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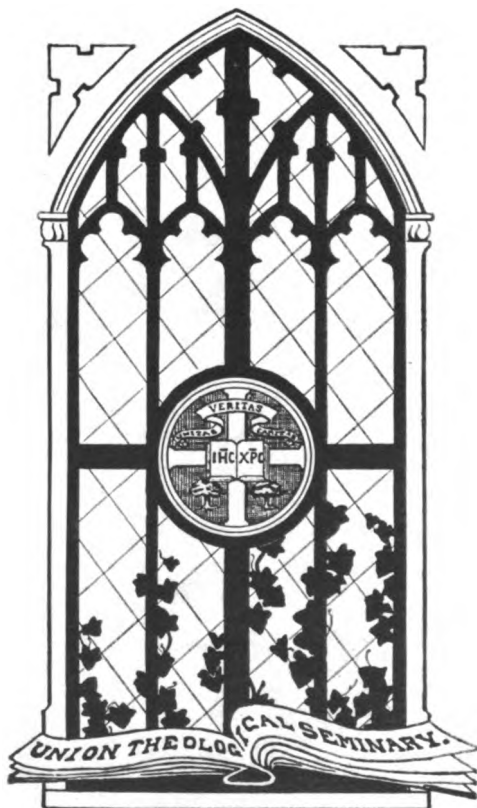
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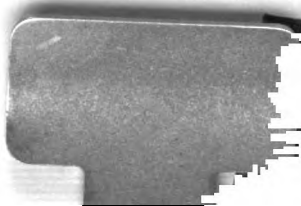
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PREFACE.

THE following Lectures are presented to the public, in the hope that they may be found to supply a place in sacred literature, hitherto unoccupied by any single volume in the English language. The author originally intended to draw up a mere outline of the prelections delivered in his class, for the use of the theological students that come under his tuition; but he was afterwards led to extend his plan, so as to embrace what he considers an outline of all the subjects naturally belonging to the department of Biblical Criticism. Enlarging some parts of the course which he has read in manuscript for a few sessions, adding a considerable quantity of new matter, subjoining the description of new topics, and abridging other places, he determined to give a systematic view of the whole science, which might be read beyond the circle of students that attend his prelections. Dissatisfied with the books to which there is easy access, and not inclined to point, without admonition, even the more inquiring students of theology, to German productions that contain much obnoxious matter, he formed the purpose of publishing such a course of Lectures as would embrace all the topics pertaining to Biblical Criticism. The present volume is the accomplishment of this purpose; how far it may be suited to the inquiring spirit of the times, it is for the scholar to decide. With regard to the form of the Lectures, it will be seen, that though they are not wholly divested of their original costume, yet they are

freed from recapitulations, and other peculiarities usually pertaining to the didactic discussions of a class-room ; and, in reference to substance, I have neither aimed at making them copious nor meagre ; but have endeavoured to steer a middle course, not enlarging upon every minute point, though at the same time not omitting any thing important. I have refrained also from turning aside as little as possible to notice the almost innumerable opinions that prevail. I thought it unnecessary, and unsuited to students of theology, to step aside at every sentence for the purpose of combating some sentiment advanced by others, or of noticing with approbation some peculiarity of an author. This would have distracted attention, and interrupted the progress of the description, while it would only have served to display an extensive range of reading, which I am far from wishing to parade before the world. I have in all cases, however, considered with attention the opinions of others. I have not willingly omitted the examination of writings relating to the same subjects as those discussed in the following Lectures. I have carefully, and I trust impartially attended to all the information within my reach ; and have given those views, which appear to myself at least, to be best supported. Some theories are cursorily noticed, others passed by without remark, whilst there is often an entire silence in reference to the objections that have been urged against the sentiments adopted. I mention these things, lest it should be supposed by any, that I have not paid sufficient attention to the opinions of others, and that I ought to have given the view of this or that scholar.

In all points I have studied accuracy. Still, however, it cannot be expected that it has been always attained. In a volume occupied with so many, and so difficult subjects, I am far from thinking that I have always arrived at the truth. But I am quite open to conviction on any

topic where error may be proved ; and I shall attend to every suggestion, or friendly animadversion that may be made, as far as it seems entitled to consideration. I hope to be always learning.

And here I may state, that I would willingly have dispensed with the discussion of the topics introduced into the present volume, because they are not altogether suited to the wants and taste of British theological students. The Germans, indeed, are accustomed to exalt them to a primary rank in theology, to the great neglect of *Hermeneutics* ; but in doing so, they show their fondness for whatever is less valuable and vital. In the externals of theology, they generally excel all others ; but in the internal departments of this great science, their perception is most defective. Gladly, therefore, would I have passed over the present subjects, and proceeded at once to *interpretation*. But, in doing so, I would not have discussed the topics that rightly belong to that department of theology in which I have been called to labour ; neither could I have proceeded to hermeneutics with the same confidence, had not a foundation secure and broad been previously laid. Besides, in the business of interpretation, many things would have been necessarily taken for granted, and many references made to topics, of which the student must have been in a great measure ignorant. There was, therefore, no alternative left, but to traverse the field of biblical criticism, previously to that of interpretation ; although by this procedure we are presenting the driest and most unattractive objects in the foreground of the picture. Still it is the foundation on which the other rests—and although its importance may be unseen and unvalued, yet it is the true basis on which the beautiful fabric of theology is reared, and without which it would not present to the eye those majestic and graceful columns that equally bespeak the power and the wisdom of the Architect.

But whilst thus in some measure obliged to go over matters that may be repulsive to many, I am aware that I have dismissed some of them in a cursory manner. I have not done them full justice, when compared with the treatment which they ordinarily receive in the hands of our continental scholarship. I fear, however, that I may be even thought by some, to have dwelt too long on matters whose value none but the accomplished critic can fully know.

I have used the words *genuine* and *authentic*, *genuineness* and *authenticity*, synonymously throughout. I am quite aware that they are not so strictly speaking, and that I may be blamed for their indiscriminate use. But there is so great diversity of opinion with regard to their proper meaning, and they are used by good writers so diversely, that I thought it might not be amiss to set them down interchangeably, lest by employing them with strict philosophical accuracy, such persons as had been accustomed to meet them in other significations, might be embarrassed and confused. I hold that the term *authentic* applied to a book, denotes that it is really the production of the author whose name it bears; and that *genuine* means that it is substantially the same as when it proceeded from its author. I know that they are used by many in another way, but I believe that all who do not employ them in the significations just mentioned, sin against etymology, no less than against the practice of the best writers.

The Appendix is intended for those who may wish to go farther into the topics embraced by the Lectures, than was consistent with my purpose. It was suggested to me by my publisher, after part of the Lectures had been printed, which will explain the appearance of the titles of several books in the text, that ought to have been in the Appendix. The student will thus not be obliged to go out of the book itself for direction; but will have all the

aids requisite to conduct him to full satisfaction on every point. As I did not wish to lengthen it by unnecessary details, it will be found to contain only the best books on each topic so far as they were known to me.

In another volume I purpose to treat of *hermeneutics*, or the principles of interpretation, for which the inquirer will be fully prepared by the present. But the materials are not yet ready. Time and patience, and lengthened investigation will be required to prepare such a volume for the public eye. If Divine providence spare me, I hope to be able to bring it forth in a somewhat matured state.

In conclusion, the author of this volume would hope, that sacred literature may be more zealously cultivated by candidates for the ministerial office. Its claims have been too long overlooked. It is still lamentably neglected. Its value is quite unknown, and its important bearings on every part of dogmatic theology unperceived by the many. But it is the duty of all who are interested in the intellectual advancement of mankind, to countenance, and to promote every effort to diffuse a taste for such studies. Bigotry may frown upon them—men of narrow and contracted understandings may affect to sneer at them; but they prove hereby that they are under the bondage of ignorance and of prejudice, and that their minds have not been liberalized by the spirit of intellectual progression that characterises the present age. The broad sun-light of truth has not shone upon their understandings. They are well fitted to denounce those who differ from them upon any point however trivial, compensating for the want of thorough inquiry, by the arrogant tone they assume, and by the liberal use of all the opprobrious epithets which religionists have been too eager to fling at their opponents. They are afraid of the advances of knowledge, as though a fundamental study of the Bible would weaken those opinions which they received with-

out hesitation, from the lips of a teacher, or adopted from the dogmas of a creed, without candid and prayerful examination. With the friends of such timid policy in spiritual inquiries we have no unanimity of feeling. The Scriptures court investigation; and we would reverently come to their perusal, availing ourselves of all the helps that can be advantageously employed.

BELFAST COLLEGE,

August 1st 1839.

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LECTURES

ON

BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

LECTURE I.

BEFORE entering on the direct discussion of the various subjects that lie before us, we shall advert to Biblical Criticism in general, and thus introduce it to your notice in a short preliminary Lecture. This science is of comparatively recent origin, or rather it has attracted so much attention in late times, and is now so extensively cultivated, that it may be said to owe all its advancement to the last century and to the present. It originated partly from necessity. In consequence of the controversies in which they were involved, men were obliged to appeal to the sacred fountain of truth itself. The records of religion had been corrupted by the injudicious or the schismatic, and they needed to be restored. Thus the originals of the Scriptures themselves were consulted as the highest authority in matters of doctrine and of discipline; and men were naturally inclined either to retain or to mutilate a passage, as it seemed to favour their own sect, or to corroborate their own opinions. The fountain-head of divine truth was often muddied by irreverent approaches. Whatever was not relished became liable to alteration or omission. Such expedients, however, belong rather to modern times than to the primitive age of Christianity. Not that similar practices were unknown in the earliest period of the gospel dispensation, but we have not now the means of easily detecting the alterations then made, the purposes for which they were attempted, and the persons to whom such supposed emendations owe their origin.

