὑπονοεῖσθαι δύναται, ὥς ἐκ ὑπὸ τῆ Σωλήρος ἐπ' αὐτὰ παρειλήφθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τινος τὴν ἀκριβείαν μὴ νοήσας τῶν λεγομένων, προσεδείσθαι· συναγορεύσει δὲ τῇ ὑπονοήσει τῇ προσιδείσθαι ἐνλαύσα τό· 'ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν,' ἢ τῶν ἰμοίων παρὰ τῷ Μάρκῳ καὶ τῷ Λουκᾷ ἐκδεῖς, ὧν ἕδτερος προσέθεικε ταῖς κατὰ τὸν τόπον ὑπὸ τῆ Ἰησοῦ παραληφθεῖσαις ἐντολαῖς κ. τ. ἐ. Conf. p. 671. a. b.

<sup>9</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 367, 368. et *nn.* in loc.

<sup>10</sup> Orig. *contr. Cels.* Lib. II. cap. xxvii. Tom. I. p. 411. b. μελαχράξιαν δὲ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἄλλες ἐκ οἷδα, ἢ τὰς ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος, καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Ὀυαλενίου, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Λουκίου. τῆτο δὲ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῆ λόγου ἐστὶν ἑγκλημία· ἀλλὰ τῶν τολμησάντων ραδιουργῆσαι τὰ εὐαγγέλια. Conf. D. Bull. *Defens. Fid. Nic. Sect. II.* cap. ix. § 2. p. 96.



of such a change we have an explicit account, in the statement which is transmitted of the editions published by Hesychius and Lucianus<sup>11</sup>: against which, a charge has been preferred by St. Jerome, that they were interpolated, at least in the Gospels<sup>12</sup>.

Whatever may have been the alterations which Lucianus and Hesychius introduced into the sacred writings, they must be clearly attributed to the influence of Origen's writings. Previously to his times, the inspired text had undergone no alteration; and they revised it not many years subsequent to the publication of his Hexapla. As he had laboured to supersede the authorised version of the Old Testament, he contributed to weaken the authority of the received text of the New. In the course of his Commentaries, he cited the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, on the former part of the Canon<sup>13</sup>, he appealed to the authority of Valentinus and Heracleon<sup>14</sup> on the latter.

<sup>11</sup> Vid. supr. p. 72. n. 37.

<sup>12</sup> Vid. supr. p. 100. n. 120.

<sup>13</sup> The following comparative character of these versions, and the vulgar text, is given by Origen, who constantly quotes the former in his Commentaries; Comment. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 141. b. τὸ δὲ ὅμοιον περὶ τὰ ὀνόματα σφάλμα πολλαχῇ τῇ νόμῳ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ὡς ἠκριβώσαμεν ἀπὸ Ἑβραίων μαθόντες καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα συγκρίναντες, μαξιμῶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν μηδέπω διασφραγιστῶν ἐκδόσεων Ἀκύβη, καὶ Θεοδοτίανος καὶ Συμμάχου. Conf. infr. n. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Heracleon followed Valentinus; and many of the errors of those writers, whose opinions are examined by Origen in his Commentary on St. John, were adopted from Apocryphal

While he thus raised the credit of those revisals, which had been made by the hereticks, he detracted from the authority of that text which had been received by the orthodox. Some difficulties which he found himself unable to solve in the Evangelists, he undertook to remove, by expressing his doubts of the integrity of the text. In some instances he ventured to impeach the reading of the New Testament on the testimony of the Old<sup>15</sup>, and to convict the copies of one Gospel on the evidence of another<sup>16</sup>: thus giving loose to his fancy, and indulging in many wild conjectures, he considerably

books: Orig. Comment. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 66. b. Βιαίως δὲ οἶμαι καὶ χωρὶς μαρτυρίας τὸν Ὁυαγγελιστὴν λεγόμενον εἶναι γινώριμον Ἡρακλέωνα διηγόμενον πρὸς ‘πάντα δι’ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο’ κ. τ. ε. Conf. ibid. p. 117. e. Id. ibid. p. 226. πολὺ δὲ ἐστὶν νῦν παρατίθεσθαι τῷ Ἡρακλεωνος τὰ ῥητὰ ἀπὸ τῷ ἐπιγεγραμμένῳ ‘Πέτρε Κηρύγματος’ παραλαμβάνόμενα, καὶ ἵστασθαι πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐξελάζουσας καὶ περὶ τῷ βιβλίῳ, πότερόν ποτε γνήσιόν ἐστι, ἢ νόθον, ἢ μικρόν.—

<sup>15</sup> Id. Comment. in Matt. Tom. III. p. 747. c. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηλάσωμεν καὶ τό· ‘Ωσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς υἱίοις’.— ἔτω δὲ καὶ εἴχῃ ἡ Ἑβραϊκὴ λέξις· ἀννὰ ἄδωναὶ ὡσειεινάν. ἀννὰ ἄδωναὶ ἄσαϊ· ἀνὰ βαρὲχ ἀββαβ σαῖμ ἄδωναῖ. εἴτα δοκεῖ μοι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων συνεχῶς γραφόμενα τὰ εὐαγγέλια μὴ εἰδόντων τὴν διάλεκτον συγκεχυμέναι ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν τόπον.— εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀκριβὲς βάλει μάδεῖν τῆς λέξεως ἄκβε Ακύλῃ ἐρμηνεύσαντος ὡδί· ‘Ὡ δὲ κύριε σῶσον δὴ. ὦ δὲ κύριε εὐλόησον δὴ. εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

<sup>16</sup> Id. ibid. p. 671. b. καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν διαφωνία ᾗ πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν ἀνιγράφων, ὥς τὰ πάντα τὰ κατὰ Μαθθαῖον μὴ συνάδειν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ εὐαγγέλια καὶ ἀσεβὲς τις ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὁ ὑπονοῶν ἐλαῦδα προσερίφθαι, ἐκ εἰρημένην ὑπὸ τῷ Σωτῆρος πρὸς τὸν πλῆσιόν τὴν ‘ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλῆσιόν σου ὡς σεαυτὸν’ ἐντολήν.

impaired the credit of the vulgar or common edition, as well in the New as in the Old Testament.

The object at which Lucianus and Hesychius aimed, in the different revisals which they published of Scripture, was obviously to remove the objections to which the received text was exposed by the critical labours of Origen. On this task, however, they entered with very different views: the attention of Lucianus having been principally directed to the Old Testament, while that of Hesychius was chiefly employed on the New.

The terms in which the text of Lucianus is mentioned, as being identical with the vulgar edition<sup>17</sup>, very clearly evince, that the received text was republished by this learned father, with little alteration. As he is principally mentioned as a reviser of the version of the Old Testament<sup>18</sup>, and as Origen's critical labours particularly affected that part of the sacred canon<sup>19</sup>, it is more than probable that his emendations were confined to it alone<sup>20</sup>. At

<sup>17</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 88. n. <sup>85</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Orig. *ibid.* p. 671. c. τὴν μὲν ἔν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωνίαν, Θεῷ διδόντος, εὖρομεν ἰασάσθαι, κριτηρίῳ χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν, κ. τ. ἔ. This observation is immediately subjoined to that quoted *supr.* n. <sup>16</sup>. on the difference of the copies of the Gospels. Origen, in continuation, explains the method which he pursued in correcting the Septuagint. *Conf. supr.* p. 432. nn. <sup>13</sup> et <sup>15</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> The following description of the vulgar edition of the Septuagint is given by St. Jerome; *Procem. in Lib. xv. Comm. Is. Tom. IV. p. 185. h.* “ Denique omnes Græciæ tractatores qui nobis eruditionis suæ in Psalmos commentarios reliquerunt



the early period in which he wrote, the Septuagint only lay under the imputation of being corrupted<sup>21</sup>; and no possible reason can be assigned which could induce him to tamper with the New Testament. He must be clearly acquitted of the charge of yielding undue submission to the authority of Origen, as he rejected the corrected text of the Septuagint inserted in the Hexapla, and republished the com-

hos versiculos [Rom. iii. 13—18.] veru annotant atque prætereunt: liquido confitentes, in Hebraico non haberi, nec esse in LXX interpretibus, sed in *editione Vulgata*, quæ Græce *non dicitur*, et *in toto orbe diversa est.*" It appears from this remark, that Ps. xiv. 4. was interpolated with Rom. iii. 13—18. in order to verify St. Paul's references in the latter place to the Old Testament; his quotations having been not easily found, as taken from the following places, Ps. v. 10. cxl. 3. x. 7. Is. lix. 7. Conf. Orig. Comm. in Rom. Tom. IV. p. 505. and S. Hier. *ibid.* The following observation, which must be referred to Ruffinus, rather than Origen [vid. Ruffin. Præf. in Epist. ad Romm. ap. Orig. Tom. IV. p. 458.] warrants us in believing, that Lucianus's corrections extended to removing those manifest corruptions; while his undertaking to republish the vulgar text, proves that they could have extended to little more. Orig. Comm. in Rom. Tom. IV. p. 504. d. " Illud etiam necessario ducimus admonendum, quod in *nonnullis Latinorum* ea quæ subsequuntur testimonia in tertio decimo Psalmo consequenter ex integro posita inveniuntur: in *Græcis autem pæne omnibus non amplius* in decimo tertio Psalmo quam usque ad illum versiculum, ubi scriptum est; 'Non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum.' In the terms, "*Græcis autem pæne omnibus*," the Greek Vulgate is plainly intimated; in the phrase "*inveniuntur—non amplius, &c.*" the *correction* of that edition is as plainly implied. As the Vulgate was the text which Lucianus revised, we have here a plain example of the manner in which he formed his revisal.

<sup>21</sup> Vid. *supr.* n. <sup>20</sup>.

mon edition. Setting aside the authority of Origen, there seems to be no conceivable cause by which Lucianus could have been swayed in corrupting the text. Nor can he be convicted on this head, by the testimony of St. Jerome, who declares that his text was interpolated. As it appears, on the testimony of this antient father, that Lucianus's text prevailed at Byzantium in the age when he wrote<sup>22</sup>, where it has demonstrably prevailed to the present day<sup>23</sup>; we have only to compare the Byzantine text with the Latin version of St. Jerome, in order to discover the passages<sup>24</sup>, against which his censure is chiefly directed. There is thus little difficulty in vindicating Lucianus from the charge of corrupting the Scriptures; and little more in tracing the error under which St. Jerome laboured to the source from whence it arose. A slight inspection of the passages in which the Byzantine text differs from the Latin Vulgate, will convince any unprejudiced person, that they are such as the orthodox must have been led, by their principles, to exclude from a place in the authorised edition, had they been corrections of Lucianus. They include some passages which were favourite texts employed by the Arians, in

<sup>22</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 72. n. <sup>37</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 71. 88. *sqq.*

<sup>24</sup> Vid. *supr.* pp. 151. 160. The principal passages in which the Greek and Latin Vulgate differ, may be seen at a view, on turning to the quotations in pp. 374—377. p. 390. n. <sup>141</sup>. and on comparing the quotations pp. 380—385. with the remarks p. 396. n. <sup>193</sup>. In these references the Greek Vulgate is denoted by *Byz.* or *Vulg.* the Latin Vulgate by *It.* 3.

supporting their opinions against the Catholicks<sup>25</sup>; it is of course inconceivable, that in the age subsequent to that in which Lucianus published his edition, the Catholicks would have allowed them to retain their place in the text, unless they undoubtedly believed them authentick. They include some other passages relating to the mystick doctrines of revelation, which the prejudices of the age prevented the orthodox from divulging to those who were not regularly initiated in their sacred mysteries<sup>26</sup>. If it is conceived, that such passages could have been invented by Lucianus, which is a notion that is exposed to many obvious objections<sup>27</sup>; con-

<sup>25</sup> Such are Mat. xix. 17. Mar. xiii. 32. Luc. xxii. 43, 44. Joh. v. 3, 4. Act. xv. 28. *supr.* p. 372. *sqq.* besides Mar. xvi. 9—20. Joh. viii. 1—11.

<sup>26</sup> Such are not only Act. xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 Joh. v. 7. Col. ii. 4. *supr.* pp. 253. 276. but Luc. xi. 13. xxii. 43, 44. Joh. v. 3, 4. Act. viii. 37. *supr.* p. 377. *sqq.* and Mat. vi. 13. Luc. xi. 2, 4, &c. *ut* *supr.* p. 380. A more convenient opportunity will hereafter occur of speaking at large on this subject.

<sup>27</sup> The Arians have laid claim to Lucianus, as an advocate of their peculiar opinions; Epiph. Hær. lxi. p. 730. d. But this was merely an artifice, similar to that by which they endeavoured to prove Origen and Dionysius Alexandrinus, of their party; *vid.* S. Athan. de Sentent. Dionys. Tom. I. p. 243. c. The orthodoxy of Lucianus has been fully vindicated by Bp. Bull, on the express testimony of the ecclesiastical historians; *vid.* Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. II. cap. xiii. § 4. p. 144. *sqq.* It is indeed true that Lucianus agreed with the Arians in rejecting or omitting the term *ἐμμέσιον*, in his confession of faith; and on these grounds the hereticks founded their claims to him, as a partizan of their notions. But the Creed of Lucianus, which they produced in defence of their errors, contains a full vindication of that martyr, as it proves, that however he rejected the



siderable difficulties must still attend the supposition, that they would be admitted into the canonical text of Scripture; particularly in an age, when reproach must have been brought on the only party whom they could serve, by adversaries who were as able as they were willing to expose an attempt of that nature.

The charge urged by St. Jerome against Lucianus's text is therefore entitled to little attention: and additional reasons compel us to set it aside, which result from the facility of accounting for the error under which he laboured. In fact, the mistake of St. Jerome must be imputed to that cause which has been already pointed out; his having judged of Lucianus's text by the standard of Eusebius's edition<sup>28</sup>. His objection must of course fall to the ground, if it can be shewn that the text of Eusebius was defective; as omitting those passages which were retained in Lucianus's edition. For St. Jerome having been unconscious of the defi-

term, he retained the doctrine: vid. S. Athan. de Synod. Arimin. Tom. II. p. 693. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. x. p. 87. l. 36. Conf. Bull. ibid. § 7. p. 145. The fact is, that the term was rejected by Lucianus, merely because it had been perverted by the Sabellians, to favour their peculiar doctrines; and it had been expressly rejected, in the sense which they affixed to it, 60 years previously to the Council of Nice, by the Synod of Antioch: vid. Bull. Ib. cap. i. § 9. p. 29. sqq. From these considerations we may certainly conclude, that Lucianus was not likely to invent any passage, like those quoted in n.<sup>26</sup> supr. p. 437. for the purpose of supporting the doctrine of one substance.

<sup>28</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 151, 160.

ency of one text, imagined the integrity of the other was redundant.

Under this view of the subject, the various readings of the sacred text are ultimately traced to the editions of Hesychius and Eusebius; the one, according to St. Jerome's express declaration, having interpolated the inspired writings, the other, according to his implied testimony, having pruned them of some imaginary superfluities. To the influence of Origen, we must again look for the source of these varieties, of a totally opposite character, which were thus introduced into the text of Scripture.

Of Hesychius we know nothing more than that he was a bishop of Egypt, who perished in the persecution in which Lucianus was martyred<sup>29</sup>. But this little seems to identify him as a disciple of Origen. In the controversy respecting the Apocalypse and Millennium, which had been maintained by Dionysius and Nepos, who governed the sees of Alexandria and Egypt, about sixty years previously to the meeting of the Council of Nice, some curiosity was excited, respecting the allegorical sense of Scripture, which Origen had supported, and relative to the nature of the body, its organization and enjoyments, in that state which is to succeed the resur-

<sup>29</sup> Walt. Prolegomm. Sect. IX. p. 63. § 25. "Quarta [editio τῶν Ο'] fuit *Hesychii Episcopi Ægyptii*, in eadem persecutione decima martyrio coronati: de quo Euseb. Hist. Lib. VIII. cap. xiv. Hic veterem translationem recognovit: quæ, teste Hieronymo, *per Ægyptum et Alexandriam celebris erat*: novam non cudit."

rection<sup>30</sup>. The peculiar opinions of Origen had spread so widely after this period, in Egypt, that when a council was convened at Alexandria by Theophilus, in which those opinions were condemned as heretical, Dioscorus, bishop of Hermopolis, with the Egyptian monks, were professed converts to Origen's notions<sup>31</sup>. Under these circumstances, the churches of Egypt were gradually prepared for the reception of a revised text, accommodated to the principles of Origen's criticism<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VII. cap. xxiv. p. 349. l. 27. Ἐπὶ τέτοις ἅπασι σπευδαζέαι [Διονύσιος ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξανδρείαν] αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν δύο συγγραμμάτα. ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις αὐτῷ, Νέπως ἦν ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ' Αἰγυπτίον, Ἰεραϊκώτερον. τὰς ἐπηγγελίας τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν ταῖς θείαις Γραφαῖς ἐπαγγελίας αποδοθήσεσθαι διδάσκων, καὶ τινὰ χιλιάδα ἐτῶν τρυφῆς σωματικῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ταύτης ἔσσεσθαι ὑποτιθέμενος. Conf. S. Epiphan. Hær. LXIV. p. 527. d. 528. b. c.

<sup>31</sup> The account which Socrates has given of this controversy, Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. vii. p. 319. is confused and contradictory; it having been obviously his desire to vindicate Origen's opinions, of which he was undoubtedly a favourer: Huët. Origeniann. Lib. II. cap. iv. sect. ii. § 25. p. 278. b. *Origenistas vero palam se produnt Socrates Scholasticus et Hermias Sozomenus in Historiis suis,* &c. But St. Epiphanius, who was a contemporary of Theophilus, and who convened a synod in Cyprus, for the purpose of condemning the Origenists, about the same time that Theophilus convened one at Alexandria for the same purpose, refers the origin of this heresy to the monks of Egypt; S. Epiphan. Hær. Origenian. § iv. p. 527. b. Ἡ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆ [Ὀριγένης] φῦσα αἵρεσις προῶλον μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χώρᾳ ὑπάρχουσα, τὰ νῦν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐξοχωτάτοις καὶ δοκῶσι τὸν μονητη βίον ἀναδέχεσθαι, παρὰ τοῖς φύσει καλὰ τὰς ἐξημίας ἀναχωρεῖσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἀκλήμοσύνην ἐλομένους κ. τ. ε.

<sup>32</sup> Independent of the accommodation of the Egyptian text



We have only to compare the account which Origen has given, of the method in which he pro-

to the principles of Origen's criticism, examples of which will be adduced on a proper occasion; instances occur in which this text has palpably suffered by the influence of his peculiar opinions. An example presents itself in one of the first passages in which his critical canons could be applied. In the quotation from Deut. viii. 3. introduced in Mat. iv. 4. the original  $\text{וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לְמֹשֶׁה בְּיָמֶיךָ הָאֵלֶּים הָאֵלֶּים הָאֵלֶּים}$ , is rendered by the Septuagint and St. Matthew, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ. This deviation from the Hebrew was of course marked in Origen's Hexapla; there was consequently room for a correction of the text by Hesychius. Instead however of removing ῥήματι, which is superfluous, he erased διὰ στόματος. How far the literal interpreters, inserted in the Hexapla, might have expressed  $\text{וַיֹּאמֶר}$  by ῥήματι, as this term may be sometimes rendered, (see Deut. xvii. 6. xxxiv. 5.) we are now unable to discover; as a few words merely of Deut. viii. 3. 14. 17. now remain out of the whole of the chapter from whence the verse before us is taken: vid. Montfauc. Hexapl. Orig. Tom. I. p. 180. There can be very little reason to doubt, that in suppressing διὰ στόματος, the reviser of the Egyptian text had respect to the fundamental tenet of the Origenists. S. Epiphanius. ub. supr. p. 527. c. φάσκει γὰρ ἔτος [ὁ Ὀριγηνεύς], τολμήσας δῆθεν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν λέγειν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς ὁ μονογενὴς ὤρα τὸν Πατέρα ἢ δύναται, ἀλλὰ ἔτε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸν Υἱὸν δύναται θεάσασθαι, ἔτε μὴ Ἀγγέλοι τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἔτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰς Ἀγγέλους. To this single point the difference between the Monks of Egypt and the Bishop of Alexandria has been reduced by Socrates; the former having accused the latter of being an Anthropomorphite, or person who ascribed a human form to God, because he denied this fundamental tenet of the Origenists; Socrat. ub. supr. p. 321. l. 3. ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς, [Θεόφιλος] φησὶν, κατὰ τὴν θείαν Γραφὴν, καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχει καὶ ἄτα, καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καθὰ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ περὶ Διόσκορον, Ὀριγηνεῖς ἀκολουθεῖντες, βλάσφημον δόγμα εἰσάγουσιν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Θεὸς ἔτε ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἔτε ἄτα, ἔτε πόδας, ἔτε χεῖρας ἔχει. — καὶ οἱ μὲν Θεοφίλῳ προσέχοντες, Ὀριγενεαςτὰς καὶ ἁσιβεῖς ἐκάλουν τὰς

ceeded to correct the Old Testament, and of the fancied corruptions which he conceived had crept into the New, with the internal evidence of the Egyptian text, in order to discover that Hesychius, by whom this edition was published, had merely undertaken to realize the plan which had been suggested by Origen for its improvement. In correcting the Old Testament, Origen had compared the different copies of the Greek version, and had admitted the authority of the versions made by the hereticks<sup>33</sup>; and, in insinuating the corruptions of the New, he corrected the statement of one Evangelist by the accounts of the other, and appealed to the testimony of the Gospels compiled by the hereticks<sup>34</sup>. We scarcely discover a peculiarity in the Egyptian text, which may not be directly accounted for, by conceiving the reviser actuated by the ambition of giving that perfection to the text of the New Testament, which Origen, following similar principles, had given to the text of the Old.

With respect to the works by which Hesychius was assisted in entering on this undertaking, we know that he was possessed of a Harmony and several apocryphal works, which had been used by Ori-

ἀδελφές· οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι Ἀνθρωπομορφιστὰς τὰς ὑπὸ Θεοφίλου ἀναπεισθέντας ἀνόμαζον.

<sup>33</sup> Vid, supr. p. 432. n. <sup>13</sup>. p. 434. n. <sup>19</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Vid, supr. p. 433. n. <sup>16</sup>. p. 330. n. <sup>45</sup>. The Critical Canons by which Hesychius was guided in revising the Egyptian text, lie in a short compass; being contained in two or three pages of Origen's Commentary on St. Mat. Tom. III. pp. 670, 671, 672.

gen in compiling his Commentaries. Ammonius, who preceded Origen in the government of the school of Alexandria, had constructed a work of the former kind, in which he disposed the coincident passages of the different Evangelists in parallel columns<sup>35</sup>; and it appears, from the writings of Clement and Origen, that "the Gospel of the Hebrews," "the Acts of Paul," and "the Preaching of Peter," were well known to the disciples of that school<sup>36</sup>. With respect to the authority which was ascribed to these works, it is certain that Origen did not absolutely reject the last<sup>37</sup>, though he did not receive it as a canonical work. A very slight degree of attention bestowed on the Egyptian text, as preserved in the Cambridge or Verceli manuscript, must convince any person, that it has suffered from the influence of these different works. As the Gospels of that edition have been corrected by each other; the deficiencies of one being frequently supplied from the fulness of another; it is evident the text must have been corrected by some reviser, who made good use of a Harmony<sup>38</sup>. And

<sup>35</sup> Though the remains of Ammonius's Harmony, which are preserved in the translation of Victor Capuanus, are disposed in the form of a Diatessaron, it appears from the account of Eusebius and St. Jerome, that the original work was arranged in the form of a Harmony: vid. Vales. in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xxix. p. 194. n. <sup>11</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Vid. Orig. de Principp. Præf. Tom. I. p. 49. b. Comment. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 322. c. Clem. Alex. Stromat. Lib. VI. p. 759. l. 24. p. 764. l. 47. p. 804. l. 35. &c.

<sup>37</sup> Vid. supr. p. 432. n. <sup>13</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Such precisely is the account which Dr. Mills gives of the



several extraordinary passages admitted into the Gospels and Acts, one of which we are enabled to trace to "the Preaching of Peter," very sufficiently evince, that the apocryphal writings were allowed some weight in compiling that edition<sup>39</sup>.

text of the Cambridge MS. ut supr. p. 160. n. <sup>118</sup>. A similar observation had been made on Hesychius's text by St. Jerome; that it had been interpolated from a Diatessaron; Vid. supr. p. 100. n. <sup>120</sup>. p. 155. n. <sup>106</sup>. I understand St. Jerome as meaning a *Diatessaron*, by "unum-e-quatuor," in the subjoined words, which are taken from the last cited passage: "Vel dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui *unum-e-quatuor* primum legerat, ad ejus exemplum cæteros quoque existemaverit emendandos." The term *Διατεσσαρων* is adopted from Musick, and signifies the *Harmony* of a fourth; that it is alluded to in this place by St. Jerome, is, I conceive, evident from his having adopted a like term in rendering this word in the following passage in Eusebius's Epistle to Carpianus: Ἀμμώνιος μὲν ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, πολλὴν ὡς εἰκος φιλοποιῖαν καὶ σπουδὴν ἰξαγροχῶς, τὸ διὰ τεσσαρῶν ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν εὐαγγέλιον: "Ammonius quidem Alexandrinus magno studio atque industria *unum* nobis *pro quatuor* evangeliiis dereliquit." As this Harmony was published by Ammonius in Egypt, every facility was thence afforded Hesychius to revise the Greek Testament.

<sup>39</sup> Such are the passages inserted in the Cambridge MS. after Mat. iii. 15. xx. 28. and quoted supr. p. 127. n. <sup>45</sup>. p. 177. n. <sup>153</sup>. the former of which is traced by S. Epiphanius to the Hebrew Gospel, supr. p. 332. n. <sup>47</sup>. a work which is referred to frequently by Origen. The same passage occurred in "the Preaching of Peter," an Apocryphal work, which was of equal authority with the Gospel of the Hebrews: vid. Auct. de Baptism. int. opuscc. adscript. S. Cyprian. p. 30. This writer, who quotes from the Italick version, and is supposed to have lived near the times of St. Cyprian, makes the following observation on this passage, which adds an additional proof to those which have been already adduced, that the Greek text of the Cam-

But the Commentaries of Origen afforded still greater assistance to the editour of the Egyptian text; as in them, he frequently found his different authorities combined in a narrow compass, and a comment added by Origen, whose sentence on this subject was taken as oracular. That these works have had some influence on the Egyptian and Palestine texts, is a point which appears to me to be capable of demonstration. Of the passages, consisting of quotations from the Old Testament introduced into the New, in which the Greek Vulgate differs from the Egyptian and Palestine editions,

bridge MS. and the Latin version of the Verceli MS. did not exist before the close of the third century, near which time they were formed by Hesychius and St. Eusebius; Id. ib. p. 30.

—“Item cum baptizaretur ignem super aquam esse visum. Quod in Evangelio nullo est scriptum.” Were this work extant, or “the Acts of Paul,” which are mentioned by Eusebius, supr. p. 206. n. <sup>34</sup>. I make no doubt that we should find in them the following passages, and most of those of the same character which occur in the Egyptian text and revised Italick translation. Act. xi. 2. ὁ μὲν ἐν Πέτρος διὰ ἰκανῶ χρόνῳ ἠθέλησε πορευθῆναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· καὶ προσφωνήσας τὰς ἀδελφὰς, καὶ ἐπιστηρίξας αὐτὰς πολλὸν λόγον ποιῶμενος, διὰ τῶν χωρῶν διδάσκων αὐτὰς. ὅς καὶ κατήχησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν τῆ Θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐκ περιτομῆς ἀδελφοὶ διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτόν. Ibid. xviii. 27. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιδημῶντες τινες Κορίνθιοι καὶ ἀκασαῖοι αὐτῷ, [τῷ Παύλῳ] παρεκάλον διελθεῖν σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν. συγκαταίνουσαί τοις αὐτῷ, οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἔγραψαν τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ μαθηταῖς, ὅπως ἀποδεξώμεν τὸν ἄνδρα. ὅς ἀποδημήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν πολὺ συνεβάλλετο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. As these extraordinary passages are found in the margin of the Philoxenian Version, they certainly existed in the Egyptian text: vid. supr. p. 77. n. <sup>50</sup>: they furnish a sufficient specimen from which we may form a judgment of similar interpolations in the Egyptian edition.

the most remarkable are Matt. xv. 8. xxvii. 35. Luc. iii. 5. iv. 18<sup>40</sup>: as in these texts the reading of the latter editions is apparently supported by the express testimony of Origen's commentary. But a comparison of the comment with the documents which were before Origen, very clearly evinces, that in forming this idea, the revisers of the Egyptian and Palestine texts were deceived. In Matt. xv. 8<sup>41</sup>, an ignorance of the Hebrew led them into

<sup>40</sup> Vid. supr. p. 381. conf. p. 185. n. <sup>163</sup>. p. 369. n. <sup>127</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Ἐγγίζει μοι [ὁ λαὸς] ἔτος τῷ σόματι αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσί μου τιμῶ, which occurs in the LXX and the Hebrew original, in Is. xxix. 13. and in the Greek Syriack and Italic Vulgate, in Matt. xv. 8. is omitted in the latter place, by the Egyptian and Palestine editions. That the genuine reading is preserved in the Byzantine text, I have already endeavoured to prove, from the internal evidence of the Italic version; vid. supr. p. 185. n. <sup>163</sup>: the following circumstances will account for the various reading of the Egyptian and Palestine. (1.) This passage is omitted by St. Mark, in referring to Isaiah, vid. Mar. vii. 6; and it was a canon of Origen's criticism, by which Hesychius was guided in revising the text, that the Gospels of the different Evangelists might be corrected by each other; vid. supr. p. 433. n. <sup>10</sup>. (2.) It was equally a canon of the same criticism, that the Evangelists had abridged the quotations of the Old Testament, in admitting them into the New; vid. infr. p. 419. n. <sup>42</sup>: the shorter quotation was of course preferred, as supposed to contain the genuine reading. (3.) Origen, in referring to this canon, had given rise to this emendation, by merely quoting part of this verse with καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, generally stating that Matthew had not followed Isaiah verbatim; Orig. Comment. in Matt. Tom. III. p. 492. παρέδειο ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου, ὅπερ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἔτως ἔχει· 'καὶ εἶπε Κύριος, ἐγγίζει μοι ὁ λαὸς ἔτος ἐν τῷ σόματι αὐτῶν,' καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. καὶ προεῖπομέν γε ὅτι ἢ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ματθαῖος τὸ προφητικόν. (5.) By this de-



an error with respect to the meaning of Origen; as Origen's testimony, when properly understood, not only discovers the source of the various reading in the Egyptian edition, but confirms the peculiar reading of the Byzantine. The same observation may be likewise extended to Luc. iii. 5<sup>42</sup>. A repe-

claration, Hesychius was deceived; for in the application of this remark to the passage before us, Origen is entirely misrepresented. This passage agrees verbatim with Isaiah; while its context, to which Origen certainly alludes, differs from the exact words of the prophet: St. Matthew having there written, Ib. 9. μάτην δὲ σέβονται με, διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας, ἐπὶ ἀλάμματα ἀνθρώπων, but Isaiah, Ib. 13. וְהָיָה יְרֵאָתָם אֵתִי מִצֻּרֹת אַנְשֵׁי־מַלְמָדָה: the former of which is properly rendered in the Authorised Version, "but in vain they do worship me teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," the latter somewhat more freely, "and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men." (6.) What sets this matter out of dispute, is, that Origen proceeds explicitly to cite the contested passage in the very words of the vulgar Greek; Orig. ib. p. 493. e. τότε εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, 'μὴ τῷ φόβῳ ἐλγίζειν τὸν λαὸν' τῶν Ἰουδαίων, 'τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ταῖς χεῖλεσι τιμᾶν αὐτόν' φησι, διότι 'ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν' διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπιστίαν, 'πῶρρω ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Κυρίου:' though by prefacing these words with τότε εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, he was conceived, by the revisers of the Egyptian and Palestine texts, to allude to Isaiah; while it is evident, from the context, διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπιστίαν, he must have referred to St. Matthew. (7.) As the testimony of Origen is thus clearly in favour of the Greek Vulgate, and there can be consequently no doubt that it retains the genuine reading; we have thus a positive proof of the corruption of the Egyptian and Palestine editions, in one of the most remarkable passages in which they differ from the Greek Vulgate.

<sup>42</sup> Ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ——  
καὶ ἔσται τὰ σκοτία εἰς εὐθείαν, which occurs in Luc. iii. 4, 5. is found also in Is. xl. 3, 4: but in the first clause, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους, is expressed by מְסִלֹתַי יִשְׁרֹו, i. e. εὐθείαν ποιεῖτε τὴν

tition of the same word in Origen's comment on this passage, led to an ambiguity, which a reference to

τρίβον, and αὐτῇ by τῇ Θεῷ ἡμῶν. in the second. In the last clause, however, the Egyptian and Palestine texts read  $\kappa$  ἔσαι τὰ σκολια εἰς εὐθείας; directly contrary to the reading of the Byzantine text, καὶ ἔσαι τὰ σκολια εἰς εὐθείαν, and the prophet Isaiah, וישורו כרעה יתה. This various reading has plainly originated from a misconception of the following passage of Origen. Com. in Joan. Tom. I. 127. d. ὁμοίως δὲ τῷ Μάρκῳ καὶ ὁ Λευκᾶς τῇ, 'φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ' μέμνηται—'ὡς γεγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἰσαΐου τῷ προφῆτῃ—ἐτοιμασατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτῆς.' προέθηκε [1. προσέθηκε] δὲ ὁ Λευκᾶς καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς προφητείας—'καὶ ἔσαι τὰ σκολια εἰς εὐθείας [1. εὐθείαν]—ὁμοίως τῷ Μάρκῳ ἀναγράφας τὸ, 'εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτῆς' ἐπιμενόμενος τὸ, 'εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν,' ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῇ, 'καὶ ἔσαι πάντα σκολια εἰς εὐθείας' [1. εὐθείαν], χωρὶς τῇ, 'πάντα' τὴν λέξιν ἔθηκε, μὴ δὲ τῇ, ἀλλ' ἐνίκυ [εἰς] 'εὐθείαν,' πεποιηκέναι πληθυντικὸν 'εὐθείας.' This last remark, that St. Luke, "instead of the singular εὐθείαν, made the plural εὐθείας," apparently refers to the former εὐθείας, in the phrase εὐθείας ποιεῖτε, and not the latter σκολια εἰς εὐθείαν. (1.) There is a difference in the former phrase between the Prophet and Evangelist; the latter, as Origen observes, "instead of the singular (ישורו כרעה) having made the phrase in the plural (εὐθείας ποιεῖτε)." (2.) If Origen be not conceived to allude to the former, he makes an unaccountable omission, which is wholly irreconcilable with the minuteness of his criticism, where he undertakes to point out the difference between Isaiah and St. Matthew. (3.) The reading of the LXX, which St. Matthew followed, is εἰς εὐθείαν, conformably with the Greek Vulgate; it is therefore as inconceivable, that the Evangelist would have deviated from the received version in this place, as that Origen would have omitted to mention his deviation from the original text in the former. (4.) The main object of Origen was to illustrate his favourite position, that the Evangelists abridged the words of the Prophets, in quoting their writings; Id. ib. p. 127. e. χρήσιμοι δὲ

the Hebrew would have directly cleared up; but the reviser not having possessed even learning sufficient to collate the Greek with the original, undertook to determine Origen's meaning by his context; in choosing between the two words which were set before him, he unfortunately fixed on the wrong one, and has thus left his error subject to an immediate detection, on confronting the testimony of the Greek version with the Hebrew original. In omitting Mat. xxvii. 35. the reviser of the Egyptian edition has laid himself equally open to detection<sup>43</sup>.

οἱ παρατηρήσεις πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν περὶ τῆ ἐπιλείψεως τῆς Ἐυαγγελίας τὰ προφητικά. His allusion to the former is therefore made in the regular order; as it is immediately made after observing that St. Luke "having curtailed εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τῆς Θεῆς ἡμῶν, sets down the phrase *without πάντα*." Hence it appears, that some officious scribe, equally ignorant of Origen's object, and of the true reading of the prophet Isaiah, understood the concluding remark as meant of *the last* εἰς εὐθείαν, and in order to point the observation, consequently corrected this phrase, in the context, into εἰς εὐθείας. As Origen's testimony is thus virtually on the side of the Greek Vulgate, there can be no doubt of the genuine reading; particularly as it is confirmed by the Hebrew and Septuagint, and by the concurrence of all versions, except the revised Italic; which has no voice in the present case, as it has been corrected by the Egyptian edition. And it must be observed as a singular confirmation of the received reading, that it is supported by *the Latin* of the Cambridge MS. *against* the testimony of *the Greek*. These circumstances being all taken into consideration, there can be little reason to doubt, that the reading of Origen's text was that which exists in the vulgar edition; and that the misconception of Origen's *comment* produced the reading of the Egyptian and Palestine editions.

<sup>43</sup> The Commentary of Origen on Matt. xxvii. 35. vid. *supr*.