In every ancient book which has descended to our own times through a number of centuries, various readings unavoidably ex-

ist. It is utterly impossible for human caution and diligence to guard against the slightest deviation from the original words of an author. We must therefore judge between various readings, and weigh the evidence by which they are supported, as well as the claims they have on our consideration. The genuine reading must be determined by authorities, in deciding upon the weight and respective merit of which, certain rules are wont to be followed. This holds good in the ancient classics. MSS. have been examined and compared by scholars who have been at great pains to procure as correct and pure a text as the existing materials enabled them to obtain. Hence various editions have been published. The same is the case with the Bible. Providence has left its words to the same casualties as befall the writings of uninspired men, while the great doctrines and duties inculcated have been preserved and guarded so as to be plainly taught. God has not interposed by a miracle to prevent the least variation from occurring in the great number of MSS. which have been made; for while he has exercised a general superintendence over the revelation of his own will, its language has experienced the lot of other writings, in not being exempted from corruption and alteration. Now if it be a laudable thing to attempt to restore the unvitiated text of a heathen author, surely it ought to be much more so in regard to that of the Bible. The great Author from whom it proceeds, the consequent importance of its contents, and the design of its bestowment on man, conspire to place it infinitely above the emanations of the highest and brightest intellects. All our attention should therefore be directed, in the first place, to the ascertainment of the true and proper reading of the original. When this is accomplished, we may proceed with confidence to interpret and to explain it. We must first judge whether an alteration has been made in a passage, so that the condition in which it originally came from the hands of its author does not appear. The incorruptness of the text must be considered; the changes which it may have undergone are to be discovered; and those readings must be restored into whose place others have intruded. This is followed by interpretation. The science embracing these two departments of knowledge has not been cultivated in these countries with the zeal and ardour which it has awakened in modern times on the continent of Europe. The learning it demands has been abortive. But we begin to see the tokens of better things,

and we rejoice that the day is appearing in which we shall not be behind our continental brethren. Still it is true, that while improvements are made in every other department of literature, while knowledge is rapidly spreading among all classes of society, a higher and more substantial knowledge is by many comparatively neglected. We behold the mathematician engaged in far more abstruse and abstract inquiries, pursuing them with an intensity of mind truly absorbing, while the languages in which the book of life is written are considered as matters of minor moment. The antiquarian explores the ruins of splendid cities and desolate temples, where the living voice once resounded, and the light step trod, and he digs deep for the remains of former times, and the curiosities of ancient days. The geologist descends to nature's recesses to bring up thence a knowledge of strata, and deposits, and fossils of ages long gone by. Thus by the busy activity of man new discoveries spring into existence, and social life is both improved and embellished. But whilst so great research is exhibited in relation to the volume of nature which God has spread out before his creatures; whilst we behold new proofs of his existence, his wisdom, and his goodness, furnished by the minutest parts of creation, we have reason to regret that the languages in which the sacred volume is written, attract less attention. Some students of the Bible sit down quite satisfied with a superficial knowledge of revelation derived from our received version, or if they wish to inspect the originals now and again, they trust to the guidance of some common lexicon, while they are all the while, unable to judge, whether it lead them into the right meaning of a phrase. Even this, however, is not generally done. For the unravelling of a difficulty, or the settling of a point, they are seldom disposed to look farther than to the English commentators. Whether the authorized translation be right, or whether it be erroneous; whether ten ancient versions be against the vulgar reading, and only one in its favour; whether it be found in one MS. of little authority, at the same time that others of high antiquity and value want it, is just the same to these indolent and unlettered expositors. Sacred criticism, therefore, has not assumed that primary rank in theology to which it is deservedly entitled. It ought to be a subject of lasting and continued interest. Among the studies of the divine it should occupy a distinguished place. The men who cast it aside as dry, insipid, and unprofitable, know nothing of its nature and

use. The time, we trust, has for ever gone by, when learning was esteemed a superfluous appendage to the minister of the everlasting gospel. Human authorities have lost much of their imposing power in matters of religion, and the Scriptures themselves are regarded as the sole and ultimate standard in the determination of doctrines and the settlement of controversies. Hence those high attainments, which constitute not merely the ornament but the defence of the pastor, ought not to be rejected as valueless. They are a true safeguard against infidelity on the one hand and enthusiasm on the other. In every age of the church there have been men fond of setting forth novel and strange doctrines. Perhaps there never was a time in which such a taste prevailed more than at the present day. Let Germany, America, and even England, bear testimony to the truth of this statement. In these countries, long-exploded doctrines have been revived under new names and in other garbs. But he who is wont to read and reflect, will at once discover that such opinions were long since maintained, defended, and refuted; and if he be versed in that department of knowledge of which we now speak, he will be able to expose the false criticism that would wrest from the words of Scripture another sense than that which they naturally bear. Again, the flimsy speculations of infidels, disguised under the name of Christians, will never bear the strong and searching beams of an enlightened exegesis. In the atmosphere of a learned theology they soon die. They are like the transient feelings of the enthusiast, which pass away without leaving a solid or permanent impression. True piety must be based and built on sound knowledge, such as is not to be received from the lips of a teacher or the words of a creed, unless the precepts of the one, and the contents of the other, be consonant with the lively oracles of God. But the question must first be determined, what are the oracles? what is the genuine text, so far at least as it is in our power to ascertain it? what are the readings of the Bible which we regard as constituting the true basis of theological knowledge, by proceeding from the inspired authors themselves. This is the proper province of Biblical literature—a science which exempts us from the necessity of seeing with others eyes, and from believing on the authority of others, inducing such a conviction as is an essential qualification for preaching the Gospel. We know that the Apostle Paul speaks of some who were ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge

of the truth ; and such characters were not confined to the age in which he lived. There is a humility of mind—a modesty of spirit—a purity of motive—without which the truth of our statements, and the strength of our positions, may be extremely doubtful and remarkably feeble. It is not surprising that the man who is destitute of these characteristics of mind never arrives at satisfactory conclusions, but is tossed about by every wind of doctrine. Sacred literature, however, when accompanied by right motives and moral principles, tends to fix and consolidate the erratic opinions that float about in the mind of the half-taught theologian, by giving them consistency, clearness, and stability, as far as they agree with the revealed will of God. It is possible, notwithstanding, to be acquainted with the languages in which the Bible was written—with the manners and customs of the people brought before us in this ancient book—with the laws and institutions prescribed by Heaven—and yet, after all, to be indifferent interpreters. With the most costly and splendid apparatus of knowledge, we may be deficient in sound judgment, and in the talent of accurate discrimination. It is possible to be familiar with the rules laid down by interpreters, and yet to be bad expositors. But if we be saved from the dangerous errors into which rash and ignorant men are apt to fall by essaying what is beyond their reach, we gain no small advantage. If we be capable of distinguishing between true and false readings, of perceiving the worthlessness of empty conjectures, and of rejecting the claims of those portions which men have improperly introduced into Scripture, and which time has so much sanctioned that any attempt to correct and expunge them is deprecated by the ignorant as an insult to the Holy Spirit, we shall be amply compensated for our labour of examination. We are aware that many never aspire to eminence in the walks of sacred literature, and that but few masters in criticism appear in a century. But in the present day, with all the learning which the Bible has called forth—with the results of so many researches within our reach—with the erudition of the greatest men that have been employed in unfolding the deep things of the Divine Word at our command—it were criminal to sit down and fold our hands in indolence, as if we were not at all concerned to learn and know more of the mind of God. Those who incur the charge of such criminality, will be unfit instruments in the hand of the Almighty for the accomplishment of his lofty purposes towards men. We

are far from maintaining that there can be no true piety without learning. The simple-minded peasant, who knows not that there is any other than the received version, which he regards as immediately written by the finger of Jehovah, is perhaps in a better frame of mind for receiving the truth in love, than the critic that always doubts and stumbles at difficulties. The wisdom of the Almighty is seen in this, that the Scriptures are suited to the capacities of all, that from them every being of the human race may derive abundant instruction, consolation, and hope. But this warrants not the conclusion drawn by many, that learning is of no use to the student of the Bible. On the contrary, it has been of essential service to the cause of truth. That it often begets pride we know,—that it is often conjoined with a spirit the most opposite to the tenor of the Gospel, we see every day exemplified; but this only proves that every talent is injurious to the possessor, when undirected by the power of divine grace. To be puffed up with self-exaltation and pride is not the wonted failing of the learned divine, but merely of him who fancies himself to be so. Humility is the offspring of that learning which has for its object the right knowledge of God and man. The more an individual searches, the more will he find to excite his admiration, to call forth his gratitude, to awaken the consciousness of his ignorance, and to awe him into reverence before the Supreme Being. The more extensive the scholarship and the profounder the erudition, the greater veneration for the Holy Scriptures will be felt and acknowledged. Whilst, therefore, a practical acquaintance with the truth as it is in Jesus is quite independent of theological learning, it is equally matter of fact that, to the professed theologian, who guides the religious belief of the great mass of the community, and is commanded to be always ready to give a reason of the hope within him, learning is of mighty importance. It fits the true interpreter for the work in which he is engaged: it enables him to tread with firm step on the ground where he stands, and to walk securely over the wide field of an extended science. Enthusiasm is averse to literature, because it dreads the light of evidence by which it would be rejected. It is only a creature of darkness, engendered in the night, and nursed in the fondling arms of folly. But the man who has learned to value revelation as proceeding from God,—who has explored the authority by which its claims are supported, and the arguments by which it is sustained,—walks abroad in the light,

and is eager to obtain farther and clearer views of the interior proportions of that spacious edifice in which the hand of Omnipotence is recognised. He lingers not in the outer court of the temple, wherein Jehovah is but dimly manifested; but he enters the sanctuary with its hallowed recesses, and is there favoured with visions of the glory of the Lord, and with prelibations of everlasting bliss. Our opinions therefore should be drawn fresh from the living spring which has gushed forth to refresh and to gladden the earth. We must come to the fountain head of all that is perfect in religion and pure in morality, from whose clear spring we receive the living waters that bear fertility on their bosom. It is our duty to approach that inexhaustible mine of divine wisdom, which has furnished precious materials to the profoundest and most contemplative minds. We must learn to judge for ourselves of the meaning of those records that are written in languages difficult of acquisition. We should employ ourselves in handling weapons drawn from the armoury of heaven, with which we shall not be afraid to go forth and meet the opponent of revelation. The Bible, in our received version, is not the standard to which all controversies should be referred,—it is not entitled to that infallibility which belongs to the *Word of God*. No version, however excellent, however faithful, can be set up as the judge and arbiter of controversies. The sacred original itself must be studied. The text must be examined. The dross must be separated from the gold. The spurious must be severed from the genuine. Those adventitious excrescences, sometimes attached to the commonly received text, must be cut off with unsparing hand, as the additions of fallible and ignorant men. Those stones in the sacred edifice of divine revelation, inserted by men, with the like extraneous materials, must be detected and cast aside, as tending to mar the beauty and to obscure the goodly proportions of the divine architecture. Then shall we be enabled to gaze on the fair and wondrous temple of the Lord, and to fall down on our knees in lowly adoration before Him, whose loving-kindness and tender mercy are there so richly exhibited in the face of Christ Jesus.

The term *Biblical criticism* is employed in two senses. In the one, it embraces not only the restoration of the text of the Scriptures to its original state, but also the principles of interpretation. In the other, it is confined to the former of these two branches. We intend to use it in its strict and proper sense, as compris-

ing the sum and substance of that knowledge, which enables us to ascertain the genuineness of a disputed reading, to remove a spurious one from the text of the Holy Scriptures, and to obtain, as nearly as possible, the original words written by the inspired authors. Now, it is obvious that the operations of criticism must precede those of interpretation. The former is introductory to the latter, and serves as its basis. We should procure the most correct text of an author, before we try to ascertain his meaning. The true reading of a passage must be known previously to the determination of its true sense; and the nearer we come to the very words of the author the nearer will we be to the correct interpretation of them. It is necessary to attend to the distinct and separate operation of these two departments, viz., the *criticism* and the *interpretation* of the Bible, since they have been frequently mixed up together to the detriment of both. It is true, that the one is of little practical utility without the other, but this furnishes no reason why they should be confounded. None, however, can object to their connexion. It is right and proper that the one should be followed up by the other in close combination; but it is wrong to amalgamate them, so that the distinctness of their features may not be at once recognised. Where this is the case we need not expect clear and sound exposition, or look for that cautious and careful interpretation of Scripture, which recommends itself to the inquiring mind by its simplicity and power. Our present object, therefore, is not the *interpretation* of the Bible. We do not purpose, now, to discuss either *Hermeneutics* or *exegesis*. Neither the general principles of interpretation, nor their application to particular passages, lie at present before us. Sacred criticism must first be described and known, before we proceed to the higher province of interpretation. The former of these two divisions of Biblical literature has for its object the genuineness and purity of the original text. It judges whether an alteration has taken place in a passage, so that it is not in the same condition in which it came from the hand of its author. And when it discovers the changes that have been made, it labours to restore the primitive readings into whose place others have come. Thus the purity or corruption of the text is the legitimate object of Biblical criticism.

There are *three* sources from which criticism derives all its aid, both in ascertaining the changes that have been made in the original text, and in restoring the genuine readings excluded.

The *first* is a comparison of the various *MSS.* or written copies of the Sacred Scriptures.

The *second* source is the various *ancient translations* of them into foreign languages.

The *third* consists of the *writings* and *remains* of the *early ecclesiastical writers* who have quoted parts of Scripture.

To these a *fourth* has been added by some, viz., *critical conjecture*, whose authority we do not acknowledge.

The materials furnished by these *three sources* are ample and generally satisfactory; and criticism employs them all in the procurement of a text as correct as possible. It is self-evident that great skill is necessary in the use of such sources. It is not every tyro that is able to manage them with acuteness, discrimination, and dexterity. Difficult cases frequently arise from conflicting testimonies, in the adjustment of which the most patient investigation is required. General rules are easily mastered, and their application for the most part distinctly seen, and readily made, whilst particular cases occasionally occur to call forth the caution and mature judgment of the experienced critic. We do not profess, however, to make you good critics at once. Considerable training is requisite to the production of an accomplished Biblical scholar. A long course of instruction and of study must go before high attainments in this, as well as other departments of knowledge. You should particularly attend to the manner in which men of acknowledged eminence have proceeded, before you attempt criticism yourselves. It is a dangerous weapon in the hands of the unskilful and the ignorant; and we would not have you expose yourselves to the imputation of rashness, or the charge of presumption. Above all, seek to have a right spirit within, a spirit created by the Holy Ghost, and nurtured in its holy tendency by his hallowing influences. God has given you his word to be a lamp unto your feet and a light unto your path; pray that this lamp may shine into your souls to scatter their darkness and their ignorance, by imparting the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus.

In our next Lecture we shall proceed to the examination of the *three sources* of criticism that have been mentioned, beginning with *ancient MSS.*

LECTURE II.

ON ANCIENT MSS.

THE MSS. of the Hebrew Bible, and those of the Greek Testament, require to be spoken of separately. The dissimilarity of their character demands a distinct description. I do not think it desirable, however, in the present state of your studies, to give a copious description of *all* the MSS. that have been examined and collated. By enumerating the few particulars known respecting each of these ancient documents, I should be occupying your time to little purpose. However curious and interesting to the antiquarian such knowledge may be, it presents little to improve the understanding, or to enliven the affections. I cannot, in truth, conceive of a study more secular in its nature than that of MSS. ; neither can I distinguish it from the calculations of the mathematician, or the researches of the historian, by the greater sacredness, or the more improving influence of its character. I am far from undervaluing the labours of those who have travelled in search of MSS. of the Scriptures, and examined their readings with minute diligence to add to the rich stock of materials already existing. I would not depreciate the laudable toils of those enterprising individuals, who have spent years and months in this department, and bequeathed to posterity the fruit of those literary labours, which the world is slow to appreciate, because it is inadequate to perceive their utility. Far be it from me to throw any discredit on the illustrious men who have lived unseen, amid the dim and dusty documents of antiquity, straining their eyes, and wasting their health in reading letters and characters difficult to be deciphered. But I mean to say, that my time would be unprofitably spent in composing a description of *all* the MSS. that have been collated, and that yours would be no less uselessly occupied, in listening to the dry and tedious details which would thus be brought before you. Of what advantage it would be to you in after life I know not, unless you were designed for librarians, or critical editors of the Scriptures. In the great universities of England, it would be scarcely tolerated to proceed in the systematic and minute manner to which I refer ; for the future studies of those whom

we address should never be lost sight of by theological lecturers. And if it would be preposterous in England, where learning is more ardently and extensively pursued than in this country, to deliver to a theological class a full description of ancient MSS., it would be much more irrelevant in the place where I now am, and surrounded by such an audience, as that to which our prelections are usually delivered. I do not think it right, however, to omit this great division of the subject. This were the opposite extreme to that of which I have just been speaking. You must know something of the MSS. of the Scriptures, at the present day. Total ignorance of this topic will not be allowed in any well educated pastor. While you need not be Griesbachs or Kennicotts, you must not be found absolutely deficient in such knowledge. It is sufficient for our present purpose, to introduce you to a general acquaintance with the subject, by noticing the MSS. of the Hebrew Bible, and describing the most important ones of the Greek Testament. In the former case, we shall be more brief—in the latter, those written in uncial letters will alone be described. In this way you will be initiated into a knowledge of the MSS. of the Bible, and be prepared for entering more fully into the subject, should you be desirous to prosecute it in after life.

We proceed accordingly, in the *first place*, to speak of the MSS. of the Hebrew Bible. Jewish MSS. are divided into *synagogue rolls*, or *sacred copies*, and *private* or *common* ones, to each of which we shall now turn your attention. The *synagogue rolls* contain the Pentateuch, the sections of the prophets appointed to be read, or the book of Esther, which last is only used at the feast of Purim. The three are never put together, but written on separate rolls. They are in the Chaldee, or square Hebrew character, without vowels and accents, with the *extraordinary points*, (*puncta extraordinaria*), and the unusual figures of certain consonants. The parchment is prepared in a particular manner, by the hands of Jews only, and made from the hides of clean animals, which, when duly prepared, are joined together by thongs made of the same material. They are then divided into columns, the breadth of which must never exceed half their length. These columns, the number of which is prescribed, must be of equal length and breadth among themselves, and contain a certain number of lines, every line having no more than three words. The Talmud contains strict rules concerning the material, the colour, the ink, the letters, divisions, writing-instrument, &c., which are closely fol-

lowed, especially in the Pentateuch. The minuteness of these laws renders it a most irksome task for the *sopher*, or scribe, to write out a synagogue roll. The ink, for instance, must be made according to prescription, of soot, charcoal, and honey mixed up together into a kind of paste, and allowed to harden. Before being used, it must be dissolved in water with an infusion of galls. When about to transcribe the incommunicable name (Jehovah), the scribe must purify himself, and wash his whole body. Besides, his pen must not be dipped in the ink immediately before writing the sacred name, but the ink is to be taken into it when he transcribes the word that precedes, and even if a king should happen to address him when writing this appellation, he must take no notice of him till he have done. The revision of the Thora, as the synagogue roll is often called, must be undertaken within thirty days after its transcription, else it is unfit for use. Three mistakes on one side or skin are allowable, but should there be four, or if there be an error in the *open* and *close* sections of the law, or in the position of the songs in Exodus, 5th chapter, and in Deuteronomy 32d chapter, which are the only places written in poetical lines, then the whole copy is worthless. Whether mistakes in writing the sacred name render the entire roll unfit for the synagogue, is a matter of dispute among the Jews themselves. The great beauty of the penmanship in these synagogue copies has always been admired. They are taken from authentic exemplars, from which, the slightest deviation or correction is not allowed. The text exhibited by all the synagogue rolls is the same, proving that it was originally characterised by great uniformity. These MSS. seldom fall into the hands of Christians, since, as soon as they cease to be employed in the synagogue, they are either buried, or carefully laid aside, lest they should be profaned by coming into the possession of Gentiles.