The allegation of this passage from the Psalms, by St. Matthew, introduced an apparent contradiction

p. 382. runs as follows; Tom. III. p. 920. e. "Postquam autem crucifixerunt eum diviserunt vestimenta sortem mittentes: et sedentes servabant eum." Et sunt usque nunc qui ipsum non habentes vestimenta autem verba in scripturis posita habent, nec ipsa ad plenum, sed ex parte, nihilominus hoc ipsum Propheta dicente mysterium quod nunc est impletum." I. It is clear that Origen found some mystery in this passage, and that his exposition must be understood, according to his usual mode of interpretation, in an allegorical sense. His allusion is obviously to those who crucified our Lord; whom he represents as having the Scriptures, in the letter or outward part, not in the substance, which was Christ: notwithstanding the clearness of the prophecy, and the mystery which it shadowed. According to the expositions of the Allegorists, who considered the garments of Christ typical of the unity of the Church, it is clear that Origen considered the outer garments, which were rent, the Jewish church; but the inner vesture, which was preserved untorn, the Christian. Such is obviously Origen's meaning, from which it would be difficult to prove, that he did not find the disputed passage in his text: or that he meant any thing more than that the Jews did not find out the mystery, which was plainly foretold in Ps. xxii. 19. On the contrary, it appears to me to be plainly deducible from his comment, that the disputed passage existed in his text. (1.) He alludes to the prophecy, as if it was before him, without the smallest reference to the Psalmist; which he could not have done, without an express reference, had it been deduced by him in explanation of St. Matthew. (2.) He not only refers to it under a title by which it could not be even known to exist in the Psalms, but the extraordinary title by which it is quoted in the disputed passage: the Psalm being there referred to, not under the title  $\psiαλμὸς$  or  $ὑμνῶν$ , as we find in St. John; but under the unusual title  $ὁ προφήτης$ . Of this most remarkable part of the contested passage, there is a full acknowledgment in Origen;  $ὅτι πάλαι ὁ$   $ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς προφητείας$  being literally rendered "*propheta dicente*

between the Evangelist's text and quotation, which was first pointed out by Ammonius's Harmony; the

quod est impletum." (3.) As this is a phrase that Origen could neither have discovered in the Psalmist or St. John; we have thus an express testimony for *part* of the contested passage in his words, and an implied testimony for *the remainder*, in his *exposition*; the *prophecy* being explained by him, while he is engaged in expounding Mat. xxvii. 35. II. But the cause is equally obvious which induced the reviser of the Egyptian text to adopt the shorter reading; (1.) It was not quoted expressly by Origen, in his Commentary. (2.) It was a canon of Origen's criticism, that the Evangelists had abridged the quotations which they adopted from the Old Testament; vid. *supr.* p. 449. n. 42. (3.) When compared with Mar. xv. 24. Joh. xix. 23, 24. as set beside each other in Ammonius's Harmony, it introduced an apparent contradiction between St. Matthew's text and his quotation; the one representing the *garments* as divided, and distributed by lot, comp. Mar. *ibid.*; the other representing not the garments, but the *vesture*, as that on which the soldiers cast lots; comp. Joh. *ibid.* (4.) This apparent contradiction was avoided by the omission of the disputed passage; and as it was a canon of Origen's criticism, that one Evangelist might be corrected by the other; St. Matthew was thus most easily accommodated to St. Mark and St. Luke, by expunging what they had left out. As all these reasons must have equally opposed the introduction of the disputed passage into St. Matthew, as have recommended its removal from the text of that Evangelist; I trust there can be little hesitation in deciding, that there is rather an omission in the Egyptian text, than an interpolation in the Byzantine. It may not be unnecessary to observe, that the connexion of "diviserunt vestimenta sortem mittentes," with "et sedentes servabant eum," *supr.* p. 450. l. 5. contains no proof that the intermediate passage, which is at present in dispute, was absent from Origen's copies; for similar omissions constantly occur in Origen's writings, as the next quotation adduced from Origen will abundantly testify, *vid. infr.* n. 44. It



obliteration of the disputed passage removed the contradiction, though it did not solve the difficulty, for which indeed Origen appears to have found no remedy, as he passes it over in silence. The expedient which answered the immediate exigency of the revisers was consequently adopted; and the passage omitted accordingly. But the partial quotation of *the words* of the disputed passage, and the general reference to *its sense* by Origen, clearly prove that it existed in his copy: his testimony of course as fully confirms the integrity of the Byzantine text, as it reveals the source of the corruption of the Egyptian. In the abridgment of the prophecy, cited in Luc. iv. 18<sup>44</sup>, we discover a still

may be however observed, that the insertion of the latter clause in its present place is probably to be attributed to the translator; as it forms the text which Origen has set at the head of *the next* section, and is perfectly irrelevant in its present situation, as not touched on in the course of the section before us: conf. Orig. ut supr. p. 921. c.

<sup>44</sup> Ἰασασθαι τῆς συντετριμμένης τῆς καρδίας, which is omitted in the Egyptian and Palestine text, is retained in the Byzantine. This passage was omitted by Origen, Comment. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 13. d. Comment. in Luc. Tom. III. p. 970. a. b. But we cannot conclude from hence, that it was absent from Origen's copy. In the former place he omits also ἀποσεῖλαι τετραβόμους ἐν ἀφίσσῃ· περὶ αὐτὸν Κύριος δικτὸν, connecting καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνίστασθαι καὶ πλῆξας τὸ βιβλίον; in the latter, the translation merely of his works agrees with the received version of the Latin church in omitting the disputed passage. But, waving this consideration, there was good reason why Origen should omit the disputed clause: according to Theodotion's and Symmachus's interpretation, it did not exactly accord with the Hebrew. On Is. lxi. 1. לחבש לנשברי לב, St. Jerome observes Comment. in Is. Tom. IV. p. 204. a. "Sive juxta Symmachum



stronger proof of the corruption of the Egyptian text, and of the integrity of the Byzantine. While the disputed passage is indispensably necessary to

*et Theodotionem*, ‘*ad alliganda vulnera peccatorum*:’ we accordingly find, that while the Septuagint render לחבש לאססודאי, Symmachus renders יחבש יפידהסי. Job v. 18. vid. Montfauc. Hexapl. Tom. I. p. 402. As the original will however bear the sense assigned it in the Septuagint, the reading of which is adopted in St. Luke, the difference existing between the translation and the original, independent of other considerations, seem decisive of the true reading. (1.) St. Luke represents the whole passage of Isaiah as read by our Lord, and there is no doubt that the disputed clause exists in Isaiah; it is therefore indispensably necessary to the fidelity of the Evangelist’s narrative, that it should form a part of his context; as it is absurd in the extreme to conceive our Lord omitted this clause, which appears so apposite to the occasion. (2.) It must for ever baffle the ingenuity of every casuist to account for so extraordinary a fact, as that the passage which is thus omitted should be the only one in the sentence, in which the original and the translation are apparently different. (3.) This circumstance, which is so difficult to reconcile with the notion that this passage is an interpolation, is of all others most easily reconciled with that of its being a suppressed text; the difference between the original and translation being considered a sufficient proof that it was spurious. (4.) The same circumstance must be eternally irreconcilable with the notion that this passage could have made its way into the sacred text *after* the publication of Origen’s Hexapla; the difference between the Hebrew and Greek version having been there fully set forth, and its remedy suggested, in a faithful translation, the supposition that this passage could have been foisted into the vulgar text contrary to his authority, is too absurd to deserve any further consideration. Whether therefore we regard the influence of Origen’s Hexapla or his Commentaries, we have here another positive proof of the corruption of the sacred text, from the authority of his writings.

the fidelity of the Evangelist's narrative; a slight verbal difference between it and the original Hebrew, which was first revealed in the Hexapla, clearly discovers the grounds of offence which occasioned its suppression in the Egyptian text, and points out the authority on which the Vulgar Greek was corrected. In Mat. v. 4, 5<sup>45</sup>. to which we may

<sup>45</sup> In the Egyptian text, vers. 4, 5. of Mat. v. are inverted; vid. sup. p. 63. The source of this various reading clearly exists in the following passage of Origen, Comment. in Matt. Tom. III. p. 740. ἐνοιοιαν δὲ τὸ τοιούτου λαμβάνω ἐπισήσας τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον μακαρισμῶν, ἐν οἷς μετὰ τό, 'μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ἑρανῶν,' ἐξῆς γέγραπται τό, 'μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς κ. τ. ἐ. But into this opinion Origen was led by the endeavour to find out an artificial connexion between the beatitudes; or a regular gradation, in the course through which the heirs of glory pass to a state of final beatitude; Id. ibid. τῆρι γὰρ ἐν τέτοις ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῶν μακαριζόμενων 'ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ἑρανῶν' δεύτερον δὲ 'κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν' ἔχ' ὥστε τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτῆς, 'παρακληθέντες' γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ 'πεπεινηκέναι καὶ διψηκέναι δικαιοσύνης,' 'κορεσθέντες' αὐτῆς, καὶ 'ἐλεηθέντες,' καὶ 'τὸν Θεὸν ἰδόντες' καὶ 'υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ κληθέντες,' πάλιν 'ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν' ἀποκαθίστασθαι 'τῶν ἑρανῶν.' Puerilities such as these can not have much weight in determining the genuine reading. In another work of Origen's, we consequently find the whole order and progress of grace inverted; and the beatitudes disposed in the following manner; Mat. v. 9. 8. 4. 3: vid. Hom. xix. in Jer. Tom. III. p. 269. d. A third attempt gives us the reading of the Vulgar Greek; for Origen, having discovered an analogy between our pilgrimage through this vale of tears, and the Israelites passing the river Jordan, comes somewhat nearer to the sense of his text, and thus gives it in its proper order; Hom. v. in Jes. Nav. Tom. II. p. 407. c. "Transeundum nobis est quod sequitur, ut in hoc mundo *lugeamus*. Cito etiam *reliqua transeunda sunt*, ut *mansueti efficiamur*, et ut *pacifici maneamus*, ut per hoc filii Dei vocari



add Mat. xxiii. 14<sup>46</sup>. we plainly discover the source

possimus. Festinandum quoque nobis est, ut persecutionum tempus virtute patientiæ transeamus. Cumque hæc singula quæ ad virtutis gloriam spectant non segniter, nec remisse, sed cum omni instantia et celeritate conquiesierimus, hoc mihi videtur esse cum festinatione transire Jordanem.” Nor can it be objected, that this inconstancy of Origen is to be ascribed to his translator, for (1.) The tenour of Origen’s reasoning absolutely requires that the present order should be preserved. (2.) There could be no possible object in changing it, had it been different; as in that case it must have been altered contrary to the testimony, not merely of Origen himself, but of the versions which have prevailed in the Latin church, since his works have been translated; vid. supr. p. 63. (3.) The Homilies on the book of Joshua were translated by Ruffinus, as appears from the Prologue; Orig. Ibid. p. 396; and whatever liberties Ruffinus might have taken with his authour in other parts of his works, in translating this book he was confessedly accurate; Ruffin. Peror. in Ep. ad Rom. ap. Orig. Tom. IV. p. 689. a. “Illa quæ in Jesu Nave—scripsimus, simpliciter expressimus ut invenimus, et non multo cum labore transtulimus.” As the Vulgar Text is thus confirmed by the authority of Origen, and is supported by all versions except the second and third edition of the Latin; the former of which was corrected by St. Eusebius from the Egyptian text, and has had a direct influence on the latter, as revised by St. Jerome, there can be as little reason to doubt the corruption of the Egyptian text, as that it has proceeded from the authority of Origen.

<sup>46</sup> In the Palestine, as well as the Egyptian text, Mat. xxiii. 14. is wholly omitted. The source of this variation from the Vulgar Greek must be sought, not less than the preceding, in the writings of Origen. This fanciful expositour had discovered a natural connexion between vers. 13. 15; vers. 14. was consequently dismissed to effect an alliance between them; Orig. Comment. in Matt. Tom. IV. p. 839. “Claudentes autem regnum cœlorum Scribæ et Pharisei duo ad semel de-



of the various reading of the Egyptian text, in the  
 linquent. Unum quidem, quod ' ipsi non ingrediuntur in reg-  
 num cœlorum.' Secundum quod ' intrantes introire non si-  
 nunt.' *Hæc duo peccata naturaliter inseparabilia sunt ab invi-  
 cem.* Qui enim alterum ex iis peccat, ab altero se non potest  
 abstinere. Item e contrario," &c. It is little wonderful that  
 Origen, having got into a train of thinking of this kind, which  
 he pursues for some length, should wholly pass by vers. 14;  
 which, though naturally connected with its context in our  
 Lord's discourse, is wholly irrelevant from Origen's explana-  
 tion. It is little wonderful, that having become enamoured of  
 his exposition, he should finally believe the disputed verse an  
 interpolation; which M. Griesbach conceived was probably his  
 opinion. It is, however, obvious from the various readings of  
 this passage, that his opinion respecting it, has had some in-  
 fluence on such of the Greek MSS. as generally correspond  
 with the readings of Origen; whatever be their varieties with  
 respect to this passage, they are invariable in their correspond-  
 ence with his observation. We consequently find, that it is  
 retained in some of them, and is omitted in others; but in the  
 former case, it is prefixed to vers. 13: so as to bring vers. 13.  
 and 15. in all instances together: vid. Griesb. not. in h. l.  
 While these MSS. of course destroy the testimony of each  
 other, such of them as retain the verse, add the strongest con-  
 firmation to the reading of the Greek Vulgate. The very devi-  
 ation of the vulgar text from the authority of Origen, conveys a  
 strong presumptive proof of its integrity; as it is impossible to  
 conceive how this verse, if it were an interpolation, could be  
 inserted in the only place which was proscribed by that critick;  
 or how it could be generally received, contrary to his autho-  
 rity, unless under the conviction that it was genuine. As the  
 vulgar text is confirmed by the testimony of all versions, but  
 those which are enumerated in the last note, and which have  
 no separate voice on the present question, as they have been  
 influenced by the Egyptian text; there can be as little reason  
 to doubt of the corruption of this edition, as that it has pro-  
 ceeded from the influence of Origen.

comment of Origen : for while an inconstancy in the testimony of that early father fully confirms the reading of the Byzantine text in the former case, a variation in the Greek manuscripts in the latter, clearly proves, that they have been altered in accommodation to the comment of Origen. When to these considerations, we add that of the general conformity of the Egyptian text, to the peculiar readings of Origen<sup>47</sup>, they afford us ample grounds

<sup>47</sup> Of the express testimonies of Origen, which have been already cited; *supr.* p. 354. n.<sup>63</sup>. the following are the only examples not found in the Cambridge MS. *ἑκατονταπλασιόνα*. Mat. xix. 29. *ἀ ἡκέτατι*. Joh. viii. 38. *τίνας*. Ib. xiii. 18. *βάψω*. Ib. 26. To which we may add the following, mentioned by M. Griesbach, [*Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. cxxvi. n. \*\**] as a proof that the Cambridge MS. has not been interpolated from Origen; Mar. i. 7. *κύψας*. Ib. vi. 3. *ὁ τέκτων*. Ib. ix. 2. *ἐν τῷ προσεύχασθαι αὐτοῖς*. Luc. ix. 3. *καρπὸς ἀξίας*. When we consider the insuperable difficulties with which any scribe of the fourth century must have had to contend, in introducing every peculiar reading of Origen into his copy, these exceptions will be so far from weakening the conclusion for which I contend, that they may be cited in support of it. But of these few exceptions, the last four are not express testimonies; it is admitted also, that Origen was mistaken in Mar. ix. 2. *vid.* Griesb. *Symbb. Critt. Tom. II. p. 346. n. 1*: and, unless I am deceived, he has been misrepresented in Mar. vi. 3, and in all the present examples but Mar. i. 7. Luc. ix. 3. *vid.* *supr.* p. 369. It is likewise possible, that the interpolatour of the Egyptian text might have been of opinion that Origen, in deviating from the received text in the above instances, had merely availed himself of the licence of a commentatour; and that he therefore departed from his authority in these instances, while he generally followed it in others. I take not the least account of the argument deduced from the dissimilarity between Origen and the Cambridge MS.; *Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. cxxiii.*



for concluding, that this edition has been systematically corrupted from his writings<sup>48</sup>. So far is this

In order to form any deduction from the premisses there laid down, we must assume it as *true*, that the criticks or grammarians of the fourth century were equally minute and patient with the Wetsteins and Griesbachs of the eighteenth; which is an assumption that no person will, I hope, require me to refute. The following texts, which are found in the short compass of ten verses, will however demonstrate the influence of Origen on the Cambridge MS. Luc. ix. 20. Χριστὸν τῷ Θεῷ. *Vulg.* Χριστὸν υἱὸν τῷ Θεῷ. *Cant. Orig.* ἐγεθῆναι. *Vulg.* Ib. 22. ἀναστῆναι. *Cant. Or.* ἀπαρησάσθω. *Vulg.* Ib. 23. ἀρησάσθω. *Cant. Or.* Ibid. καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σαυρὸν αὐτοῦ . . . . καὶ ἡμέραν. *Vulg.* desunt. *Cant. Or.* Ib. 26. ὃς γὰρ ἐπαισχυιδῇ με καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς λόγους. *Vulg.* ὃς γὰρ ἐπαισχυιδῇ με καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς. *Cant. Or.* Ib. 27. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ἀληθῶς, εἰσὶ τινες τῶν ὧδε ἐξηκότων, οἱ ὃ μὴ γεύονται θανάτου ἕως ἂν ἴδωσι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Vulg.* λέγω ἡμῖν ὅτι ἀληθῶς εἰσὶ τινες ὧδε ἐσώτων, οἱ ὃ μὴ γεύονται θανάτου ἕως ἂν ἴδωσι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ. *Cant. Or.* Ib. 29. τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου. *Vulg.* ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ προσώπου. *Cant. Or.*

<sup>48</sup> I shall mention but one additional example; διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ παρῆγεν ἑταῶς, Joh. viii. 59. is omitted in the Egyptian text, though retained in the Byzantine and Palestine; *vid. supr. p. 285. conf. Griesb. n. in h. l.* This various reading may be clearly traced to the extraordinary notion which Origen entertained of our Lord's personal appearance, which he believed was varied according to circumstances. This notion the Origenists found difficult to reconcile with the plain statement of the Evangelist, that he took advantage of the crowd, and escaped their fury merely by passing through the midst of them: they corrected the passage accordingly. *Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. II. cap. lxiv. Tom. I. p. 435. f. ὡς περὶ τηλικῶτ' ὅν φερόμενοι ἡμεῖς τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἑνδοῦ καὶ ἀποκεκρυμμένην τοῖς πολλοῖς Θεϊότητα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ μελαμορφόμενον σῶμα, ὅτ' ἐβύλετο καὶ οἷς ἐβύλετο. Conf. Tom. III. p. 906. e. f.*



conformity from evincing the antiquity of the Egyptian text, that it deprives it, when considered separately, or merely in conjunction with Origen, of any the least authority in determining the genuine text of Scripture.

Eusebius of Cæsarea, who published the next edition of the sacred writings, undertook the revisal of the Greek text with different views, and under different auspices. Commanding the same advantages which had been possessed by his predecessour, he was directed in using them by very different principles. While he was no less biassed in favour of Origen, than Hesychius, he possessed greater facilities of consulting his commentaries; a complete set of Origen's works having been deposited in the library of Cæsarea<sup>49</sup>. He possessed also, in the edition of Hesychius, a text in which many of the peculiar readings of Origen, his master and preceptor in criticism, had been adopted. And in the Harmony of Ammonius, and the text of Lucianus, he possessed a standard by which the superfluities of the Egyptian edition might be discovered with ease, and removed without labour.

Of these different helps towards revising the sacred text, Eusebius fully availed himself in publishing the

<sup>49</sup> Thus much may be legitimately collected from the following declaration of Eusebius; Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. xxxii. p. 296. l. 19.—τὴν περὶ τὰ Θεῖα σπευδὴν τῷ Παμφίλῳ ὁπόση τις γένοιε παριστῶντες, τῆς συναχθείσης αὐτῷ τῷ τε Ωριγενεὺς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων βιβλιοθήκης τὰς πίνακας παρεδόμενῃ ἐξ ὧν ὅταν φίλον πάρεσιν ἐντετελέσται τῶν Ωριγενεὺς πόνων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα διαγινῶναι.

Palestine text; to the use which has been made of them we may indeed attribute most of the peculiarities discoverable in that edition. Of the Harmony of Ammonius, it is unquestionable he made considerable use<sup>50</sup>, in ascertaining the passages introduced into the Egyptian edition; thus much may be clearly collected from the testimony of St. Jerome<sup>51</sup>, who proposes the Eusebian canons as a standard by which the interpolations of Hesychius might be determined. From the text of Hesychius, it is probable Eusebius derived most of the peculiar readings of Origen, which he adopted in his edition<sup>52</sup>: having here found them incorporated in the

<sup>50</sup> Euseb. Epist. ad Carpian. Nov. Test. præf. ed. Mill.  
*Ἀμμώνιος μὲν ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς πολλὴν ὡς εἰκὸς φιλοπονίαν καὶ σπουδὴν  
 ἐξαγνοχῶς, τὸ διατισσάρων ἡμῖν καταλείπειν εὐαγγέλιον.—ἐκ τῆς πονή-  
 ματος τῆς προειρημένης ἀνδρὸς εἰληφὼς ἀφορμὰς, καὶ ἑτέραν μέθοδον  
 κανόνος διὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν διαχάραξά σοι τὰς ὑποτιταγμένας κ. τ. ἐ.*

<sup>51</sup> Vid. supr. p. 172. n. <sup>145</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Such in particular are Mat. xv. 8. xxiii. 14. xxvii. 35. Luc. iii. 5. iv. 18. which have been already described; supr. p. 446. n. <sup>41</sup>. sqq. The peculiar readings of the Palestine text are easily known by the coincidence of the Vatican MS. and Latin Vulgate; and the evidence of these witnesses is confirmed by the testimony of Eusebius's Canons, in the only instance in which their testimony applies; Matt. xxiii. 14. As this verse is omitted in the Palestine text, it is omitted also in the Eusebian Canons: whereas, it must have formed a new section, and have been designated by a particular number, if it had existed in the text of Eusebius: vid. supr. p. 161. n. <sup>122</sup>. The same remark does not apply to Mat. v. 4, 5. as has been sometimes asserted. The Palestine and Byzantine texts agree in preserving these verses in the proper order, while the Latin Vulgate follows the text of Eusebius Vercellensis, in inverting them; vid. supr. p. 63. The Greek copies of Eusebius's Ca-



sacred text, while the testimony of Origen became sufficient authority for him to retain them as genuine. But the edition published in Palestine by the elder Eusebius, had its peculiar readings. The most important of these have been already specified; and some account has been given of the causes which occasioned their suppression in the Palestine edition<sup>53</sup>. Of these passages, in which the Vulgar Greek and Corrected Edition differ, not a few are found in the text of Eusebius. A critical examination into the source of these various readings of the Palestine edition, will, I trust, end in the further confirmation of the same conclusion which it has been hitherto my object to establish.

The most remarkable of those passages in which the Palestine and Byzantine texts differ, are Mat. xix. 17. Luc. xi. 2. 4. 13<sup>54</sup>. It will not appear extraordinary, that the former edition should agree in these passages with the peculiar readings of Origen; when it is remembered, that it was revised by Eusebius, the admirer and apologist of the father of sacred criticism. But it is particularly deserving of remark, that the Palestine text, in coinciding in these passages with Origen, also corresponds with

nons agree with the former texts, while the Latin copies have been accommodated to the latter.

<sup>53</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 35. *sqq.*

<sup>54</sup> Of these texts, Mat. xix. 17. Luc. xi. 2. 4. 13. have been already quoted among the remarkable passages which are supported by the authority of the primitive Fathers, or of the Italick and Syriack versions, against the testimony of the Egyptian and Palestine editions; *supr.* p. 373. 383.



the peculiar readings of Valentinus and Marcion<sup>55</sup>. When we take into account the nature and tendency of that tract, in which the extraordinary readings of those passages are preserved; that it inculcates heterodox notions<sup>56</sup>, and quotes other apocryphal texts<sup>57</sup>;

<sup>55</sup> The following account of Marcion's text is given by St. Irenæus, Adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. p. 106, " Et super hæc, id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens — semetipsum esse veraciorem, quam sunt hi, qui Evangelium tradiderunt Apostoli, suasit discipulis suis; non Evangelium sed particulam Evangelii tradens eis. Similiter et Apostoli Pauli Epistolas abscidit, auferens quæcumque manifeste dicta sunt de eo Deo qui mundum fecit," &c. The peculiar readings of Marcion's Gospel and Apostolicum are preserved by Tertullian and St. Epiphanius; vid. Tert. adv. Marc. Lib. IV. cap. i. p. 403. S. Epiphan. Hær. xlii. p. 310. c. d.

<sup>56</sup> The most exceptionable of Origen's notions, respecting the inferiority of the Son to the Father, and the impropriety of addressing our prayers to Christ, unless as our Mediatour with the Father, are inculcated in this tract in the following terms; Orig. de Orat. Tom. I. p. 222. b. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀκούμεν ὅτι ποτε εἰς προσευχὴν, μήποτε ἑδενί τῶν γεννητῶν προσευκτέον εἶναι, ἑδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὄλων καὶ Πατρὶ, ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν προσηύχετο, ὡς προπαρεδέμεθα, καὶ διδάσκει ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι. ἀκούσας γὰρ διδάξαι ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι, καὶ διδάσκει αὐτῷ προσεύχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πατρὶ λέγοντας. Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. εἰ γὰρ ἕτερος, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις δείκνυται, κατ' εἰσὶν καὶ ὑποκείμενος εἶναι ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τ. εἰ. Conf. Huet. Origeniann. Lib. II. quæst. ii. § 1. sqq.

<sup>57</sup> One of the first quotations in Origen's tract on Prayer, is the following, Orig. ibid. § 2. p. 197. f. αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προσηύχεται καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπεράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὑμῖν προσηύχεται. vid. supr. p. 330. n. 44. This text is joined, in the same sentence, with Matt. v. 44. ix. 38. &c.; is again repeated Ib. p. 219. d; and is quoted as the language of the Gospel, Ib. p. 224. c. Nay more, of the passages which are now be-

there will not be much reason to doubt, that the alteration of the text in those places must be ultimately referred to those hereticks, whom Origen, in his riper judgment, has accused of corrupting the text<sup>58</sup>.

The peculiar doctrines of the Marcionites are summed up in a narrow compass, by St. Irenæus and St. Epiphanius. They agreed with the followers of Cerdo in acknowledging two principles<sup>59</sup>; one of these they called the good God, conceiving him to have his residence above the heavens; and the other they termed the just God, considering him the authour of the works of the Creation. The former they considered inscrutable, and wholly unknown, until the advent of Christ, who first revealed him to the world; the latter they supposed the God, who had revealed himself to the Jews, who had delivered the Law by Moses, and had spoken by the Prophets<sup>60</sup>. Between these per-

fore us, Luc. xi. 2. 4. xviii. 19. are quoted in this tract as they were read in Marcion's Gospel: as will be made apparent in the sequel. See also p. 794. f.

<sup>58</sup> Vid. supr. p. 368. n. <sup>125</sup>. p. 431. n. <sup>10</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. p. 106. ἰδίδαξε [Κέρδων] τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον Θεόν, μὴ εἶναι Πατέρα τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. τὸν μὲν γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀγνώστα εἶναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν. διαδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν Μαρκίων ὁ Πορτικὸς, ἠύξησε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον κ. τ. λ. Conf. S. Epiphanius, Hær. xlii. p. 304. a.

<sup>60</sup> S. Iren. ibid. p. 106. “ Jesum autem [Marcion docuit] ab eo Patre, qui est super mundi Fabricatorem Deum, venientem in Judæam temporibus Pontii Pilati—in hominis forma manifestatum his qui in Judæa erant, dissolventem Prophetas et

sonages they conceived that there was some opposition of will and nature; the one presiding over the immaterial spiritual world; the other over the material visible creation. Christ, as the Son and legate of the good God, came to abolish the power and dominion of the Creatour<sup>61</sup>. He was not however made in the flesh, but appeared merely in the likeness of man<sup>62</sup>; the object of his appearance on earth having been to abolish the Law and the Prophets; to save the souls, not the bodies of men; for the Marcionites agreed with the Nicolaitans and other Gnosticks in denying the resurrection<sup>63</sup>. In order to justify these notions, the founder of the sect had framed antitheses between the Law and the Gospel, in which he endeavoured to show, that the one was contrary to the other<sup>64</sup>.

These opinions, which had been broached by Marcion, near the times of Hyginus, bishop of

*Legem et omnia opera ejus Dei, qui mundum fecit, quem et cosmocratorem dicit."*

<sup>61</sup> S. Epiphan. *ibid.* p. 305. a. Χριστὸν δὲ λέγει ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆ ἀοράτου καὶ ἀκατανομήτου Πατρὸς καταβηκέναι, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ ἐλίγγῃ τῇ Θεῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ Νομοῦ, καὶ Προφητῶν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων. Conf. S. Iren. *ibid.* § 2. p. 106

<sup>62</sup> Vid. S. Epiphan. *ibid.* p. 322. b. conf. 339. c. 340. b.

<sup>63</sup> S. Epiphan. *ibid.* p. 305. c. αἰάσαν δὲ, ὡς εἶπον, ἕτος λέγει ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἀλλὰ ψυχῶν. καὶ σωτηρίαι ταύταις ὀρίζεται, ἐκ τῶν σώμασι. Conf. *supr.* nn. <sup>60</sup> et <sup>61</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Tert. *adv. Marc. Lib. I. cap. xix. p. 359.* "Separatio Legis et Evangelii proprium et principale opus est Marcionis. —Nam hæ sunt Antitheseis Marcionis, idest contrariæ oppositiones, quæ conantur discordiam Evangelii cum Lege committere, ut ex diversitate sententiarum utriusque Instrumenti diversitatem quoque argumententur Deorum."



Rome<sup>65</sup>, until those of Pope Damasus; had maintained their ground against the opposition of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Rhodon, Origen, and Epiphanius<sup>66</sup>, and had produced the different sects of Lucianists, Tatianists, and Apelleians<sup>67</sup>. The Valentinians were a kindred sect which sprang from that common source of heresy, the school of Simon Magus<sup>68</sup>; agreeing in their fundamental tenets with the Marcionites, though they differed essentially from them in their notions of celibacy, which they held in no high estimation<sup>69</sup>. Of the important light in which they were

<sup>65</sup> S. Epiphani. Hær. XLII. p. 302. d. ἀποδιδράσκει. [Μαρτίων] τῆς πόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς [Σινώπης], καὶ ἀνέεισιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτήν, μετὰ τὸ τελευτῆσαι γίνονται τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ῥώμης. Conf. S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. pp. 105, 106. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. capp. x. xi. p. 154.

<sup>66</sup> Conf. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xi. p. 157. l. 5. Just. Mart. Apol. maj. p. 70. a. 92. a. Euseb. ibid. p. 155. l. 12. S. Iren. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. p. 106. Tert. adv. Marc. p. 403. sqq. Euseb. ib. Lib. V. cap. xiii. p. 225. l. 12. Pamph. Apol. pro Orig. cap. i. p. 20. d. sqq. Orig. de Principiis Lib. II. capp. iv. v. Tom. I. p. 84. sqq. S. Epiphani. Hær. XLII. p. 302. sqq.

<sup>67</sup> Vid. infr. n. <sup>68</sup>. Conf. S. Iren. adv. supr. pp. 106, 107. S. Epiphani. Hær. XLIII. p. 378. b. Hær. XLIV. p. 380. c. Hær. XLVI. 391. d.

<sup>68</sup> Vid. supr. p. 267. n. <sup>69</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. vi. p. 30. αἱ δὲ αἱ [ὀφθαλμῶν] ταῖς τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδοναῖς καὶ κακοῶς δουλεύουσιν, τὰ σαρκικά τοῖς σαρκείοις, καὶ τὰ πνευματικά τοῖς πνευματικοῖς ἀποδιδοῦσθαι λέγουσι· καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτῶν λάτρεα τὰς διδασκομένους ὑπὸ αὐτῶν διδάξανταύτην γυναῖκα διαφθείρουν, ἢ τ. εἰ. It must be however observed, that this difference between the Valentinians and Marcionites was founded on a distinction of the former, who merely

held, we may form some idea from the Rule of Faith, and the description of heresy, which are given by Origen; both of which are framed expressly with a view to the Valentinian and Marcionite notions<sup>70</sup>.

One great object of that indefatigable writer was to oppose the growth of these heresies, and we clearly discover the source of that unfortunate bias which his theological opinions took, in the influence

conceived their elect or spiritual persons as privileged to indulge in these shameless excesses: conf. S. Iren. *ibid.* Orig. Comment. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 235. a. b. S. Epiphan. Hær. xxxi. p. 189. c. Merely animal persons, of which order they considered all those who were not initiated in their mysteries, were required to perform good works as necessary to salvation; among which they numbered continence; S. Iren. *ibid.* p. 31. ἡμᾶς καλὰς ψυχικὰς ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ ἐκ κόσμου εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ ἀναγκαίαν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ ἀσάδην πρᾶξιν κ. τ. ε. Conf. *ibid.* p. 29. S. Epiphan. *ib.* p. 189. a.

<sup>70</sup> Vid. Pamph. Apol. pro Orig. cap. i. p. 20. sqq. Orig. Comment. in Epist. ad Tit. Tom. IV. p. 695. d. "Quid vero sit hæreticus homo, pro viribus nostris, secundum quod sentire possumus, describamus. Omnis qui se Christo credere confitetur, et tamen *alium Deum Legis et Prophetarum, alium Evangeliorum Deum* dicit et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi *non eum dicit esse qui a Lege et Prophetis prædicatur, sed alium nescio quem ignotum omnibus atque omnibus inauditum*, hujusmodi homines hæreticos designamus, quamlibet variis ac diversis et fabulosis concinnent ista figmentis, sicut sectatores Marcionis et Valentini, et Basilidis, et hi qui Tethianos appellant. Sed et Apelles licet non omnibus modis Dei esse deneget Legem vel Prophetas, tamen et *ipse hæreticus designatur*, quoniam Dominum hunc qui mundum edidit, ad gloriam alterius ingeni et boni Dei eum construxisse pronunciat," &c. Conf. *supr.* p. 463. n. <sup>60</sup>.

which this controversy had upon his mind. As the hereticks had depressed the Creatour, representing him as inferiour to Christ, he was driven into the opposite extreme, and in asserting the transcendant glory of God, too incautiously depreciated the Son's co-equality with the Father<sup>71</sup>. Though he very successfully combated the fundamental errors of his opponents<sup>72</sup>; their reasonings, particularly when seconded by the speculations of Plato<sup>73</sup>, seem to

<sup>71</sup> We consequently find that these subjects are generally combined in the comments of Origen; in touching on the Comment. in Joan. Tom. IV. p. 139. b. οἶται γὰρ [ὁ Ἡρακλείων] τὸν Δημιουργὸν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐλάττωνα ὄντα τῷ Χριστῷ, — ὅπερ ἐστὶ πάντων ἀσεβησατοῦ· ὁ γὰρ πέμψας αὐτὸν Πατὴρ, ὁ τῶν ζώντων Θεὸς, (ὡς αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς μαρτυρεῖ) — ὁ διὰ τῆτο Κύριος τῷ ἑρανῷ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι πεποίηκεν αὐτὰ, ἕτος καὶ μόνος ἀγαθός, καὶ μείζων τῷ πεμφθέντι. Conf. infr. n. <sup>72</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> One of the most pernicious opinions of the Valentinians respected the doctrine of *one substance*; by which they considered their elect or spiritual persons, as *participating the divine nature*, incapable of contracting pollution from sin. Conf. S. Iren. ibid. p. 29. The blasphemous tendency of this doctrine is set in the strongest light by Origen, by contrasting it with the conduct of Christ, who, though infinitely exalted above all created beings, asserted his inferiority to the Father; Orig. ibid. p. 235. a. εἰ δὲ εἰδέξατο τὸ πορευῆσαι ἢ πνευματικὴ φύσις, ὁμοῦσιος ἕσα τῇ ἀγεννήτῳ ἀνόσια καὶ ἄδεια καὶ ἀσεβῇ ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ κατ' αὐτὸς περὶ Θεῷ. εὐδὲ φαντασιωδῆναι ἀκινδυνόν ἐστι ἀλλήλοις. πεπιδόμενοι τῷ Σωτῆρι λέγοντι· ‘ὁ Πατὴρ ὁ πέμψας με μείζων μὲν ἐστίν, καὶ διὰ τῆτο μὴ ἐνεγκόντι μηδὲ τὴν ‘ἀγαθὸς’ προσηγορίαν τῆς κυρίας καὶ ἀληθῆς, καὶ τελείας παραδέξασθαι αὐτῷ προσφερομένην, ἀλλὰ ἀναφέροντι αὐτὴν εὐχαρίσως τῷ Πατρὶ μετ' ἐπιτιμήσεως πρὸς τὸν βεβλόμενον ὑπερδοξάζειν τὸν Υἱόν κ. τ. ἔ.

<sup>73</sup> Huet. Origeniann. Lib. II. cap. i. § 4. p. 105. “Unum autem præ reliquis [Origenes] Platonem admiratus est; sic ut



have had so far an influence upon his sentiments as to induce him to embrace some very extraordinary notions relative to the constitution of Christ's body<sup>74</sup>; and that of the human frame, after the resurrection<sup>75</sup>. Some of these notions he adopted from Tatian<sup>76</sup>, by whose peculiar opinions he confesses himself to have been once influenced<sup>77</sup>; and from whom he obviously imbibed that extraordinary attachment to a state of celibacy, which he professed in numberless places<sup>78</sup>.