Private MSS. are written partly in the Chaldee or square character, and partly in the Rabbinical. They are held in much less esteem than the synagogue rolls, and are wont to be denominated (*pesulim*) *profane*. Their form is entirely arbitrary, being left to the will of the transcribers, or of those for whom they were written. Hence they are in folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo. Of those written in the *square character*, the greater number are on parchment, some on cotton-paper, a few on the common kind. The ink is always black; but the points are generally written with ink of a different colour from that of the con-

sonants. Initial words and letters are frequently decorated with gold and silver colours. The prose parts are arranged in columns, and the poetic in parallel members; but some copies are without columns. The lines and margin are carefully and accurately separated. The columns are not always occupied by the Hebrew text alone; for a version is frequently added, which is either written in the text after the manner of verses, or in a column by itself, or in the margin in a smaller character. The number of lines is purely accidental. The upper and lower margin are filled with the great Masora, and sometimes with a Rabbinical commentary, as also with prayers, psalms, and the like. The external margin is for corrections, scholia, and variations, for notices of the *haphtaroth*, (sections from the prophets,) and *parashoth*, (sections of the law,) for the commentaries of the Rabbins, &c. The inner margin, or that between the columns, is occupied with the little Masora. The single books of the Old Testament are separated from each other by spaces, except the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which are written continuously; and the sections from the law and prophets are generally marked. In the MSS. of different countries, the arrangement of books is different. The copies of which we now speak have generally passed through several hands before they were finished. The *consonants* proceeded from the *sopher* or scribe. The writer of the vowel points, although often identical with the scribe, never made the consonants and vowels at the same time. The former were finished before any of the latter were appended. Other individuals were often employed in making MS. copies, such as the *writer of the Masora*, the person who added the *scholia*, the *reviser* of the whole, and the *freshener*, or he that retouched with ink passages that had faded. It is not to be supposed, however, that all of these were employed on each copy before it was completed. The same individual frequently united in himself several of the duties; and the *sopher* especially, not unfrequently appended the vowels, as well as the Masora. But because a separate person was sometimes occupied in each of these ways, we have mentioned the various employments separately. The *Keris* in the margin uniformly proceeded from the punctuator. Occasionally critical remarks are found in the margin, correcting the work of the *sopher* and punctuator as also the *scholia* or notes.

It has been made a subject of inquiry, whether these copies

were ever made by Christians ; and a diversity of opinion has prevailed among critics respecting the point. But the question must be answered in the negative, for there is no proof that Christians or monks copied any of them. They seem to have been made, in every case, either by Jews or proselytes.

With regard to the age of Hebrew MSS., it is not, generally speaking, easily ascertained. It is true that they contain subscriptions, giving an account of the time when they were written, and the name of the scribe or of the possessor. But these notices are not infrequently wanting, sometimes ambiguous, and occasionally incorrect. When copies have been dismembered, the subscriptions have been generally lost, and sometimes they have been concealed. Some have supposed that the character of the writing is useful for ascertaining the antiquity of the documents, but from it little assistance can be derived. Besides, the absence of the Masora, of the unusual letters, the vowel points, &c., are uncertain marks of age. Although the square character is employed in all the private MSS. of which we have spoken, yet there are varieties of it. In the synagogue rolls, the Jews themselves distinguish, 1. The *Tam* letter (probably so named from Tam, grandson of Rashi) with sharp corners and perpendicular coronulae, used among the German and Polish Jews ; 2d, The *Velshe* letter, more modern than the *Tam*, and rounder, with coronulae, used particularly in the *sacred* copies of the Spanish and Oriental Jews. Some late critics speak of a *Spanish* character regular and quadrangular ; of a *German* character sharp-cornered and leaning ; and of a *French* and *Italian* character, intermediate between both. No MS. at present known reaches beyond the 12th century. The oldest belongs to A. D. 1106 (No. 154. of Kennicott) ; its country is Spain. Only five or six belong to the twelfth century ; about fifty to the thirteenth ; to the fourteenth eighty ; and to the fifteenth one hundred and ten.

We come now to speak of private MSS., written in the *Rabbinical character*. These are much younger than the preceding, —none of them older than five hundred years. They are written on cotton or linen paper, in a cursive character, without vowel points or the Masora, and with many abbreviations. Hence it is obvious that they are of no critical value.

The MSS. found among the Chinese Jews are partly synagogue rolls, partly private copies, but the text does not differ from the Masoretic.

The Pentateuch of the Malabar Jews, brought from India to England by Dr. Buchanan, and described by Mr. Yeates, (Cambridge, 1812), resembles, on the whole, the usual synagogue rolls of the Jews, except that it is written on *red skins*. The text is the Masoretic, with a few slight variations.

Among the Jews are mentioned, as having been celebrated for their correctness, eight exemplars which exercised great influence on other copies. They are now lost, but extracts from them are still preserved. From the writings of the Jews, and the margin of some MSS. still extant, where they are referred to, we learn that they were highly prized for their singular accuracy, and that they formed the basis of subsequent copies. They are,

1. *The MS. of Hillel.*
2. *The Babylonian codex*, supposed to contain the recension made by Rabbi Ben Naphtali, president of the academy at Babylon.
3. *The MS. of Israel*, supposed to exhibit the recension of R. Ben Asher in Palestine, and to be the same as the *MS. of Jerusalem.*
4. *An Egyptian codex.*
5. *Sinai*, a MS. of the Pentateuch.
6. *The Pentateuch of Jericho.*
7. *Codex Sanbuki.*
8. *The book Taggin*, mentioned by R. Jacob Ben Chayim, in the preface to his edition of the Bible.

It is unnecessary to give a more particular description of any of the Hebrew MSS. The general remarks already made are sufficient for our present purpose.

We proceed to *the MSS. of the Greek Testament*. Those that have come down to our times are either on vellum or paper. The oldest material was the Egyptian papyrus; but even so early as the fourth century, the New Testament was written on the skins of animals. Those on thin vellum have been preferred to others. This writing material lasted till the eleventh century, when paper began to be used, made of cotton, wool, and linen. Till the tenth century they were usually written in *capital*, or, as they were called in the time of Jerome, *uncial* letters; but the cursive character then came into general use. The earliest MS. we meet with in the latter writing belongs to the year 890; but even subsequently to this date the old characters were sometimes continued, on account of their beautiful regularity. The most ancient copies have no divisions of words, being written in one continued series of lines. Accents, spirits and iota subscript, are also wanting. The whole of the New Testament is contained in very few MSS. Transcribers generally divided the entire into three parts,—the first, containing the four Gospels; the second, the Epistles and

Acts of the Apostles ; and the third, the Apocalypse of St. John. The greatest number of MSS. are those which have the four Gospels, because they were most frequently read in the churches. Those that contain the Epistles and Acts together, or both in addition to the Gospels, are also numerous. But such as have the book of *Revelation* alone are extremely few, because it was seldom read in public. It is also to be remarked, that MSS. are not often complete in all their parts. They have many chasms, to which it is necessary to attend, lest a copy be quoted as evidence for or against a particular reading where it is deficient. There are also several that contain merely detached portions of the New Testament, or sections appointed to be read on certain days in the churches. Hence they are called *αναγνώσεις* or *αναγνώσματα* in Greek, from *αναγνώσκω*, to read ; and in Latin, *lectionaria*. Such lectionaries have frequently at their commencement phrases similar to " Jesus spake," prefixed to the speeches of Christ ; *αδελφοι*, *brethren*, prefixed to letters addressed to churches ; and in those written to Timothy, *τίκνον Τιμόθεε*, *son Timothy*. These expressions, though merely introductory, and designed for the officiating minister, were often transferred from lectionaries into the MS. copies of entire books, where they have produced various readings, though evidently spurious. Critics do not attribute the same value to these codices as to those of whole books of the same age, because they are thought to have been more exposed to alteration. Those MSS. that contain lessons from the four gospels, are called *evangelistaria*, while such as were taken from the Acts and Epistles were denominated *απόστολος*, or more correctly *πραξαπόστολοι*. It is also to be observed, that several MSS. are accompanied with a Latin version, either interlined or in a parallel column. Such copies are called *codices bilingues* or *Graeco-Latini*, Greek-Latin MSS. The circumstance of their being furnished with a Latin translation throughout, gave rise to a charge formerly made against them, especially by Richard Simon. But it has been generally believed, since the time of Griesbach and Woide, that the accusation is unfounded, and that there is no more cause for stigmatising them as *Latinising* MSS. than those possessed of the Greek text alone.

After these general observations, I shall now advert to the most ancient and important MSS. of the Greek Testament, as also to a few of those which are usually quoted in the examination of some important controverted readings. The description

of them will be brief, but comprehending the essential facts connected with them. They are marked with the letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, &c. not according to their age or internal value. It is more probable that it was done at first arbitrarily, and that it came to be universally adopted as a convenient abbreviation.

1. The MS. marked A in Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz's critical editions, is called the *Alexandrine*. It was presented by Cyrillus Lucar, patriarch of Alexandria and afterwards of Constantinople, to Charles the First, A. D. 1628, and is now in the British Museum. The probability is that it was written at Alexandria, whence it was certainly brought, and to which it owes its name. As far as can be ascertained, it is to be referred to the fifth century. It contains the whole Bible; the Old Testament, or Septuagint version, in three folios, and the New in one. In the New Testament, it is defective from the commencement of Matthew's gospel to the 25th chapter and 6th verse, where it begins; and, with the exception of John vi. 50—viii. 52, and 2 Cor. iv. 13—xii. 2, it is perfect to the end. A *fac-simile* of the New Testament part was published at London 1786 in a folio volume, by Dr. Woide, to which he prefixed learned prolegomena. The Old Testament division has also been executed in the same manner, under the superintendence of Mr. Baber, in 4 vols. folio, London 1819, to which after the example of Woide, he prefixed a Latin preface.

2. Codex B. This is called the *Vatican MS.* (marked 1209,) because it belongs to the Vatican library at Rome. Like the preceding, it contains the Old and New Testaments, the former of which was printed from it in 1587 by order of Sixtus the Fifth; besides the portion wanting in the Old Testament it is defective in the Epistle to the Hebrews, from ix. 14 to the end, and in the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, Philemon, together with the Apocalypse. The latter part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Book of Revelation were supplied by a modern hand. It has been a subject of dispute among learned men, to which of these two celebrated MSS. the preference ought to be given, both in point of antiquity and internal excellence. It is now generally agreed that the latter is the more ancient, for Hug has proved that it belongs to the middle of the fourth century. They are dissimilar in their characteristic readings, both in the Old and New Testaments. In respect to goodness also, as well as anti-

quity, the Vatican probably deserves to be placed above the Alexandrine. Hence B may be fairly put at the head of all MSS. of the Greek Testament that have been yet collated, or are at present known. It has not, like the Alexandrian, been executed in *fac-simile*. But the want even of a *fac-simile* is now in a great measure compensated by the publication of a late work, entitled, "*The Book of the New Covenant of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*," by Granville Penn, Esq., in which, with a few trifling exceptions, specified in an accompanying volume of "Annotations," the text of this MS. is followed absolutely. Still the scholar desiderates a *fac-simile* of the Codex in its original form, though the collations of it by Birch and Woide are very valuable.