As the founders of those different sects had tampered with the text of Scripture<sup>79</sup>, and the Mar-

*Christianæ dogmata ad Platonicæ doctrinæ leges, non ipsam Platonis doctrinam ad Christi effata accommodaret.*" Conf. cap. ii. quæst. ix. § 9. p. 213.

<sup>74</sup> Vid. supr. p. 458. n. 48.

<sup>75</sup> Vid. Huet. Origeniann. Lib. II. cap. ii. quæst. ix. p. 209.

<sup>76</sup> S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. xxviii. p. 107. αἰωνίως τινὰς ἀσπράττες, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Ὀυαλεντίνου, [Τατιανῶς] μυθολογήσας, τὸν γάμον τε καὶ φθορὰν καὶ πορνείαν παραπλησίως Μαρκίωνι καὶ Σατορινῶνι, ἀναγορεύσας. Conf. S. Epiphân. Hær. XLVI. § ii. p. 391. d. sqq.

<sup>77</sup> Orig. de Orat. § 24. Tom. I. p. 238. c. ἀναγκαίως δὲ μοι ἰδοξεν—ὑπομνησθῆναι τῶν παρεκδοχῶν αὐτῆς [τῆς Τατιανῆς] διὰ τὸς ἡπατημένους, καὶ παραδειξάμενους τὴν ἀσεβῆ διδασκαλίαν αὐτῆς, ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ποτε πεπεισάμεθα.

<sup>78</sup> Vid. Orig. Comment. in Mat. Tom. III. p. 649. sqq. Conf. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VI. cap. viii. p. 264. l. 20.

<sup>79</sup> The testimony of Origen has been already produced against the followers of Marcion, Lucianus, and Valentinus, vid. supr. p. 431. n. 10. A like charge has been urged against Tatian, who appears from the following account to have published an Apostolicum, as well as a Gospel or Diatessaron: Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xxix. p. 193. l. 20.—ὁ Τατιανὴς, συνάφειαν τινὰ καὶ συνάγωγην ἐκ οἷδ' ὅπως τῶν Εὐαγγελίων συνιδίς,

cionite heresy had extended itself through the Egyptian, Palestine, and Italick dioceses<sup>80</sup>, it cannot be deemed extraordinary that the particular texts which prevailed in those regions should have insensibly undergone some changes, from the influence of the editions revised by the hereticks. In some instances the genuine text had been wholly superseded by the spurious editions. In one diocese of the Oriental Church, the Diatessaron of Tatian had been generally received to the exclusion of the vulgar edition<sup>81</sup>. As it had been customary with the disputants, who were engaged in defending the orthodox and the heretical side of the question, to reason from the concessions, and to quote from the Scriptures acknowledged by their adversaries<sup>82</sup>, the distinctions between the pure text and the corrupted

τὸ Διὰ τεσσάρων τῆτο προσωνόμασεν, ὃ καὶ παρὰ τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται. τῇ δὲ Ἀποστόλῃ φασὶ τολμῆσαι τινὰς αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι. Φωνὰς, ὡς ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν.

<sup>80</sup> S. Epiphanius. Hær. xlii. p. 302. a. ἡ δὲ αἵρεσις [τῇ προειρημένῃ Μαρκιανῶς] ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ, ἐν Κύπρῳ τε καὶ Θηβαΐδι, καὶ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις εὕρισκεται. St. Epiphanius declares, that he had some conferences with those hereticks; conf. ib. p. 343.

<sup>81</sup> Theod. Hær. Fab. xx. Op. Tom. IV. p. 208. c. Par. 1642. εἶραν δὲ καὶ γὰρ πλείους ἢ διακοσίας βίβλους τοιαύτας, [τὰ τῇ Τατιανῷ διὰ τεσσαρῶν εὐαγγέλια] ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκκλησίαις τετιμημέναις, καὶ πάσας συναγαγὼν ἀπεδέμην, καὶ τὰ τῶν τετάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντεισηγάγον εὐαγγέλιον.

<sup>82</sup> This was confessedly the practice with the orthodox; vid. supr. p. 331. n. 4<sup>o</sup>. The same conclusion may be formed with respect to the heterodox. Conf. Orig. de Principp. Lib. II. cap. v. § 4. Tom. I. p. 68. d. Tert. adv. Mar. Lib. I. cap. ii. p. 351.



revisal, were at length wholly confounded in their writings. In a country where there was little stability of religious opinion<sup>83</sup>, and where great liberties had been taken with the sacred text<sup>84</sup>, little confidence could be reposed in any edition. The works of approved writers furnished the only standard by which they could be tried; but they now afforded but a fallacious criterion, as containing quotations which were drawn from various equivocal sources<sup>85</sup>. A difference between these quotations and the sacred text become a sufficient evidence of the corruption of the latter; and the next object was to amend the text by accommodating it to the quotation.

On the most cursory view of those passages in which the Egyptian and Palestine texts differ from the Greek Vulgate, it must be evident that the Marcionite and Valentinian controversies must have had considerable influence on the former editions. Having already laid those passages before the reader<sup>86</sup>,

<sup>83</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 371, 372. et n. <sup>123</sup>. p. 344. et n. <sup>71</sup>. conf. supr. n. <sup>70</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> A distinction is thus made respecting the true and genuine copies by St. Epiphanius; Hær. XLII. p. 373. d. πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀντίγραφα τὰ σῶα καὶ ἀληθῆ, τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχουσι πρώτην. In reasoning against Apelles, who was accused of corrupting the Scriptures, vid. supr. p. 330. n. <sup>45</sup>. St. Epiphanius expressly appeals to St. Mark's Gospel, as containing vers. 19. of cap. xvi. which was omitted in Eusebius's edition, vid. supr. p. 35. n. <sup>63</sup>. Id. Hær. XLIV. p. 386. c. αὐτὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα σὺν τῇ Θεότητι ὅλος Θεός—καθεζόμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς. ὡς ἔχει καὶ τὸ τῆς Μάρκου Εὐαγγελίου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐαγγελιστῶν.

<sup>85</sup> Vid. supr. p. 330. n. <sup>45</sup>. p. 367. n. <sup>122</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> Vid. supr. p. 372. sqq. p. 380. sqq.



I shall now proceed to point out the particular manner in which the peculiar readings of the fore-mentioned texts have apparently originated.

At the head of those passages stands Mat. xix. 17. with which we may join Luc. xviii. 19<sup>87</sup>. which

<sup>87</sup> In the Vulgar Greek, we read Mat. xix. 17. τί με λέγεις αγαθόν εἰς αἰσῶδες, εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ Θεός. But this text was little suited to the Valentinians, who admitted not only angels but men into their notion of God, as being of one substance with the Father; vid. supr. p. 467. n. <sup>72</sup>. The term Θεός was of course expunged as limiting the attribute of goodness to the Supreme God. Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. II. p. 409. l. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὉΥαλεντινῶς, πρὸς τινὰς ἐπιστέλλον αὐταῖς λέξεσι γράφει περὶ τῶν προσαρτήματων. ‘εἰς δὲ ἐστὶν ἀγαθός’ κ. τ. ι. We have here evidently the source of the reading of the Egyptian and Palestine texts; τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ αγαθοῦ, εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός, vid. supr. p. 372. The Marcionites, on the other hand; finding the term Θεός too indefinite, as applying to the Creatour as well as the Father of Christ; vid. supr. p. 468. n. <sup>39</sup>, limited the term to the latter, by the addition of ὁ Πατήρ; S. Epiphan. Hær. XLII. p. 339. d.—‘ὁ δὲ μὴ με λέγε ἀγαθόν· εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός ὁ Θεός.’ προσέειπε ἐκεῖνος [Μαρκίων] ‘ὁ Πατήρ.’ Both readings are found in Origen; the former in Comment. in Mat. Tom. III. p. 664. c. εἰ νομισέον ἔνι μάχεσθαι τό· ‘ποίησον ἀγαθόν’ πρὸς τό· ‘τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ ἀγαθοῦ; εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός,’ λελεγμένον πρὸς τὸν πειδόμενον καὶ εἰπόντα ‘διδάσκαλε τί ἀγαθόν ποιήσω; the latter in Comment. in Joh. Tom. IV. p. 41. d.—πρὸς τὸν μονογενῆ λέγοντα ‘διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ’ [ὁ Σωτὴρ] φησὶ, ‘τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἀγαθός εἰ μὴ εἰς, ὁ Θεός ὁ Πατήρ’ Conf. Tom. I. p. 279. a. But we cannot hence conclude that Origen found either of these readings in his copies. (1.) He quotes, in his text the first part merely of the verse with καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς; Ib. p. 664. a. ‘καὶ ἰδὲ εἰς προσελθὼν εἶπεν αὐτῷ διδάσκαλε τί ἀγαθόν ποιήσω, ἵνα σχῶ ζῶν αἰώνιον’ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.—(2.) The whole of his comment containing the reading of the Palestine text, is not only wanting in the old Latin translation of Origen; but the reading of

constituted a principal text of the Marcionites; as relating to their fundamental tenet respecting the

the Byzantine text is set, in place of it, at the head of the section; Ibid. p. 664. d. “ Interrogavit Jesum unus de turba dicens, ‘ Magister bone, quid boni faciam ut habeam vitam æternam? Qui dicit ei: Quid *me dicis bonum: Nemo bonus nisi unus Deus.*” And an indisputable interpolation of the Greek of Origen occurs in the Comment on the part of Scripture before us: vid. p. 670. c. et Huet. not. γ. (3.) It is merely to τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω, which is found in the Vulgar Greek, that Origen refers, in expressly referring to St. Matthew; Ibid. p. 664. c. ὁ μὲν ἐν Ματθαῖος, ὡς περὶ ἀγαθῶ ἔργου ἐρωτηθέντος τῷ Σωτῆρι ἐν τῷ.—‘ τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω;’ ἀνέγραψεν ὁ δὲ Μάρκος, καὶ Λουκᾶς φασὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα εἰρηκέναι ‘ τί με λεγεις ἀγαθόν; ἔδεις ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός.’ In fact, the reply of our Lord was dictated in St. Matthew, by the question τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω, which is wanting St. Mark and St. Luke; but was dictated, in the last-named Evangelists, by the epithet διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ; conf. Mat. xix. 16. Mar. x. 17. Luc. xviii. 18. thus viewed the disputed passage is not ascribed by Origen to St. Matthew. (4.) The first explicit acknowledgment, which he makes of it, is in a subsequent place, where it is considered, as if it was stated by an objector; Id. ibid. p. 666. a. λέγοιτο δ’ ἀν’ ὑπό τινος ὡς ἄρα γινώσκων ὁ Σωτὴρ τὴν τῷ πυνθανομένῳ ἔξιν, —εἶπεν αὐτῷ πυνθανομένῳ ‘ τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω;’ τό ‘ τί με ἐπερωτῆς περὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ.’ As this passage is acknowledged by the old Latin version of Origen, it fully vindicates the translation from any suspicion of accommodating his author’s text to any particular version. The whole of the circumstances of the case compel us to conclude, that the disputed passage is a text which Origen merely quotes in the manner in which it had been corrupted by the hereticks. (1.) It is his constant practice to quote texts, on similar authority; as we have just seen in the case of the Marcionites: conf. p. 330. n. 45. (2.) He has admitted, that these hereticks and the Valentinians corrupted the sacred text; vid. supr. p. 481. n. 10. and this is a passage, which, as relating to their fundamental doctrine respecting the attribute of their Good God, they were

nature of the Deity. An examination into the peculiar opinions of those hereticks, leaves us very

least likely to leave unaltered; vid. *supr.* p. 463. n. <sup>59</sup>. (3.)

We consequently find that the Marcionites are positively accused of sophisticating *this text* by St. Epiphanius, vid. *supr.* p. 471. and a similar charge is brought against the Marcosians, who were of the Valentinian school, by S. Irenæus;

adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. xx. p. 92. *Ενια δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐυαγγελίῳ κειμένων εἰς τέτον τὸν χαρακτῆρα [οἱ Μαρκάσιοι] μεδαρμόζουσιν*—*ὡς τῷ εἰπόντι αὐτῷ [τῷ Σωτῆρι], ‘ διδάσκαλε ἀγαθὲ, ’ τὸν ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν ὁμολογηκέναι εἰπόντα, ‘ τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἑν ἀγαθός, ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν τοῖς ἔρανοῖς. ’ ἔξανθός δὲ νῦν τὰς Αἰῶνας ἐξησθαι λέγουσι.* Here, by the addition of *ἐν τοῖς ἔρανοῖς*, in the sense of

*ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσι*, the hereticks took in the whole of those beings whom they included in their notion of the Divine Nature; vid.

S. Iren. *ibid.* cap. xi. p. 77. *sive*, S. Epiphanius. Hær. xxxiv. p. 243. d. conf. *supr.* p. 270. n. <sup>224</sup>. (4.)

The passage before us, when compared with the vulgar reading, has all the characteristick marks of an heretical corruption. The question proposed

in the Corrected Text, *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ ἀγαθοῦ*, or *τὸ ἀγαθόν*;

and the answer, *εἰς ἑν ἀγαθός*, favours the common notion of the hereticks, that Christ came to reveal a good God, who was previously unknown; vid. *supr.* p. 463. n. <sup>59</sup>. (5.)

As far as we have any accounts of the hereticks' opinions, it is expressed in the very language used by them; *εἰς ἑν ἀγαθός*, which is

substituted for *ἐδὲς ἀγαθός* *εἰ μὴ εἷς*, being the phrase which

both Valentinians and Marcosians use, in describing their doctrine; vid. *supr.* And it is clear to me, that the phrase which

is found in Origen, *‘ ποίησον ἀγαθόν, ’* *supr.* p. 471. l. 24. was substituted,

by the same hands, for *τήρησον τὰς ἐντολάς*, which

occurs in St. Matthew: as the hereticks, who absolved their spiritualized followers from the necessity of observing the Law,

required the practice of good from merely animal persons, such as the rich man who addressed our Saviour; vid. *supr.* p. 465.

n. <sup>69</sup>. (6.) It introduces an antithesis, or a contradiction between

the Law given by Moses, and that revealed by Christ; as the

person who is represented as “having kept all the commandments”



little room to doubt that the various reading of the texts before us originated with them; and that they

from his youth is addressed, as if he were ignorant either of the nature of good, or of the one good God, whom Christ first revealed; vid. *supr.* p. 464. n. <sup>64</sup>. Of this distinction, the Marcionites were fully sensible; and in order to point it more forcibly, they made another alteration; S. Epiphanius. *ib.* p. 339. d. ‘ εἰς ἔργον ἀγαθός, ὁ Θεός.’ προσέειπε ἐκεῖνος. [ὁ Μαρκίων], ‘ ὁ Πατήρ.’ καὶ ἀντι τῷ ‘ τὰς ἐντολάς οἶδας,’ λέγει, ‘ τὰς ἐντολάς οἶδα.’ (7.) Origen not only cites it as he does other heretical texts; *conf. sup.* p. 330. n. <sup>45</sup>. but with a direct reference to the hereticks, (who accused God of severity, as the authour of the Law) which is perfectly beside the purpose, unless we conceive the disputed passage brought this subject before him; Origen. *ibid.* p. 666. c. ζητήσεις δὲ πῶς ἀσθενήσας αὐτῷ πεινῇ καὶ τὰ μὴ νοούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ὅσον ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῖς συκοφαντήσιν. τὸν τῷ Νόμῳ Θεόν, καὶ κατήγορήσιν αὐτῷ, κ. τ. εἰ. In which sentence Origen offers a sufficient apology, for appealing to the testimony of the passage before us. In fine, as the received reading, which has the whole of the internal evidence in its favour, is thus not in the least affected by the testimony of Origen; while it is amply supported by the most unimpeachable evidence, *vid. sup.* p. 370. n. <sup>127</sup>: the whole weight of evidence which is cited against it must fall with the testimony of Origen. The writings of this father have unquestionably had considerable influence on the Egyptian and Palestine editions; and by these texts the Sahidick and revised Italick, the Coptick and later Syriack have been obviously corrected: none of these witnesses can of course have the smallest weight in supporting the contested passage, against the single testimony of Justin Martyr; *vid. sup.* p. 372. And let it be observed, that the evidence of this primitive father derives additional weight from the explanatory gloss with which he closes his testimony, εἰς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Θεός· ὁ ποιήσας πάντα. This clause being undoubtedly added as a corrective to the glosses of the hereticks, whose object was to exclude the Creatour from the character of goodness, clearly proves that the passage before us had been tam-

acquired that authority in Origen's works, which obtained them a place in the Egyptian and Palestine edition. The same observation nearly may be extended to Luc. ii. 38<sup>ss</sup>. the peculiar reading of

pered with in Justin's age, and is a sufficient guarantee that Justin's testimony has not been accommodated to the Greek Vulgate. As in this view of the subject, every variation of the passage before us is adequately accounted for, on considering the Byzantine text retains the genuine reading; while it seems impossible to account for the corruption of the vulgar Greek, not to mention that of antient Italick and vulgar Syriack, on conceiving the Palestine text preserves the authentick reading: I conceive we may as confidently pronounce on the purity of the former text as on the corruption of the latter.

<sup>ss</sup> In place of the vulgar reading, Luc. ii. 38. Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, the Egyptian and Palestine texts read, ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ; vid. supr. p. 373. The authority for this various reading is contained in the following observation of Origen, Hom. xvii. in Luc. Tom. III. p. 951. c. " Lucas—qui manifeste nobis tradidit quoniam virginis filius Jesus est, nec de humano conceptus est semine, iste *patrem ejus Joseph* testatus est dicens; 'Erant *pater illius et mater* admirantes super his quæ dicebantur de eo.' Quæ igitur causa extitit, ut eum qui pater non fuit, patrem esse memoraret? Qui simplici expositione contentus est, dicit: Honoravit eum Spiritus Sanctus patris vocabulo, qui nutrierat Salvatorem. Qui autem altius aliquid inquit, potest dicere, *quia generationis ordo a David usque ad Joseph deducitur, et ne videretur frustra Joseph nominari, qui pater non fuerat Salvatoris, ut generationis ordo haberet locum pater appellatus est Domini.*" There are few, I trust, who will be of Origen's opinion, that the various reading of the Palestine text removes any difficulty which may be found in the genealogy, or has any other effect, than to create a greater difficulty with respect to the immaculate conception. The reading of the vulgar Greek has been already vindicated, from the internal evidence, and from the unvarying testimony

this text having originated with the Origenists, who endeavoured to strengthen the argument, deduced

of the old Italick version, to which we may add that of the antient Syriack; vid. supr. p. 169. n. <sup>135</sup>. conf. p. 359. n. <sup>109</sup>. And Origen, shortly after making the above observation, lets us into the secret of the various reading of the Palestine text; plainly intimating, that it arose from the Marcionite controversy; having been opposed to the errors of those hereticks, who rejected the genealogy, because they objected to the incarnation; vid. S. Iren. ub. supr. p. 462. n. <sup>55</sup>. Orig. ib. p. 952. d. “*Virgo mater est, signum est cui contradicatur. Marcionitæ contradicunt huic signo, et aiunt penitus eum de muliere non esse generatum.*—*Alii enim dicunt eum venisse de cælis: alii tale quale nos corpus habuisse,*” &c. As either the reading of the Palestine or Byzantine text must be false, there can be very little reason to doubt, that it is the former which has been corrupted. That the reading of both editions is of great antiquity, must be inferred from the testimony of Origen, and the old Italick translation. And this consideration seems decisive of the fact, that the vulgar Greek retains the genuine reading. The evidence which supports this text is not only more antient than that which supports the Palestine; but at the time when the Italick version was formed, as strong reasons opposed the introduction of the Byzantine reading as favoured that of the Palestine; the Marcionite controversy, on which this text bore, having been then at the summit. While it becomes therefore impossible to account for the general corruption of the vulgar Greek, Latin, and Syriack texts, that of the Egyptian and Palestine, of the Latin Vulgate, the Sahidick and Coptick versions, &c. admits of the same explanation as in the last example; supr. p. 474. n. <sup>87</sup>: and as to the testimony of Cyril, it must follow the fate of the Palestine text, as that of St. Jerome and St. Augustine follows the fate of the Latin Vulgate. While of course the Greek Vulgate is supported by the testimony of the most competent witnesses, that of the Palestine text is sustained by no adequate evidence. The inference may be now left to the reader.



from the genealogy in favour of our Lord's incarnation, by deducing the line of descent at least nominally through Joseph. Nor is the case materially different with respect to Luc. xi. 13<sup>89</sup>. relative

<sup>89</sup> The Byzantine text reads, Luc. xi. 13. εἰ ἔν ὑμεῖς οἴδατε ἀγαθὰ δόματα διδοῖαι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσῃ μᾶλλον ὁ Πατήρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δώσει πνεῦμα ἅγιον τοῖς αἰτῶσιν αὐτόν, but the Palestine text substitutes πνεῦμα ἀγαθόν, and the Egyptian ἀγαθὸν δόμα, for πνεῦμα ἅγιον; vid. sup. p. 373. These various readings must be plainly referred to Marcion, who stands at the head of those who had corrupted the Scriptures in the age of Origen. His reading of this verse is preserved by S. Epiphanius, Hær. xlii. p. 313. c. εἰ ἔν ὑμεῖς ποιητοὶ ὄντες, οἴδατέ δόματα ἀγαθὰ πόσῃ μᾶλλον ὁ Πατήρ: the final clause being expunged according to Marcion's practice; vid. sup. p. 462. n. <sup>55</sup>. As Origen possessed an early bias to the opinions of the Encratites, [vid. sup. p. 468. n. <sup>76</sup>. conf. n. <sup>78</sup>.] the first founder of which sect was Marcion [vid. S. Iren. Lib. I. cap. xxviii. p. 107.] he has interpreted this text according to their notions; Orig. Comment. in Mat. Tom. III. p. 650. d. καὶ τό, τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα υἱὸς αἰτήσῃ ἰχθύον, μὴ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὅφιν ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἑς. δώσει ἔν τὸ ἀγαθὸν δόμα, τὴν παντελῆ καθαίρεισιν ἐν ἀγαθίᾳ καὶ ἀγνείᾳ ὁ Θεός, τοῖς ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, καὶ μετὰ πίστεως, καὶ ἀδελφείπτης ἐν προσευχαῖς αἰτῶσιν αὐτόν. Another attempt at explanation by our critick gives us a little more of the reading which exists in the Greek Vulgate; Orig. de Orat. Tom. I. p. 213. c. ἐπεὶ ὁ χρηστὸς Πατήρ τὸν ζῶντα ἄρτον δίδωσι τοῖς “τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς υιοθεσίας;” ἐκλήφουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρός· καὶ δίδωσιν ὁ Πατήρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν δόμα ὑμῖν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοῖς αἰτῶσιν αὐτόν. The cause of this inconstancy in Origen's reading is fully explained by himself in the tract which contains the last extract; in the course of it he signs a recantation of his former opinions, and abandons Tatian and the Encratites; vid. sup. p. 468. n. <sup>77</sup>. His different expositions are consequently perfect contrasts to each other; “the good gift” in the one being “perfect purity, in celibacy and chastity,” for which Marcion contended; but in

to the gift of the Spirit; Origen having originally adopted this text; as it was understood by the Marcionites, furnished; by his different explanations of it, the various readings of the Egyptian and Palestine editions. In Luc. xxii. 43, 44<sup>o</sup>. we discover

the other, "those temporal blessings which God grants as *the rain from heaven*," which Marcion abjured, as denying the goodness and providence of the Creatour, vid. sup. p. 463. n. <sup>50</sup>. Thus far a plain account is given of the various readings of Marcion and Origen. And in the testimony of the latter we have as satisfactory an account of the various readings of the Egyptian and Palestine texts; the reviser of the former having followed Origen's earlier notion in adopting ἀγαθὸν δόμα, and the reviser of the Palestine having followed his later opinion in adopting πνεῦμα ἀγαθόν. Nor was their respective choice the effect of accident. The Egyptian monks naturally gave the preference to the reading which favoured their habit of life; and the bishop of Cæsarea as naturally gave a preference to that which agreed with Origen's amended opinion. Both likewise had their reasons for preferring Origen's reading to that of the vulgar Greek; Eusebius having been addicted to the Arian heresy [vid. sup. p. 39. n. <sup>68</sup>.] and Hesychius to the Origenian [vid. sup. p. 439. n. <sup>29</sup>.] whose opinions were at variance with the doctrine inculcated in the received reading: vid. S. Hieron. Pam. et Ocean. Ep. lxxv. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 229. Without insisting on the authority of the antient witnesses which support the reading of the vulgar Greek, and the difficulty of shewing how they could have been corrupted; these considerations seem fully adequate to vindicate the integrity of this edition.

<sup>50</sup> The agony in the garden, described in these verses, it is next to certain, was first suppressed in the Gospel of Marcion: and was thence omitted in some copies of the Palestine text, and on the authority of it, in some copies of the Philoxenian and Armenian versions; vid. Griesb. n. in Luc. xxii. 43. *r*. The following reasons seem adequate to establish the antece-

the influence of the same hereticks' notions; and with this text we may join Col. i. 14<sup>91</sup>. as relating

dent assertion. (1.) This passage occurs in St. Luke, which of all the Gospels was alone acknowledged by Marcion, and which was mutilated of all those passages, by him, which contradicted his peculiar opinions; vid. supr. p. 462. n. <sup>55</sup>. (2.) The disputed passage, as proving our Lord's advent in the flesh, was opposed to the peculiar tenet of Marcion, who denied the incarnation and passion of our Saviour, conceiving his body merely a phantasm; Tert. de Anim. cap. xvii. p. 271. " Sic enim et Marcion *phantasma eum maluit credere, totius corporis in illo dedignatus veritatem.*" (3.) St. Epiphanius was well acquainted with this passage, vid. supr. p. 93. n. <sup>103</sup>. and he expressly opposed Marcion's opinions, on the testimony of his mutilated Gospel; appealing to several passages which were infinitely less strong than that before us, as Luc. ix. 22. vid. S. Epiphan. Hær. XLII. p. 327. d. conf. p. 347. b. But he has deduced no argument from the passage before us; we must therefore conclude, that it was wanting in Marcion's copy. On the omission of this text in some copies of the orthodox, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter; this circumstance, with which St. Epiphanius was well acquainted, prevented him from upbraiding Marcion with the suppression of this passage. As all versions retain this text, which is quoted by Justin Martyr, Hippolytus, and other antient fathers, but those already specified, little more remains to be added respecting it. There can be as little reason to doubt the integrity of the Vulgar Greek, as that the various reading of the Palestine text has proceeded from the corruption of Marcion.

<sup>91</sup> The observations made on Luc. xxii. 43, 44. in the last note, may be applied to this passage, which asserts our redemption "by the blood" of Christ. (1.) The Epistle to the Colossians was equally corrupted by Marcion with the Gospel according to St. Luke; this Epistle having been partly received by him, and that to Philemon alone having escaped the defalcation of the heretick; conf. Epiphan. Hær. XLII. p. 373. a. b. Tert. adv. Marc. Lib. V. cap. xxi. p. 479. (2.) The



to the same subject: in these examples a degree of coincidence between the Marcionite and Origenian

passage before us is more decidedly opposed to Marcion's errors, than any which exists in the text of the vulgar edition; and as such was peculiarly obnoxious to him; Tert. de Carn. Christ. cap. ii. p. 298. "His opinor consiliis, *tot originalia instrumenta Christi delere* Marcion ausus es; *ne caro ejus probaretur*. (3.) St. Epiphanius reasons from Marcion's concessions in this chapter; Ibid. p. 373. b. He was well acquainted with the disputed passage as it is *expressly* opposed to the Marcionites by St. Irenæus, adv. Hær. Lib. V. cap. ii. § 2. p. 293. with whose works St. Epiphanius was thoroughly acquainted, vid. S. Epiphan. Hær. xxxi. p. 173. a. But he has deduced no argument from this passage; it must have been consequently obliterated in Marcion's Apostolicum. Admitting that this passage was wanting in Marcion's text, it becomes little wonderful that it was omitted in the Egyptian text, and on the authority of it, in the Palestine edition. The notions of the Origenists relative to the body of Christ, differed but a shade from those of the followers of Valentinus and Apelles. They considered our Lord's body a kind of spiritualized substance, which was capable of different appearances or metamorphoses; vid. supr. p. 452. n. <sup>44</sup>. conf. infr. p. 482. n. <sup>92</sup>. The following testimony of Origen, in which the orthodox notion of the incarnation is tacitly censured, furnished sufficient authority for the adoption of Marcion's reading; Orig. Hom. in Luc. Tom. III. p. 952. d. "Habuit corpus humanum, et hoc signum est cui contradicatur. Alii enim dicunt eum venisse de cœlis; alii *tale quale nos corpus habuisse*, ut per similitudinem corporis etiam nostra corporis 'redimeret a peccatis, et daret nobis spem resurrectionis.' And in explaining 1 Cor. vii. 23. he expressly denies that either the body or the soul of our Lord was offered as the price of our redemption; vid. Comm. in Mat. Tom. III. p. 726. c. In exact conformity with the former reference, "*redimeret a peccatis*," is the reading of the Egyptian text and revised Italic version, as preserved in the Cambridge, Clermont, and St. Germain MSS.; which

tēnets, led to the adoption of the various reading of the texts of Egypt and Palestine. The causes were of an opposite character, which produced the various reading of 1 Joh. iv. 3<sup>rd</sup>. Origen's endea-

differ from the Palestine text in omitting τὴν ἄφεσιν, as well as διὰ τῆ αἵματος αὐτοῦ; vid. supr. p. 376. conf. Griesb. n. in h. l. The cause of this difference is, however, easily discovered in the peculiar opinions of the different revisers of those editions. Hesychius imbibed a deep tincture of Origen's notions; he consequently admitted no more of the disputed text, as genuine, than the following words; ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν; agreeably to Origen's representation. The Arian tendency of Eusebius did not lead him quite so far as Hesychius; he consequently adopted a little more of the genuine reading, and wrote, ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν: admitting the remission of sin, though he suppressed the meritorious price of it. But St. Irenæus, who preceded both, and whose opinions had no such tendency, has expressly quoted the disputed verse as it occurs in the Greek Vulgate, laying peculiar emphasis on διὰ τῆ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. vid. supr. pp. 376. 378. With the testimony of the Egyptian text, that of the Sahidick version falls of course; as the testimony of the Syriack, Coptick, Ethiopick, revised Arabick and Latin Vulgate, falls with the Palestine: and the testimony of the Greek and Latin fathers, who have cited the disputed text, must follow the fate of the last mentioned texts, as they confessedly received the revised editions of Eusebius and St. Jerome. Under this view of the subject, every various reading of the disputed passage is satisfactorily accounted for. As the reading of the Greek Vulgate is supported by the testimony of antient and separate witnesses, in the old Italick and Arabick versions, we must conclude, that they retain the genuine text: until at least some plausible account be given of the manner in which they could have been corrupted.

<sup>52</sup> The various readings of this passage have been already pointed out supr. p. 377. p. 303. n. <sup>312</sup>: and have obviously ori-

your to avoid the peculiar errors of the Valentini-  
nians respecting the person of Christ, having pro-

minated, not less than the preceding, from the influence of the Marcionite and Valentinian heresies. The Valentinians believed in the existence of two Christs, who were mystically united; S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. xvi. p. 204. “*Salvatorem quidem qui desuper descendisset, quem et ipsum receptaculum Christi, et universæ Plenitudinis esse [Valentiniani] dicunt, linguæ quidem unum Christum Jesum confitentes, divisi vero sententia: etenim hæc est ipsorum regula, quemadmodum prædiximus, ut alterum quidem Christum fuisse dicant, qui ab Unigenito ad correctionem Plenitudinis præmissus est; alterum vero Salvatorem esse in glorificationem Patris missum.*” Marcion agreed with Valentinus in this notion, which was adopted from the Gnosticks; Tert. adv. Marc. Lib. I. cap. xv. p. 357. “*Atque ita tres mihi deos numera Marcionis—*. His quum accedunt et sui Christi, *alter qui apparuit sub Tiberio; alter qui a Creatore promittitur,*” &c. conf. supr. p. 266. There was nothing in these notions which accorded with the doctrine of the Origenists; on the contrary, the founder of this sect strenuously opposed those opinions. In the following passage we consequently discover the true source of the various readings of the Egyptian and Palestine editions; Orig. Comm. in Mat. Tom. III. p. 727. b.—*σήμερον ἐ λύω τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τῆ Χρισθ̃, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ πλέον οἶδα ἐν εἶναι Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆ, πρὸς τὸν ‘πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως.’ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆ, ὡς πλέον, εἰ δεῖ ἕτως ὀνομάσαι, εἶναι ἐν ὅλον τῆτο, ὅπερ ‘ὁ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν πνεύματι ἐστίν.’* The studied purpose of Origen to avoid the error of the Valentinians, drove him into the opposite extreme; and led him to adopt this notion respecting our Lord’s body, which was afterwards improved upon by the Eutychians. At how early a period the reading of Origen was adopted in some MSS. of the Egyptian text, must be apparent from the testimony of Socrates, vid. supr. p. 303. n. <sup>312</sup>; the weight of his evidence in its favour is however annulled by the consideration of his having been addicted to the heresy of the Origenists, vid. supr. p. 440. n. <sup>31</sup>; as might be



duced that exposition from whence his followers have corrupted the reading of the vulgar edition.

collected from the forecited reference to the disputed verse, which was apparently written by Socrates with a view to the passage of Origen now before us, as well as to the reading of the Italick translation, vid. supr. p. 303. The various readings of this passage may be now easily traced. The first lineaments of the reading before us occur in Irenæus; after referring to Joh. xx. 31. he observes, Id. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. xvi. § 5. p. 206.—“ Joannes Domini discipulus confirmat—prævidens has blasphemias regulas, quæ dividunt Dominum, quantum ex ipsis attinet, ex altera et altera substantia dicentes eum factum: propter quod et in *Epistola sua* sic testificatus est nobis—— ‘ Quis est mendax nisi qui negat quoniam Jesus non est Christus? hic est Antichristus.’ This sentiment was adopted by Origen vid. supr. and Tertullian; adv. Marc. Lib. V. cap. xvi. p. 473. But the particular reference of S. Irenæus to 1 Joh. ii. 22. in this place, as the *chief text* opposed to the Valeptinian and Marcionite heresies, and of Tertullian to the *vulgar reading* of the disputed text, clearly evince that they were unacquainted with the *reading of Socrates*. Tert. de Carn. Christ. cap. xxiv. p. 311. “ Certe ‘ qui negat Christum in carne venisse, hic Antichristus est:’ *nudam et absolutam*, et simplici nomine naturæ suæ, pronuncians ‘ *carnem*,’ omnes disceptatores ejus ferit. Sicut et definians ipsum quoque ‘ Christum’ unum multiformis Christi argumentatores quatit, qui alium faciunt Christum, alium Jesum.’ As this direct *reference* to 1 Joh. iv. 3. proves that Tertullian found in his copies all that is retained in the vulgar Greek; the *inference* from it proves, that he did not find the various reading of Socrates; as it is perfectly nugatory, if Tertullian read “ qui solvit Jesum,” either separately or conjointly with “ negat in carne venisse.” From Tertullian the former reading descended to Cyprian, Ambrose, and Augustine, and made its way into the Latin version, merely as a gloss on the received reading: and was finally admitted, in a long quotation from this version, into the translation of St. Irenæus; Ib. cap. xvi. p. 207. What adds the strongest confirmation to

The various readings of Luc. xi. 2. 4<sup>93</sup>. are of the same character, as relating to the fundamental

this assertion, is, that St. Irenæus's work was translated in the times of P. Leo the great, when the Roman Church took an active part against the Nestorian heresy, which was fundamentally overthrown by this text as quoted by Socrates, *vid. supr. p. 303. n. 312*. It could not have been therefore safe for the authour of this translation, which was most probably made with a view to oppose the rising heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, to depart in this instance from the authorised Latin version. Of the integrity of the received reading, there cannot be therefore the smallest reason to doubt; as it is supported by the most unquestionable authority, and nothing weakened by the testimony of dissenting witnesses. (1.) It is confirmed by the internal evidence; as corresponding with St. John's manner, who commonly makes similar antitheses, opposing an affirmative and negative proposition; comp. Joh. i. 3. 1 Joh. v. 10. 12. *vid. Erasm. n. in l.* (2.) It is confirmed by the external evidence, as it is acknowledged, not only by St. Polycarp in the Eastern Church, and Tertullian in the Western, within a short period of the death of St. John, but by the invariable consent of the Greek Fathers and Manuscripts, and of the Oriental Versions.