3. *C. codex Regius* or *Ephraemi*. It is written on vellum in folio, and is of high antiquity, probably of the 6th century, but certainly as old as the 7th. It is a *codex rescriptus*, that is, written over again, the more ancient writing having been erased to make room for the Greek works of Ephrem the Syrian. The original writing is not entirely obliterated, for whole sentences of it may be easily read. This appears to have been the Septuagint version, portions of which still remain. The chasms in the New Testament are numerous, and have been pointed out by Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz. It is to be regretted that this MS. is so much faded as in many places to be illegible, and that means have not been taken for preserving it in a permanent form, by *fac-simile*. It has many marginal notes, written apparently by the same hand as the text. It is called *Regius*, from the royal library at Paris, where it is preserved, and is now marked 9, formerly 1905. Probably it was written in Egypt, as several forms of words seem to indicate.

4. *D. codex Cantabrigiensis* or *Bezae*. This copy was presented in 1581 to the university of Cambridge, by Beza, who procured it from the monastery of St. Irenaeus at Lyons, where it had long lain neglected. It is a Greek and Latin MS. of the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, written on parchment in folio. Its age is probably the seventh century, though the majority of critics have assigned it to the fifth. It would appear from internal evidence to have been written by a Latin, for the nature of the accompanying version favours this opinion. Kipling, Hug, and Schulz think that it was written in Egypt, but Scholz has given some reasons for assigning it to the South of France that are not

destitute of weight. Credner assents to the latter opinion as far as the MS. is concerned, whilst he thinks that the text is of Jewish-Christian origin, and attributes it to Palestine. With regard to the quality of its readings much has been said, and great diversity of opinion has prevailed. The text is neither so corrupt as Matthaei would induce us to believe, nor so excellent as others would persuade us to think. The late Bishop Middleton published a dissertation on this MS. at the end of his work on the *Greek article*, in which he exhibits an undue tendency to depreciate it as of little critical value. In this he was probably influenced by Matthaei, whose edition of the Greek Testament he admired, and lauded far more than its merits justified. A splendid fac-simile of this codex was published by Dr. Kipling at Cambridge, 1793, 2 volumes folio. On the whole, we are disposed to place considerable value on the readings of this copy, although it has been corrected by different hands. Instead of the Greek having been accommodated to the Latin, the Latin has often been forcibly adapted to the Greek, which gives it an insipid character.

5. *D. codex Claromontanus* or the Clermont MS., said to have been procured by Beza from Clermont in France. It is a Greek-Latin copy of Paul's Epistles, and cannot be confounded with the preceding, though marked with the same letter of the alphabet, since they contain different portions of the New Testament. Dr. Mill contended that this was the second part of the *codex Cantabrigiensis*, but the contrary was satisfactorily proved by Wetstein. It is at present in the royal library at Paris, *entire*, for certain sheets cut out of it by some literary thief in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and sold in England, were sent back by Lord Oxford in 1729. The beginning of the Epistle to the Romans, is wanting. 1 Cor. xiv. 13—22, and the Epistle to the Hebrews have been supplied by other hands. The ancient text has several corrections by subsequent individuals. It may be referred to the 7th or 8th century.

Such are the principal MSS. of the Greek Testament, being the most ancient and the most highly valued. The rest of those in uncial characters shall be more briefly noticed.

6. *E. or codex Basileensis*, the Basil MS. preserved in the library of that place. It contains the gospels, is defective in several places, and supplied in others by a later hand. It belongs to the 9th century, or according to Hug to the 8th.

7. E. *Laudianus* 3. so called, because presented by Archbp. Laud to the University of Oxford. It belongs to the Bodleian Library. This MS. appears to have been written in Sardinia, in the seventh or eighth century. It contains the Acts of the Apostles, with a Latin version, and is defective from Chap. xxvi. 29, to xxviii. 26. The text belongs to the Alexandrine recension. In the year 1715 it was printed by Thomas Hearne, at Oxford.

8. E. *codex Sangermanensis* a MS. of Paul's Epistles, so called from having formerly belonged to the abbey of St. Germain in Paris. It is merely a transcript of the Clermont, and may be referred to the eleventh century. It has accents and marks of aspiration a primâ manu, and has been assigned by some to the 7th century, which, however, is too high a date.

9. F. *codex Boreeli*, so called from having formerly belonged to John Boreel, Dutch ambassador at the court of London in the time of James Ist. It contains the four gospels with several large chasms. It is not known where it is at present, and the text belongs to the *Constantinopolitan family*.

10. F. *Coislinianus*, so called from Coislin, Bishop of Metz, to whom a number of MSS. were bequeathed by the celebrated Chancellor Segurier, who died in 1672. This MS. contains a part of the Old Testament, and does not, properly speaking, belong to the New, because it has merely a single passage of the latter, viz., Acts ix. 24, 25, written in the margin. It belongs to the seventh century.

11. F. *codex Augiensis*, a Graeco-Latin MS. of St. Paul's Epistles, so called from *Augia major* at Reichenau, a benedictine monastery in Germany. It is now deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is without accents, and has been attributed to the 10th century. The text belongs to the *Alexandrine family*.

12. G. or *codex Harleianus*, (No. 5684), formerly in the possession of Erasmus Seidelius, who brought it from the East, and now preserved in the British Museum. It contains the gospels with many chasms. Its text generally agrees with the Constantinopolitan family, and it is thought to belong to the 11th century.

13. G. *codex Boernerianus*, so called, from having belonged to Prof. Boerner of Leipsic. It contains the Epistles of Paul, with an old interlinear Latin version in use before the time of Jerome. The Greek characters are uncial but peculiar. Bishop Marsh says that it appears to have been written in an age when the transition from the uncial to the small character was being made.

The transcriber seems to have been exceedingly ignorant and careless. It has been referred by Scholz to the 9th century, and is supposed by him to have been written in Britain, as it has some Anglo-Saxon characters. The text was certainly copied from an Alexandrine exemplar. This codex is now in the Electoral library at Dresden.

14. H. or *Wolffi B.*, formerly belonged to Seidel, who brought it from the East. It contains the four gospels with several chasms. It has been referred to the eleventh century. The text follows the Constantinopolitan family, though it has many readings characteristic of the Alexandrine recension.

15. H. (Paul. 179), a MS. containing the Acts of the Apostles, written in the ninth century. In two places where it is mutilated, the chasms have been filled up by later hands. The text belongs to the Constantinopolitan family. It was first collated by Scholz.

16. H *Coislilianus*, a MS. brought from Mount Athos. It contains fragments of Paul's Epistles, which are specified by Scholz, by whom it is referred to the seventh century. Its text belongs to the Alexandrine recension.

17. I. or *codex Cottonianus*, that is, in the Cotton library, (marked C. 15.) This MS. has but four fragments of the gospels by Matthew and John. It is written on Egyptian paper of a purple colour, and is supposed to belong to the seventh or eighth century.

18. J. (Act. G), a MS. belonging to the Augustine monks at Rome. It has the Acts of the Apostles from the 8th chap. 11 v. (in which it is marked G) and the Epistles of Paul, but it is mutilated at the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The text agrees with the Constantinopolitan family.

19. K. *codex Cyprius* or *Colbertinus*, (5149), now in the Royal library at Paris, (marked 63.) It was brought from the island of Cyprus, in 1637. It contains the gospels, and has been reckoned as old as the ninth century. Considerable value has been justly attached to the readings of this ancient codex.

20. L. a MS. in the royal library at Paris, (now marked 62, formerly 2861), containing the gospels, with several chasms. It belongs to the ninth century, and agrees in its readings with the Alexandrine recension. The orthography shews that it was written in Egypt. In the opinion of Michaelis, it is one of our most valuable MSS., though it abounds in orthographical errors, and ridiculous mistakes

21. M. or *Regius* 48, formerly 2243, a MS. formerly belonging to the Abbé des Camps. It contains the four gospels, with accents and interpunction, and belongs to the tenth century. The text generally exhibits the Alexandrine family, though it sometimes agrees with the Constantinopolitan.

22. N. *codex Vindobonensis* 2, that is, marked 2 in the Imperial library at Vienna. In addition to fragments of the book of Genesis, it contains only Luke xxiv. 13—21, and 39—49. It has been assigned to the seventh century.

23. O. A fragment of a larger codex, containing no more than Luke xviii. called *codex Bandurii*, because given to Montfaucon by Anselmo Banduri.

24. P. or *codex Guelpherbytanus A*. This is a *codex rescriptus* belonging to the sixth century, containing fragments of the gospels.

25. Q. *Guelpherbytanus B*. This is also a *codex rescriptus*, containing fragments of Luke and John, and belonging to the sixth century.

26. R. a Tübingen fragment, consisting of a single quarto leaf of vellum, written on both sides, having John's gospel i. 38—50. It has been assigned to the seventh century.

27. S. *Codex Vaticanus* 354, written in the year 949, and containing the gospels. Its text adheres to the Byzantine family.

28. T. *Borgiae* 1, so called, because it was sent to Stephen Borgia, secretary to the society *de propaganda fide*. It is merely a fragment of 13 leaves, with portions of John's gospel, supposed to be as old as the fifth century.

29. U. a MS. belonging to St. Mark's library at Venice, containing the gospels, and belonging to the tenth century. It follows the Constantinopolitan recension.

30. V. a codex of the four gospels, in the library at Moscow. The first part has been referred to the eighth century, but from John vii. 39, it is written in cursive letters, and belongs to the thirteenth. Scholz says that it exhibits the Constantinopolitan recension.

31. W. a fragment in the royal library at Paris, consisting of two leaves only, and containing parts of Luke's gospel. Scholz refers it to the eighth century, and the text to the Alexandrine family.

32. X. a MS. in the public library at Landshut. It has the gospels with numerous chasms, and is referred to the tenth century. The text adheres to the Alexandrine family.

33. Y. a codex in the library of Cardinal Barberini, at Rome.

It is a mere fragment, containing a small part of John's gospel, supposed to have been written in the ninth century. The text is the Alexandrine.