<sup>93</sup> The extraordinary omission of the following clauses of the Lord's prayer, in St. Luke, have been already specified; *supr. p. 383.* ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἑρανοῖς . . . . γενηθῆτω τὸ θέλημα σου, ὡς ἐν ἑρανῶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. It is not to be denied, that Origen, in composing his tract "On Prayer," believed these passages not written by St. Luke, as he expressly states that they did not belong to the Evangelist's text; *Orig. de Orat. Tom. I. p. 232. a. 240. c. 256. c.* But it does not follow, that they did not exist in Origen's copies, much less in the received text of the orthodox. On the contrary it appears, even on his own testimony, that those passages existed in the copies which were before him; and that in asserting that they formed no part of St. Luke's text, he was misled by copies of the most equivocal character. (1.) Where he

tenets of Marcion, relative to the abode of his Good God above the heavens, and to his special provi-

professes to detail "the entire context and series of St. Luke's words," the Lord's prayer is wholly omitted, a *blank space* existing in the MS. where it should have been inserted: Orig. Ib. p. 200. a. ὁλος δὲ ὁ εἰρημὸς τῷ ῥητῇ ἔτῳς ἔχει· 'καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν προσευχόμενον' κ. τ. εἰ. Luc. xi. 1. Having merely completed the first verse, to the beginning of the Prayer, the context is broken off; on which the Benedictine editours observe, Ib. p. 200. n. a. "In Codice ms. *hoc loco est hiatus, ad spatium trium circiter linearum, licet nihil ad sensum desiderari videatur!*" (2.) As it is indisputable that this blank was intended for the Prayer, nothing being wanting to complete the sense of Origen's context, it seems impossible to assign any reason for its omission, but that it differed in this place from Origen's subsequent statement, and consequently contained the disputed passages. (3.) In referring to the prayer as previously quoted, Origen having cited *part of Luc. ibid.* 1. adds the beginning of the Prayer as contained in that Evangelist, and includes *a part of the disputed reading*, with καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. I have already cited the passage of Origen at length *supr.* p. 462. n. 56: and it not only positively contradicts the assertion, that the first clause ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἑβραίοις was *wanting* in St. Luke's text; but implicitly declares, that the whole of the prayer existed in that Evangelist, as it was generally repeated: Orig. *ibid.* p. 222. εἰ διδάσκει αὐτῷ προσεύχασθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πατρὶ λέγοντας· 'Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἑβραίοις,' καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. (4.) Origen expressly admits, that most people supposed the same form of prayer had been delivered by St. Matthew and St. Luke; although he proceeds to offer three reasons which induced him to be of a different opinion; Id. *ibid.* p. 226. e. καὶ πρὸ πάντων γε παρατηρήσιον ὅτι ὁ Ματθαῖος καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς δόξαιεν ἂν τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγεγραφέναι ὑπολειπωμένην πρὸς τὸ δεῖν ἔτῳς προσεύχασθαι προσευχὴν. In the passage which follows this declaration, Origen's text is palpably interpolated; as must be apparent to any person of moderate penetration; the whole texture of his subject being disjointed by the insertion of the Lord's prayer.



dence, as extending to the affairs of this lower world. The reading of the heretick's Gospel having been

as conceived to be read in St. Luke, which was plainly omitted in this place, as the following circumstances sufficiently demonstrate. (1.) It was certainly inserted previously, in Origen's autograph, as appears from the blank already specified. (2.) Its insertion in this place, together with the two sentences which are used to qualify its introduction; (Ib. p. 226. f. ἔχουσι δὲ αἱ λέξεις . . . . τὸν τρόπον αὐτὸν, Ib. p. 227. b. ἐν γὰρ τῷ εἰρημῷ . . . . ἀναγεγραμμένη εὐρίσκειται) so completely disjoint the contexture and suspend the sense of Origen's text, as to leave him scarcely intelligible. (3.) The introduction of these passages reduces the context of Origen to perfect nonsense; as he declares it to be his *intention* to search and point out the places in which the words of St. Matthew and St. Luke seemed to differ, (as he accordingly does, pp. 251. e. f. 252. a. &c.) but which are *here* forcibly pointed out by contrasting the different statements of the Evangelists; Id. ibid. p. 227. b. τὰ ῥήματα εἰ καὶ γεννηθῶντά τινα ἔχει ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις διαφέρειν φαίνεται ὡς ἐρευνῶντες αὐτὰ παραστήσομεν. On discarding those ridiculous passages which have been foisted into the text, Origen's context may be thus connected; Ibid. p. 226. e. καὶ πρὸ πάντων παραληρηλόν ὅτι ὁ Ματθαῖος καὶ ὁ Λευκᾶς δόξαιεν εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγεγραφήναι ὑπολειπυμένην πρὸς τὸ δεῖν ἕτως προσεύχεσθαι προσευχὴν [ ] 'Πάτερ ἡμῶν.' (καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἕως τῆς,) . . . 'ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πονηρᾶς.' [ ] λεκτέον δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἕτως ὑπολαμβάνοντι, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ῥήματα εἰ καὶ γεννηθῶντά τινα ἔχει ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις διαφέρειν φαίνεται, ὡς ἐρευνῶντες αὐτὰ παραστήσομεν· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἔχουσιν οἱ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν προσευχὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅρει λεγέσθαι· ἔνθα 'ἰδὼν τὸς ὄχλους ἀνέβη, ὅτε καθίστατο αὐτὸς προσελθόν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ τόμα αὐτῷ ἐδίδασκεν.' [ ] καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον, ὡς ἐπαύσατο, εἰρησθαι πρὸς τινα τῶν μαθητῶν ἀξιώσαντα διδασκῆναι προσεύχεσθαι κ. τ. εἰ. The places of the interjected passages are here marked by brackets. That they are interpolations must be apparent from the connecting particles, by which the sentence is held together; πρὸς τὸ δεῖν ἕτως προσεύχεσθαι, being

admitted into the Commentary of Origen, thence made its way into the Palestine text; the opinion of

inseparably connected with Πάτερ ἡμῶν κ. τ. εἰ: πρὸς τῇς ἕτους ὑπολαμβάνουσι being as inseparately connected with its antecedent δόξαιεν ἂν τοῖς πολλοῖς; and κὶ ἐν τῷ ὅρει being as inseparately connected with κὶ ἐν τῷ εἶναι ἐν τοπῷ τινί. Thus far, of course, Origen affords us no countenance in believing that the contested passages were wanting in the text of St. Luke, as read in his copies. And whatever be thought of the above emendation, no more is fairly deducible from his concluding remark; as he there submits it to his readers, "*whether it were not better to consider the prayers different which had some common parts;*" Ibid. p. 227. d. μήποτε δὲ βελτιον ἢ διάφορος νομίζεσθαι τὰς προσευχὰς κοινὰ τινὰ ἔχουσας μέρη. This concluding remark, added to his first observation on the subject, that "St. Matthew and St. Luke appeared to many to have delivered the same form of prayer," ὁ Ματθαῖος κὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς δόξαιεν ἂν τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγεγραμμένην ὑποτετυπωμένην προσευχὴν, prove to my entire satisfaction, that the generality of copies retained the disputed passages, as they exist in the Vulgar Greek. II. Our next object is to enquire, where Origen had the first intimation, that the disputed passages were not a part of St. Luke's text. And this, I am of opinion, he proceeds directly to specify in the following words, Id. ibid. p. 227. d. ζητήσαντες δὲ κὶ παρὰ τῷ Μάρκῳ, μήποτε λανθάνη ἡμᾶς ἡ ποιαύτη ἰσοδυναμῶσα [προσευχῇ] ἀναγεγραμμένη, εἰ δ' ἔχουσιν ἐγκείμενον προσευχῇς εὔρομεν. The absurdity of this assertion affords a sufficient proof that the passage is corrupt: for how is it possible that Origen should deem it necessary "to search" in St. Mark for the Lord's Prayer, and believe, that when he completed his search, "no trace of such a prayer as he required could have escaped him:" particularly when Ammonius's Harmony had been some time in use, and Marcion had published the Gospel of St. Luke, containing the very object of Origen's search? For παρὰ τῷ Μάρκῳ, I must therefore substitute παρὰ τῷ Μαρκίῳ, and understand Origen as meaning, that "having searched in Marcion's edition of St. Luke for a



that early critick having been clearly in favour of the notion, that the vulgar text of St. Luke was in-

prayer agreeing with that contained in St. Matthew, that he might leave no source untried in which he might be likely to meet it, he found no trace of it;" such indeed must have been the result of his search, as Marcion's prayer differs in every petition from St. Matthew's. The emendation however which is thus confirmed (1.) by the internal evidence of Origen's text, and (2.) by the circumstances of the case before us, is finally established by these additional considerations. (3.) Origen, in the course of the tract before us, quotes one of *the principal texts* of Marcion, as read in that heretick's Gospel: vid. supr. p. 471. n. <sup>87</sup>. (4.) What lays the question at rest, he quotes *the Lord's prayer* itself in the very form in which it was used by Marcion. This is apparent from the testimony of Tertullian, who gives us the Lord's prayer, without the disputed passages, in the very form in which it appeared in that part of Origen, where St. Luke and St. Matthew's texts are contrasted; vid. Tert. adv. Marc. Lib. IV. cap. xxvi. p. 432. Nor can there be a doubt, that Tertullian quotes in the place referred to, from Marcion's Gospel. (1.) Such was his professed object, in opposing that heretick; Tert. ibid. cap. i. p. 403. "—Ad ipsum jam *Evangelium ejus* [Marcionis] *provocamus*, quod interpolando suum fecit." Id. ibid. cap. vi. p. 407. "Sed alium jam hinc inimus gradum, ipsum, ut *professi sumus*, *Evangelium Marcionis* provocantes," &c. (2.) Unless the Lord's prayer was found in Marcion's Gospel, any inference made from it, by Tertullian, on any other ground than that of its having been obliterated by that heretick, was not only beside that writer's purpose, but wholly nugatory. In Marcion, of course, Origen had the first intimation, that the prayer of St. Luke differed altogether from that of St. Matthew. The reasons which inclined him to be rather of this opinion, than that of the generality of persons, who considered that the Evangelists had written the same form, are specified by him, at large, Ib. p. 227. a. sqq. (1.) The prayers contained some dissimilarity in the language, even admitting them to be



terpolated in those places in which it differed from Marcion's Gospel, and agreed with the text of St.

equally full in the expression, and adequate in the sense, Ibid. b. (2.) They were delivered at different places, and to different persons, Ibid. c. (3.) Though Origen saw that this statement was liable to some objection, Ibid. d: yet he saw some propriety (which I trust no other person will be likely to discover) in our Lord's delivering himself more fully to the multitude, than to his disciple, who asked him apart, Ib. p. 365. a. And as these differences more fully evinced that St. Matthew and St. Luke alluded to totally different incidents, which was the main object that Origen undertook to establish, he readily acquiesced in the latter conclusion; having had some strange notions relative of the interpolation of the Evangelists from each other, when he was unable to reconcile their different statements, vid. supr. p. 433. n. <sup>16</sup>. III. The testimony of Origen being disposed of, there will be now little difficulty in evincing the corruption of the Palestine text; and in ascertaining the genuine reading of the passages before us. In order to accomplish this object, it may be observed; (1.) There seems to be no possible cause, that can be suggested, which will be adequate to account for our Lord's varying at one time from his practice at another, while he had the same object in view; as we must conclude to have been the case, as the subject, order, and expression of the different prayers which he dictated, are nearly the same. (2.) Admitting that he delivered the same form of prayer, it is wholly inconceivable that St. Luke could have mutilated it in the manner in which it occurs in the Palestine text; not only omitting some of the solemn forms of supplication which had been long consecrated by the observance of the Jews, but reducing the prayer to the compass of an ejaculation. (3.) It is infinitely more difficult to assign any plausible reason for the fact; that our Lord should omit, or the Evangelist overlook, just as much of the form of prayer which was delivered in the Sermon on the Mount, as adapted it to the peculiar opinions of the heretick Marcion. This consideration alone seems to set the question at rest, and

Matthew. Together with the above passages, which relate to the Lord's Prayer, we may join that con-

to identify the true authour of the corruption of the text in question. That the Lord's prayer, as read in the Palestine text, was accommodated to Marcion's opinions, is apparent from more than the testimony of Tertullian, who declares that it was admitted into Marcion's Gospel in that mutilated form in which it appears in the Palestine edition. It is rendered evident by the fact, that the suppressed passages were irreconcilable with Marcion's peculiar tenets. (1.) The "Father," who is supplicated in this prayer, was addressed as "in heaven;" the Father whom Marcion assigned to Christ, had his abode above the heavens; ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἑρανοῖς was consequently discarded, as designating the Creatour whom Marcion did not acknowledge as the Father of Christ; vid. S. Epiphan. Hær. xlii. p. 328. c. S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. IV. cap. iii. § 1. p. 230. (2.) The Father of Christ was also identified in the description of the God who resided "in heaven, and whose will was done on earth;" for, under this character, the Creatour was likewise designated; γεννηθῆτω τὸ θέλημα σου, ὅς ἐν ἑρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, was consequently rejected as inconsistent with the notion of Christ's mission, who came to abolish the power and dominion of the Creatour; vid. Tert. adv. Marc. Lib. I. cap. xvi. p. 357. conf. supr. p. 433. n. <sup>60</sup>. (3.) The attribute of severity belonged to the latter deity, that of goodness having exclusively belonged to the higher principle in Marcion's system, who did not interpose in earthly concerns; ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πονηρῆς was consequently omitted in Marcion's prayer, as unsuitable to the God whom that heretick exclusively acknowledged as the object of worship, vid. Tert. ibid. Epiphan. ibid. p. 329. b. It is, I trust, unnecessary to offer another remark on this subject. There can be now little reason to doubt that the various readings before us must be ultimately referred to the heretick Marcion; that they were prepared for admission into the sacred text in the writings of Origen; and were transferred from his writings into the Palestine text, in the library of Cæsarea. Here they were found by

taining the doxology, Mat. vi. 13<sup>94</sup>. as connected with the same subject. The Marcionites, however,

St. Jerome, and adopted in the Latin Vulgate; and thus came to the knowledge of St. Augustine: such being the only vouchers by whom they are attested. That the Byzantine text possesses the genuine reading, is not merely evinced by this negative argument arising from the palpable corruption of the Palestine. The reading of the former text is not only supported by all versions, the modern Vulgate excepted; but by the implicit testimony of Origen in the Eastern church, and of Tertullian in the Western: vid. Tert. de Orat. cap. vi. p. 121.

<sup>94</sup> This verse, containing the doxology of the Lord's prayer, in St. Matthew, is found in the Greek Vulgate, and the old Italick and Syriack Versions, besides the Sahidick, Ethiopick, Arabick, Persick, and some copies of the Coptick, but is omitted in the Egyptian and Palestine texts, and consequently in the second and third edition of the Italick version: vid. supr. p. 380. conf. Griesb. n. in h. l. In Origen's tract on Prayer, we discover the source of this defalcation; the text before us not having been included expressly in his exposition: vid. Griesb. *ibid.* But we cannot thence conclude that it was wanting in Origen's copies; on the contrary, we must rather conclude from his testimony, that he was aware of its existence in the sacred text. (1.) That he omits it in his exposition, concludes nothing; as it really forms no part of the prayer, and consequently it did not come within the compass of Origen's design to expound it: after having dispatched the last *petition*, he observes; Orig. de Orat. Tom. I. p. 271. α. δοκιμὴ δέ μοι ἐστὶ τῶν τόπων τῆς εὐχῆς διαλαβόντα, ἕτω καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον. (2.) He plainly intimates, that something more not only existed in his text, but that some *doxology* was to close the prayer which he expounded. Id. *ibid.* d. καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι, τὴν εὐχὴν εἰς δοξολογίαν Θεοῦ, διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καταπαύσειον. (3.) He proceeds if not to expound yet to illustrate the doxology, by a reference to the Psalms, which is wholly irrelevant, if we do not consider the *common* doxology before him; Id. *ibid.* d. τέτες δὲ τὰς τόπους, ὡς προείπομεν διεσπαρμένους εὖρομεν



have nothing to answer for, on the score of cancelling this verse, as they rejected the entire Gospel

ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς· τὸν μὲν τῆς δοξολογίας διὰ τούτων ἐν ἑκατὸς ᾧ τρίτῳ ψαλμῷ· ‘Κύριε ὁ Θεός ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθης σφοδρὰ——ὁ θεμελιῶν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῆς, ὃ κλιθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τῷ αἰῶνος.’——καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ τὰς τῷ ψαλμῷ δοξολογίαν περιέχει τῷ Παύλῳ.

As these considerations render Origen's testimony at least neuter; the following circumstances are fully adequate to establish the authenticity of the disputed passage. (1.) Had the doxology been interpolated in St. Matthew, there can be no reason apparently assigned, why it should not have been *also* inserted in St. Luke. (2.) Its uniform omission in St. Luke involves as strong an argument, evincing the probability of its partial *suppression* in St. Matthew, as disproving the probability of its partial *interpolation* in the text of that Evangelist: as the former correction might have been made on the authority of St. Luke, the latter must have been made against it. (3.) The introduction of this passage in St. Matthew, and its omission in St. Luke, involves the strongest presumptive proof, that it was dictated by our Saviour. As the forms of prayer contained in the different Evangelists were given previously to the abrogation of the Mosaick Law, they were accommodated to the Jewish Liturgy. And in strict consonance with the formularies of that Church, a doxology was subjoined by our Lord to the *publick* form of prayer given by him to “*the multitude*,” but omitted in that which was delivered to “*the disciple*” who asked him apart, and which was to be used in *private*; vid. Lightf. Hor. Hebr. in Mat. vi. 13. Tom. II. p. 303. ed. Amst.—“hoc potius in causa fuisse, cur secundo formulam orationis flagitarent, nempe quod primam istam pro *publica* reputarent, cum et ex *adjectione Coronidis* Antiphono publico in Templo adeo similis, præsertim vero ex *adjectione Amen* non nisi in cœtibus usitati, hoc facile argueretur; oratur ergo iterum, ut privatim eos orare doceat; et ille eandem repetit formulam *omissis vero Coronide et Amen*, quæ publicum usum sapuerunt.” (4.) The subject matter of the doxology is decisive of the point at issue; as it is literally adopted from the Jewish ritual, with the entire sub-

in which it occurs. The deviation of the Palestine text from the Byzantine, is however easily accounted for; having originated from a misconception of Origen's testimony, which was conceived to negative a passage which it merely passed over.

Of the texts next in importance to those which stand of the Prayer before us; Lightf. ib. p. 303. How it could have made its way into the sacred text, and have been appended to the form of Prayer, which, as delivered by Christ himself, must have been deemed absolutely perfect, must for ever baffle the ingenuity of criticks or casuists, to discover. (5.) In four-fold difficulty must such a supposition be embarrassed, when it is remembered, that all the doxologies, used by the primitive Church, were Trinitarian. We have short forms of this kind, which were used in the age of S. Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Origen, Dionysius Alexandrinus, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, &c.; but they are all addressed to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. That at the early period, when the doxology was incorporated in the text, a doxology could have been adopted from the avowed enemies of the Church, and one which favoured their Anti-trinitarian prejudices against Christianity, is a supposition which I shall not waste a word in refuting. That it was superseded by a Trinitarian doxology in the next age to that which succeeded the apostolical, is evident from the testimony of Lucian, who alludes to such a doxology in the following terms; Lucian. Philopatr. Tom. II. p. 1011. e. ed. 1619. ἔασον τέτοις τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ Πατρὸς ἀρξάμενος καὶ τὴν πολυώνυμον ὡδὴν εἰς τέλος ἐπιθείς. In this consideration alone I find a sufficient answer to the negative argument, against its authenticity, which has been deduced from the silence of the early fathers. As it occurs in the Apostolical Constitutions, and is acknowledged, if not implicitly by Origen, yet expressly by St. Chrysostome, we have, in those witnesses, sufficient vouchers for its authenticity. The authority of St. Luke, aided by that of Origen, afforded Eusebius sufficient grounds to omit it in his text; and on the authority of his text, it has been suppressed in the versions which have descended from the Palestine edition.

have been specified, Joh. i. 27<sup>95</sup>. relates to the pre-

<sup>95</sup> This passage has been already exhibited, *supr.* p. 384. Origen having occasionally omitted it in quoting the context, seems to have afforded Eusebius sufficient grounds for suppressing it; the Arian tendency of his opinions, or more probably the desire of discountenancing the notion of Origen respecting the pre-existence of the soul, having induced him to cancel it in his edition. But Eusebius is here wholly deserted by the authority of his master; as Origen has not only repeatedly quoted this passage, but has expressly insisted on it, in proving the divinity of our Lord; *Orig. Comm. in Joh. Tom. IV. p. 107. a.*—σαφὲς τὸ τῷ εἰμῷ τῆς λέξεως· ‘ὅτος ἦν ὃν εἶπον ὁ ὀπίσω μὲ ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν’ διδάσκει δὲ ὁ βαπτιστὴς πῶς ‘ἔμπροσθέν αὐτοῦ γέγονεν’ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πρῶτος αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ ‘πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως’ εἶναι, διὰ τῷ, ὅτι ‘ἐκ τῷ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν.’ διὰ τῷτο γὰρ φησιν, ‘ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν,’ ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν. *Conf. p. 80. a. 89. b. c. 106. d. 109. d.* After this express allegation of the passage before us by Origen, it seems unnecessary to bestow any attention on the negative argument deduced against it, from the silence of Cyril, Nonnus, or Chrysostome. A difficulty in reconciling γέγονεν, in vers. 3. and 27. afforded sufficient grounds for its omission by those antient fathers; since, if taken in the same sense in both places, vers. 3. either reduced Christ into the rank of a mere creature, or vers. 27. was incompatible with his glory as the authour of the creation. The cause of its omission in the Verona MS. may be at once seen on turning to n. <sup>86</sup>. *supr.* p. 146: and as to its suppression in the Coptick and Ethiopick versions, it is sufficiently accounted for in the circumstance of its being omitted in the Palestine text, from whence those versions descended. The negative argument against it is consequently without any force; while the positive testimony in its favour seems more than adequate to its vindication; not only the Byzantine and Egyptian texts, but the Italick and Syriack versions, with their derivatives, attest its authenticity; until therefore it can be shown, how those texts have been corrupted, we must necessarily conclude the contested passage is genuine.



existence of Christ, and Luc. ix. 55<sup>96</sup>. to the cause of his advent. The Arian tendency of the reviser of the Palestine text, and the Origenian tendency of the reviser of the Egyptian, respectively occasioned the suppression of both passages. To some vague notions, which the hereticks held respecting the object of our Lord's descent into hell, we probably owe the suppression of Mar. vi. 11<sup>97</sup>. which

<sup>96</sup> This passage has been given at length, *supr.* p. 383. As it represents the salvation of *the soul* as having been the object of our Lord's advent, without any mention of *the body*, it apparently favoured the notion of the Marcionites, who maintained this doctrine exclusively: *vid. supr.* p. 464. n. <sup>63</sup>. As the contrary notion was held by the Origenists, who believed in the resurrection, it was first cancelled by them in the Egyptian text, and thence suppressed in the Palestine: and as Eusebius, Basil, Cyril, and Gaudentius followed the latter text, it is consequently omitted in their writings. From the opposition of those witnesses, the passage before us of course remains unaffected; while it is abundantly supported by the internal evidence, and the testimony of the best and earliest witnesses. (1.) It is inconceivable that this passage could have been inserted in the text of the orthodox, during the prevalence of the Marcionite heresy, which continued till the close of the fourth century, *vid. supr.* p. 469. n. <sup>80</sup>. But as it exists in the old Italick and Syriack versions, it must have been then introduced into the sacred text, or have existed in it from the beginning. (2.) As it occurs in all versions, it is so far supported by the testimony of the best and most unimpeachable evidence; and the general falsification of so many witnesses being wholly inexplicable, we must receive it as genuine. (3.) As it is acknowledged by Clement of Alexandria, Dionysius the Areopagite, and Theophanes of the Eastern Church, and by Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, &c. of the Western, it seems idle in the extreme to question its authenticity.

<sup>97</sup> This passage has been already given at large *supr.* p. 382.

may be joined with the preceding texts, as not unconnected with them in subject.

Of the remaining passages in which the Greek Vulgate differs from the Egyptian and Palestine texts, Joh. v. 3, 4<sup>98</sup>. refers to the angelical hierar-

An adequate cause for its suppression in the Egyptian text may be suggested in the apprehensions indulged by the Origenists, that it might be employed by the hereticks, to support their notion relative to the salvation of the Sodomites; S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. § 3. p. 106.—“ *Sodomitas et Ægyptios [Marcion docuit], et omnes omnino gentes, quæ in omni permixtione malignitatis ambulaverunt, salvatas esse a Domino, cum descendisset ad inferos,*” &c. It is certain, that some of the hereticks, who rivalled those nations in their diabolical excesses, rejected all the Evangelists but St. Mark; and that the Catholicks had formed some hope that they might be led out of their errors by reading the Gospel of that Evangelist, which was better calculated to answer this end, when the disputed passage was cancelled; Id. ibid. Lib. III. cap. xi. § 7. p. 190. “ *Qui autem Jesum separant a Christo, et impassibilem perseverasse Christum, passum vero Jesum dicunt, id quod secundum Marcum est præferentes Evangelium; cum amore veritatis legentes illud corrigi possunt.*” As these considerations account for the negative testimony of the Egyptian text, and its derivatives; they add the strongest confirmation to the reading of the Byzantine, which is supported by the primitive Italick and Syriack versions; since the same circumstances must have created equal obstacles to prevent the interpolation of the latter edition, as to induce the mutilation of the former. And it must be observed, in confirmation of the received text, that it is supported by the Verceli MS. against the Egyptian edition. The weight of testimony adduced on the present question, thus clearly lies on the side of the Greek Vulgate.

<sup>98</sup> This passage, relative to the descent of the angel in the pool of Bethesda, has been already laid before the reader, sup. p. 374. Sufficient grounds for its suppression in the Egyptian

chy. These verses were probably omitted on this account, by the Origenists, who were professed enemies of the Valentinians; as these hereticks per-

text, existed in the tenets of the Marcosians. These hereticks, representing Jesus as a separate person from Christ; conceiving the latter the Spirit who descended on Jesus in the shape of a dove, distinguished between baptism for the remission of sins, and redemption to perfection, and ascribed the former to the visible Jesus, but the latter to the invisible Christ; S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. xxi. § 2. p. 94. τὸ μὲν δὲ βάπτισμα τῷ φρινομένῳ Ἰησοῦ, ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀπολύτρωσιν τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ κατελθόντι, εἰς τελείωσιν. The latter they termed not only ἀπολύτρωσις εἰς τελείωσιν, but λύτρωσις Ἀγγελικὴ, “the angelick redemption;” supposing that the persons who received it, were made partakers of the Divine nature, like the angelical hierarchy; conf. Iren. ibid. § 3. p. 95. As the Catholics considered the *Angel* descending in the pool of Bethesda, a type of the *Holy Ghost*, descending on the laver of regeneration; vid. Tert. ut supr. p. 374.; the Marcosians confounded the *Angel Gabriel* with the Divine Logos mentioned by St. John, vid. S. Iren. ibid. cap. xv. § 3. p. 77. As the passage before us might have been perverted, or was really quoted by the hereticks, to favour their superstitious practices; it is highly probable, that the reviser of the Egyptian text, who certainly cancelled Mat. xx. 20. on similar grounds, also obliterated Joh. v. 3, 4. vid. infr. n. <sup>99</sup>. As these considerations seem adequate to account for the variation of the Egyptian edition, and its derivatives, from the Byzantine; and as the latter is supported by the testimony of all Versions, but a few copies of the Italick and Armenian, and is confirmed by Tertullian, Chrysostome, Cyril, &c. there can be no reason to doubt, that it retains the genuine reading. The very varieties in the text which omit the disputed passage, indirectly confirm the Greek Vulgate; as they omit different portions of it, they destroy their common testimony by varying from each other; and as they thus partially agree with the received reading, they confirm it by their separate testimony.



verted the doctrine relative to that order of beings, to many superstitious purposes. The causes which occasioned the suppression of Mat. xx. 23<sup>9</sup>, are

<sup>99</sup> Those passages, which have been already quoted, *supr.* p. 381. evidently owe their suppression in the Egyptian and Palestine texts, to the influence of the Marcionite and Marcosian heresies, seconded by the authority of Origen. The founder of those heresies having maintained the efficacy of a second and third baptism, in washing away the sins contracted after the first ablution; those passages apparently afforded some countenance to their notions. In this sense they wrested the parallel passage, in Luc. xii. 50. which occurred in the only Gospel which they acknowledged; *vid.* S. Epiphani. *Hær.* XLII. p. 304. c. The Marcosians, who distinguished between *baptism* for remission, and *redemption* to perfection, improved on this doctrine; *vid.* *supr.* p. 497. n. <sup>98</sup>: and as they acknowledged the authority of *St. Matthew*, as well as *St. Luke*, they appealed particularly to the former, in confirmation of their opinions, citing the disputed passage, S. Iren. *adv. Hær.* Lib. I. cap. xxi. § 2. p. 94. καὶ τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου καθήγελθαι εἰς μετάνοιαν, τὴν δὲ ἀπολύτρωσιν ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ κεκορίσθαι εἰς τελείωσιν. καὶ τῆς εἶναι περὶ ἧς λέγει· καὶ ἄλλο βάπτισμα ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πανυ ἐπιέγομαι εἰς αὐτό. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ζηβεδαιῶν, τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν αἰτεμένης τὸ καθίσαι αὐτὰς ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν μετ' αὐτὸν, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, ταύτην προσδεῖναι τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τὸν Κύριον λέγουσιν, εἰπόντι· δύνασθαι τὸ βάπτισμα βαπτισθῆναι ὃ ἐγὼ μελλῶ βαπτίζεσθαι. As this quotation cannot be referred to *St. Mark*, the latter Evangelist not mentioning "the mother of Zebedee's children," [comp. Mat. xx. 20. Mar. x. 35.] we have here an express testimony from *St. Irenæus* and the Marcosians in favour of the disputed passage; and the true source pointed out which occasioned its removal from the Egyptian edition. Origen, in expounding the passage before us, was thoroughly aware of the use to which it had been applied by the hereticks; he consequently obviates the conclusion which might be deduced from it, by expounding it so as to shut out the notion of a second baptism. In one of the two places where he has referred to it,

much more apparent; the influence of the Marcionite tenets on Origen's Commentaries, having ob-

he supplies the present *πίνω*, for the future *μέλλω πίνειν*, contrary to the text of St. Matthew; Orig. Exhort. ad Martyr. Tom. I. p. 291. b. *ἡμετερά γὰρ μείζονος ὡρέγοντο τιμῆς οἱ δέσποτες ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐναντιῶν καθίστηναι τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος· 'δύνασθε πίνειν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω;' ποτήριον λέγων τὸ μαρτύριον* St. Matthew however reads *δύνασθε πίνειν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν*. In the other, he corrects himself, fully acknowledging the vulgar reading to be genuine, while he qualifies it by referring to St. Mark, who had written *πίνω* for *μέλλω πίνειν*; Id. Comm. in Mat. Tom. III. p. 717. c. *ἀποκριθεὶς [ὁ Ἰησοῦς] εἶπε μετὰ τὸ· 'δύνασθε πίνειν τὸ ποτήριον, ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν;' ἢ ὡς ὁ Μάρκος ἀνέγραψε· 'δύνασθε τὸ ποτήριον πίνειν ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω;' ἢ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι.'* The difference between St. Matthew and St. Mark consequently lay, not in the one having omitted, and the other retained, *τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι*; but in the one having read *ἐγὼ πίνω*, the other *ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν*. But this distinction having been overlooked by the reviser of the Egyptian text, the former notion was adopted, and the passage accordingly cancelled, apparently with Origen's sanction, who was thus completely misrepresented. That the Greek Vulgate retains the genuine reading, cannot admit of a doubt. (1.) It is supported by the evidence of the best and oldest witnesses; the primitive Italic and the Vulgar Syriac. (2.) As it consequently existed in the sacred text at an early period; if it is an interpolation, it must have been a direct concession to the Marcosians, which will be scarcely deemed probable. (3.) It must have made its way into the text in opposition to the testimony of Origen, which supposition must be deemed fully as improbable as the last; as there could be no possible object in making such a correction. Assuming it therefore as obvious, that the vulgar reading is genuine, every deviation from it is easily accounted for. Having been suppressed in the Egyptian text on Origen's authority misunderstood, it was consequently omitted, on the strength of the same authority in the



vously furnished the revisers of the Egyptian and Palestine texts with sufficient authority for omitting this remarkable passage.

In a word, there exists not a peculiarity in the tenets of those hereticks, or in the texts which they followed, which has not left some deep mark impressed on the editions of the sacred text which were published in Egypt and Palestine. To form antitheses between the Law and the Gospel, had been a leading object with Marcion, in order to illustrate the beneficent character of the first principle, and the severe character of the second, in his religious system<sup>100</sup>. Many of the corrections of the Egyptian and Palestine texts have consequently originated in attempts to destroy the force of those antitheses in the sacred text, which had been pointed by Marcion<sup>101</sup>. Some have arisen in

Palestine edition. After the example of the former text, it was omitted of course in the Sahidick and revised Italick versions; and after that of the latter, in the Latin Vulgate, Coptick, Ethiopick, and Persick. And as St. Epiphanius and Jerome followed the Palestine text, and St. Hilary, Ambrose, and Juvenius, used the revised Italick translation, it is of course omitted in their writings. The negative testimony of these writers can therefore have no weight when set against the concurring testimony of the primitive Italick and Syriack, aided by the internal evidence, and the testimony of Irenæus.

<sup>100</sup> Vid. supr. p. 464. n. 64.

<sup>101</sup> Immediately preceding the long passage suppressed in Luc. ix, 56. vid. supr. p. 383. in consequence of its connexion with the Marcionite notions, vid. supr. p. 495. n. 96. the following antithesis occurs in the Vulgar Greek; Ibid. 54. 55.

ἰδοὺς δὲ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῷ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης, εἶπον· Κύριε, θέλεις ἵπνωμεν πῦρ καὶ λαβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρειπῃ, καὶ αναλωταὶ αὐτὲς, ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας



endeavours to amend his gross perversions<sup>102</sup>, or

ἐποίησε. γραφεὶς δὲ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς; καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐκ οἴδατε οἷον πνεύματός ἐστι ὑμεῖς; ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς κ. τ. ε. The opposition in this passage between the mild spirit of the New Covenant and the severe character of the Old, is forcibly pointed; the passage was consequently taken by Marcion as an example of his antithesis; Tert. adv. Marc. Lib. IV. cap. xxiii. p. 429. Representat Creator ignium plagam, *Helia postulante*, in illo pseudopropheta. Agnosce *Judicis severitatem*: e contrario *Christi lenitatem* increpantis eandem animadversionem," &c. By the suppression of ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐποίησε, the antithesis, if not destroyed, was at least kept out of view; this phrase, though found in the Byzantine and Egyptian texts, and in the old Italic and Syriack versions, is however suppressed in the Palestine text, in the Latin Vulgate, and in the Coptic and Armenian versions. This various reading has obviously originated in the desire to destroy the antithesis of Marcion.

<sup>102</sup> St. Paul, referring to Deut. xxv. 4. expresses himself as follows; 1 Cor. ix. 8, 9. ἢ εἰ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα λέγει; ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται· Οὐ φιμώσεις βῆν ἁλοῶντα. μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ Θεῷ. But Marcion, not admitting the authority of the Law, corrected the passage as follows; S. Epiphanius. Hær. xlii. p. 355. d. μετῃλαγμένως ἀντὶ γὰρ τῆ ἐν τῷ [1. μετῃλαγμένως ἀντὶ τῆς ἐν γὰρ τῷ]. νόμου, λέγει [ὁ Μαρκίων] ἐν τῷ Μωσέως νόμῳ. λέγει δὲ πρὸ τούτου, εἰ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα εἰ λέγει, thus destroying the appeal to the Law, and its testimony as cited in favour of the Apostle. The various reading of the Egyptian text has originated in a correction made with a view to the primitive reading, and the alteration of Marcion. In the Augéan and Bœnerian MSS. we find, ἢ εἰ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα λέγει: the testimony of the Law is here admitted, in opposition to Marcion's correction; but the appeal to it is less forcibly put than in St. Paul. The truth is, that the antecedent passage in the Apostle's text looks so like a quotation from the Old Testament, though it is nothing of the kind, that the reviser of the Egyptian text, who had no means of verifying the fact, was afraid of the phrase ὁ νόμος ταῦτα λέγει, and introduces the following

his foul aspersions of the Law<sup>103</sup>: and some in

quotation, not by appealing to its testimony, but by proposing it as a doubt; ἢ εἰ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα λέγει. The same difficulty seems to have struck Origen, but he disposes of it in a different way. Adhering more closely to the original, he preserves the hole of the words; but he alters the position of the particle καί, after the example of Marcion, and thus leaves the point ambiguous, of which he was doubtful; Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 388. e. ἢ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα ἐ λέγει; ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωσείῳ νόμῳ γέγραπται. This reading has been adopted in the Palestine text, and of consequence in the Latin Vulgate, and the Coptick and Armenian versions. As there can be no reason to doubt, from the direct object and decisive language of St. Paul, that the Greek Vulgate preserves the genuine reading, particularly as it is confirmed by the testimony of the old Italick and Syriack versions; there can be little reason to question that the various readings of the passage before us have originated from the first disturbance of the sacred text by Marcion.

<sup>103</sup> A remarkable reading, in which the Byzantine and Palestine texts differ, occurs 1 Cor. x. 19. τί ἐν φημί; ὅτι εἰδωλον τί ἐστιν; ἢ ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτον τί ἐστιν; ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ δύει τὰ ἔθνη, δαιμονίοις δύει καὶ ἐ θεῶ. Byz. thus corrected by Marcion, according to St. Epiphanius, Ib. p. 320. d. τί ἐν φημί ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτον τί ἐστιν; ἢ ὅτι ἱερόθυτον τί ἐστιν; ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ δύουσι δαιμονίοις καὶ ἐ θεῶ. The cause of this disturbance of the received reading is specified by St. Epiphanius, Ib. p. 359. b. σὺ δὲ ὁ Μαρκίων, προσέθηκας τό· 'ἱερόθυτον,' νομίσας ἀπὸ τῷ μιμῆχθαι τὰ δύο ὀνόματα 'ἱερῶ' τε καὶ 'εἰδώλου,' συνάπτεσθαι τῶν δύο τρόπων τὴν σχίσιν.—πιδανὸν ἂν σοι νῦρίσκειτο τὸ τῆς συκεφαλίας ψεύδος; ὡς, τῶν νῦν διῶ θυόλων, τῶν δὲ τότε θυοάγων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ τῶν ποῖς εἰδώλοις θυσιῶν ὁρᾷ συναπινομένων καὶ δημοσιευότων [1. δαίμοσι θυόλων] καὶ ἐχθ' θεῶ. Thus εἰδωλον was superseded by ἱερόθυτον, in order to bring disrepute on the Jewish Law, which Marcion held in no estimation; τὰ ἔθνη having been consequently suppressed, as inconsistent with this application of the passage. The reviser of the Egyptian edition having made use of here-



attempts to correct his false notions relative to the nature and attributes of God <sup>104</sup>, the person of Christ,

tical texts in compiling that edition, very closely follows the reading of Marcion. Deviating however from the principal emendation, he read, ἔχ' ὅτι εἰδωλον ἐστὶ τί, instead of ἡ ὅτι εἰδολόθιον τί ἐστὶ: and thus removed the heretical tendency of the text, while he obviated the inference which might be drawn from the true reading ὅτι εἰδωλον τί ἐστὶν; as implying that idolatry was an indifferent matter. The reviser of the Palestine text having thus a choice between the Byzantine and Egyptian editions, adopted a reading which partly agreed with both in the first clause; following the order of the latter text, but retaining the terms of the former. But in the second clause, he agreed with the Egyptian text, in following the reading of Marcion: he consequently read τί ἐστὶ φημι; ὅτι εἰδολόθιον τί ἐστὶν; ἡ ὅτι εἰδωλον τί ἐστὶ; ἀλλ' ὅτι ἂν δύοσι δαιμονίοις δύοσι ἔθω. Some copies however of the Palestine text omit ὅτι εἰδολόθιον τί ἐστὶν; and others, ἡ ὅτι εἰδωλον τί ἐστὶ; some superfluity having been conceived to exist in this text, which was interpolated by Marcion, it was consequently removed by each reviser, according to the bias of his judgment or principles. Thus admitting the Vulgar Greek to retain the genuine reading, every corruption of the text may be traced from the first correction of Marcion; the various readings obviously destroying the credit of one another, while they add some confirmation to the received reading; of its authenticity there cannot of course be any reason to doubt.

<sup>104</sup> In the Byzantine and Palestine texts we read, Mat. xxv. 41. πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμῶ οἱ κληταί, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ; but in the Egyptian text, τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον is superseded by τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον ὁ Πατήρ μου. Both readings are found in Origen; the former in Comm. in Rom. Tom. IV. p. 463. d: the latter in Comm. in Mat. Tom. III. p. 885. e. There can be little doubt however, that the latter reading is merely a gloss on the former; the phrase having been changed as a corrective to the notion of the Marcionites, who asserted the existence of a second God, besides the Father of Christ,



and the character of the legal dispensation <sup>105</sup>. In to whom they ascribed the attributes of justice and severity; vid. supr. p. 463. n. <sup>59</sup>. This reading may be probably referred to Justin Martyr, who maintained a controversy against Marcion; and who has given to similar texts a like tendency; vid. supr. Just. Mart. supr. p. 465. n. <sup>66</sup>. p. 474. n. <sup>87</sup>. conf. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 301. d. From Justin Martyr, it descended to Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, &c. and thus made its way into the Egyptian edition; from whence it regularly passed into the revised Italick version; but under circumstances, which disclose that it was adopted in this text by an unskilful correction; vid. supr. p. 183. n. <sup>160</sup>. As the reading of the Greek Vulgate is not only corroborated by the testimony of the primitive Italick and Syriack, but by all known versions but the revised Latin, which is entitled to no voice, as it was corrected by the Egyptian edition; there can be no doubt that it retains the genuine reading; particularly as it is supported by the testimony of Origen in the Eastern Church, and of Tertullian in the Western; vid. Orig. ub. supr. conf. Tert. de Carn. Christ, cap. xiv. p. 306.

<sup>105</sup> The following examples may be offered in support of the above assertion. In the Egyptian text, the following interpolation occurs, Luc. vi. 5. τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμερᾷ διασάμειός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ, εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐτι κάταρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου. And the following occurs in the Palestine, Mat. xxvii. 49. ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην, ἐνύξεν αὐτῇ τὴν πλευράν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα. The latter passage is plainly taken from Joh. xix. 34. and is here probably opposed to the Marcionites, or other Docetæ, who denied the Incarnation, and rejected the testimony of St. John; or possibly omitted this passage in their copies of the Evangelists; vid. supr. p. 464. n. <sup>62</sup>. From whatever source the antecedent passage is adopted, it obviously furnishes an authority against those hereticks, who blasphemed the Jewish Law, and conceived that Christ came to destroy it, vid. supr. p. 463. n. <sup>60</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> The reading of the Byzantine text in Luc. xii. 38. has

this manner it is not uncommon to find the peculiar phrases of Marcion's text<sup>106</sup>, and the very order of

been already stated *supr.* p. 185. n. <sup>161</sup>. The source of the various readings of this passage is revealed in the following description of the correction of Marcion; S. Epiphan. *Hær.* XLII. p. 314. b. ἀντὶ τῆς 'δευτέρας ἢ τρίτης φυλακῆς,' εἶχεν 'ἐσπερινὴν φυλακὴν.' The grounds of this correction are thus suggested by St. Epiphanius; *Ibid.* p. 335. ἐλήλεϊλεν ὁ κληνῶδης μεταστρέψας τὰς θείας λόγους ἀνοήτως πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπόνοιαν. ὃ γὰρ ἡμερινὰ γίνονται φυλακαί, ἀλλὰ νυκτερινὰ, ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας εἰς τὴν πρώτην φυλακὴν, προσκοπὴν τῆς ἐπικρίσεως ἔχουσαι, καὶ ἐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑω εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν, ὡς ἔτος ἀλίσκειται ραδιεργῆσας. The received reading having been thus disturbed, the various reading of the corrected texts are formed with a view to the errors of Marcion. While they admit his correction into the text, they give the context such a turn as to subvert his notion that the watch ended with evening. The Egyptian text consequently reads; *Luc.* *ib.* 38. καὶ ἰὼν ἔλθῃ (τῇ ἐσπερινῇ φυλακῇ, καὶ εὐρήσει ἔτος, ποιήσῃ καὶ ἰὼν) ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ, μακάριοί εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι; and some copies of the Palestine; καὶ ἰὼν ἔλθῃ (τῇ ἐσπερινῇ φυλακῇ καὶ εὐρῇ ἔτος ποιῶντας μακάριοί εἰσιν· ὅτι ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτὰς καὶ διακονήσῃ αὐτοῖς· καὶ) ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ; καὶ εὐρῇ ἔτος μακάριοί εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι. The parentheses in these examples clearly mark the interpolation; ἔτος ποιήσῃ in the Egyptian text, being drawn out in the Palestine into ἔτος ποιῶντας μακάριοί εἰσιν· ὅτι κ. τ. ε. which is repeated from vers. 37. In fact, the revisers of both texts being here deserted, both by the received text and the text of Marcion, found themselves at liberty to pursue their own course in incorporating his reading in their revisals. Consequently, while these texts destroy the testimony of each other, they add the strongest confirmation to the reading of the Greek Vulgate. They mutually retain *all* that could be borrowed from it, οἱ δέλοι, excepted, which was obviously omitted to abridge a sentence that was embarrassed by a long interpolation; they *respectively* contradict each other in adopting more than it contains, and thus



his language<sup>107</sup>, retained in the Egyptian and Palestine texts, though the passages adopted from his Gospel and Apostolicum are given a totally different application from that which they possess in his writings. Through various channels those readings might have crept into the edition of Eusebius. The scripture-text of Tatian, which most probably conformed in many respects to the Gospel and Apostolicum of Marcion<sup>108</sup>; the text of Hesychius,

leave their joint or separate authority, when differing from the received text, deserving of no consideration.

<sup>107</sup> One of the longest extracts from Marcion's Apostolicum is taken from 1 Cor. x. 1—9. 11. transcribed by St. Epiphanius, Hær. XLII. p. 320. c. and repeated, Ib. p. 357. b. With reference to the Marcionite notions, it omits the following passages; Ibid. 1. καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο, ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ. Ibid. 8. μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν, καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν ἐπόρευσαν, καὶ ἔπιον ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκοσίτρεις χιλιάδας. It deviates however in the following passages, from the Greek Vulgate; in which it is followed by the Palestine edition, as collated by Euthalius, and found in the Alexandrine and Vatican MSS. Ibid. 1. Θέλω δὲ. *Vulg.* Θέλω γὰρ. *Marc. Pal.* Ibid. βρῶμα πνευμαλικὸν ἔφαγον. *Vulg.* πνευμαλικὸν ἔφαγον βρῶμα. *Marc. Pal.* πόμα πνευμαλικὸν ἔπιον. *Vulg.* πνευμαλικὸν ἔπιον πόμα. *Marc. Pal.*

<sup>108</sup> Tatian was a follower of Marcion, having adopted from him the fundamental tenets of the Encratites, whom he formed into a sect; vid. S. Iren. Lib. I. cap. xxviii. p. 107. To the opinions which he borrowed from Marcion, he added many of the peculiar tenets of Valentinus, Iren. ibid. S. Epiphanius. Hær. XLV. p. 391. c. As he thus required the authority of St. John to support his opinions; Marcion having merely adopted the Gospel of St. Luke, vid. supr. p. 462. n. <sup>55</sup>. he consequently disposed the four Gospels in the form of a Diatessaron, omitting every thing which militated against his peculiar notions; Theodor. Hær. Fab. xx. p. 303. ἔτος καὶ [ὁ Τατιανὸς] Διά-



which was compiled from various apocryphal works<sup>109</sup>; and the Commentaries of Origen, which abounded in quotations drawn from heretical revisals of Scripture<sup>110</sup>, opened a prolifick source from which they directly passed into the Palestine edition. The facilities of correcting this text from Origen's writings, and the blind reverence in which that antient father was held in the school of Cæsarea<sup>111</sup>, seem

τεσσάρων καλέμενοι συνέθηκεν εὐαγγέλιον, τὰς τε γενεαλογίας περι-  
κόψας, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σαρκα γεννη-  
μένον τὸν Κύριον δέκνυσιν. In this undertaking he merely fol-  
lowed his master Marcion; S. Iren. *ibid.* p. 106.—“*id quod*  
*est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens, et omnia quæ*  
*sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens,*” &c. As the  
Epistles, not less than the Gospels, were unsuitable to the pur-  
poses of Tatian, until they were pruned of some obnoxious  
passages; it is probable he followed Marcion in mutilating  
them also; or, as I am rather inclined to think, adopted the  
Apostolicum of his master, with some additions taken from the  
canonical text. It is apparent from the testimony of Eusebius,  
that he used an Apostolicum; and that it differed from the  
received text, in improving the language of the Apostles, by  
altering the order of their words: *vid. supr. p. 468. n. 79*;  
but in this respect it agreed with the Apostolicum of Marcion,  
as is evident from the last note; *vid. supr. n. 107*.

<sup>109</sup> Vid. *supr. p. 444. sqq. et nn.*

<sup>110</sup> Vid. *supr. p. 330. n. 45.*

<sup>111</sup> The following vindication of Pamphilus and Eusebius, in  
evincing that such a charge was urged, furnishes us with grounds  
for concluding, that it was not urged without foundation; Pamphil.  
*Apol. pro Orig. Præf. p. 18. d.* “*Cum ergo hæc eum [sc.*  
*Originem] de se dicere audiamus, et hujusmodi mente ac voto*  
*quæ dicit asserere, miramur in tantum temeritatis aliquos esse*  
*profectos, ut qui se ita humilitate judicât, adstruant quod ab*  
*aliis dicta ejus vel libri pro sermonibus Apostolicis vel dictis Pro-*

to have rendered the corruption of this text unavoidable. Short annotations or scholia had been inserted by Origen in the margin of his copies of Scripture; and the number of these had been considerably augmented by Eusebius<sup>112</sup>, most probably by extracts taken from Origen's Commentaries. A comparison between the text and comment constantly pointed out variations in the reading; and Origen's authority having been definitive, on subjects of sacred criticism, the inspired text was amended by the comment. Had we no other proof of this assertion, than the feasibility of the matter, and the internal evidence of the Greek manuscripts<sup>113</sup>, we might thence assume the truth of the fact, without much danger of erring. But this point is placed beyond conjecture, by the most unquestionable documents. In some manuscripts containing the Palestine text, it is recorded, that they were transcribed from copies, the originals of which had been "corrected by Eusebius"<sup>114</sup>. In the celebrated

*pheticis habeantur, aut quod ille ipse vel Prophetis vel Apostolis comparetur.*

<sup>112</sup> This is apparent from the following note, transcribed from a copy of Eusebius's edition of the Prophet Ezekiel, contained in the Codex Marchalianus; vid. Montfaucon, Palæogr. Græc. p. 226. Prælimm. in Hexapl. p. 15. *μειλιφόνη δὲ ἀπὸ ἀντιγράφου τῆς Ἀββᾶ Ἀπολλινάριου τῆς Κοινοβιάρχου, ἐν ᾧ καθυπὸκείται ταῦτα·* 'μειλιφόνη ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐκδόσεις Ἑξαπλῶν, καὶ διωρεθώθη ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀρειγένης αὐτῆς Τίβαπλῶν, ἃ τίνα καὶ αὐτῆς χειρὶ διώρεθαι, καὶ ἐσχολιογραφῆται· ὁ Εὐσέβιος ἐγὼ σχόλια παρέθηκα. Πάμφιλος καὶ Εὐσέβιος ἐδιωρεθώσαντο.' Conf. supr. p. 366. n. <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> Vid. supr. pp. 318. n. <sup>20</sup>, 321. n. <sup>27</sup>, 322. n. <sup>28</sup>, 458. n. <sup>47</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> Vid. supr. n. <sup>112</sup>.

Codex Marchalianus, the whole process observed in correcting the text is openly avowed. The reviser there candidly states, that, “ having procured the explanatory *Tomes of Origen*, he accurately investigated the sense in which he explained every word, as far as was possible, and *corrected* every thing ambiguous, according to his notion <sup>115</sup>.” After this explicit acknowledgment, it seems unnecessary any further to prolong this discussion. A text which bears internal marks of having passed through this process <sup>116</sup>; which has been convicted, on the clearest evidence, of having been corrected from Origen, cannot be entitled to the smallest attention. And as it has been thus corrupted from the same source with the Egyptian text, the joint testimony of such witnesses cannot be entitled to the smallest respect, when opposed in consent to the Byzantine edition.

When the testimony of the Egyptian and Palestine texts is set aside, the number of various readings, which exist in these editions, or their descendants, necessarily lose their weight when cited against the Greek Vulgate. In the declining credit of these editions of the original, that of the Versions and Fathers which accord with them must be necessa-

<sup>115</sup> Not. Cod. Marchal. ubi sup. εὐπορήσαντες τῶν μέχρι τέλους τῆ ὁράματος τότε Τόμων ἐξηγητικῶν εἰς τὸν Ἡσαίαν Ὀριγένους, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐπισήσαντες τῇ ἐννοίᾳ καθ’ ἣν ἐξηγήσατο ἐκάστην λέξιν, καθὼς οἶόν τε ἦν, καὶ πᾶν ἀμφίβολον κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνην ἐννοιαν διωρῶσάμεθα. πρὸς τούτοις συνεκρίθη ἡ τῶν Ἑβδομήκοντα ἐκδοσις καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου εἰς τὸν Ἡσαίαν εἰρημένα, καὶ ἐν οἷς διεφάνη, τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τὴν ἐννοιαν ζητήσαντες, πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐδιωρῶσάμεν.

<sup>116</sup> Vid. sup. p. 334. n. <sup>51</sup>. p. 318. n. <sup>20</sup>. conf. p. 458. n. <sup>47</sup>.



rily implicated<sup>117</sup>. We thus no longer require a clue to guide us through the labyrinth of those readings, however various or numerous. The testimony of the derivative witnesses, whether existing in quotation or translation, directly resolves itself into that of the principals, which contain the different editions of the original Greek, published in Egypt and Palestine. That the different versions which are quoted against the Received Text, agree with those editions, rather than the Greek Vulgate, is merely owing to the circumstance of their having been made in the countries where those editions were received. And that certain of the Christian Fathers conspire in testimony with those Versions, is merely owing to the circumstance of their having written at a time when those editions were authorised. The matter before us thus reverts into the original channel; and the credit of the Egyptian and Palestine texts being undermined, the only various readings for which it is necessary to render an account, are those of the Byzantine edition. But from the allegation of friends<sup>118</sup>, not less than the concession of enemies<sup>119</sup>, it appears, that they are neither important nor numerous; falling infinitely short of what might be expected, when due allowances are made, for the errors which are inseparable from the task of transcription, for the immense period during which the sacred text has been transmitted, and the multitude of manuscripts which have been col-

<sup>117</sup> Vid. supr. p. 316. n. <sup>12</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> Vid. supr. p. 107. n. <sup>137</sup>. p. 118. n. <sup>16</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> Vid. supr. p. 126. n. <sup>40</sup>.

lated with the most minute and scrupulous industry.

Here, consequently, this discussion might be brought to a close, were it not expedient to anticipate some objections which may be urged against the conclusion, which it has been hitherto my object to establish. Of the texts of the Greek Vulgate, which have been vindicated as genuine, Act. xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 Joh. v. 7. have been exposed to formidable objections. The Palestine edition in its reading of those passages, has obtained a strenuous advocate in M. Griesbach. Having already laid the various readings of that edition before the reader<sup>120</sup>, and specified some objections, deduced from the internal evidence, which preclude our considering them genuine; I shall now proceed, in the first place, to state the testimony on which their authenticity is supported, and then to offer some of the objections by which it appears to be invalidated.

1. Of Manuscripts, ten<sup>121</sup> only are cited in favour

<sup>120</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 254, &c.

<sup>121</sup> Prof. Birch having inserted τὸ θεῶν among the readings of the Vatican MS. in the Acts of the Apostles, in an after thought, expressed in his Preface to the various readings of the Apocalypse, adds the following remark; Præf. ad Apoc. p. xxxix. "Cum schedas meas collationem hujus codicis complectentes, iterum intente examinarem, nihil de lectione ἐκ θεῶν τὸ θεῶν, nec alia lectione hoc loco adnotatum invenio, ita ut pro certo pronunciare non ausim, quid in codice nostro scriptum reperiat. Vix tandem dubitare licet, si hic in codice nostro obtinisset varietas lectionis, hanc intentionem meam fugisse, cum locum hunc notabilem in omnibus codd. qui mihi obvenerint, præ cæteris examinandum sumserim." Had we been deficient in other evidence, we might construe this omis-



of  $\text{Κεϋο}$ ; in Act. xx. 28; not half that number<sup>122</sup> in  
 sion into a proof, somewhat stronger than presumptive, that  
 the true reading of the manuscript was  $\Theta\epsilon\varsigma$ . As this was the  
 reading of the copy which the Professor collated, and no *various*  
 reading has been marked, such must have been the reading of  
 the manuscript. But this matter has been already put out of  
 dispute: vid. supr. p. 283. n. <sup>242</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> Vid. Griesb. n. in h. l. The testimony of the Alexan-  
 drine MS. has been challenged, in favour of the Palestine text,  
 by M. Wetstein; I have already opposed to his testimony the  
 charge brought against it by Dr. Berriman; who openly ac-  
 cused him of having *admitted* to a common friend, that *he saw*  
 the Byzantine reading in this MS. vid. supr. p. 285. n. <sup>246</sup>.  
 To this charge M. Wetstein thought prudent to reply, *by ex-*  
*plaining away* his concession of the point, and stating, that in  
 admitting the fact, he was deceived by the transverse line of an  
 E on the back of the page, which appeared through the vellum.  
 This prevarication requires no refutation but what the MS. itself,  
 on the most careless inspection, will furnish; the transverse  
 lines are so fine as to be frequently not discernible on the right  
 side of the vellum; and the E on the back of the page, to which  
 M. Wetstein appeals, as lying out of the line of the  $\Theta$ , could  
 never have produced the appearance which he asserted. We  
 must therefore acquiesce in the conclusion of Dr. Woide, Præf.  
 Cod. Alex. § vii. p. xxxi. “Nolens igitur Wetstenius veri-  
 tatem hujus lineolæ diametralis a Millio assertæ confirmat, nec  
 facile *e confessione* eorum quæ *viderat*, poterit elabi. Quæ cum  
 impossibilis sit, credendum erit testimonio eorum, quorum  
 auctoritatem sequi unice nunc licet, Junii, Felli, Waltoni,  
 Grabii, Millii, Berrimani, et aliorum.” M. Griesbach however  
 undertakes the defence of  $\Theta\varsigma$ ; as the genuine reading, which  
 he opens with the following curious concession; Griesb.  
 Symbol. Crit. Tom. I. p. ix. “Disputatum etiam fuit, utrum  
 Alex. Cod. h. l.  $\Theta\epsilon\varsigma$ , legat an  $\delta\epsilon$ ; id (quod cum librum hunc  
 versaremus) admodum doluimus, manibus hominum inepte curi-  
 osorum ea sola pars quæ dictum controversum continet, adeo  
*detrita est*, ut nemo mortalium hodie certi quidquam discernere  
 possit. Conf. p. xiii. “Respondeo evanescere tenuissima linea,



favour of  $\delta$ ; in 1 Tim. iii. 16: all that are extant

præsertim in codice tam vetusto eodemque rescripto, omnino potuit ut *similis lineola in voce proxime sequente* ΕΦΑΝΕΡΩΘΗ (ΕΦΑΝΕΡΩΘΗ) *aliisque in locis non paucis evanuit.*" He still however supports his opinion, and with sufficient confidence, on the following considerations. Id. ib. p. x. "At nihilo tamen minus confidenter equidem pronuntiare audeo, vera esse, quæ ii tradiderunt, qui  $\delta$ ; in codice hoc a prima manu extitisse affirmarunt. Nam non solum Alexandrinus et Regius ille rescriptus, qui in Epistolis eandem prorsus recensionem exhibent, sese mutuo confirmant: verum etiam quod majus est, et *omnem de utriusque lectione dubitandi locum præcludit*,  $\delta$ ; certissime fuit Alexandrinæ recensionis, quæ in duobus istis Codicibus extat lectio. Patet ex consensu Cod. 17, versionum Coptæ, Æthiopicae, Armenicae, et Syriacæ posterioris, atque Cyrilli Alexandrini: immo e *silentio omnium Alexandrinorum scriptorum*, qui ad locum hunc *nunquam* provocarunt in litibus de Christi divinitate agitatis." This however, with the sophist's leave, is not to tell us what the MS. reads, nor even what it ought to read, but simply what he thinks it should have read. It would be sufficient to state, in answer to this silly and groundless confidence, that these examples are wholly beside the purpose of the present dispute; as the Codex Alexandrinus is a MS. *sui generis*, having a mixed text, the Gospels following a different recension from the Epistles. It becomes of course idle in the extreme to judge of it by any other MS. or Version; as M. Griesbach could have been scarcely unconscious; in admitting Ibid. p. cxxxviii.—"Codici A. admistas esse lectiones *haud paucas* non Alexandrinas." And it is curious to observe, among the readings of this kind, which exist in the Alexandrine MS. we have positive authority for concluding, that  $\theta\epsilon\delta$ ; 1 Tim. iii. 16. was included. The readings of Euthalius, it is notorious, correspond with this MS. vid. supr. p. 87. n. <sup>84</sup>: but Euthalius certainly read  $\theta\epsilon\delta$ ;  $\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta$ , if any respect be due to the testimony of his editour; vid. Zaccagn. ub. supr. p. 290. n. <sup>276</sup>. who collated his work with the readings of the Alexandrine MS. conf. p. 86. n. <sup>81</sup>.

and known, with the exception of two<sup>123</sup>, in favour of the reading of M. Griesbach's corrected edition.

2. Of Versions, the Sahidick, Coptick, Armenian, and margin of the later Syriack, support  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  in Act. xx. 28; the same versions, with the Ethiopick and Erpenian Arabick, support  $\vartheta$ ; in 1 Tim. iii. 16: and all that are extant, except the Latin Vulgate and Armenian, the corrected reading of 1 Joh. v. 7<sup>124</sup>.

3. Of the Fathers who have been cited in favour of the Palestine text, the following is a brief statement. (1.) On Act. xx. 28. St. Ignatius, St. Irenæus, Eusebius, Didymus, S. Chrysostome, and Theophylact; S. Jerome, Lucifer, and Augustine; Theodorus Studites, Maximus, Antonius, Ibas, Sedulius, and Alcinus; the Apostolical Constitutions, the Council of Nice, and the second Council of Carthage; a catena quoting Ammonius, and a manuscript containing the Epistles of S. Athanasius<sup>125</sup>. (2.) On 1 Tim. iii. 16. Cyril Alexandrinus, S. Jerome, Theodorus Mopsuestenus, Epiphanius, Gelasius Cyzicenus, and, on his authority, Macarius of Jerusalem<sup>126</sup>. (3.) On 1 Joh. v. 7. it has been deemed sufficient to state, that the fathers are wholly silent respecting it in the Trinitarian controversy; while some of them even quote the subjoined verse, and strain that doctrine from it by an allego-

<sup>123</sup> Vid. Griesb. n. in h. l.

<sup>124</sup> Vid. Griesb. n. in h. l.

<sup>125</sup> Vid. Bengel. et Griesb. not. in loc.

<sup>126</sup> Vid. Griesb. not. in loc.

rical interpretation, which is plainly asserted in the contested passage <sup>127</sup>.

Such is the external testimony which is offered in favour of those verses ; as they are inserted in the Corrected Text. And yet, however formidable it may appear, it seems exposed to no less formidable objections.

In reply to the testimony of *Manuscripts* quoted on this subject, it seems sufficient to state, that they are collectively descended from the edition of Eusebius <sup>128</sup>, and are consequently disqualified from appearing in evidence, on account of his peculiar opinions. With respect to the few manuscripts which support the reading of Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. they particularly approximate to his edition, as containing the Palestine text <sup>129</sup>, and are consequently on that account, not entitled to the least degree of credit.

The same observation may be made in reply to the testimony of *Versions* which has been adduced in evidence on this subject. None of them can lay claim to a degree of antiquity prior to the fourth century. In that age the principal of the antient versions were made ; chiefly under the auspices of

<sup>127</sup> Vid. Porson Let. to Travis, p. 373.

<sup>128</sup> As the Gospels were divided by Eusebius, the Catholic Epistles were divided by Euthalius, vid. conf. p. 34. n. <sup>69</sup>. p. 86. n. <sup>80</sup>. The latter were however corrected by Eusebius's text, vid. sup. p. 86. n. <sup>81</sup> : hence, as the Euthalian sections are generally prevalent in the Greek MSS. they sufficiently prove the descent of those MSS. from Eusebius's edition, vid. sup. p. 130. n. <sup>53</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> Vid. Griesb. not. in loc.



Constantine the Great, who employed Eusebius to revise the text of Scripture<sup>130</sup>. The only probability consequently is, that they were accommodated to the Palestine edition; and the principal versions cited on the present question bear internal evidence of the fact, as they coincide with the Palestine text, and are divided by Eusebius's sections. Such is particularly the case with the Sahidick and Coptick, the later Syriack and Latin translations<sup>131</sup>. They cannot, of course, be allowed any separate voice from the Palestine text, in deciding the matter at issue.

This consideration seems to leave very little weight to the authority of *the Fathers*, who are adduced in evidence on this subject. With a few exceptions, which are of no account, they also succeeded the age of Eusebius; in referring cursorily to those verses, they may be conceived to have quoted from his edition, as containing the received text of the age in which they flourished. I here except, as preceding his time, S. Ignatius, S. Irenæus, and the compilers of the Apostolical Constitutions, who have been quoted in support of Act. xx. 28. but their testimony is not entitled to the smallest respect, as derived to us through the most suspicious channels. The first and last of these witnesses are quoted from editions which have been notoriously corrupted<sup>132</sup>; as it is conceived, by the

<sup>130</sup> Vid. supr. p. 26. n. 44.

<sup>131</sup> Vid. supr. p. 322. n. 30. conf. p. 81. n. 62. p. 316. n. 12.

<sup>132</sup> Usser. Dissert. de Ignat. Epist. cap. vi. ap. Patr. Apostol. p. 211. Ed. Cleric. Rot. 1724. "Quantum igitur ex hisce pos-

Arians; and we consequently find, that the genuine works of Ignatius, read with the Byzantine Text instead of the Palestine<sup>133</sup>. And with regard to St. Irenæus's evidence, it is quoted merely from a translation which has been made by some barbarous writer, who, in rendering the scriptural quotations of his original<sup>134</sup>, has followed the Latin version, which agrees with St. Irenæus in possessing the Palestine reading<sup>135</sup>.

sum colligere, sexto post Christum seculo prodiit amplior hæc quæ in nostris codicibus hodie fertur, Ignatianarum Epistolarum Sylloge: et quidem (nisi me fallo) ex eadem officina, unde Apostolorum qui dicuntur Canones, novorum capitulorum xxxv. adjectione habemus auctos, et Constitutiones ita immutatas, ut pristinam quam obtinuerant speciem, non (ut Epistolæ nostræ) amiserint modo, sed plane perdiderint, Conf. Pears. Vind. Ignat. Proem. cap. vi. p. 273. Bevereg. Cod. Can. Eccl. Prim. Illustrat. P. I. cap. iii. § 1. p. 12. cap. xvii. § 4. p. 73.

<sup>133</sup> Vid. supr. p. 275. n. <sup>232</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Mill. Proleg. in Nov. Test. n. 368. "Sed cum Græca (S. Irenæi) maxima ex parte interciderint, tum et in his quæ supersunt, Epiphanius aliique quibus ea debemus, haud semper citarint loca N. T. ad textum Irenæanum, sed nonnunquam ad codices suos posteriores, seu etiam ex memoria. In Latinis autem, Interpreti id unum curæ erat, ut Scripturæ testimonia, quæ in hoc opere occurrent, exprimerentur verbis Interpretationis, quæ Celtis suis, totique Occidenti, jam in usu erat, Italicæ, sive vulgatæ." Conf. Sabatier. Præf. in Bibl. Ital. Tom. I. p. xl.

<sup>135</sup> As so much pains have been used to shew that Cyril Alexandrinus read with the Palestine text in 1 Tim. iii. 16. vid. infr. p. 521. n. <sup>138</sup>. I may be pardoned in offering a few words to prove that S. Irenæus read with the Byzantine in Act. xx. 28. (1.) St. Irenæus is expressly engaged on the subject of the traditionary mysteries of the Church; Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. xiv. p. 201. ad init. 'Si quæ occultiora mysteria præ aliis scivisset Paulus, ea Lucas assiduus illius comes, labo-



We might give up the remaining authorities without any detriment to our cause. With respect to the evidence of St. Athanasius<sup>136</sup>, St. Chrysos-

turnque consors ac particeps; *ignorare non potuisset*, &c. conf. ibid. § 1. sub. fin. (2.) The contested passage is quoted with a view to prove, that St. Paul explicitly taught *all mysteries* to the Church; Id. ibid. § 2. “Quoniam autem Paulus simpliciter quæ sciebat, hæc et docuit, non solum eos qui cum eo erant, verum omnes audientes se, ipse facit manifestum. In Mileto enim, convocatis Episcopis et Presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso—multa testificans eis—adjecit: ‘Scio quoniam jam non videbitis faciem meam—mundus sum a sanguine omnium. Non enim subtraxi, uti non annuntiarem vobis omnem sententiam Dei. Attendite igitur vobis—regere *Ecclesiam Domini* [f. Dei] quam sibi constituit per sanguinem suum.’—Sic Apostoli simpliciter, et nemini invidentes, quæ didicerant ipsi a Domino, hæc omnibus tradébant,” &c. Now, as there was no mystery in our Lord’s purchasing the Church with his blood, but a great mystery in ‘God’s purchasing it with his own blood,’ St. Irenæus’s allegation of this passage appears to me to be perfectly irrelevant, unless that primitive father read, with St. Ignatius and the Vulgar Greek, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τῆς ἰδίας αἱμάτων. Nor is this supposition invalidated by the consideration, that “*Ecclesiam Domini*,” is the reading found in the old translation of St. Irenæus. (1.) This is the reading of the old Italick version, which the translatour has followed in quoting the disputed passage with its context; vid. supr. n. <sup>134</sup>. (3.) The work of St. Irenæus was translated when the Nestorian controversy was agitated by the Western Church; in favour of which, the vulgar reading might be adduced, to prove that Θεὸς was used catachretically by the inspired writers, as ‘the very blood of God’ was a phrase, which could not be applied in any other manner; vid. Sabat. ib.

<sup>136</sup> It has been objected to the passages quoted from St. Athanasius, supr. p. 286. n. <sup>133</sup>. p. 289. n. <sup>271</sup>. that the former, instead of Θεῷ, reads Κυρίῳ in one MS. and Χριστῷ in others; and that the latter passage is wanting in some MSS. and merely



supplied in the margin of others; vid. Griesb. nn. in Act. xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. conf. Athan. Tom. II. p. 653. n. <sup>m</sup>. p. 706. n. <sup>d</sup>. As these passages follow the same class of text, the defence of one will cover the other. There can be however very little doubt, that the latter passage was written by St. Athanasius. (1.) It relates to a subject which, until the age of St. Chrysostome, was preserved undivulged, by those who were initiated in the Christian mysteries. As strong reasons, of course, must have operated to cause its suppression in *some* MSS. as to prevent its interpolation in *any*. St. Chrysostome having cited the verse before us, observes; Comm. in 1 Tim. Tom. XI. p. 606. a. *μυστήριον τοίνυν ἐστὶ. μὴ τοίνυν ἐκπομπεύωμεν τὸ μυστήριον, μὴ παύλαχθ' αὐτὸ προσιδῶμεν.* (2.) No conceivable end could have been attained by inserting it in St. Athanasius's context. It could not have been intended to furnish an authority for the contested reading in 1 Tim. iii. 16. as it is literally offered as a *palliation* for the sin of those who denied the doctrine which that reading tends to establish. (3.) In this view it is identified, as a part of that ancient father's text, by his context. St. Athanasius is expressly engaged in palliating the guilt of those who denied the Divinity of Christ; in order to induce them to repent of their errors. His apology consists of two parts; he pleads on the one side their weakness, *ἐχούσι πρόφασιν τὴν τῷ σώματι ἀσθένειαν*: on the other the depth of the mystery, *ἔχουσι γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς νεμόμενα, — ὅτι καὶ μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, Θεὸς ἐφανερῶδη ἐν σαρκί.* The latter part of the argument, which is found in the contested passage, is not only necessary to complete St. Athanasius's reasoning, but the reading Θεός necessary to justify the appeal to St. Paul's authority. (4.) As an interpolation of this kind must have been far above the skill of any sophist, it possesses a turn of phrase, which, to an accurate observer, must be definitive in evincing, that the same hand which indited the context must have produced the contested passage. St. Athanasius having observed respecting our Lord in the former place; Ib. p. 706. a. *τὴν δὲ ἀνδρωπίνην ἐκλείπων χεῖρα, ἡγήσατο τὴν πενθερὰν Πέτρον*; he carries on the phrase in the latter, and applies the same terms nearly to the Apostle; Ibid. c.

tome<sup>37</sup>, Theophylact, and Cyril of Alexandria<sup>38</sup>,

ἔχουσιν γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον——οἰοῦναι χεῖρα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐκ  
 τείνοντα κ. τ. εἰ. It will not be surely deemed possible that so  
 many internal marks of authenticity could be discoverable in  
 any passage which was merely an interpolation.