34. Z. a *codex rescriptus* in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It contains the gospel of Matthew, with many chasms, according to the Alexandrine recension. Dr. Barret published a fac-simile of it, A.D. 1801. The MS. is thought to belong to the sixth century.

35. Γ, a codex in the Vatican library, containing fragments of St. Matthew's gospel. The text agrees with the Alexandrine family, and the MS. is said to belong to the seventh century.

36. Δ, a codex in the library at St. Gallen, containing the gospels, with an interlinear Latin version. It is thought to have been written in the ninth century, and the text belongs to the Alexandrine recension.

These are all the MSS. of any part of the Greek Testament, in uncial letters, that have been yet examined. Our knowledge of some of them is extremely limited, for they have not been carefully collated. Many of them indeed are mere fragments, scarcely deserving of mention, unless from their antiquity.

The later editors of the Scriptures have been most successful in this department. In exploring libraries in different and distant countries, they have employed the greatest diligence and care. Still much remains to be done. Though the places where MSS. were written, their age, goodness, and value, have been determined with considerable accuracy, yet future labourers will doubtless correct and extend the observations of their predecessors. In the mean time, we must rely on the judgment of those best conversant with these documents, and safely trust to it as sufficiently accurate. While they have cheerfully engaged in undertakings liable to deter ordinary men, by their magnitude and expense, we may be assured that they have not rashly proceeded, or willingly erred. We are put in possession of materials, from which we are able of ourselves to draw conclusions relative to MSS., with tolerable accuracy. This we owe to the indefatigable perseverance of such collators.

There are three other MSS. deserving of mention, though not written in uncial characters, from their connection with the much disputed passage, 1 John v. 7, which they are usually quoted as containing. They are written in *cursive letters*, a circumstance that determines them not to be older than the tenth century.

The first of these is the *codex Montfortianus* or *Montfortii*, sometimes called *Dublinensis*. This MS. is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, to which it was presented by Archbishop Usher. Hence it is denominated *Dublinensis*, and from its having belonged to Dr. Montfort, a Cambridge divine, in the seventeenth century, *Montfortianus*. It contains the whole of the New Testament, and is quoted by Erasmus, under the name of *codex Britannicus*, who, on its authority alone, inserted the disputed passage in his third edition of the Greek Testament, after he had omitted it in his first and second. In a controversy with Stunica he had promised to insert it, if any Greek MS. containing it should be discovered. Hence, the suspicion arose that it was written for this very purpose, a suspicion entertained by Professor Porson, and which the circumstances attending its first appearance were sufficient to create. The probability, however, is against its forgery, though the MS. is certainly singular in its character. Dr. A. Clarke thinks it "the work of an unknown bold critic, who formed a text from one or more MSS. in conjunction with the Vulgate, and was by no means sparing of his own conjectural emendations, for it contains many readings which exist in no MS. yet discovered." It is written on paper in duodecimo size, and could not have been made earlier than the fifteenth century. Dr. A. Clarke assigns it to the thirteenth, but in this he was mistaken. It is divided according to the Latin arrangement, into chapters, introduced by Cardinal Hugo in the thirteenth century. Now this is not found in any Greek MS. written before the fifteenth century, when the Greeks fled into the west of Europe, after the taking of Constantinople. It follows the Vulgate very closely, not only in the insertion of the much disputed verse, but also in other passages of a remarkable character. In the sixth verse of the same chapter it has with the Vulgate *Χριστός (Χριστός ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια)* an evident translation of *Christus est veritas*, though all other Greek MSS. have *πνεῦμα*. In verse 7, *πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, by the omission of the article, correspond in every respect to *pater, filius, et spiritus sanctus*, and *οἱ* seems to have originated from *hi*. In the eighth verse, it omits the final clause, which is found in all other Greek MSS., and which was not omitted, even in the Latin, before the thirteenth century. In this it servilely copies the Vulgate which wants the clause, because the Lateran council held in 1215, rejected it through polemical motives.

The next of the MSS. referred to is the *codex Ravianus, Ravii*, or *Berolinensis*, so called because it was brought from the East by Professor Rave of Upsal, and afterwards deposited in Berlin. This codex contains the whole of the New Testament, and has 1 John v. 7. It is, however, generally supposed to be a forgery, copied, in the greater part, from the Greek text in the Complutensian Polyglott, and the third edition of Stephens. It has even their errors of the press, from which we naturally infer that the transcriber had a very limited knowledge of Greek. This MS. could not have been one of those used by the Complutensian editors, because Stunica, with whom Erasmus had a controversy, would have appealed to it when challenged by his opponent to produce a Greek MS. containing 1 John v. 7, had he known of its existence. It was, therefore, written in the 16th century, and ought never to be quoted in support of the disputed passage, as it has *no critical existence*.

The *codex Ottobonianus*, (298), preserved in the Vatican, is also mentioned in the controversy concerning 1 John v. 7. This MS. contains the Acts and Epistles, with a Latin version. Scholz ascribes it to the 15th century. It has no critical value, because it has been altered in many places to correspond with the Vulgate. In it the disputed place is found in a different form from the common reading. Instead of *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* it has *ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* from *heaven*, and instead of *ἐν τῇ γῆ*, *ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς* from *the earth*.

In the preceding account of the MSS. of the Greek Testament, I have adopted the division into *uncial* and *cursive*, or those written in *capital* and *small* letters. The modern critics of Germany, however, arrange them thus; 1st, Such as preceded the practice of *stichometry*, a mode of dividing the text which shall be explained afterwards. 2d. The *stichometrical*. 3d, Such as were written after *stichometry* had become extinct. This is the division of Hug and De Wette in their introductions to the New Testament.

In examining MSS., and comparing their characteristic readings, it is no easy matter to ascertain, in every case, the true reading. So many circumstances are to be taken into account, and so many cautions to be observed, that the task often becomes tedious because of the uncertainty that prevails. We cannot therefore be sufficiently grateful for the advantages we enjoy in having the readings of so many MSS. put within our reach by those indefatigable men who have directed their attention to

the subject, repulsive as is its aspect. The comparison of MS. copies is useful, in the first instance, in pointing out the various readings that have taken place in the original text. By their aid it is much easier to detect interpolated passages than to restore the true reading. When they all agree, we cannot suppose that there has been any alteration or corruption; but when their exhibition of the same passage is observed to differ, we naturally infer that some change has been made. Wherever, therefore, an interpolation or omission has occurred in the authentic text, a collation of MSS. will at once exhibit the fact. If many of them differ in their readings of a passage, the genuine text must have been altered in one or more; but, when they all harmonize, or, in other words, contain no diversity, we are not justified in suspecting the incorruptness of the place. In correcting passages rightly thought to have been altered either by interpolation or omission, MSS. are to be used with much judgment and caution. In this respect they are not so useful as we might be apt to suppose. The uncertainty that often attaches to their age contributes to increase this deficiency of utility. It has been properly laid down that the reading of an older MS. is preferable to that of a more modern one, unless other circumstances outweigh its antiquity. The nearer a document approaches the age of the original, it is natural to infer that it has been subject to fewer alterations. Frequency of transcription has operated less in deteriorating its text than in those of a later date. The fewer hands it has passed through, the fewer changes we suppose it to have undergone. This reasoning, however, presupposes that we are acquainted with the relative ages of certain MSS. We assume an acquaintance with their dates, from which we reason as though it were liable to no well-founded objection. It is true that there are circumstances by means of which we may usually determine the age of a MS. with tolerable accuracy. We may not, indeed, in all cases, fix upon the precise century, but we may approximate it. The mode of writing, the abbreviations, and the divisions adopted, serve to indicate the age of the MS. Even these things, however, are not always sufficient to enable us to decide with certainty. They are sometimes liable to ambiguity. In fixing upon the age of the document, the most accurate may be occasionally deceived, though they follow testimony, and neglect not internal marks. The form of the letters, the division of words, the nature of the lines, the presence or ab-

sence of accents, are indeed valuable data for determining the date; but copyists were not always observant of the mode of writing that prevailed in their day. Often, to enhance the value of their MSS., they imitated the old writing, and thus gave a sort of fac-simile rather than a copy of the document before them. Thus the *form of the letters* is not always a sure criterion by which to judge of the age of a transcript. The most ancient MS. at present known cannot be placed higher than the fourth century. It is, therefore, possible that in the time intervening between the autographs and its production, numerous alterations may have taken place, either from the unintentional errors of copyists or from design. It is not probable that a MS. could be transmitted through several centuries without undergoing some change. That the age alone of a MS. is not sufficient, in all cases, to warrant the genuineness of its readings, will be manifest from the following considerations. The copyist may have been guilty of inattention and negligence in the discharge of his duty. We must, therefore, endeavour to ascertain the fact, whether a document of this kind have been written carelessly, or whether the transcriber was actuated by a laudable zeal to render his transcript as accurate as possible. In proportion to the care or negligence exhibited, will the authority of the MS. be greater or less. Thus after we have ascertained the antiquity of a MS. with as much certainty as possible, our business is next to discover whether there be any circumstances tending materially to lessen the authority which it derives from age. And here it will be necessary to examine the degree of accuracy with which it was written. But there is an exception to the rule that the authority of a MS. is in proportion to its antiquity, viz. a document which has been certainly copied from one very ancient will have greater authority than an earlier, which has been taken from another of no great antiquity. Thus a MS. of the eighth century may have been directly copied from one of the fifth, and consequently the former will be entitled to greater estimation than one belonging to the 7th century, transcribed from one of the sixth. The MS. of the fifth century, from which that of the eighth was derived, may have lain undiscovered till the time when it was brought forth from its obscurity and copied. In such a case the MS. of the eighth century may be regarded as of higher antiquity than our oldest of the sixth, because it was made immediately from a more ancient and valuable exemplar. In esti-

mating the value of a MS. it is not unusual to refer to the country where it was written, as influencing our judgment of its authority. But the country is not always easily discovered. In the case of the New Testament copies, the opinions of critics with regard to some of them are very dissimilar, and as to what weight ought to be attached to country they are no less divided. Griesbach and others, prefer the *African, ceteris paribus*, while Scholz, Lachmann, Rink, &c. favour the *Asiatic*. Many arguments of inconsiderable force have been adduced on both sides, with some plausibility. With respect to Hebrew MSS., it is admitted by all, that the Spanish are the best. The Italian again are superior in goodness to the German. In connection with this point, it is to be observed that the acquaintance of a copyist with the language of his MS. is not always to be regarded as an excellence in his transcript. His knowledge of the language would naturally lead him to alter, in some places, with the design of improving. This is a point, indeed, that cannot always be ascertained, and which, therefore, throws some uncertainty over passages found in MSS. of a particular kind. But those documents have very great authority in favour of readings which could not have been introduced without a knowledge of the language. If there be such orthographical mistakes in a copy as shew that the transcriber was ignorant of the language of his MS., we have a strong presumption in the circumstance for the truth of readings which require and presuppose a knowledge of the language in the person introducing them into the text.