<sup>37</sup> It has been objected that St. Chrysostome reads Κυρίε, Act.  
 xx. 28. in his commentary on Eph. iv. 12: and therefore, that we  
 should read Κυρίε in his comment on Act. xx. 28. as cited supr. p.  
 287. n. <sup>356</sup>. But we can account for this variety in his testimony  
 without weakening its conclusiveness, or having recourse to a  
 conjectural emendation. As Κυρίε is the reading of the Palestine  
 text, and Θεῷ of the Byzantine; St. Chrysostome adopts the for-  
 mer in a Homily delivered while he was a Presbyter in Syria.  
 St. Chrys. Op. Tom. XI. Præf. p. i. “ Jam quæritur pro more  
 Antiochiæ-ne an Constantinopoli habitæ fuerint *Conciones ad*  
*Ephesios*. Optimum Cl. V. Tillemontius profert argumentum ad  
 probandum hasce Homilias Antiochiæ dictas fuisse; quia nempe  
 in Homilia undecima acerrime invehitur in eos, qui ecclesiam  
 in qua ille tunc concionabatur scindebant.—Aliud etiam nec  
 leve indicium est quo probetur Antiochiæ habitas Homilias fuisse,  
 quod videlicet monachos in montibus asperam sanctamque vi-  
 tam agentes passim laudet,” &c. He uses the latter, while  
 he was Bishop of Constantinople, Id. Op. Tom. IX. Præf.  
 p. v. “ Nihilominus stat illud, quod supra dictum est, *Con-*  
*ciones nempe in Acta, quæ Constantinopoli dictæ fuere*, inter  
 jejuniore humilioresque quoad magnam sui partem compu-  
 tandas esse,” &c. As this is a coincidence which cannot be  
 considered accidental, the variety in St. Chrysostome’s testi-  
 mony consequently proves, that in his age Κυρίε was the read-  
 ing of the Palestine text, and Θεῷ of the Byzantine; not that  
 his text is corrupt in one place, and that we should read Κυρίε  
 in the passages before us. Under this view the testimony of  
 St. Chrysostome, as far as respects the Byzantine text, is wholly  
 unaffected by the objections of M. Griesbach; as it proves all  
 that it is cited to prove—that in the age of that Father, Θεῷ  
 was the reading of the Greek Vulgate. It must be however  
 observed in support of the Vulgate, that it was restored at By-



it is most unfairly wrested in support of the Corrected Text, as it is decidedly in favour of the Re-

zantium not long previously to the elevation of St. Chrysostome to the see of Constantinople; vid. sup. p. 152. n. <sup>102</sup>, and that its peculiar readings are generally adopted by this learned antient, in opposition to those of the Palestine edition; vid. Griesb. Nov. Test. Mat. vi. 14. n. c. Joh. vii. 39. n. c. Act. viii. 1. n. p. Ib. xi. 6. n. l. Rom. vi. 12. n. y. Ib. xv. 29. n. q. 1 Cor. vi. 20. n. h. Ib. x. 28. n. b. Eph. iii. 9. n. k.

<sup>138</sup> The testimony of this Father, as cited sup. p. 290. n. <sup>274</sup>, has been opposed by M. Griesbach, who contends that it is misprinted; St. Cyril having read in 1 Tim. iii. 16.  $\Theta\varsigma$ , instead of  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ . Symbb. Critt. Tom. I. p. lii. But when the true object of dispute in the Nestorian controversy is known, his objections will come to nothing. Liberat. Breviar. cap. ii. p. 5.—“Nestorius *confitens existentiam Divinitatis Filii Dei Christum purum hominem credidit conceptum atque formatum, et postea in Deum provectum, hoc est, hominem deificatum, et non VERBUM egrum factum, et habitasse in nobis, quod prædicat Evangelium, et Catholica confitetur Ecclesia.*” As the Divinity of Christ was thus admitted by the disputants, who merely divided on the question, whether he pre-existed, and was born God; or was born Man and made God;  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  in 1 Tim. iii. 16. has no weight in the question: and the verse before us cannot be brought even to bear upon it, unless by interpretation; as both orthodox and heterodox admitted that Christ was “God manifested in the flesh.” On turning to Cyril’s testimony, sup. p. 290. n. <sup>274</sup>, the futility of M. Griesbach’s objections may be now easily demonstrated. (1.) He objects, that Cyril, after referring to 1 Tim. iii. 16. omits the term  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ , putting this question, Griesb. ib. “ $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \sigma\alpha\phi\epsilon\varsigma\ \phi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\omega\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\beta\sigma\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ ,” which, in his opinion, must have been nugatory, if Cyril read,  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma\ \epsilon\phi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\omega\delta\eta$ , but most pertinent if he read,  $\delta\varsigma\ \epsilon\phi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\omega\delta\eta$ . But this objection is made, without any knowledge of the Nestorian controversy. The Catholics had positive objections to using such a phrase as  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ , as it pointed the objection of the respondent, who declared that it supposed a plurality in the di-



ceived Text, where it is fully and explicitly delivered. As to that of Eusebius, a word need not be

vine nature; Facund. Defens. Tri. Capitt. Lib. I. cap. iii. p. 6. d. "Si enim dicamus, inquit, 'unum de Trinitate pro nobis crucifixum,' si quis interrogat, quid unum dicamus, *non possumus respondere Deum, aut Filium; quia non tres sunt in Trinitate Dñi, vel Filii, &c.* (2.) He objects, that Cyril's proof is not deduced from the term Θεός, but *μυστήριον ἐστὶ μέγα*; which is equally inexplicable, if he read otherwise than *ὃς ἐφανερώθη*; Griesb. *ibid.* "Non e vocabulo Θεός, sed per consequentiam e verbis *μυστήριον μέγα* ductam probat τὸν φανερωθέντα ἐν σαρκὶ esse τὸν Λόγον. Si legisset Θεός, plane non dubitasset, τὸν φανερωθέντα esse τὸν ἐκ τῷ Θεῷ Λόγον, supersedisset ista argumentatione, quæ tantum non inepta est, si lectio Θεός ponatur." But this objection is wholly beside the question. The meaning of the phrase Θεός ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί was contested; the manner of Christ's manifestation as God, being disputed. An argument drawn from Θεός, must have been therefore not merely "tantum non inepta," but "omnino inepta." On the other hand, an argument drawn from μέγα ἐστὶ μυστήριον, came home to the question, as referring to the Incarnation; which was the point at issue between the Catholicks and Nestorians. In the phrase, "great is the mystery," something more was obviously intimated, than a mere human birth, which Nestorius asserted; a mystick union of the Divine and Human nature was obviously intimated, as Cyril endeavours to show, by insisting on this part of the sentence. And thus Cyril explains himself in referring to the disputed verse, on a different occasion; evincing such to have been his notion of "the Mystery of Godliness;" Cyril. *sub. supr.* p. 153. εἰ 'Θεός' ὦν ὁ Λόγος, ἐνανθρωπήσαι λέγοιτο, καὶ ὅθ' ἄν περ μεδὲς τὸ εἶναι Θεός· ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἦν, αἰεὶ διαμένον· μέγα δὲ τότε, καὶ ὁμολογημένως μέγα τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας, μυστήριον. εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖται κοινὸς ὁ Χριστός, ὡς κατὰ μόνην τὴν ἰσότητά τῆς ἀξίας, ἡ γὰρ ἀνθρωπείας Θεῷ συνημμένος· πεφρονήκασιν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τινὲς τῶν ἀμαρτανειῶν πῶς 'ἐν σαρκὶ πεφανερωταί,' καίτοι πῶς ἔχ' ἅπασιν ἐπαγγέλλεται, ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐν σαρκὶ τε ἐστὶ; κ. τ. εἰ. The object of this declaration is consequently misconceived altogether by M. Gries-

advanced to invalidate its credit. With respect to Didymus, Jerome, Lucifer, Augustine, and Sedulius, it was as natural that they should quote the received text of their times, or follow the original Greek, as that we should follow our authorised version in preference to the Greek of Erasmus, or any of the translations of the early reformers<sup>139</sup>. A few

bach, who thence deduces that Cyril could not have found Θεός in the disputed passage; *ibid.* pp. xlviii. xlix. The intention of Cyril could not have been to prove either the Divinity or humanity of Christ, which was not disputed; but to prove from a just appreciation of "*the Great Mystery of Godliness*," that "*the Manifestation which was said to be in the flesh*," indicated more than the appearance of "a common man, united with God in equality of glory and power;" κοινὸς ἄνθρωπος—κατὰ μόνην τὴν ἰσότητά τῆς ἀξίας, ἦγεν αὐθεντίας Θεῷ συνημμένος; as it implied the incarnation of the Divine Logos, who was "God and with God in the beginning," εἰ Θεὸς ὦν ὁ Λόγος κ. τ. εἰ. ut *supr.* The objections of M. Griesbach being now set out of the question; the following observations are sufficient to establish the received reading of Cyril's printed text. (1.) Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη was certainly the reading of the editour's MSS. as he has adopted it in opposition to that of the Latin Vulgate, which he follows in his translation: in the passage before us, Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη, is rendered "*quod manifestatum est.*" Cyr. *ib.* p. 124. c. (2.) This reading is supported by the external testimony of Euthymius, who quotes Cyril Alexandrinus against the Nestorians; Matth. Præf. in Epist. Paulin. Tom. XI. p. xli. "His addo Euthymium Zigabenum in Panoplia, Tit. xv. contra Nestorianos, qui fol. ρκγ. pag. 2. col. 1. hunc locum ex Cyrillo hoc modo repetiit: ὁμολογούμενος μέγα εἰς τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ κ. τ. εἰ."

<sup>139</sup> This appears from the following sentiment of St. Augustine, De Doctr. Christ. Lib. II. cap. xiv. Tom. III. p. 27. f. "Nam Codicibus emendandis primitus debet invigilare solertia eorum, qui Scripturas Divinas nosse desiderant, ut emendatis

words would serve in reply to the authority of the Councils cited on this subject; that of Nice has been however most falsely and imperfectly reported<sup>140</sup>, and that of Carthage, as reported *in Greek*, supports the received text, while in Latin it supports the corrected<sup>141</sup>. If, after these observations, the testimony of the remaining writers cited on this subject be alledged<sup>142</sup>, throwing Ammonius and Macarius into the same scale, as entitled to equal respect, from the questionable shape in which they approach us<sup>143</sup>, we think the advocates of the Cor-

*non emendati cedant, ex uno dumtaxat interpretationis genere venientes.*—Libris autem Novi Testamenti, si quod in Latinis *varietatibus* titubat, *Græcis cedere oportere* non dubium est.<sup>140</sup> Conf. S. Ambros. Tom. II. p. 722. § 82.

<sup>140</sup> Vid. Labi et Cossart. Concil. Tom. II. col. 103. d. Berrim. Dissert. ut supr. p. 173, &c.

<sup>141</sup> Vid. Griesb. not. in Act. xx. 28.

<sup>142</sup> The testimony of Ibas and Theodorus Mopsuestenus is wholly inadmissible, as they were the avowed partizans of Nestorianism, which they contributed to propagate in the East; vid. supr. p. 344. n. <sup>71</sup>. conf. Liberat. Breviar. cap. x. pp. 48. 50. Evagr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xxxviii. p. 418. l. 22. p. 419. l. 12. sqq.

<sup>143</sup> Ammonius, of whom we know nothing more than his name, is quoted from *a catena*, in a MS. preserved at New Col. Oxf. vid. Bengel. et Mill. not. in Act. xx. 28. Macarius, from Gelasius Cyzicenus, on whom see n. <sup>140</sup>. and Berrim. ut supr. p. 178, 180. On the dependance which may be placed on these quotations at second hand, see S. Epiphanius and S. Irænaeus, ut supr. p. 517. n. <sup>134</sup>. The following example, taken from the reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16. as preserved in the genuine and interpolated Epistles, and in the antient version of St. Ignatius, will demonstrate the instability of their ground who build, in verbal quotations, either upon original or secondary autho-



rected Text, who must receive this testimony subject to the mistakes of the original authours, and the errors of subsequent transcribers, fully entitled to the benefit of their authority. We have thus only to deplore the peculiar state of those who are reduced to the desperate situation of sustaining a cause which rests on so unsolid a foundation.

In reply to the argument which is deduced in favour of the corrected reading of 1 John v. 7. from the silence of the fathers, who have neglected to appeal to this text in the Trinitarian controversy, it may be, in the first place, observed, that *no such controversy existed*.

In the first age of the Church, the subjects debated by the catholicks and hereticks turned upon the divinity and the humanity of *Christ*; on the

ity. S. Ignat. ad Ephes. cap. i. Ed. Genuin. ἀναζωπυρήσατες ἐν αἵματι Θεῷ, τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπληρῖσαι: Ed. Interpol. ἀναζωπυρήσζετε ἐν αἵματι Χριστῷ, τὸ συγγενικόν, κ. τ. εἰ. Vers. Antiq. reaccendentes in sanguine Christi Dei, cognatum opus integre perfecistis. In Act. xx. 28. St. Athanasius is quoted as reading Θεῷ, Χριστῷ, et Κυρίῳ. Vid. Bengel. not. in loc. Origen, Theodoret, and Fulgentius read Χριστῷ, in opposition to all known manuscripts; and Theophylact agrees with many in reading Κυρίῳ καὶ Θεῷ. Griesb. ibid. In 1 Tim. iii. 16. S. Hilary, S. Augustine, S. Hilary the Deacon, Pelagius, Julian Pelag. Fulgentius, Idacius, Leo Magn. Victorinus, Cassianus, Gregorius Magn. Vigilius Taps. Bede, Martin I. are quoted as having read, in opposition to every known MS. but the Clement, θ, for δ; or Θεός; Vid. Sabatier. et Griesb. not. in loc. And Clemens Alexandrinus, in opposition to all known manuscripts, thus refers to this verse, μυστήριον μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶδον τοὶ ἄγγελοι, τὸν Χριστὸν. Vid. Griesb. not. in loc. Origen reads Ἰησοῦ; Tom. I. p. 467. Barnab. vid. Θεῷ. cap. v. p. 16.

doctrine of the *Trinity* there was no room for maintaining a contest<sup>144</sup>. Not only the hereticks, but the sects from which they sprang, would to a man have subscribed to the letter of this text; as they admitted the existence of “three” powers, or principles, in the “one” Divinity. Such was the doctrine of the two great sects into which they may be divided, consisting of Gnosticks and Ebionites; for such was the doctrine of the Jews and Magians, from whom those sects respectively descended<sup>145</sup>; and such, consequently, is the doctrine which is expressly ascribed to Simon Magus<sup>146</sup>, Cerinthus<sup>147</sup>,

<sup>144</sup> As the winding up of this controversy is to be found in the full and final definition of the Council of Constantinople, held on the restoration of orthodoxy under Theodosius; from the following list of the heresies opposed in that Council, we may collect what were the controversies in which the disputed text was most likely to be quoted. Theodorit. Hist. Eccl. Lib. V. cap. ix. p. 207. l. 25. Ταῦτά κατέτε τῆς Ἀρείου καὶ Ἀσίου καὶ Εὐνομίου μανίας\* καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ Σαβελλίου καὶ Φωτεινῆ καὶ Μαρκελλίου, Παύλου τε τοῦ Σαμοσατέως καὶ Μακεδονίου γεγράφασι. ὁσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλινάριου καινολομίαν προφανῶς ἀπεκήρυξαν εὐρηκότες, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐνανδρωπῆσεως τῆς Κυρίου λόγον ἀδιάστροφον τῶζομεν, κ. τ. ἑ. Conf. n. <sup>153</sup>. infr. p. 528. et Epist. Damas. ap. Theodorit. ut supr. cap. xi. p. 209. l. 17. seq. Aetius and Eunomius followed Arius, and adopted his errors; Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. xxxv. p. 133. l. 1. p. 134. l. 2. Both the Apollinaris’ were orthodox on the subject of the Trinity; Id. ib. cap. xlv. p. 164. l. 14—17. Marcellus, Photinus, and Paul of Samosata, followed Sabellius, vid. infr. p. 527. n. <sup>151</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> Vid. supr. p. 268. n. <sup>222</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> Vid. ibid.

<sup>147</sup> The following testimony will sufficiently prove, that Cerinthus acknowledged the doctrine of the Trinity, which was

Ebion<sup>148</sup>, Valentinus<sup>149</sup>, Marcion<sup>150</sup>, and their followers.

To the Gnosticks the Sabellians succeeded, whose opinions had been previously held by Noëtus, and subsequently maintained by Paul of Samosata<sup>151</sup>.

not denied by Simon Magus, vid. sup. p. 268. n. <sup>222</sup>. S. Epiph. Hær. xxviii. p. 110. d. ἔτος [ὁ Κήρυθος] ἐκήρυττεν—ἀνῶθεν δὲ ἐκ τῆ ἀνῶ Θεῷ μίαν τὸ ἀδρυνηθῆναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγεννημένον, κατεκληυθῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς αὐτόν, ταῦτες τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν ἔδει περιγεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ.

<sup>148</sup> Conf. sup. p. 272. nn. <sup>226</sup> et <sup>227</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> Though the Valentinians multiplied their first principles, they acknowledged a Trinity as paramount to the subordinate beings whom they admitted into their notion of the divine nature; S. Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. ii. § 6. p. 12. βελῆ μιᾷ καὶ γνώμῃ τὸ πᾶν Πλήρωμα τῶν Αἰώνων, συνευδοκῆτος τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ τῷ Πνεύματος, τῷ δὲ Πατρὸς αὐτῶν συνεπισφραγιζομένης—καὶ ἐμμελῶς ἐνώσαντας προβαλέσθαι προβλήματα [1. προβλήμα τι]—τέλειον καρπὸν, τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν καὶ Σωτῆρα προσαγορευθῆναι, καὶ Χριστὸν, καὶ Λόγον, κ. τ. ἑ. Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xi. p. 156. l. 15. conf. sup. p. 272. n. <sup>227</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> The affinity between the Catholick and Marcionite notions is admitted by St. Cyprian, Ep. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. p. 200. “At ne longum sit per hæreses universas decurrere—de Marcione solo—examinemus, an possit baptismatis ejus ratio constare. Dominus enim post resurrectionem, discipulos suos mittens, quemadmodum baptizare deberent, instituit et docuit dicens—‘docete gentes omnes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.’ Insinuat Trinitatem—Nunquid hanc Trinitatem Marcion tenet? Nunquid eundem asserit quem et nos Patrem creatorem? Nunquid eundem unum Filium Christum, de Maria virgine natum; qui Sermo caro factus est, &c. Conf. S. Athan. contr. Apolin. Lib. I. § 12. p. 932. a. c.

<sup>151</sup> S. Epiph. Hær. lxxv. p. 608. a. φάσκει δὲ ἔτος [Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατικός] ἐν Θεῷ αἰεὶ ὄντα τὸν αὐτὸν Λόγον, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτὸ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχαίᾳ καρδίᾳ ὁ ἴδιος λόγος, μὴ εἶναι δὲ τὸν Χρὶςτὸν τῷ Θεῷ



But I yet remain to be informed how this text could have been opposed to the errors of those hereticks. As they followed the Ebionites<sup>152</sup>, and 1 Joh. v. 7. had been quoted by the Evangelist as a concession of those hereticks, this text, in the strictness of the letter, decided rather in their favour, than in that of the orthodox.

Marcellus of Ancyra, and Photinus his disciple<sup>153</sup>, are referred to the Sabellian school<sup>154</sup>. The contests maintained with them seem to lie most within the range of the disputed text, and to have assumed most the appearance of a Trinitarian controversy. But a very slight acquaintance with the subject of this controversy will clearly evince, that this text was wholly unsuitable to the purpose of those who

ἐνυπόστατον, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ Θεῷ. ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ Σαβέλλιος, καὶ ὁ Ναυάτος, καὶ ὁ Νόητος, καὶ ἄλλοι. κ. τ. ε.

<sup>152</sup> Euseb. de Eccl. Theol. Lib. I. cap. xiv. p. 75. Ἐικοτὼς δὲ ταῦτα κηρύττεισα ἡ ἐκκλησία—τὴν ἄρνησιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ Θεῷ, Σαβέλλιον ἀποδοκίμασι, καίτοι Θεὸν ἓνα εἶδέναι, καὶ πλην μὴ εἶναι Μαρκέλλῳ παραπλησίως λέγοντα· καὶ αὐτὲ δὲ τῷ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, οἱ πρωτοκλήρυκες Ἑβριωναῖοις ὠνόμαζον, Εβραϊκῇ φωνῇ, πτωχέες. Conf. Lib. II. contr. Marcel. cap. ii. p. 42. b. c. cap. iv. p. 62. d. S. Epiphan. Hær. lxxv. p. 609. b.

<sup>153</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xviii. p. 98. Ἀδιαφόρη τοῖνυν ἐστὶ τυγχανέσεως τῆς μετὰ τῶν δούλικῶν τε καὶ ἀναλοικῶν κοινωνίας, ἐπεφύη ἐν Σιγμῳ, πόλις δὲ αὕτη τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν, αἵρεσις ἑτέρα, Φωλεῖνός γάρ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησιῶν προεσῶς, γένος τῆς μικρᾶς Γαλατίας, Μαρκέλλῳ τε τῷ καθηγημένῳ μαθητῆς, ἀκολουθῶν τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν Υἱὸν ἰδομάτισε. Id. ib. cap. xix. p. 100. l. 29. Τοῖσιν δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκέλλου καὶ Φωλεῖνῳ, τῶν Ἀγκυρογαλατῶν οἱ τὴν προαιώνιον ὑπαρξίν τε καὶ Θεότητά τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ τὴν ἀτελεύτηλον αὐτῷ βασιλείαν ὁμοίως Ἰουδαίοις ἀδελφοῖν.—

<sup>154</sup> Vid. supr. n. <sup>152</sup>.





of explaining away its force, so as to confound the persons, after the error of Sabellius<sup>159</sup>, while the former, as implying its correlative Father, effectually refuted this error, by establishing a *personal* diversity between the subsistences; since it involved an absurdity to consider a Father the same as his Son, or represent him as begetting himself<sup>160</sup>. As the text before us uses the term "Word" instead of Son<sup>161</sup>, it must be directly apparent that it was wholly unqualified to settle the point at issue: it can be therefore no matter of surprise that no appeal is made to it in the whole of the controversy. Eusebius and Marcellus had, however, other reasons for declining to cite its authority. As the ardour of controversy drove them into extremes, the one leaning towards the error of Arius<sup>162</sup>, and the other towards that of Sabellius<sup>163</sup>, the text in dispute, as containing the orthodox doctrine, must have been as unsuitable to the purpose of the one as of the other: the term *ὁ* making as much against Eusebius<sup>164</sup>,

<sup>159</sup> Euseb. de Eccl. Theolog. Lib. II. cap. ix. p. 115. d. 116. a. cap. xiii. p. 120. b.

<sup>160</sup> Euseb. ibid. cap. xiii. p. 119. d.

<sup>161</sup> Vid. supr. p. 292. n. <sup>289</sup>. conf. Barret. Collat. Cod. Montfort. p. 28. Cod. Rescript. Dublin. subnex. Porson, Let. XII. p. 377.

<sup>162</sup> S. Epiphan. Hær. LXVIII. p. 723. d. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ [Κωνσταντίνος] διακρίνειν Ἐυσέβιον τὸν Καισαρείας, καὶ ἄλλους τινάς. ἦσαν δὲ προσκεκλημένοι ὅτοι πᾶσιν μᾶλλον τῇ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν χυδαιολογίᾳ. Vid. supr. p. 39. n. <sup>70</sup>. Conf. Montfauc. Nov. Collec. Scriptt. Tom. II. Præl. p. xxviii.

<sup>163</sup> Vid. supr. p. 528. n. <sup>153</sup>.

<sup>164</sup> Marcel. Ancyrr. contr. Ariann. Οὐκ ἔστι ἐπισκοπὴ ἐν τῇ



who divided the substance, as the term *τρεῖς* against Marcellus<sup>165</sup>, who confounded the persons. From this circumstance we are consequently enabled to account for more than their silence: for thus we clearly discover the cause which induced the one to expunge this text from his edition, and the other to acquiesce in its suppression.

We may pass over the opinions of Theodotus and Artemon, as well as over those of Montanus and the Encratites. The controversies with the former never extended to the consideration of the Trinity<sup>166</sup>, or were conducted on the same principles as against the Sabellians<sup>167</sup>: the notions of the latter on the subject of that doctrine were perfectly orthodox<sup>168</sup>. In these contests, of course, we must look in vain for a Trinitarian controversy, or for a suitable occasion to cite the verse in question.

To the Sabellians the Arians may be opposed, as falling into the opposite extreme; the former con-

σαλὸς αὐτὸν [Ναρκίσσον], εἰ ὥσπερ Ἐυσέβιος ὁ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, δύο ἐσίας εἶναι φησὶν, ἔγωγε καὶ αὐτὸς λέγοι· Ἐγνων αὐτὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν γραφείων, τρεῖς εἶναι πιστεύειν ἐσίας, ἀποκρινόμενον. Ap. Euseb. contr. Marcel. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 25. c. conf. Lib. III. cap. iv. p. 169. d.

<sup>165</sup> Euseb. contr. Marcel. de Eccl. Theol. Lib. II. cap. iv. p. 107. Εἰ δὲ ἔν ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν ἦν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ λόγος, ὡς δοκεῖ Μαρκέλλω, ὁ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρθένῳ γεννόμενος—καὶ ἀποθάνων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός. Conf. Mont-fauc. ib. Tom. II. Præl. p. lv. § vi.

<sup>166</sup> Vid. supr. p. 209. n. <sup>47</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> Vid. supr. p. 527. n. <sup>151</sup>.

<sup>168</sup> S. Epiphan. Hær. XLVIII. p. 402. d. περὶ δὲ Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ὁμοίως φρονέοντι τῇ ἁγίᾳ Καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

founding the Persons, as the latter divided the substance. But the contests maintained with these hereticks, as not extended beyond the consideration of the second Person <sup>169</sup>, did not assume the form of a Trinitarian controversy. The whole of the matter in debate the catholicks conceived capable of being decided by a few texts, some of which had the high authority of our Lord; and on such they rested the whole weight of the contest <sup>170</sup>. As they were accused, by their opponents, of falling into the

<sup>169</sup> Socrat. Eccl. Hist. Lib. III. cap. vii. p. 179. l. 8. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἐπιγενομένη σύνοδος περὶ τὴν τέτα [τὸ περὶ ἑσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως] ζήτησιν ἐδὲ λόγου ἡξίωσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τινὲς περὶ τὰτα ἐρσυχελῶν ἤθελον, διατέτο ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συνόδῳ [ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ] περὶ ἑσίας τε καὶ ὑποστάσεως τὰδε ἀπεφάναντο. S. Hieron. Pamach. et Ocean. Ep. lxxv. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 229. Quidam constantius, ‘Quomodo,’ inquit, ‘damnabimus quos *Synodus Nicena non tetigit?*’—Et idcirco *Spiritus Sancti neganda majestas est, quia in illa synodo super substantia ejus silentium fuit.* De Ario tunc, non de Origene quaestio fuit; *de Filio, non de Spiritu Sancto.* Vid. Socrat. ib. Lib. I. cap. ix. p. 9. l. 1—5. Sozom. Lib. VI. cap. xxii. p. 245. l. 10—15. 26—31. Conf. Theodorit. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 12. l. 1. seq. Lab. et Cossart. Concil. Tom. II. col. 103. e.

<sup>170</sup> S. Athan. de Synodd. Tom. II. p. 759. d.—ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν περὶ Διονύσιον παραδείγματα, τὴν πηλὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τῷ ὁμοσίῳ ἀπολογία, πρὸ δὲ τούτων τὸν τῷ Σωτῆρος ἐννοειδῇ φωνήν. ‘ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν ἑμῇ,’ καὶ, ‘ὁ ἰσρακὴς ἐμὲ, ἰάρχκε τὸν Πατέρα.’ Phœbad. contr. Ariann. p. 302. f.—“Patrem Deum, et Filium Deum dicimus: *illud ante omnia sciatur*, nec unum nos cum præjudicio, nec duos dicere, quia unum dicimus in duobus, *ipso Domino suggerente*: ‘Ego et Pater unum sumus,’ &c. conf. Alex. Alexandrin. ap. Theodorit. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 16. l. 16. p. 18. l. 26.

opposite extreme of the Sabellians<sup>171</sup>; the contested passage must have been wholly unsuitable to their purpose; as embarrassing the question with greater difficulties than those which they undertook to remove. It is therefore little wonderful that they did not appeal to it in their contests with these hereticks.

The same reasons which prevented the orthodox from citing this passage in their contests with the Arians, prevented them from citing it in their disputes with the Macedonians. In the latter case there was no question agitated respecting the second Person of the Trinity; as in the former no question respecting the third<sup>172</sup>. In neither, of course, did the contests maintained with those hereticks assume the form of a Trinitarian controversy, or admit of support from the contested passage.

We may subjoin the followers of Nestorius and Eutyches, to those of Macedonius. But neither of the former sects denied the doctrine of the Trinity; their disputes with the catholicks being properly confined to the question, whether the Son possessed one subsistence or two persons, instead of

<sup>171</sup> Vid. supr. p. 40. n. 71.

<sup>172</sup> Phot. ad. Mich. Bulg. Ep. i. p. 6. Ὡς γὰρ Ἄρειος κατὰ τῆς Ὑπὸς, ἔτω καὶ αὐτὸς [Μακεδόσιος] κατὰ τῆς παναγίας παρατατόμενος Πνεύματος, εἰς δέλης καὶ ὑπέρβειας τὴν δισποτικὴν καὶ ὑπερκειμένην αὐτῇ συνίσταται κυριότητα. Καὶ τοὶ ῥᾶον ἦν, αἵπερ ἐβέλειτο, τῷ ἀδελφῷ, συγοῶν, ὅτι, καθάπερ οἱ τὸν Ὑιὸν εἰς κλίσμα τάττοντες, τὴν ὕβριν ἐδὲν ἦτον προσάπτουσιν τῷ Πατρὶ, ἔτω καὶ οἱ τὸ πανάγιον αὐτῇ Πνεῦμα τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἐναριθμῶντες, τὴν ἴσιν καὶ ὁμοίαν βλασφημίαν ἀφίσαι κατ' αὐτῇ. Conf. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xlv.



two subsistences and one person<sup>173</sup>. In these controversies, of course, there was no greater necessity<sup>174</sup> for an appeal to the disputed passage, than in any of the preceding.

After the period which produced these controversies, all enquiry must be fruitless which is directed in search of a Trinitarian controversy. That with the Pelagians engaged the attention of the Church for a long time subsequent to this period, and agitated the eastern and western world<sup>175</sup>. But it was of a different character from those which preceded. The disputants, having at length agreed on the existence of the third person<sup>176</sup>, now began to dispute

<sup>173</sup> The doctrine of Nestorius has been already described, *supr.* p. 521. n. <sup>178</sup>. that of Eutyches ran into the opposite extreme; and as the former divided the person, the latter confounded the natures; *Facund. Defens. Trium. Capitt. Lib. I. cap. v. p. 10. e.* “ Et ideo jam illud—Eutychianis contrarium rectum esse monstremus, quod Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum *confitemur in duabis naturis*, id est in *Divinitate* atque *humanitate* perfectum,—Nec dici patimur *unam* ejus ex *Divinitate* et *humanitate compositam naturam*, ne Patri, cujus simplex natura est, consubstantialis non sit,” &c.

<sup>174</sup> The Eutychians, it is evident, could not object to the doctrine inculcated in 1 Joh. v. 7: however they might have claimed that verse, as on their side of the question. Nor was the case materially different with the Nestorians; *Garner. not. in Liberat. Brev. cap. x. p. 55.*—“ neque enim Nestorius ipse negavit unquam, *Verbum*, aut esse *unam* de *tribus Personis Divinis*, aut esse incarnatum; neque vero fuit unquam agitata quæstio an una de *tribus Personis* sit incarnata; sed an *unus de Trinitate* sit passus, ac crucifixus,” &c.

<sup>175</sup> Vid. *Usser. Antiq. Brit. Eccles. cap. ix. p. 112. seq.*

<sup>176</sup> St. Jerome, who was alive at the close of the Arian controversy, makes the following boast; *S. Hier. adv. Ruffin. Lib.*

on his mode of operation ; a discussion which, consequently, admitted of no appeal to the text of the heavenly witnesses.

It will, however, be doubtless objected, that although the controversies maintained by the Church, as not embracing the doctrine of the Trinity, did not admit of reference to 1 John v. 7. yet, as turning on the divinity and the humanity of *Christ*, they necessarily suggested the expediency of an appeal to Acts xx. 28. 1 Tím. iii. 16. But this objection will have little force, when it is remembered that the passage was not considered decisive, as not using the term *Christ* ; and that the hereticks, who excepted against the doctrine inculcated in those texts, rejected also that part of the canon in which they are contained. Of the hereticks who took the lead in this controversy, the Ebionites wholly renounced the authority of St. Paul<sup>177</sup> ; and the Gnosticks, Marcionites, Valentinians<sup>178</sup>, and their followers,

II. cap. i. Tom. II. p. 241. “ Nolo cures quæ sana sunt vulnera medicare. Trinitatem dicis esse unius Deitatis. *Hoc toto credente jam mundo, puto quod et dæmones confiteantur, Filium Dei natum de Maria Virgine, et carnem naturæ humanæ atque animam suscepisse.*”

<sup>177</sup> Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. V. cap. lxy. p. 628. ε. τίσι γάρ τινες αἰρέσεις τὰς τῷ Παύλῳ ἐπιστολάς τῷ ἀποστόλῳ μὴ προσοίμεναι, ὥσπερ Ἐβιωναῖοι ἀμφοτέρω καὶ οἱ καλεῖσθαι Ἐλεγκτικοί· ἐκ αὐτῶν οἱ μὴ χράμενοι τῷ ἀποστόλῳ ὡς μακαρίῳ τινί κ. τ. εἰ. Conf. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. xxvii. p. 121, l. 37. S. Hieron. Procem. in Ep. ad Tit. Tom. VI. p. 196. d.

<sup>178</sup> Vid. supr. p. 431. n. 10, 462. n. 55. S. Hier. ibid. p. 196. b. “ Licet non sint digni fide, qui fidem primam irritam fecerunt, Marcionem loquor et Basilidem, et omnes hæreticos, qui Vetus laniant Testamentum, &c.—Ut enim de cæteris *Epistolis*,



corrupted or rejected the Acts and Epistles to Timothy. The orthodox were consequently reduced to the necessity of deducing their scriptural proofs from that part of the canon, on the authority of which they and their adversaries were mutually agreed<sup>179</sup>, and were thus prevented from making those frequent appeals to the verses in dispute, which the controversy may be conceived to have suggested.

It is thus apparent from the state of the early controversies maintained by the catholicks, that there was no point contested which rendered an appeal to the text of the heavenly witnesses absolutely necessary. It may be now shewn, from the distinctions introduced in those controversies, that the orthodox were so far from having any inducement to appeal to this text, that they had every reason to avoid an allusion to it, as it apparently favoured the tenets of their opponents.

From the brief sketch which has been given of the progress of controversy in the primitive church, it must be apparent, that the Sabellian controversy presented the most suitable occasion for an appeal to the contested passage. The peculiar tenets of the different sects which may be classed under this name, had originated with the Jews<sup>180</sup>, and had been adopted from them in the Egyptian Gos-

*taceam, de quibus quicquid contrarium suo dogmati viderant, eraserunt: nonnullas integras repudiandas crediderunt: et Timotheum videlicet utramque," &c.*

<sup>179</sup> Vid. supr. p. 331. n. 46.

<sup>180</sup> Vid. supr. p. 528. nn. <sup>152</sup> et <sup>153</sup>.



pel<sup>181</sup>, from whence they descended to Noetus, Praxeas, Sabellius<sup>182</sup>, and their followers. Under Paul of Samosata, they attained that influence in the Syriack Church, which occasioned the meeting of the Council of Antioch<sup>183</sup>. In the following century, they were revived by Marcellus, Photinus, and Apollinarius<sup>184</sup>; and were expressly condemned by the Council of Sirmium, which was convened against the Photinians<sup>185</sup>.

Of the tenets of these different sects, we have an explicit account not only in the writings of those polemicks, who opposed their errors<sup>186</sup>; but in

<sup>181</sup> S. Epiphan. Hær. LXII. p. 514. a. τὴν δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτῶν πλάνην, καὶ τὴν τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν δύναμιν [οἱ Σαβελλιανοί] ἔχουσιν ἐξ Αποκρύφων τινῶν, μαλιστα ἀπὸ τῆ καλυμμένης Αἰγυπτίας Εὐαγγελίας, ὅτι τινες τὸ ὄνομα ἐπέθειλο τῷτο.

<sup>182</sup> Conf. S. Epiphan. ibid. p. 513. a. Tert. adv. Prax.

<sup>183</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VII. cap. xxix. p. 358. l. 27. καὶ ὅτι ἐν τελευταίᾳ συγκροτήσεως πλείων, ὅσων ἐπισκόπων συνόδοι, [Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσαίτις] φαρμακείας καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων ἤδη σαφῶς καλεῖται ὡς ἑτεροδοξίαν ὁ τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγός, τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ὁρατῶν καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκηρύττειται.

<sup>184</sup> Conf. S. Epiphan. Hær. LXXI. p. 828. d. Hær. LXXII. p. 834. a. Hær. LXXVII. p. 998. b. c.

<sup>185</sup> Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xxix. p. 123. l. 5. τότε δὲ καὶ Φώλειος ὁ τῆς ἐκεῖ [ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ] ἐκκλησίας προεστὴς, τὸ παριουρθὶν αὐτῷ δόγμα φανερώτερον ἐξεδρύλλει. διὸ παραχρῆς ἐκ τῆς γινομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς [Κωνσταντῖνος] σύνοδον ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ γινέσθαι ἐκέλευσε, συνηλθόντων ἐν ἐκεῖ κ. τ. εἰ.