The authority of such codices as have been called *critici* is not so great as that of others bearing the same age. Having been compiled from several MSS., instead of being faithful transcripts of single copies, they cannot be reckoned of equal value with those that owe their existence to one parent. Such eclectic copies may contain ancient and good readings, but afford no criterion by which we might judge of the state or condition of the individual MSS. from which they have been taken, because *no one source* has been uniformly followed.

The genuineness of a reading, then, is not determined by the mere antiquity of a MS. in which it is found. Its antiquity is doubtless valuable, as affording a presumption in favour of its purity; but there are modifying circumstances to be attended to, which may lessen the authority that would otherwise belong to naked antiquity. In determining the authenticity of a reading,

we must likewise take into account the number of the copies in which it is contained. This is an obvious and natural canon. The reading of the greater number of MSS. is preferable to that of a less number. The rule, however, requires limitation. The mere majority of MSS. is not a safe and certain criterion of the correctness of a reading. Several may have been copied from one and the same codex; and thus they are all to be regarded as *one*, and entitled to no more than *one voice*. They only prove that the reading which all of them present was found in the particular MS. from which they were copied. Hence criticism has laid down the rule, that the majority of MSS. which have arisen from different independent sources, or, in other words, a majority of those belonging to different recensions, can alone decide in favour of a disputed reading. This subject is confessedly one of great difficulty, and it may be doubted whether it be as yet firmly settled. It is not easy in some cases to determine the recension to which a codex belongs. The most eminent scholars differ on this difficult topic, some proposing four different families of MSS., some three, others two. It is also to be noted that the same MS. may incline to a different family in different parts,—to one recension, for instance, in the Gospels, and to another in the Epistles; while in some the characteristic readings of two or three recensions are commingled, rendering it difficult to decide which family preponderates, or to which the text of the codex is to be assigned. When any of these things happens, it will be necessary to inquire whether the MS. have received alterations from later hands, or whether several ancient documents may not have contributed to its formation. This habitual circumspection may be extended to all MSS.; for it has not unfrequently happened that recent hands have supplied defects in the original copy, or retouched faded letters, giving them perhaps a different shape from that which they had at first. We must therefore look in all cases whether a codex have been altered in its progress from remote times, or if marginal glosses have been taken into the text; and if it be ascertained that such liberties have been taken with it, we must mark with precision the particular passages supplied or altered by later hands. As long as the editor of a critical edition of the Greek Testament does not fully establish the truth of that system of recensions by which he estimates the value of MSS., so long will his judgment relative to particular readings be liable to doubt. These remarks respecting *recensions* do not apply to the Hebrew

codices, all of which belong to one and the same family. It is true that some have distinguished them into *Masoretic* and *Antemasoretic*, but the existence of the latter is a mere fiction. One great family alone can be distinctly traced, viz. the *Masoretic*, to which all that have been yet collated may be referred.

These general observations may serve to show that various circumstances must be taken into account by such as examine MSS. with a view to the revision of the sacred text. They may enable us to perceive that the means afforded by codices of restoring the purity of the originals are not so definite or valuable as we wish; and that other helps are required to aid us in ascertaining the *ipsissima verba* of the inspired writers. In detecting corruptions and alterations they are of vast importance and utility; but in removing alterations that have been introduced into the sacred writings, and in replacing the true readings, they do not afford us all the assistance we need. In the one part of criticism they are so ample as to leave little difficulty—in the other they do not satisfy the expectation. Still it is unquestionable that they constitute the most valuable and important source of criticism—the most credible witness for the express words of the original writers. To them therefore must all editors of the Scriptures principally look, as the basis of that text which they would designate by the name of *the Word of God*.

I

ΕΙΟΥΝΕΓΩΡΝΙΨΑ
ΥΜΩΝΤΟΥΣΠΟΔΑΣΟΚ
ΚΑΙΟΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ
ΜΙΣΘΟΣΟΥΛΟΓΙΖΕΤΑΙ
ΚΑΤΑΧΑΡΙΝΑΛΛΑΚΑΤΑ
ΟΦΕΙΛΗΜΑ

Jo. 13. 14. 1st Clause.

Rom. 4. 4

E Cod. Vat. n. 1209.

II

ΠΕΡΙΔΕΤΗΣΗΜΕ
ΡΑΣΕΚΕΙΝΗΣΩΡΑΣΟΥΔΕΙΟΙΔΕ
ΟΥΔΕΟΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΙΟΙΕΝΟΥΝΩΟΥΔΕ
ΟΥΣΕΙΜΗΟΤΗΡ

Mark. xiii. 32. Cod. Alex.

III

ΠΕΡΙΔΕΤΗΣΗΜΕΡΑΣΕΚΕΙΝΗΣ
ΚΑΙΤΗΣΩΡΑΣΟΥΔΕΙΟΙΔΕΝ
ΟΥΔΕΟΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΙΕΝΤΩΟΥΡΑΝΩ
ΟΥΔΕΟΥΙΟΣΕΙΜΗΟΤΑΤΗΡ

Mark. xiii. 32. Cod. Beza.

LECTURE III.

ANCIENT VERSIONS.

NEXT to MSS. ancient versions are usually regarded as a source of obtaining a pure text. That such translations of the Scriptures are of great importance, not only in ascertaining the genuine reading, but also the right interpretation, is unquestionably true. At present we are merely concerned with them as sources of information with regard to the original text of the Bible. Many of them are of high antiquity, being derived from very ancient MSS., and made in so literal a style, that they furnish valuable data for discovering the state of the text at the time they were written. They reach to a more remote period than any codices that have come down to us, and are therefore justly regarded as important witnesses to the early condition of the original text. Even those which do not claim much value from their comparatively recent date, are of advantage in showing the substantially uncorrupted sources from which they were made. Rich and invaluable is the treasure of testimony which they bear to the general integrity of the Bible. It is true that they have not escaped the deteriorations of time, or the unavoidable accidents that befall ancient memorials in their transmission through many centuries, but the judgment, learning, and research of Christians, have been elicited in restoring them to their original state. They present a wide field of industry to the laborious, on which they may be employed as a preparative to the great work of educing the genuine readings of the Bible. They increase the critical apparatus which our own age has enriched with valuable contributions. In the present state of our limited literature, we are not prepared, perhaps, to pronounce with sufficient confidence on the comparative value of these versions. When the apparatus shall be completed, by the accumulating materials it receives from various and independent investigators, and when the whole may be surveyed together by the eye of the higher criticism, then shall the scholar be better able to decide on the merit of the readings furnished by ancient translations, and their preference to other sources of emendation. Posterity may yet discover in this department of

sacred literature, *special rules* by which they shall at once form a judgment in reference to the adoption or rejection of the readings supplied by the various versions. At present we are scarcely arrived at that era in which we may expect to reap the full advantage of the laborious and lengthened investigations of individual versions undertaken by many. It would be premature to pronounce on the authority and value of their characteristic readings, until the science of sacred criticism shall have farther advanced. The time, however, is not remote when such a decision may be uttered without presumption or rashness. Ancient translations shall then be brought into the respective positions they ought to occupy, and the peculiar readings of each shall be set by the side of those of its companions, whether junior or more ancient, to be calmly weighed in the balances of an enlightened judgment. Meantime a more minute inspection of each version is required for hastening forward the grand result of so many and long-continued efforts. They must be known and described, not merely as furnishing an aggregate collection of valuable readings—not only must an opinion be passed on the general merits of each translation as a whole, but the eye must be brought to survey the different parts and proportions of individual versions with their respective readings. This has not yet been done in the majority of such as have been described. They still desiderate the hand of patient and erudite research. Nor is the task to be accomplished by a single man. However varied may be the intellectual acquirements of an individual—however favourable his opportunities—however free his access to rare and valuable libraries—however extensive may be his own collection—however lengthened and persevering his biblical travels—still the grasp of the mind is too narrow, and human life too short, to expect so vast a work from the most indefatigable of the sons of men. Constituted, too, as man is, such a thing were by no means desirable. Division of labour ensures the greatest success.

Having said thus much of ancient versions generally, it remains for me to advert, in a few words, to the manner in which I propose to treat of them. I deem it necessary to mention this, that I may not lie under the imputation of injudiciousness in the mode of discussing this department of criticism. There are two extremes into which we may run—that of great superficiality or of profound investigation. The *status* of those who enter the theological class in this seminary would seem to recommend the

former. But I have learned enough of the evils resulting from such procedure, either to approve of it in others, or to adopt it myself. It is better to set before you a tolerably extensive detail, that you may be stimulated to prosecute the subject for yourselves. It is improbable that much good could be effected by presenting you with a meagre view. It is apt to beget a feeling of contentment with small things, and to induce habits of superficial reading, productive of serious detriment to the studious mind. There is indeed something to recommend a brief survey of the present division, as well as of all others that lie before us, in the native indolence of the human mind, and its proneness to dislike whatever does not pass before it arrayed in the garb of fiction or the familiar costume of popular discourse. But something higher is to be desired by him who would investigate *proprio Marte* the literature of the Bible. And though I may possibly fatigue the perfunctory student by an enumeration to which he is unaccustomed even by name, and by the discussion of Biblical subjects of unwonted aspect, yet it is better to subject myself to the imputation of over-rating the attainments, and exceeding the wants of such as hear me, by bringing systematically before them the present part of our prelections. Those accustomed to low attainments are habitually inimical to the execution of elevated purposes. The injury done to their minds, however gradually and insensibly it may be produced, will be quite perceptible after a season. If we would aspire to knowledge truly valuable—if we would rise to eminence and outstrip our fellows—we must look higher and farther than the ordinary routine of education. Should a few be encouraged and excited to enter upon the examination of the subjects I propose to discuss, the time and labour expended in giving a more extended survey than the sources to which they have access can afford, will not be thrown away. We would willingly anticipate the desires of the most eager, leading them into regions where there is sufficient scope for literary curiosity, pious admiration, and sincere gratitude to the Father of gifts. We are encouraged, too, by other considerations, to pursue the proposed plan. In some of the English universities a wider circuit is taken. And though Dissenters, generally speaking, cannot vie with members of the Establishment of England in learning or theological acquirements, yet, looking at the theological education afforded by some seminaries belonging to other denominations, it appears to be in advance of us. All classes of

Christians professing to employ learning as a handmaid to the successful preaching of the gospel, afford a precedent for the systematic discussion of sacred topics. There is therefore no imprudence or impropriety in following their footsteps. There is nothing in our position as a church to deter us from imitating the laudable proceedings of other religious denominations. Whatever improvements in the mode of training up candidates for the ministry they make, should be considered worthy of our adoption. We should be stimulated to commence with them a generous rivalry in all that is good, honourable, and useful.