<sup>186</sup> The clearest description of the tenets of those sects which followed the errors of Sabellius, are given in the account of that heretick, and of the most celebrated of his followers, Paul of Samosata. The tenets of the former are thus described by St. Epiphanius, Hær. LXII. p. 513. b. δογματίζει ὅτι [ὁ Σαβέλλιος] καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτῆς Σαβελλιανοί, τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι Πατέρα, τοὺς αὐτοὺς Υἱοὺς,

the confessions of faith which were drawn up by the councils, that were summoned against them<sup>187</sup>. But in whatever form Sabellianism presents itself, we are compelled to acknowledge, that it absolutely derives support from the text of the heavenly witnesses. These hereticks, adhering to the very letter of the text, asserted that the "Word" and "Spirit" were in God, as the reason and soul are in man<sup>188</sup>; a stronger testimony in their favour

τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· ὡς εἶναι ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει τρεῖς ὀνομασίες, ἢ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ σῶμα, καὶ ψυχὴ, καὶ πνεῦμα. καὶ εἶναι μὲν τὸ σῶμα, ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸν Πατέρα, ψυχὴν δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸν Υἱόν, τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ ὡς ἀνθρώπου, ἕτως καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν τῇ Θεότητι. ἢ ὡς εἶναι ἢ ἐν ἡλίῳ ὄντι μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει, τρεῖς δὲ ἔχουσι τὰς ἐνεργείας, κ. τ. εἰ.  
The tenets of Paul of Samosata have been already described  
supr. p. 527. n. <sup>151</sup>.

<sup>187</sup> The account which Eusebius gives of the Synod of Antioch, Hist. Eccl. Lib. VII. capp. xxvii. xxix. is defective and unsatisfactory: the Epistle of the Synod being garbelled in his History; conf. Ib. cap. xxx. p. 359. l. 17. p. 362. l. 9—15. p. 363. l. 13—20. The deficiencies of his account may be however supplied in some measure from St. Athanasius, Epist. de Synodd. § 45. &c. Tom. II. p. 759. sqq. A fuller account of the Council of Sirmium, is given by Socrates, Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xxix. &c. p. 123. sqq. whose account may be compared with Athan. ibid. § 27. p. 741. e. S. Hilar. de Synodd. § 37. col. 1174. d.

<sup>188</sup> S. Epiphan. Hær. LXV. p. 608. a. μὴ εἶναι δὲ τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Θεῷ ἐνυπόστατον ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ Θεῷ [φάσκει ὁ Παῦλος Σαμοσατινός] ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Σαβέλλιος, καὶ ὁ Νουᾶτος, καὶ ὁ Νόητος, καὶ ἄλλοι, ἀπ' ἰσως δὲ ἐκείναις ἕτος, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως παρ' ἐκείνων. ἐκδύναται δὲ τὸν ΛΟΓΟΝ, καὶ ἐνοικήσμενα ἐν Ἰησοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι. καὶ ἕτως φησι εἰς τὴν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ὡχὶ Πατὴρ ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ Υἱὸς ὁ ΥἱΟΣ, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· ἀλλὰ εἰς Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ ΥἱΟΣ· αὐτῷ ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς ΛΟΓΟΣ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ. Conf. p. 609. b.



than that of the heavenly witnesses, could not be easily fabricated<sup>189</sup>. It seems to be therefore just

<sup>189</sup> As the Sabellians held that the Father, *Word*, and Holy Spirit were *three energies* in the Divinity, *τρεις ἐνεργεῖαι ἐν τῇ Θεότητι*, vid. sup. p. 538. n. <sup>136</sup>; they held that these three energies were *one Person*; S. Epiphanius. *ibid.* p. 609. b. διὰ τὸ τοῦτο πρόσωπον ἐν τὸν Θεὸν ἅμα τῷ Λόγῳ φασιν, ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον. ἐδίδον πλέον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς ἔφην δοξάζοντες. These distinctions were precisely reversed in the description which the Catholics gave of their doctrine; who held that there were *three Persons*, who were one, not merely in energy, but in substance; S. Athanasius. *de Synodis*. § 48. p. 762. d. ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς ἐκ τῆς ὑσίας ὡν γένημα, ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἑσιν αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ γενήσας αὐτὸν Πατήρ. Let us now apply these distinctions to 1 Joh. v. 7. and we must acknowledge, that whether the ellipsis was supplied or not, the passage was decidedly in favour of the hereticks. In the former case, *τρεις εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρεῖσθες, ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*, καὶ οἱ *τρεις* ἐν εἰσι, fully explained their doctrine; as in this phrase the term *Λόγος* was supplied for *Υἱός*, and the *personal* diversity consequently unmarked, if not subverted, in the sentence. In the latter case, the terms which the hereticks used, to distinguish their peculiar notions, admitted of a direct association with the disputed passage; on inserting them in the context, their tenets were thus fully and accurately described, *τρεις [ἐνεργεῖαι εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Θεότητι] ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ αἱ τρεις ἐν [πρόσωπόν] εἰσι*. In fact, as Eusebius and St. Epiphanius were partly aware this seemingly extraordinary circumstance was the necessary result of St. John having adopted the disputed passage from the Jews; from whom the Sabellians also borrowed their notions on the subject of the Trinity. Of consequence, the passage before us, however reconcilable to the doctrine of the Catholics, was wholly unfit to oppose to the errors of their opponents. Had they quoted it without supplying the ellipsis, it expressed in a manner even worse than inadequate the difference between their tenets and those of the hereticks; as in using *Λόγος* for *Υἱός*, their distinctions were wholly overlooked, while those of their oppo-



as reasonable to expect, that the catholicks would appeal to this text, in vindicating the doctrine of the Trinity against those hereticks, as that they would cite the Shema of the Jews, for the same purpose; "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is *one Lord*." This is so palpably the case, that in the council of Antioch the word *ὁμοῦσιον* was wholly rejected, though in this term the whole strength of the catholicks' cause was rested<sup>190</sup>; and in that of Sirmium it was passed over in silence<sup>191</sup>: the here-

nents were forcibly marked. Had they filled up the ellipsis by inserting the peculiar terms, by which they expressed their own meaning, every word in the sentence but two must have been altered, and the whole contexture of the passage destroyed; τὰ τρία [πρόσωπά] ἐστὶ τὰ μαρτυρήσια, ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ τὰ τρία μία [ἐσία] ἐστὶ. Will the impugnors of 1 Joh. v. 7. now persist in requiring an express appeal to this text in the Trinitarian controversy?

<sup>190</sup> S. Athan. de Synodd. § 45. p. 759. b. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαμοσατέα καθελοῦντες—εἰκότως εὐλαβηθέντες τὸ σόφισμα τῷ Σαμοσατίῳ, εἰρήκασι, μὴ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοῦσιον. Conf. S. Hilar. de Synodd. § 86. col. 1200. b. The peculiar force of the term *ὁμοῦσιον* is asserted in the following terms by St. Athanasius, Ibid. p. 760. b. τέττα χάριν οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντες, θεοῦσαντες τὴν πανουργίαν τῶν ἑταῶ φρονούντων [ἐτέραν ἐσίαν τῷ Υἱῷ εἶναι ἀπὸ τῷ Πατρὸς,] καὶ συναπαγόντες ἐκ τῶν Γραφῶν τὴν διανοίαν, λευκότερον γράφοντες, εἰρήκασι τὸ ὁμοῦσιον.—πάντα γὰρ δυνάμεισι σοφίζεσθαι, καὶ μελεῖται ποιεῖν, ὡς θέλουσι, ταύτην μόνην τὴν λέξιν, ὡς διελίχυσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρεσκὴν δεδιδόσιν· ἣν οἱ πατέρες, ὥσπερ ἐπιλείχισμα καλῶ πάσης ἀσεβείας ἐπινοίας αὐτῶν ἔγραψαν.

<sup>191</sup> The Confession of Faith of the Council of Sirmium, is given in Socrates, Hist. Eccl. Lib. II. cap. xxx. p. 124. S. Athan. de Synodd. § 27. p. 742. a. S. Hilar. de Synodd. § 38. col. 1174. e: but the term *ὁμοῦσιον* does not occur in it. In a Council held at Sirmium, within six years of the preceding, the

ticks having carried their notions of the doctrine of *one substance*, which is *asserted* in the *disputed verse*, to such an extent, that they confounded the persons, in establishing their favourite tenet.

It may be however objected, that as this text must have been challenged by the hereticks, some reference must have been made to it by the orthodox, in replying to the arguments of their opponents. It is much to be regretted, that we retain no more of the controversies of those hereticks, than their orthodox adversaries were able to refute: yet scanty as the accounts of those controversies are<sup>192</sup>, we discover sufficient in the remains of them to warrant us in asserting, that the disputed text was claimed by the hereticks. The controversy maintained by Tertullian against Praxeas, and by Epiphanius against the Sabellians, supply the only places in which we might expect that some allusion would be made to the disputed passage; for the reply of Eusebius to Marcellus, must be set out of the question, for reasons which were formerly specified<sup>193</sup>. In

term is wholly proscribed; S. Hilar. ib. § 11. col. 1157. b. " Quod vero quosdam aut multos movebat de *substantia*, quæ Græce *usia* [ὑσία] appellatur, id est ut expressius intelligatur, *homousion* [ὁμοούσιον], aut quod dicitur *homœusion* [ὁμοῦσιον], nullam omnino fieri oportere mentionem, nec quemquam prædicare, ea de causa et ratione, quod nec in divinis Scripturis contineatur, &c. Conf. S. Athan. ib. § 28. p. 744. f.

<sup>192</sup> Eusebius dismisses the subject of the Sabellian heresy with scarcely an observation, Hist. Eccl. Lib. VII. cap. vi. p. 326. l. 3.

<sup>193</sup> Vid. supr. p. 530.



the works of Tertullian<sup>194</sup> and Epiphanius<sup>195</sup>, we

<sup>194</sup> Vid. supr. p. 299. n.

<sup>195</sup> St. Epiphanius, in asserting the doctrine of the Trinity against the Sabellians, cites Joh. x. 30. ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ἐν ἐσμέν: and quotes with this text the following passage, which does not at present exist in Scripture, καὶ οἱ δύο ἐν ἐσμέν: subjoining the form of baptism, Matt. xxviii. 19: Ἡετ. lxi. p. 515. c. καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα—τρίτον τῇ ὀνομασίᾳ, ἴσον τῇ Θεότητι, ἐκ ἡλλοιωμένων παρὰ Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν, σύνδεσμος Τριάδος, ἐπισφραγὶς τῆς ὁμολογίας. ὁ γὰρ Υἱὸς φησιν· ‘ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ἐν ἐσμέν·’ καὶ ἐκ εἶπεν εἰς εἰμι. ἀλλὰ τὸ ‘ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ,’ σημαίνει ἐνυπόστατον τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἐνυπόστατον τὸν Υἱόν. Καὶ ‘οἱ δύο’ εἶπτε, καὶ ἐκ εἶπεν ὁ εἰς· καὶ παλιν ‘ἐν ἐσμέν·’ καὶ ἐκ εἶπεν εἰς εἰμι. ὡσαύτως δὲ ‘ἀπελθόντες βαπτίσασθε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.’ μέσων δὲ τιθεμένων τῶν ἄρδρων τῆς συλλαβῆς ‘τῷ, τῇ,’ καὶ ‘τῷ.’ καὶ ἡλίσχει Σαβέλλιον Μαΐθαϊός τὸν συναλιφὴν παρεισφύροντα. ὅπερ γὰρ καὶ σημαίνει ἀληθῶς Πατέρα, ἀληθῶς Υἱόν, ἀληθῶς ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Not long previous to this passage, he connects the same phrase with Joh. x. 38. Id. ibid. p. 514. a. ‘ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ἐν ἐμοί,’ καὶ, ‘οἱ δύο ἐν ἐσμέν.’ Now whether we must attribute the alteration of this text to St. Epiphanius, or his transcriber, it is fully evident, that this phrase has been fabricated out of 1 Joh. v. 7. οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. (1.) The phrase quoted by St. Epiphanius, οἱ δύο ἐν ἐσμέν, is neither Scripture nor Greek: οἱ δύο requires the 3. pers. plur. εἰσι, or the 3. pers. dual. ἐσόν: and, contrawise, ἐσμέν requires the pronoun in the first pers. ἡμεῖς or ἐγὼ καὶ. (2.) St. Epiphanius quotes two passages from Scripture; and makes an effort at quoting a third. There are precisely three passages in Scripture, in which the diversity of the Persons, and the unity of the substance of the Trinity, are plainly asserted; Mat. xxviii. 19. Joh. x. 30. 1 Joh. v. 7. The first two are correctly quoted by St. Epiphanius: and the remains of the third, οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι, clearly exist in the corrupted passage before us, οἱ δύο ἐν εἰσι. (3.) This passage is cited by St. Epiphanius as Scripture, and is quoted in reasoning against the Sabellians; but St. Cyprian informs us, that the phrase ‘tres unum sunt,’ is Scripture, vid. supr. p. 300. n.<sup>307</sup>



consequently find manifest traces of the disputed text, which very sufficiently declare, that it was not only appealed to in the controversy, but challenged on the side of the hereticks.

If we now consider the period during which the Sabellian controversy prevailed, we shall easily perceive that the negative argument adduced against 1 Joh. v. 7. derives its entire strength from an inattention to the true state of that controversy, and the period for which it prevailed. The first effectual opposition which was made against that heresy, was in the council of Antioch, about sixty years pre-

and Tertullian shows us, that this phrase was cited with Joh. x. 30. in the Sabellian controversy, vid. *ibid.* p. 299. n. 307. I therefore conclude, that οἱ δύο ἔν ἴσμεν, or ἔν ἴσι, stood in St. Epiphanius's authority, with the alteration of a single word, οἱ τρεῖς ἔν ἴσι. But this antient Father not finding this phrase in his copy of the Greek Testament, nor inclined to believe it genuine, if he found it in any other person's, as must be apparent from his remark on the article τῷ, prefixed to Πατήρ and Υἱός, in Mat. xxviii. 19. as signifying ἀληθῶς Πατήρ, and ἀληθῶς Υἱός, vid. *supr.* : yet having found it in some authour's writings, whom he was engaged in refuting, he very easily imagined it a part of Joh. x. 38. with which passage it was probably connected in the work before him, as it is now evidently connected in his own text, p. 514. a. ut *supr.* Having thus united it with ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ in Joh. x. 30. the change from τρεῖς to δύο, was not so much the result of caprice as necessity, in order to connect it with the context of St. John. Though I cannot offer this remark as any evidence that 1 Joh. v. 7. was known to St. Epiphanius; yet, until a better account is given of the extraordinary text in his writings, οἱ δύο ἔν ἴσμεν, I feel warranted in offering it as a proof, that this text is 1 Joh. v. 7. οἱ τρεῖς ἔν ἴσι, corrupted; and that St. Epiphanius found it quoted as Scripture in some Sabellian writer.

viously to the council of Nice<sup>196</sup>. From this period it silently gathered strength from the opposition of Arianism, until it was formally condemned in the middle of the fourth century, by the council of Sir-mium<sup>197</sup>. The last effectual blow was struck against those rival sects in the second general council, convened at the close of the same age in Constantino-ple<sup>198</sup>. But for a long period after this time, they continued to infest the Oriental Church, until they broke out in the middle of the fifth century, in the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches<sup>199</sup>.

Let us therefore advert to the history of the sacred text for the whole of this period, and view it comparatively with the state of religious contro-versy. Let us remember, that in the earlier part of the term the canon was revised by Eusebius, the avowed adversary of the Sabellians, with the most unlimited powers to render it conducive to the pro-motion of what he believed the ecclesiastical doc-trine<sup>200</sup>. Let us recollect, that at the latter part of the term, the Vulgar Text was again restored by the Catholicks, whose prejudices were not less vio-lently opposed to the Sabellian errors, than their avowed enemies, the Arians; and that the disputed text was still conceived to be on the side of the he-terodox<sup>201</sup>. Let us hence consider the peculiar ten-

<sup>196</sup> A. D. 269. Vid. Pag. in Ann. Baron. Sæc. III. p. 285.

<sup>197</sup> A. D. 351. Vid. Pag. ibid. Sæc. IV. p. 475.

<sup>198</sup> A. D. 381. Vid. Pag. ibid. p. 557.

<sup>199</sup> Vid. supr. p. 344. nn. <sup>71</sup> et <sup>72</sup>. p. 371. n. <sup>128</sup>.

<sup>200</sup> Vid. supr. p. 26. n. 44. conf. p. 27. n. 46.

<sup>201</sup> Vid. supr. p. 539. n. <sup>18</sup>. conf. p. 298. n. <sup>307</sup>.

dency of Eusebius's religious opinions, and the versatility of principle which he exhibited in the Council of Nice, on the subject of the doctrine inculcated in the disputed passage<sup>202</sup>. Let us keep in view the confession of St. Epiphanius, who flourished when the Greek Vulgate was restored; that in the sacred text, as revised by the orthodox, some remarkable passages were omitted, of which the orthodox were apprehensive<sup>203</sup>. Let us further consider, that this charge is brought home to the Epistle which contains the disputed verse, if not to the passage in question, by Socrates, who declares that the former was mutilated by those who wished to sever the humanity of Christ from his Divinity<sup>204</sup>. Let us next remember the confession of St. Chrysostome, under whom the vulgar Greek, which had been restored under Nectarius, was fully reinstated at Constantinople. That the disputed text was most likely to be included among the omitted passages<sup>205</sup>. Let us finally call to mind how closely the Nestorian and the Eutychian heresy followed after those times<sup>206</sup>; and that the former was not

<sup>202</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 39. nn. <sup>68</sup>. sqq.

<sup>203</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 93. n. <sup>103</sup>.

<sup>204</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 303. n. <sup>312</sup>.

<sup>205</sup> S. Chrysost. Hom. in 1 Cor. xv. 19. Tom. X. p. 379. a.   
 μὴ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὸτο προσίδεμεν ὃ νῦν ὁ Παῦλος λέγει, καὶ  
 βάλομαι μὲν σαφῶς αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν, ἔ τολμῶ δὲ διὰ τὰς ἀμυήτας.  
 Cyril. Hieros. Cateches. vi. § xv. p. 97. l. 17. ed. Oxon. 1703.  
 ταῦτα μυστήρια νῦν ἡ ἐκκλησία διηγεῖται τῷ ἐκ κατήχευμένων μέλα-  
 βολλομένῳ ἐκ ἐξιν ἔδος ἔθνικοῖς διηγείσθαι. ἔ γὰρ ἔθνικῶ τὰ περὶ  
 Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διηγόμεθα μυστήρια.

<sup>206</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 343. sqq.



affected by the disputed passage<sup>207</sup>, while the latter was to all appearances established by its authority<sup>208</sup>. When we consider all these circumstances, which must have severally contributed to render the orthodox cautious in making the most remote allusion to a text, which militated against them, and which was at best of suspicious authority, as removed from the authorised edition; so far shall we be from requiring express allegations of it in every controversy<sup>209</sup>.

<sup>207</sup> Vid. supr. p. 534. n. 174.

<sup>208</sup> Vid. supr. p. 539. n. 189. conf. infr. p. 552. n. 221.

<sup>209</sup> The question has been carried by this most unfounded assumption; on which, as an indisputable principle, the reasonings of its impugnors are founded, Pors. Lett. to Trav. Lett. xii. p. 402. "But from *the facts* stated in this historical deduction, *it is evident*, that if the text of the heavenly witnesses had been known from the beginning of Christianity, the antients would have *eagerly seized it*, inserted it in their creeds, quoted it *expressly against* the hereticks, and have *selected it* for the brightest ornament of *every book* that *they wrote* upon the subject of *the Trinity*." That the critick, who brought his discussion on 1 John v. 7. to a close, having this view of his subject, should rise with the conviction that the passage was spurious, and that those who doubted it were equally stupid and obstinate, can excite very little surprize. Of "every book" that the antients wrote on "the subject of *the Trinity*," for the first four centuries, when that subject was discussed, the following may be taken as a full and faithful account, at least as far as my reading extends: 'Novatianus de Trinitate,' 'Hilarius de Trinitate.' I am however inclined to believe that both these titles are erroneous; the latter is unquestionably so. S. Hilary's work is entitled in some MSS. "De Fide contra Arianos;" this is the title under which the authour alludes to his own work; S. Hilar. Ibid. col. 785. c. and that under which it is mentioned by the antients; vid. S. Hier. Cat.

which was agitated during the period of nearly two centuries, in which the doctrine of the Trinity was canvassed, and which was gradually settled by the first four general councils, that we shall be at a loss to discover in what shape it could have been produced by the catholicks, had it even retained its place in the authorised edition, from which it was removed in the earlier part of the term.

When these considerations are duly estimated, the declining strength of the negative argument against I Joh. v. 7. may be easily disposed of. It has been often objected, that the context of the Evangelist, both preceding and following the dis-

Scriptt. Eccless. Tom. I. p. 130. conf. Patrr. Benedd. Præf. in Lib. de Trin. § ii. p. 753. And so little dependance can be placed on the title of Novatian's work, that it is generally ascribed to *Tertullian*; merely in consequence of a declaration of Ruffinus, Apol. pro Orig. p. 53. a. and that it takes the title "de Trinitate" from a declaration of St. Jerome, Ibid. p. 128. "Scriptit [Novatianus] de Trinitate grande volumen, quasi ἐπιτομὴν operis Tertulliani faciens." It is however observable, that no work under this title occurs in the catalogue of Tertullian's writings; and that St. Hilary's work, "De Fide," is entitled in some MSS. "De Fide contra omnes Hæreses," which comes nearer to the title of some of Tertullian's works; vid. Patrr. Benedd. Præf. Ibid. § v. p. 754. But waving this objection to the title of those works, the subject of them precludes our considering them treatises on the Trinity. Conformably to the state of controversy in the age when they were written, they are principally dedicated to the consideration of the Father and the Son; the Holy Ghost not being considered in either treatise, according to the rank which he occupies as a Person of the Trinity: vid. Novat. ibid. cap. xxiv. p. 640. S. Hilar. Lib. II. § 1. col. 788. a. Conf. Rigalt. Argum. in Novat. p. 705. Patrr. Benedd. Præf. in Hilar. § xii. xiv. p. 756.

puted verse, has been quoted, while the disputed verse is wholly omitted<sup>210</sup>; and that the doctrine of the Trinity has been proved by an allegorical interpretation of vers. 8. which is expressly asserted in vers. 7<sup>211</sup>. The former assertion is principally founded on the testimony of an anonymous writer in St. Cyprian<sup>212</sup> and P. Leo the great<sup>213</sup>; the latter

<sup>210</sup> Pors. *ibid.* p. 378. "But the strongest proof that this verse is spurious, may be drawn from the Epistle of Leo the Great to Flavianus, upon the *Incarnation*. This epistle has been translated into Greek, read in churches, sent round to the Councils both in the East and West, defended by several authours in set treatises, and consequently more generally known than most of the writings of the Fathers. In this epistle, he quotes part of the fifth chapter, from the fourth to the eighth verse, and omits the three heavenly witnesses."

<sup>211</sup> This is one of those bold and unfounded assumptions by which the question has been carried, against the plain statements of the fathers of the first four centuries, who engaged in the Sabellian controversy; Pors. *ibid.* Let. XI. p. 311.—"I do re-assert, that no writer in his perfect mind could possibly adopt this allegorical exposition of the eighth verse, if the seventh were extant in his copy. Even a madman would have method in his madness.—I appeal to any orthodox reader, whether he would force an indirect confession of his favourite doctrine, from one text by torture, when he might have a clear, full, and voluntary evidence from its next neighbour."

<sup>212</sup> Auct. de Baptism. p. 21. "Ait enim Joannes de Domino nostro in Epistola nos docens; 'Hic est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem, Jesus Christus. Non in aqua tantum, sed in aqua et sanguine. Et spiritus est qui testimonium perhibet, quia spiritus est veritas. Quia tres testimonium perhibent, spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis. Et isti tres in unum sunt.' Ut ex illis colligamus, et 'aquam' præstare solitum, et 'sanguinem' proprium præstare solitum, et ipsum quoque 'spiritum'



on the testimony of St. Augustine<sup>214</sup> and Facundus Hermionensis<sup>215</sup>. But these objections admit of a very simple solution.

However paradoxical the assertion may in the first instance appear, it is notwithstanding the fact, that a stronger argument was deducible from the testimony of *the earthly witnesses* in favour of the catholick doctrine, than from that of the heavenly

præstare spiritum solitum." Int. opuscc. S. Cypr. adscriptt. p. 21.

<sup>213</sup> Leo Magn. Epist. ad Flavian. " Et spiritus est qui testificatur quoniam spiritus est veritas. ' Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant; spiritus aqua et sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt;' ' spiritus' utique sanctificationis, et ' sanguis' redemptionis, et ' aqua' baptismatis, quæ tria unum sunt, et individua manent, nihilque eorum a sui connexionem segungitur." Ap. Auctar. Bibl. Patr. Tom. I. p. 492. a. Par. 1624.

<sup>214</sup> S. August. contr. Maxim. cap. xxii. Tom. VIII. col. 726. b. " Si ea quæ his [Spiritu, aqua, et sanguine] significata sunt, velimus inquirere, non absurde occurret ipsa Trinitas, quæ unus —Deus est, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, de quibus verissime dici potuit: ' tres sunt testes, et tres unum sunt:' ut nomine ' Spiritus' accipiamus Patrem, nomine autem ' sanguinis' Filium, et nomine ' aquæ' Spiritum."

<sup>215</sup> Facund. Defens. Tri. Capitt. Lib. I. cap. iii. p. 6. g. " Aut si forsitan ii qui de verbo contendunt, in eo quod dixit; ' Tres sunt qui testificantur in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt,' Trinitatem quæ unus Deus est, nolunt intelligi, secundum ipsa verba quæ posuit, pro Apostolo Joanne respondeant. Numquid ' hi tres' qui ' in terra testificari' et qui ' unum esse' dicuntur, possunt spiritus, aut aquæ, aut sanguines dici? Quod tamen Joannis Apostoli testimonium B. Cyprianus Carthaginensis, antistes et martyr, in Epistola sive Libro, quem de Trinitate scripsit, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto dictum intelligit. Ait enim, ' Dicit Dominus,' &c. Ut. supr. p. 291. n. <sup>284</sup>.

witnesses. The point on which the orthodox and heterodox divided, was the diversity of *the Persons*; on the unity of *the substance* there was no difference of opinion between the Catholicks on the one side, and the Sabellians, the Apollinarists, and the Eutychians, on the other<sup>216</sup>. The whole of the distinctions on which the orthodox founded their proofs of the former point, were wanting in the disputed verse: but those on which the heterodox founded their proofs of the latter, were forcibly marked in the same passage. The Sabellians contended, that the Father, and his *Word*, and Spirit, were *one Person*, while the Catholicks maintained that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, must be *three Persons*<sup>217</sup>. And the Apollinarists and Eutychians held, that “the three which bore record in heaven were *one*” *substance*, the humanity of Christ being absorbed in his Divinity<sup>218</sup>; while the Catholicks, asserting the existence of *two* natures in the same Divine Person, believed that Christ was of one substance with God in the former, but of a like substance with Man in the latter. We thus easily discover the causes which induced the orthodox to rest their cause on the testimony of the earthly wit-

<sup>216</sup> Vid. supr. p. 534. n. <sup>173</sup>. infr. n. <sup>213</sup>.

<sup>217</sup> Vid. supr. p. 538. n. <sup>183</sup>.

<sup>218</sup> On the Eutychian notions, vid. supr. p. 534. n. <sup>173</sup>. The Apollinarian tenets may be briefly described in the words of S. Athanasius; Contr. Apolin. Lib. I, § 12. Tom. II. p. 932. a. —τί ἐστι ἡμᾶς μέμφεσθαι, ὡς τετραδά ἀντὶ Τριάδος, καὶ ἄκοιτες ὁμολογῶντες, λέγοντες, ὁμοθεῖαν εἶναι τῇ Τριάδι τὴν σάρκα. Conf. Ib. p. 932. a.

nesses instead of the heavenly. The specifick mention of “ the blood ” in vers. 8. not only designated Christ as *a separate Person* from the Father, against the Sabellians; but as a Person, in whom *the human nature* was united with the divine, without any confusion of substance, against the Eutychians<sup>219</sup>. Under this view, the preference shewn by the orthodox to the text of the earthly witnesses, over that of the heavenly, needs no palliation from the circumstance of the one text being unquestioned, and the other of doubtful authority, in the age when those points were debated.

From the negative testimony of Pseudo-Cyprian, St. Augustine, P. Leo, and Facundus Hermionensis, we can consequently deduce nothing more, than that the text of the heavenly witnesses was absent from the current copies of the Vulgate of St. Jerome, which was in general use when they wrote; and that it best answered the purpose of those writers to pass it over in silence. St. Augustine’s testimony is thus easily disposed of: he wrote while the heresy of Apollinarius prevailed, and with a

<sup>219</sup> The least objectionable evidence on this subject is Facundus, who has effected more in undermining the authenticity of 1 Joh. v. 7. than the whole of the fathers taken together, who have been cited on this subject. Facund. *ibid.* p. 6. e. “ Nam et Joannes Apostolus in Epistola sua; de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu sancto sic dicit; ‘ Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt:’ in ‘ spiritu ’ significans Patrem —. In ‘ aqua ’ vero Spiritum sanctum significans, —. In ‘ sanguine ’ vero *Filium* significans, *quoniam ipse, ex sancta Trinitate, communicavit carni et sanguine.*” Conf. *supr.* p. 549. n. <sup>215</sup>.



peculiar respect for the corrected translation of St. Jerome<sup>220</sup>; in which the disputed verse was omitted. The testimony of P. Leo and Facundus presents still fewer difficulties; as it is adduced from their controversy with the Eutychians, it is not entitled to the smallest respect. The disputed text embarrassed their cause with difficulties, which they were unable to solve<sup>221</sup>; it is therefore unreasonable to

<sup>220</sup> Vid. supr. p. 15. n. <sup>28</sup>, p. 532. n. <sup>139</sup>. The following distinctions, made by St. Augustine in the same chapter in which he interprets 1 Joh. v. 8. ut supr. p. 549. n. <sup>214</sup>. will sufficiently disclose the grounds of his preference for the corrected reading of the Latin version. S. August. ubi supr. cap. xxii. col. 726. e. "Si quo autem modo tanti sacramenti profunditas quæ in *Epistola Johannis legitur*, exponi et intelligi potest, secundum catholicam fidem, quæ nec confundit nec separat TRINITATEM, nec abnuat tres personas, nec diversas credit esse substantias, nulla ratione respuendum est. Quod enim ad exercendas mentes fidelium in scripturis sanctis obscure ponitur gratulandum est, si multis modis non tamen insipienter, exponitur." To the person who deemed it necessary to distinguish thus accurately between the Sabellian and Arian notions, 1 John v. 7. must have been an encumbrance not easily disposed of; vid. supr. p. 539. n. <sup>189</sup>. p. 549. n. <sup>214</sup>. St. Augustine had been a convert from Manicheism; by which sect the Apollinarian and Eutychian notions relative to Christ's *body* being of *one substance* with the Trinity, were adopted; vid. S. Athanas. contr. Apollinar. Lib. I. § 12. Tom. II. p. 932. c. 934. d.

<sup>221</sup> The first object of Facundus in undertaking his celebrated work "*Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum*," was to oppose the Acephali, or Eutychians; in which controversy he was implicated by P. Leo; Vid. Facund. Præf. in init. p. 4. a. He however subsequently enlarged his plan, and directed his attack against the Nestorians and Eutychians; Id. ibid. Lib. I. cap. i. p. 4. d. "Nam cum duæ nunc ferveant hæreses, ab eodem

expect in their works, any thing in the shape of an appeal to its authority. In fact, it must be appa-

concilio [Calchedonensi] refutatæ—*mysterium divinæ Incarnationis* oppugnant, *Nestorianorum dico, et Eutychianorum,*" &c. As both these sects subscribed to the doctrine inculcated in 1 Joh. v. 7. it seems impossible to conceive how it could be employed against them; vid. supr. p. 534. n. <sup>174</sup>. But as it did not fully take in the distinctions of the orthodox, it is not impossible to shew how it could have been effectively employed against them by the hereticks. The term "Word" in the disputed verse, afforded some countenance to the Nestorians, in keeping the divine nature of the Logos, in the Trinity, apart from the person of Christ; the term "one substance" afforded the Eutychians still greater countenance in asserting, that the fleshly or human nature of Christ was wholly absorbed in the spiritual and divine. The distinctions which Facundus is obliged to make, in order to explain the catholick doctrine, clearly evince, how much he really apprehended either consequence being deduced from the disputed passage. Facund. ib. cap. v. p. 10. f. "*Christum igitur FILIUM Dei, quemadmodum dictum est, in duabus prædicamus esse naturis. Nec dici patimur unam ejus ex Divinitate et humanitate compositam esse naturam, ne Patri, cujus simplex natura est, consubstantialis non sit: et sicut alterius est personæ, quam Pater, ita etiam alterius, id est, diversæ dicatur esse naturæ. Verum neque nobis erit consubstantialis nisi ejus duæ naturæ sint: ut scilicet altera sit, in qua consubstantialis est Patri, altera vero in qua consubstantialis est nobis. At huic evidentissimæ rationi bruta Eutychianorum contentio refragatur, adfirmans, Dei VERBI unitatem incommutabiliter simplicem cum suscepta humanitate, in unam componi potuisse naturam.*" Conf. S. Athan. contr. Apollinar. Lib. I. § 2. p. 923. a. § 12. p. 932. a. Epis ad Epictet. § 9. Ib. p. 907. e. Let the reader now weigh the force of "FILIUS Dei in duabus naturis," in the former part of this passage, with "VERBUM in una simplici natura," in the latter; let him then apply this distinction of Facundus to the disputed verse, "tres sunt qui testificantur in cœlo, Pater, VERBUM, et

rent to the most superficial observer, that Facundus has absolutely laboured to destroy its authority<sup>222</sup>, by

*Spiritus; et hi tres unum sunt:*" let him then pronounce how far Facundus and P. Leo's testimony is admissible, on the authenticity of this verse, which *embarrassed their cause* with the greatest difficulties, and *was wanting* both in the authorised text of the Greek and Latin Church, with which these fathers were well acquainted; vid. Facund. in Præf. p. 4. b. c. Leo. ubi supr. p. 492. b.

<sup>222</sup> As 1 John v. 7. taken in the strict literal sense, fully agreed with the doctrine of the Eutychians; and 1 Joh. v. 8. admitted of a plausible interpretation, in the sense of the three baptisms, vid. supr. p. 548. n. <sup>212</sup>: the only plan left P. Leo and Facundus in opposing these hereticks, was to take advantage of the absence of the seventh verse from the original Greek, and corrected Latin version, and to pass it over in silence. Facundus, however, who was P. Leo's interpreter, goes somewhat farther, and finding the seventh verse supported by St. Cyprian's testimony, as Fulgentius, his contemporary, places out of dispute, vid. supr. p. 292. n. <sup>221</sup>; he endeavours to transfer the support of that antient father to the next verse, and to turn it against his adversaries, who ascribed it a different meaning, vid. supr. pp. 548, 549. nn. <sup>212</sup> et <sup>215</sup>: most probably conceiving the disputed passage spurious. With the assistance of St. Cyprian's explanation, 1 John v. 8. afforded him as much proof as he required. That explanation gave the whole passage a reference to the Trinity, instead of the three Baptisms; and it supplied the term "*Filius*," which Facundus opposed to the *Verbum* of his opponents, vid. supr. p. 549. n. <sup>215</sup>: while the text itself furnished, in the term "*sanguis*," grounds for that deduction, which Facundus makes in direct opposition to the tenets of the Eutychians; Ibid. "In '*sanguine*' vero *Filium* significans, *quoniam* ipse ex sancta Trinitate, *communicavit carne et sanguine*:" ut supr. p. 549. n. <sup>215</sup>. That Facundus alludes to the interpretation of the eighth verse, in the sense of the three baptisms, of water, blood or martyrdom, and the spirit, supr. p. 549. n. <sup>215</sup>. is I conceive apparent, from the objection



depriving it of the support of St. Cyprian. But with so much skill has he effected his purpose, that in retaining the phrase "in earth," in order to strengthen the verse which he has quoted, he has evinced, beyond the possibility of dispute, that the phrase "in heaven," with its context, was extant in the text which was before him<sup>223</sup>.

which he states; Ibid; "Numquid '*hi tres* qui in terra testificari,' et qui '*unum esse*' dicuntur, possunt '*spiritus, aut aquæ, aut sanguines*' dici;" which, I conceive, was an adequate objection to the interpretation of his opponents. Such is the whole scope and object of Facundus's reasoning.

<sup>223</sup> Mr. Porson indeed objects, that the words "in terra," are interpolated in the text of Facundus, Lett. to Trav. xii. p. 386. as they are "inconsistent with the interpretation which Facundus is labouring to establish." But the very reverse of this assumption is certainly the fact, as will be made apparent in the sequel. And M. Griesbach further objects, Append. ad l. 1. Joh. v. 7. p. 14. n. \*. "probabiliter *e Vulgata recentiore* a librario aut ab editore Facundi intrusa fuerunt." But this unsupported conjecture has not the shadow of probability, as Facundus is not accommodated to the Vulgate, in the passage before us; he reads both in the text, and in his comment, "*tres sunt qui testificantur in terra,*" while the Latin Vulgate reads, "*tres sunt qui testimonium dant;*" and in some MSS. without "in terra." On the other hand, that Facundus wrote "in terra," is apparent, for the following reasons. (1.) There could be no object in adopting these words from the Vulgate, more especially if they are inconsistent with his interpretation. (2.) They are six times repeated in his observations, as is admitted by the objectour, vid. Pors. ibid. (3.) They certainly existed in the text of the African Church when he wrote, as appears from the testimony of his contemporary and compatriot Fulgentius, vid. Pors. ib. p. 400. Griesb. ib, p. 15. (4.) They are delivered with that variation in the testimony of Facundus, and yet with that conformity to the documents which were before him, which

This consideration will enable us to appreciate the testimony of the anonymous writer in St. Cy-

proves, that Facundus quoted by reference to his authorities, and that his quotation has been preserved unaltered. The first place in which he cites 1 John v. 8. as taken from his *own text*, naturally follows the *Vulgate*; he there reads, “tres sunt qui *testimonium dant* in terra;” vid. supr. p. 549. n. <sup>215</sup>. conf. p. 253. The subsequent place in which he cites the same passage, as quoted by his opponent, follows a different reading; he there uses, “tres sunt qui *testificantur* in terra;” vid. supr. p. 549. n. <sup>215</sup>. conf. p. 182. n. <sup>158</sup>. (5.) The words “in terra” were peculiarly important in the Nestorian controversy, in which Facundus was engaged; as is apparent from the testimony of the Oriental Church; in which that controversy particularly prevailed: Asseman. Bibl. Orient. in Xenaj. Tom. II. p. 28. “*Summam hujus Controversiæ quæ Orientalem Ecclesiam diu multumque devexavit, accipe. Scripserat Xenajas ad Monachos quosdam Syros prolixam de Incarnationis mysterio Epistolam, in qua propositionem hanc frequenter usurpabat, ‘Unus e Trinitate descendit de cælo incarnatus est, passus, est crucifixus, mortuus, resurrexit, ascendit in cælum’ et similia: notare volens tum Nestorianos, qui humanitatem Christi a Divinitate ac persona Verbi separabant, tum Eutychianos qui corpus phantasticum ab eodem Verbo assumptum opinabantur. Excepit illum cum risu Anonymus Nestorianus, reprehendens maxime illam dictionem, ‘Unus e Trinitate,’ quasi duæ non tres divinæ Personæ remanserint in cælo, si ‘Unus e Trinitate’ dicatur ‘in terram descendisse,’ quæ sunt ipsius Anonymi verba a Xenaja initio Disputationis relata: aliaque subjungit absurda, quæ ex ea propositione sequi affirmat, sed maximum ait esse, ‘vocis illius novitatem.’ Ad hæc Xenajas e Scriptura et Patribus demonstrat vocem illam nec novam esse nec veteribus incognitam, &c. Conf. Zenon. Epist. ap. Evagr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. xiv. p. 347. l. 10—25.* (6.) As no person was more profoundly versed in this controversy than Facundus, it is observable, that in appealing to the disputed passage, he keeps this subject fully in view. He opens the chapter in which he

prian, and to give some account of the origin of that work, which is written on the baptism of hereticks. And when we consider that the controversy on this subject was soon terminated; and that some works were ascribed to St. Cyprian, by the Macedonians, for the purpose of supporting points of controversy like that before us<sup>224</sup>; we may at least

quotes 1 Joh. v. 8. with the following remark; Facund. ib. cap. iii. p. 6. c. “ Sed tacendum non arbitror, quod sint etiam Catholici, qui sicut credimus nescientes hoc ante memorata Synodo confirmatum, superflue contra de verbo contendunt: quia videtur eis, quod dici non debeat, *Unum de Trinitate pro nobis crucifixum*, sed potius unam de Trinitate personam.” (7.) With the phrase “ in terra,” Facundus’s application of 1 Joh. v. 8. was complete; as striking at both the heresies against which he reasoned; but without it, directly the reverse. The terms “ in terra,” were opposed to the Nestorians, “ qui humanitatem Christi a persona Verbi separabant;” the term “ sanguis” was opposed to the Eutychians, “ qui corpus phantasticum ab eodem Verbo assumptum opinabantur.” In every other respect those hereticks would have subscribed to Facundus’s text and exposition; as they did not deny the doctrine of the Trinity; but strenuously asserted, that “ there were three that bore witness in heaven, the Father, Word, and Holy Ghost,” &c. So far therefore is the phrase “ in terra” from being inconsistent with Facundus’s reasoning, that it is necessary to it, in order to give it the requisite effect. But from this phrase, it must be collected, as M. M. Porson and Griesbach were fully conscious, that the correspondent words “ in cœlo,” existed in the text from whence 1 Joh. v. 8. has been quoted; and consequently, that Facundus could be no stranger to the context, 1 Joh. v. 7. “ tres sunt qui testificantur in cœlo,” &c.

<sup>224</sup> Ruffin. de Adult. Librorr. Orig. p. 53. a. “ Sancti Cypriani martyris solet omne Epistolarum corpus in uno codice scribi. Huic corpori hæretici quidam qui in Spiritum sanctum blasphemant, Tertulliani libellum de Trinitate reprehensibiliter



admit the possibility, that this anonymous tract might have been fabricated for the express purpose of exhibiting the context of St. John, without the disputed passage. This passage was thus deprived, at a stroke, of the testimony of St. Cyprian, and of the text which existed in his times<sup>225</sup>; and this, as we have seen, in the peculiar case of P. Leo and Facundus, was no inconsiderable object with the polemicks who engaged in those days. Until at least some better account is given of this anonymous tract, we need not regard, with much apprehension, any appeal to its testimony on the subject at present contested.

Nor do the objections which have been adduced against the testimony of Eucherius, from the diversity of the copies which contain that writer's works,

(quantum ad veritatem fidei nostræ pertinet) scriptum inserentes, et quamplurimos codices de talibus exemplariis conscribentes, per totam Constantinopolim urbem maximam distrahi pretio villiori fecerunt," &c.

<sup>225</sup> It is a curious circumstance, that a remark is made in the tract under consideration, which must have been intended to bring disrepute on the edition of the Latin version published by Eusebius Vercellensis. A remarkable passage which he admitted into the sacred text, in Mat. iii. 15. vid. supr. p. 127. n. <sup>45</sup>. is said, in this tract, which is ascribed to *the times of St. Cyprian*, to exist in no Gospel; vid. supr. p. 445. n. <sup>39</sup>. With whatever object this tract has been ascribed to St. Cyprian, it is at least possible, that this remark might have been made with a view to depress the credit of the revised text of Eusebius Vercellensis; and that 1 John v. 6. 8. was quoted without vers. 7. in order to deprive this verse of St. Cyprian's support; by rendering it probable, that it no more existed in the sacred text, in his days, than Mat. iii. 15. ut supr.

and which sometimes omit the contested passage, at all affect the point in dispute<sup>226</sup>. Eucherius preceded the æra which produced the Eutychian controversy; and in quoting the disputed text, he furnished an authority in favour of that heresy<sup>227</sup>. As

<sup>226</sup> Vid. Griesb. Append. in loc. 1 Joh. v. 7, 8. p. 16.

<sup>227</sup> This observation will appear more probable when Eucherius's testimony, as read in two MSS. at Vienna, Codd. theol. lat. 64. 109. is compared with the remark on Facundus's testimony, supr. p. 554. n. <sup>222</sup>. "III. Sanctam et individuum designat Trinitatem, ut Joannes apostolus: 'tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cœlo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus' [cod. 109. addit 'et tres unum sunt:'] *Et Baptismum*, ut ipse (idem) Apostolus ait: 'et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et (hî) tres unum sunt.'" As this testimony is decidedly contrary to the orthodox interpretation of Facundus, who suppresses vers. 7. in order to deprive the Eutychians of the testimony of St. John; and interprets vers. 8. of the Trinity, in order to deprive vers. 7. of the testimony of St. Cyprian: the reader may determine, whether it is more probable the catholicicks suppressed, or the hereticks inserted 1 Joh. v. 7. "tres sunt," &c. with "et Baptismum," in the text of Eucherius. Nor is the authenticity of the above passage of the Vienna MSS. in the least affected, by the quotations adduced from Eucherius's "Quæstiones in Vet. et Nov. Testament." p. 88. ed. Sichard. ap. Griesb. ub. supr. p. 17. One of those quotations convicts the other of a palpable omission. In the first it is declared that 1 Joh. v. 8. was interpreted of the Trinity; and in the second, that the Trinity was proved merely from Gen. i. 1, 2. Ps. xxxii. 6. Matt. xxviii. 19. Rom. xi. 36. From the latter passage of course, something has been removed. M. Griesbach would probably say 1 Joh. v. 8: but it is just as easy to say 1 Joh. v. 7, 8. And in support of the latter assumption, we may appeal to the testimony of Cerealis in the subjoined note; and quote the first of the passages adduced in the present note from Eucherius.

the removal of an obnoxious passage from his works was merely an accommodation of his quotations to the sacred text, as corrected by the Greek, it is only wonderful that the text of the heavenly witnesses should have retained its place in any copy of his writings. For the testimony of Cerealis<sup>228</sup> fully evinces, that this text has disappeared from some tracts, in which it was originally inserted.

The variations of the disputed passage, as read in the modern Latin Vulgate, present no greater difficulty. In some copies it is wholly omitted, in some it is annexed in the margin, though in most it is inserted in the text. But that it has been thus added, as a gloss on the eighth verse, is an assumption which may be very easily refuted. In the first place, it was a custom unknown to the primitive

<sup>228</sup> Bengel. Appar. Crit. var. in 1 Joh. v. 7. § xvi. p. 463. "Cerealis Afer—librum scripsit contra Maximianum Arianum, in quo negant dictum Johanneum extare: quod tamen penitus negari non debebat. Solent Afri, ut vidimus, duo illa dicta, 'Ego et Pater unum sumus,' et 'tres unum sunt' conjunctim laudare: et sic Cerealis cap. i. ubi dictum illud prius pro Patris Filiique unitate citavit, subjungit: 'Quia vero non solum unum sunt Pater et Filius, (sed) addito Spiritu sancto *subter habes demonstratum*:' quibus verbis Cerealis dictum alterum, 'hi tres unum sunt,' ad caput de unitate Spiritus Sancti cum Patre et Filio, (quod in ejus libro est cap. xv.) distulisse videtur, et 'subter' vel ipse præ copia aliorum argumentorum e memoria dimisisse, *vel per alios postea mutilatus esse*." Had the truly learned authour of this remark considered the sense in which the hereticks understood 'Verbum,' and 'tres unum sunt,' in explaining their tenets, he would have doubtless rested in the latter supposition, as that alone which is founded in probability.



church, to allude to the mystery of the Trinity, unless in oblique terms, before those who had not been initiated in the Christian covenant<sup>229</sup>. In the next place, the seventh verse is really no explanatory gloss of the eighth, unless we suppose it framed by the hereticks<sup>230</sup>. From the times of Tertullian and Cyprian, in whose interpretations the disputed verse is supposed to have originated, to those of Fulgentius and Eugenius, in whose times it was confessedly incorporated in the sacred canon, an orthodox exposition of the doctrine extracted from the eighth verse, could have been only expressed in the terms the "Father and *the Son*," instead of "the Father and *the Word*"<sup>231</sup>, &c. By the latter reading, of course, the supposition that the seventh verse is a marginal gloss on the eighth, is so completely overthrown, that it furnishes a very decisive confirmation of the contrary assumption; that the disputed verse was originally *suppressed*, not gradually *introduced* into the Latin translation.

In fact, as the explanation offered by the impugnors of the text of the heavenly witnesses, to account for the varieties in this translation, thus

<sup>229</sup> S. Chrysost. Hom. in 1 Cor. xv. 19. Tom. X. p. 379. a. ἄνθρωποι γὰρ [οἱ ἀμύητοι] δυσκολώτερον ἡμῖν ποιῆσι τὴν ἐκλήγησιν, ἀναγκάζοντες ἢ μὴ λέγειν σαφῶς, ἢ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρειν τὰ ἀπόρρητα. Cyril. Hieros. Cateches. vi. § xv. p. 97. l. 21. ἐπεὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐπὶ κατήχησιν λευκῶς λαλῆμεν, ἄλλα πολλὰ πολλάκις λέγομεν ἐπικεκαλυμμένως, ἵνα εἰδότες πιστοὶ νοήσωσι καὶ οἱ μὴ εἰδότες, μὴ βλαβῶσι. Conf. supr. p. 545. n. <sup>205</sup>.

<sup>230</sup> Vid. supr. p. 539. n. <sup>189</sup>. p. 552. n. <sup>221</sup>.

<sup>231</sup> Vid. supr. p. 300. n. <sup>307</sup>. conf. p. 292. nn. <sup>239</sup> et <sup>231</sup>.

wholly fails of its end; a very satisfactory solution of the difficulty which thus arises, may be suggested in the consideration, that St. Jerome put forth two editions of the Catholick Epistles, in one of which the contested verse was omitted, though it was retained in the other. And this conjecture may be maintained on the strength of many corroborating circumstances. It is indisputable, that two editions of some books of Scripture had been not only published by that early father<sup>232</sup>; but that one edition had been in some instances dedicated to Eustochium<sup>233</sup>, to whom the Catholick Epistles are inscribed, in the Prologue<sup>234</sup>. Now as St. Jerome likewise undertook the revisal of the Italic translation, at the request of P. Damasus, we have thus authority for believing, that two editions had been published of the part of Scripture in question. And admitting this to have been the case, every difficulty in the matter before us admits of the clearest solution. Agreeably to the prejudices of the age in which the

<sup>232</sup> Separate editions of St. Matthew had been inscribed, *with separate Prologues*, to P. Damasus, and Eusebius Cremonensis; Conf. S. Hier. Tom. VI. p. iii. xi. and separate editions of parts of Isaiah, to Amabilis and Eustochium, Conf. Tom. IV. p. 44. a. b. p. 62. a.

<sup>233</sup> Of the twelve minor Prophets, Nahum, Michea, Zephaniah, and Haggai, were inscribed to Paula and Eustochium; vid. S. Hier. Tom. V. p. 113. f.

<sup>234</sup> S. Hier. Prol. in Cann. Epp. Tom. I. col. 1667. ed. Bened. “*Sed tu virgo Christi, Eustochium, dum a me impensius scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem invidorum dentibus corrodam exponis, qui me falsarium, corruptoremque sacrarum scripturarum, pronunciant.*”

Latin Vulgate was published<sup>235</sup>, St. Jerome inserted the contested verse in the text which was designed for private use, omitting it in that which was intended for general circulation<sup>236</sup>. And in thus acting, he adhered to the peculiar plan which he had prescribed to himself in revising the Latin translation; having omitted the disputed verse, in the authorised version, on the authority of the Greek, from whence it had been removed by Eusebius<sup>237</sup>: but having availed himself of the variations of the Latin translation, in chusing that reading of the disputed verse, which was calculated to support the ecclesiastical doctrine of one substance, as understood by the initiated in the christian mysteries<sup>238</sup>.

<sup>235</sup> Vid. supr. p. 545. n. <sup>205</sup>.

<sup>236</sup> The strongest distinction is drawn, by St. Jerome, between the copies which were intended for private use, and those which were intended for general circulation; supr. p. 101. n. <sup>125</sup>. That the edition of the Catholick Epistles inscribed to Eustochium, was of the former kind, is evident from the caution expressed in the Prologue, supr. n. <sup>234</sup>. "meam senectutem invidorum dentibus corrodendam *exponis*, qui me falsarium, et corruptorem sacrarum scripturarum, pronunciant."

<sup>237</sup> Vid. supr. p. 158. n. <sup>114</sup>. p. 161. n. <sup>119</sup>.

<sup>238</sup> S. Hieron. *ibid.* Prol. in Epp. Cann. ut supr. "Sed sicut Evangelistas dudum ad veritatis lineam correximus, ita has, proprio ordini, Deo nos juvante, reddidimus. Est enim, prima earum, Jacobi, una; Petri, duæ; Johannis, tres; et Judæ una: quæ si ut ab eis digestæ sunt, ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum verterentur eloquium, nec *ambiguitatem* legentibus facerent, nec *sermonum sese varietas* impugnaret; *illo præcipue loco* ubi de unitate Trinitatis in prima Johannis Epistola positum legimus. In qua, etiam ab infidelibus [*f. fidelibus*] translatoribus multum erratum esse ab fidei veritate



On summing up the arguments which have been urged against the text of the heavenly witnesses, I cannot therefore discover any thing which materially affects the authenticity of this verse, either in the omissions of the Greek manuscripts, or the silence of the Greek fathers; in the variations of the Latin version, or the allegorical explanations of the Latin polemicks. The objections hence raised against that text, are perfectly consistent with that strong evidence in its favour, which is deducible from the internal evidence, and the external testimony of the African Church; which testimony remains to be disposed of, before we can consider it spurious. Nor is there any objection to which the text of the Vulgar Greek is exposed, in other respects, which at all detracts from its credit.

It has been stated against 1 Joh. v. 7, 8. as read in the Greek Vulgate, that the objection raised to the grammatical structure of the Palestine text<sup>239</sup>, is removed but a step back by the insertion of 1 Joh. v. 7: as the same false concord occurs in the context 1 Joh. v. 8. as read in the Byzantine edition: *τρεῖς οἱ μαρτυροῦντες* being there made to agree with *τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ*. But this objection has been made without any attention to the force of the figure attraction. The only difficulty which embar-

comperimus; trium tantum vocabula, hoc est, 'aquæ, sanguinis et spiritus,' in sua editione ponentes, et Patris, Verbi, ac Spiritus' testimonium omittentes in quo maxime et fides catholica roboratur, et Patris, ac Filii, ac Spiritus sancti una divinitatis substantia comprobatur."

<sup>239</sup> Vid. supr. p. 257.

passes the construction lies in furnishing the first *adjectives* τρεῖς οἱ μαρτυροῦντες with *substantives*; which is effectually done, by the insertion of ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Λόγος, in the disputed passage. The subsequent οἱ τρεῖς μαρτυροῦντες are thence *attracted* to the *foregoing* adjectives, instead of being governed by the *subsequent* τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, in the strictest consistency with the style of St. John and the genius of the Greek language <sup>240</sup>.

It has been further objected to the Byzantine text, that ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ Act. xx. 28. has been substituted for ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ, in order to accommodate the phrase to the style of St. Paul; and that parallel examples to ὅς ἐφανερώθη 1 Tim. iii. 16. used in the definitive sense of "*he who* was manifested,"

<sup>240</sup> On the figure attraction, see Mess. de Port Royal Gr. Gram. B. VII. ch. i. p. 319. ed. Lond. 1797. Examples of this figure are not unfrequent in St. John; vid. Joh. xiv. 26. xv. 26. xvi. 13. In the last instance we read, ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας; but ἐκεῖνος is here *attracted* to καὶ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος. vers. 8. which is governed by ὁ Παράκλητος ἐλπίσται, vers. 7. In fact this structure was preferred by the Evangelist, as asserting the *Personality* of the Holy Spirit, by applying to *him*, an adjective in the *masculine*. But without this preparation of the phrase, 1 Joh. v. 7. &c. no grammatical figure will reconcile the false concord of Ibid. 8. as read in the Corrected Text of M. Griesbach, to the genius of the Greek language. A Syllepsis, which is properly a poetical licence, at least a rhetorical figure, and of course wholly beside our present purpose, will not answer this end; as the Apostle has spoiled the effect of this figure, in determining the gender of Πνεῦμα to be *neuter*, by prefixing to it the article τὸ, and coupling it with τὸ μαρτυρῶν in his context: he has thus wholly unfitted it for qualifying the subjoined οἱ μαρτυροῦντες καὶ τ. ἱ.

occur in Mar. iv. 25. Luc. viii. 18. Rom. viii. 32. But the former observation appears to me to remove one difficulty by the happy expedient of creating a greater; for thus a double inconsistency is substantiated—against the Apostle in the first instance, and against the Evangelist in the second, which is no less happily conceived to be corrected by the blunder of a transcriber<sup>241</sup>. And the latter observation unfortunately finds not the least support from the adduced examples, as they are essentially different from the passages which they are taken to illustrate<sup>242</sup>.

<sup>241</sup> Vid. supr. p. 255. n. <sup>182</sup>.

<sup>242</sup> In Mar. iv. 25. Luc. viii. 18. ὅς signifies *he who*, on no other account, than because *he who* is synonymous with *whoever*, in English; the latter being the proper meaning of the term in Greek, and a meaning which reduces 1 Tim. iii. 16. to nonsense. In Rom. viii. 32. ὅς is the subjunctive article, and, as such, tied by the particle γε to its antecedent Θεός; as is directly apparent on viewing the text independent of its artificial division into verses, εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τίς κατ' ἡμῶν; ὃς γε τῷ ἰδίῳ ὕψι ἐκ ἑφείσατο. Had not this connexion existed, the Apostle would have used *the participle*, with *an article*, agreeably to the genius of the Greek, and his usual practice: Gal. ii. 8. ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας. Ib. iii. 5, ὁ ὢν ἐπιχορηγῶν. 2 Cor. ix. 10, ὁ δὲ ἐπιχορηγῶν. Nor does the example adduced from Col. i. 27. supr. p. 281. furnish any parallel instance to 1 Tim. iii. 16. St. Paul has expressly determined the gender of *μυστήριον* to be neuter (1.) by the context; writing τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον: and (2.) by the sense, as Χριστός is not τὸ μυστήριον, but ὁ πλάσιος τῆς δόξης τῷ μυστηρίῳ, as the Apostle shews, by subjoining ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς δόξης: so that the true antecedent to ὃς, in ὃς ἐστὶ Χριστός, is ὁ πλάσιος. If the passage admitted not of this explanation, an Attraction, by which ὃς and Χριστός were made to agree, would afford a better explanation of the phrase τέτα



It has been further urged against the Greek Vulgate, that Liberatus states the vulgar reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16. to be a correction of the heretick Macedonius; and that 1 John v. 7. could not have existed in the sacred text, in the age of the Alogi, since these hereticks rejected the Gospel of St. John, as militating against their peculiar opinions, yet have not objected to the Epistles of the Evangelist, which are equally opposed to their tenets, when the disputed verse forms a part of his context. But when the principles of Liberatus are taken into account, together with the obscurity and contradictoriness of his testimony, it will not be deemed worthy of implicit credence<sup>243</sup>. We may however

μυστήριον ὅς ἐστι Χριστός, than that which supposes τὸ μυστήριον and ὅς to agree, by the most palpable solecism.

<sup>243</sup> The charge urged by Liberatus is expressed in the following terms; Liber. Brev. cap. xix. p. 134. “Hoc tempore Macedonius Constantinopolitanus Episcopus ab Imperatore Anastasio dicitur expulsus, tanquam Evangelia falsasset, et maxime illud Apostoli dictum; ‘*Quia apparuit in carne, justificatus est in spiritu.*’ Hunc enim immutasse, ubi habet ὅς, id est, *qui*, monosyllabum græcum, littera mutata ὀ in ω vertisse, et fecisse ὁ, id est, ut esset Deus apparuit per carnem. Tanquam Nestorianus ergo culpatus expellitur per Severum monachum.” The text of Liberatus has been here obviously accommodated to his account of the Nestorian heresy, vid. supr. p. 521. n. <sup>135</sup>. As we know the different readings of the Greek copies to which he alludes, we may correct his text, without difficulty:—“hunc enim mutasse ubi habet ΟΣ id est *qui*, monosyllabum græcum [et] littera mutata, Ο in Θ vertisse et fecisse ΘΣ, id est, ut esset, ‘*Deus apparuit per carnem.*” But to this statement of Liberatus there are several objections. It appears, from the testimony of St. Chrysostome, that, for many

grant, that it has every foundation in truth, without affecting in the least the integrity of the Greek Vulgate. When it is remembered, that the reading which Macedonius is said to have corrected, is found in a verse which Eusebius had previously corrupted; we may admit that the alteration was made in some copies, and yet maintain that the integrity of the sacred text was restored, not impaired, by the last emendation. But the possibility of thus altering a few copies, will be still infinitely remote from accounting for the general corruption of the Greek Vulgate; and until this object is attained, the present objection must wholly fail of its intention. As to that which has been advanced from the consideration of the Alogi, who have not objected to St. John's Epistle, it seems to have been urged from a partial view of St. Epiphanius's account of those hereticks. As far as I can collect from his words,

years previous to the times of Macedonius and Severus, *Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη* had been the reading of the Byzantine edition; so that no culpability could attach to the bishop of Constantinople, for introducing this reading in his copies: vid. *supr.* p. 289. n. <sup>273</sup>. A totally different account, and one which carries internal marks of its truth, is given by Evagrius, of the causes which occasioned Macedonius's expulsion from the see of Constantinople, at the instigation of Severus: vid. *Evagr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. xlv. p. 380. l. 10.* And the account of Liberatus is rejected as wholly improbable, not only by Bishop Pearson, and Dr. Berriman, but the Jesuit Garnier, who had some interest in supporting Liberatus's testimony, as it afforded some countenance to the reading of the Latin Vulgate. Vid. *Garn. in Liberat. p. 137. Pears. on Creed. Vol. II. p. 137. Berrim. Dissert. on 1 Tim. p. 231.*



he has implicitly declared, that they objected not less to the Epistles written by St. John, than to his Gospel<sup>244</sup>. And had not this been the case, the objection might be easily set aside; as it equally proves, that the first verses of the Epistle must have been also absent from the Apostle's text, as they are even more strongly opposed to the peculiar tenets of the Alogi. As this is a position which will be hardly sustained by any objectour, I apprehend, that the present objection in proving so much, really proves nothing.

A few words will now cover the Greek Vulgate from every objection which has been raised to its verbal integrity<sup>245</sup>. It has been an old objection urged

<sup>244</sup> St. Epiphanius expresses himself on the present subject in the following unqualified terms. Hær. l. i. p. 423. d.—ἀποβάλλουσι [οἱ Ἀλογοὶ] Ἰωάννη τὰς βίβλους. ἐπεὶ ἐν τὸν Λόγον εἰ δέχονται τὸν παρὰ Ἰωάννη κεκηρυγμένον, Ἀλογοὶ κληθήσονται.—ὁπότε δὲ εἰ δέχονται φύσει τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννη κεκηρυγμένα, παντὶ τῷ δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι ἑτοί-εἰσι, καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι τέτοις, περὶ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ἐν ταῖς καθολικαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς· ὅτι, ἰσχάτη ὥρα ἐστὶ καὶ τ. εἰ. The connexion of the sense, in the last clause of this sentence, apparently renders it necessary that we should suppose the Alogi rejected the Catholick Epistles; and Petavius accordingly renders the first clause; “sed cum universos Joannis libros proprie rejiciant,” &c.

<sup>245</sup> I shall add but another remark on 1 Joh. v. 7. in answer to Mr. Porson's question, Lett. XII. p. 397. “If the Spirit that witnesses in the sixth verse be the holy Spirit, which I think cannot be doubted, ‘because the Spirit is truth,’ why is the epithet, after being twice omitted, added in the seventh verse, to mark a distinction without a difference?” Because when the Holy Ghost is mentioned *by himself*, “the Spirit” becomes his sufficient designation; vid. Joh. i. 33. iii. 6. vi. 63.



against the Apocalypse and Epistle to the Hebrews, that neither of those canonical books corresponds with the style of the authour, with whose name they are inscribed; the one possessing an elevation of language which is not discoverable in the works of St. Paul, the other abounding in solecisms which are not discoverable in the other writings of St. John the Evangelist. But when due allowances are made for the latitude in which the term style was used by the antients; and when the peculiar subjects of the books under review are taken into account, this objection, which at best is founded on a very fallacious criterion<sup>246</sup>, admits of a very easy solution. As the term style, in the original acceptation, was applied not merely to the peculiar mode of expression, in which a writer delivers himself, but jointly to the diction and sentiment; an elevation in the latter,

vii. 39. But when he is mentioned *with the Father and the Son*, the epithet "holy" is necessary to distinguish him *among the Persons*, as the Father and Son are equally Spirits; vid. Matt. xxviii. 19. 2 Cor. xiii. 13. The epithet which is added with so much propriety in the seventh verse, would have been absolutely improper in the sixth; as "the Spirit" there means "the Spirit of Christ;" such being the proper designation of the Holy Ghost, where he is considered as the Spirit sent by the Son, to bear witness of him, as in the passage before us, conf. Rom. viii. 9. Joh. xv. 26. The *Holy Spirit* is on the contrary his proper designation, when he is considered as *the Sanctifier*; a being co-equal and co-essential with the Creatour and the Redeemer, rather than a spirit proceeding from either. As *the human spirit* is meant in the eighth verse, the epithet holy is of course as properly omitted in this verse, as it is retained in the preceding.

<sup>246</sup> Vid. Orig. Epist. ad African. Tom. I. p. 29. c.

which arises out of the subject, has afforded the chief ground to the objection. In the retrospect which the one Apostle takes of the primitive state of the Church, and in the prospect which the other gives into its future fortune, objects seized the imagination, which were essentially different from those which engrossed the attention, when they described the acts of our Lord, or inculcated his doctrines. Adapting their language to their matter, they adopt a different elevation of manner in treating different subjects; and have thus furnished the objectour with grounds to urge his exceptions. With greater plausibility have they been urged against the Apocalypse, than the Epistle to the Hebrews. By a nice attention to the texture of the phrase, many expressions have been discovered in the latter, which are characteristick of the manner adopted by St. Paul in his other Epistles. And though some expressions in the Apocalypse appear to be less reconcilable to the style of St. John; yet when it is considered that they are Hebrew idioms<sup>247</sup>

<sup>247</sup> These examples are collected by M. Bengel, who offers the following vindication of them; Appar. Crit. Fund. Cris. Apoc. § v. p. 488.—“ Spectat huc maxime duorum casuum constructio: cap. i. 5. ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός.— cap. ii. 20. τὴν γυναῖκα ἣ λίγισσα. iii. 12. τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἣ καταβαίνουσα.—Nec longe abeunt illa: cap. xiv. 9. τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ. xvii. 4. βδελυγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα: vel etiam cap. iv. 4. vii. 9. xiii. 3.—In summa, *Hebraismus toto regnat libro*, prima specie insolens et asper, sed revera, cum assueveris, non solum tolerabilis, sed etiam dulcis ac plane cœlestis stilo curiæ dignus. Johannem tibi, lector Apocalypseos, propone Hebraice cogitantem, Græce scribentem.” The vindication

which are particularly suited to the prophetic style, which is adopted by St. John, we have no great allowance to make for the difference of the Evangelist's subject, in order to meet every objection which has been made to these passages.

Thus weighing every objection which has been stated against the Greek Vulgate, there appears to be none urged, which can at all affect its integrity, as a perfect rule of faith and manners. In regarding the constitution of the primitive church, and the care taken to disperse the commonest documents relative to ecclesiastical polity, it is impossible even to conceive how the inspired text could have been corrupted in the first ages of Christianity. In the age of St. Irenæus and Tertullian, who followed in the next succession after the Apostles, the authenticity of the sacred canon was investigated with the utmost care; and in the age of Origen, who succeeded at no great interval of time, it was still considered free from corruption<sup>248</sup>. To the period intervening between his times and those of St. Chrysostome, whatever alterations were made in the text must be referred; as at the latter period the vulgar text, which has been since used in the Church, was confessedly adopted. In this period, which extends to little more than an hundred and fifty years, we are accordingly informed, that those editions of the Greek were published, to which we

of M. Elsner, who thinks these idioms may be reconciled to the genius of the Greek language, appears to me to be wholly inadmissible; Vid. Elsn. Observv. Sacrr. Tom. II. p. 434.

<sup>248</sup> Vid. supr. p. 431. n. <sup>10</sup>.



can trace every variety in the sacred text, whether existing in the original or in translations. Of these editions, however, two only are entitled to any consideration; that of Palestine, which prevails in the writings of Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril, and Isidore, and is found in the Vatican manuscript<sup>249</sup>; and that

<sup>249</sup> I have already ventured to offer a conjecture, that this celebrated MS. is allied to the text revised by St. Basil: vid. *supr.* p. 104. We are assured by a person who possessed a transcript made from a copy of the library of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, that St. Basil had corrected the text, and had accurately marked it with points and accents: Syncel. *Chronograph.* p. 203. b. ed. Par. 1652. ἐν ἐνὶ δὲ ἀντιγραφῷ, λίαν ἡκριβωμένῳ κατὰ τε σιγμὴν καὶ προσωδίαν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Καισάρειᾳ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἔλθοντι εἰς ἐμὲ βιβλιοθήκης ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπτο ὡς ὁ μέγας καὶ θεῖος βασιλεὺς τὰ, (ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνο ἀπεγράφη) ἀντιβαλὼν διωδύσατο βιβλία. The following considerations may be offered in support of the above conjecture. (1.) St. Basil studied in Cæsarea in Palestine, with Gregory of Nazianzum, and imbibed that partiality for Origen, and consequently for the Palestine text, which was common to the disciples of that school: vid. *Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IV. cap. xxvi. p. 245. l. 9—13. conf. supr. p. 84. n. 72.* (2.) The Vatican MS. differs from all known manuscripts of equal antiquity, in having accents and marks of asperation added by the original transcriber; Vid. *Birch. Nov. Test. Prolegomm. p. xiv.* (3.) The Greek MSS. of the religious order of St. Basil, which had been dispersed in several monasteries through Calabria, were transported to Rome by P. Menitius, Prefect of the order, and were deposited in the library of St. Basil in that city: vid. *Montfauc. Palæogr. Græc. p. xxiii.* As many of the most valuable MSS. in Italy have been transferred, through the arbitrary power of the Popes, to the Vatican, it is possible, that the celebrated MS. which is distinguished by this name, might have thus made its way into the Pontifical library.

of Byzantium, which prevails in the writings of Chrysostomè, Gregory Nyssene, Nazianzene, &c. and is found in the great body of Greek manuscripts. The weight of evidence which supports both editions, has been already laid in detail before the reader. In almost all points of importance, they mutually afford each other confirmation; and where this coincidence fails, the testimony of the oldest witnesses, contained in the primitive Italick and Syriack versions, is generally found on the side of the Greek Vulgate; the testimony of those witnesses being further confirmed by that of the primitive fathers<sup>250</sup>. The variations in the testimony of later texts, versions, and writers, is besides easily traced to the

<sup>250</sup> The following list of passages, quoted by those Fathers who lived in the next succession after the Apostles, includes the principal texts in which the Greek Vulgate differs from the Palestine edition. They may be disposed in four classes, according to their importance: and, as read in the vulgar Greek, are supported by the annexed authorities. (1.) 1 Joh. v. 7. *Tert. Cypr.* 1 Tim. iii. 16. *Ignat. Act. xx. 28. Ignat. Tert. vid. supr. p. 291. nn. <sup>283</sup> et <sup>284</sup>. p. 275. n. <sup>232</sup>. p. 286. n. <sup>251</sup>.* (2.) Mat. xix. 17. *Just. Mart. Ib. xx. 22, 23. Iren. Ib. xxvii. 25. Tert. Luc. iv. 18. Iren. Joh. i. 27. Orig. vid. supr. p. 372. sqq.* (3.) Mar. xiii. 32. *Iren. Luc. ix. 55. d. Clem. Alex. Cypr. Ib. xi. 13. Tert. Ib. xxii. 43, 44. Just. Mart. Joh. v. 3, 4. Tert. Act. viii. 37. Iren. Ib. xv. 28. Clem. Tert. Col. i. 14. Iren. Ib. ii. 2. Clem. Alex. ut videtur. 1 Joh. iv. 3. Polyc. Tert. vid. supr. p. 380. sqq.* (4.) Matt. ix. 13. <sup>a</sup>. *Barn. Clem. Rom. Ib. vii. 2. <sup>h</sup>. Polyc. Clem. Rom. Ib. xxv. 41. <sup>l</sup>. Tert. Mar. i. 2. <sup>b</sup>. Iren. Luc. iv. 18. <sup>i</sup>. Iren. Ib. vi. 26. <sup>h</sup>. Iren. Ib. ix. 62. <sup>u</sup>. Iren. Tert. Rom. v. 14. <sup>v</sup>. Iren. vid. Griesb. nn. in locc.*

influence of the Marcionite and Valentinian heresies: which, as merely affecting a text essentially different from the Vulgar Greek, leaves the evidence, arising in favour of this text from the immemorial tradition of the Church, unaffected by any objection.

In the single instance of the text of the heavenly witnesses, a difficulty arises; as it cannot be denied that this verse has been wholly lost in the Greek Vulgate. But I cannot admit that the integrity of the sacred text is at all affected by this consideration. Were the Greek Church the only witness of its integrity, or guardian of its purity, the objection would be of vital importance. But in deciding the present question, the African Church is entitled to a voice not less than the Byzantine; and on its testimony, we receive the disputed passage. In fact, as the proper witnesses of the inspired Word, are the Greek and Latin Churches; they are adequate witnesses of its integrity. The general corruption of the text received in these Churches, in the vast tract of country, which extends from Armenia to Africa, was utterly impossible. A comparative view of their testimony, enables us to determine the genuine text, in every point of the smallest importance<sup>251</sup>. And after the progressive labour of ages, in which every thing that could invalidate their evidence from the testimony of dissenting witnesses, has been accumulated, nothing

<sup>251</sup> Vid. *supr.* p. 306.



has been advanced by which it is materially affected. To the mind which is not operated on by these considerations, nothing further need be advanced in the shape of argument.

THE END.



