In describing ancient versions of the Scriptures, they might be divided in various ways. They might be distinguished according to their country, their language, and their internal character. But all of these divisions are attended with considerable difficulty, and incapable of adoption by such as love simplicity of plan. It is most convenient to divide them according to their *sources*, into *immediate* and *mediate*. The *former* were made directly from the originals of the Scriptures,—the *latter* owe their origin to other translations. To the former class belong, 1. The Seventy interpreters. 2. Aquila. 3. Symmachus. 4. Theodotion in part. 5, 6, 7. The three anonymous Greek versions, or, in other words, the 5th, 6th, and 7th *ἔκδοσις*. 8. The Greek translation in St. Mark's library at Venice. 9. Το Σαμαρειτικόν, the Samaritan in part. 10. The Samaritan translation of the Pentateuch. 11. The several Chaldee paraphrases. 12. The Peshito. 13. Some books of the Arabic in the Polyglotts. 14. The Arabic that follows the Samaritan Pentateuch. 15. The Arabic of Erpenius on the Five Books of Moses. 16. A modern Arabic translation by Saadias Ben Levi Asnekoth. 17. A Hebrew version of the Chaldee sections in Daniel and Ezra. 18. The Gothic version in New Testament. 19. Georgian New Testament. 20. Slavonian New Testament. 21. Arabic of Erpenius on the Gospels. 22. An Arabic version of Acts of Apostles, Pauline Epistles, and Apocalypse, printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts. 23. Armenian New Testament. 24. Memphitic in the New Testament. 25. Thebaic New Testament. 26. Æthiopic New Testament. 27. Palestino-Syriac. 28. Philoxenian. 29. A Persian translation of the Pentateuch, printed in the sixth volume of the London Polyglott.

The *mediate* versions have been made partly from the Septuagint, partly the Syriac Peshito, partly the Coptic version,

partly Jerome's own Latin translation, and partly the Vulgate. The Seventy are the basis of the following: 1. Theodotion in part. 2. The Arabic translation printed in the Polyglotts in most of the books. 3. An unprinted Arabic version of the Pentateuch in the Medicean library. 4. The Æthiopic in the Old Testament. 5. Thebaic in the Old Testament. 6. The Armenian in the Old Testament. 7. Memphitic in the Old Testament. 8. Georgian in the Old Testament. 9. Gothic in the Old Testament. 10. The *Vetus Itala* and Jerome's revision of it. 11. The Anglo-Saxon through the Antehieronymian. 12. Numerous Syrian versions, among which are the following: (*a*) The Hexaplaric-Syrian, made by Paul Bishop of Tella (A. D. 616); (*b*) the *versio figurata* or *figurative version*; (*c*) that of Mar Abba; (*d*) perhaps also the Philoxenian; (*e*) that of Jacob of Edessa; (*f*) that of Thomas of Heraclea; (*g*) that of Simeon, Abbot of the monastery of St. Licinius; (*h*) the Karkaphensian version. From the Syrian Peshito are derived, 1. The Arabic version of the Psalms, printed in a monastery on Mount Lebanon, A. D. 1610. 2. The Arabic translation of several books printed in the Polyglotts. 3. An Arabic Psalter in the British museum. 4. The Pentateuch by Abulfaradsh Abdallah Ben Attayeb. 5. The Chaldee version of Solomon's Proverbs. 6. The Peshito in the New Testament is the mother of the Arabic translation of the Acts, Pauline Epistles, James, 1st Peter, 1st John, in the Arabic New Testament, published by Erpenius; and, 7. Of the Persian translation of the Gospels in the London Polyglott:—all these are daughters of the Syrian Peshito. From the Coptic several translations of the Bible were made into Arabic, which are known only by fragments. The Vulgate has been several times translated into the Arabic and Persian languages; and the Anglo-Saxon in the Old Testament is derived from it. 'Ο Συρος (the Syrian) seems to have been made out of Jerome's Latin translation of the Hebrew text.

To the most important of these versions we propose to direct your attention, omitting the second class altogether.

ON THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION.—The oldest version of any part of the Scriptures in any language, is the Greek translation of the Old Testament, usually called the *Septuagint*, either from the supposed circumstance of its having been approved by the Jewish Sanhedrim consisting of seventy-two persons, or from the Jewish

account of seventy-two individuals having been employed in making it. Among all the translations of the Old Testament, this has the first claim on our attention, not only on account of its great antiquity, but from its very general reception among Jews and Christians. It is also supposed to be oftener quoted in the New Testament than the original Hebrew, showing that it was in general use in the synagogues and churches, and regarded, on the whole, as a faithful translation. Its history is veiled in obscurity. Few historical notices of its origin are extant, and even such as have come down to us are suspected as spurious. In the absence of sure data, writers have had recourse to various hypotheses in many points contradictory to each other, and all of them resting on slender and unsatisfactory grounds. It is not to be expected that we should enumerate all the varying accounts that have been given. Such a task would be attended with little benefit. We shall chiefly confine ourselves to that one which appears to us most plausible and best supported by ancient testimony, without entering into the formal refutation of others that scarcely admit of or deserve so much regard. The oldest writer who makes mention of the Septuagint is Aristobulus the Jew, of whom both Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius speak. In a passage, where he wishes to prove that the ancient Greek philosophers, such as Plato and Pythagoras, were acquainted with the divine law, he asserts, that before the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Demetrius Phalereus, there existed a Greek translation of the Pentateuch, from which these philosophers drew the greatest part of their writings; and then he adds—*Ἡ δ' ὅλη ἐρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων, ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος φιλαδέλφου βασιλείως—Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων.* “The entire interpretation of the law was made in the time of a king surnamed Philadelphus—Demetrius Phalereus being actively employed about it.” From this passage it appears, that in the time of Aristobulus, (*i. e.* at the commencement of the second century before Christ,) this translation was considered to have been made when Demetrius Phalereus lived, and also in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The former appears to have been the promoter of the work (*πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων*). Some authors, particularly Hody, have endeavoured to show that this account contradicts the voice of history, and that therefore no credit is to be attached to it. But when closely examined, it will be found to accord with unquestionable history, and to recommend itself to our

belief by its simplicity and unity. It has been objected that it makes Demetrius Phalereus live in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This however is founded on a mistaken apprehension of the passage we have quoted. We know that Demetrius lived under Ptolemy Lagi, and died soon after him. But the account merely states that Demetrius was the person who took the first active part in it, or, in other words, who set it on foot; and that the whole was *finished* in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is related by Plutarch (Apophtegm. Reg.), that Demetrius advised Lagi to purchase and read books relating to royalty and dominion (τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία, &c.); and we know from another source that he took an important part in the laws introduced by Ptolemy (Ælian, Var. Hist. iii. 17). It is certain also that this king was favourably disposed towards the Jews, numbers of who spontaneously forsook their native land to reside in Egypt, under the sway of a monarch so kind to their nation. Even Hecataeus, in his work relating to Egypt, speaks so favourably of the Jews, as to show the time when he lived, and the influences to which he was subject. He appears to have had some acquaintance with Jewish writings. According to this very ancient testimony of Aristobulus relative to the mode in which the Septuagint version originated, we must attribute its existence to a literary motive. The object of Demetrius in advising the king to procure a copy of the Jewish laws, was to obtain information respecting the best method of governing a nation, and of forming laws for its regulation and economic well-being. It has been a subject of no small controversy, whether Aristobulus' words imply that *all* the books of the Old Testament were translated into Greek under Ptolemy Philadelphus, or merely the Pentateuch. Hody contends for the latter opinion; Valckenaer for the former. On this difficult point we coincide with Valckenaer, believing that Aristobulus speaks of the whole of the Old Testament. The words *τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου*, on which Hody chiefly rests, are not decisive in favour of his opinion. The word *νόμος* must be understood in the sense attached to it by the Alexandrine Jews, who regarded the other books of the Old Testament as a sort of Appendix to those of Moses, and spoke of the whole under one appellation *νόμος*. *The law* they preferred far above all other parts of the sacred writings. Besides, the context shows that this opinion is the more correct, for it is presupposed that the Pentateuch had been translated much sooner. The writer

says, in the first place, that there was an ancient version of certain books, viz. of those of Moses, and then "that the entire interpretation of all the books in the law was executed in the reign of Philadelphus." There is a manifest contrast between the Pentateuch and the rest of Scripture: hence the expression τῶν—πάντων. In addition to these considerations it may be stated, that Aristobulus could not, with any degree of probability, be interpreted as saying that the version of the Pentateuch alone required such a length of time as he speaks of; it must therefore be assumed that he mentions a work of larger compass. Objections derived from the internal character of the version have been also brought forward to impugn the genuineness of Aristobulus' narrative. It has been affirmed that the translation was made by degrees, an assertion which is doubtless true, although the general opinion that assigns to its production a long period, must be regarded as improbable. The space of time which it occupied was proportionably short, for although it has been thought by many that it was not completed till after Ptolemy Philadelphus, because the subscription to the book of Esther assigns the portion to which it is appended to the time of Ptolemy Philometor, yet this subscription refers to the *apocryphal additions* to the book of Esther, which are certainly of later origin than the genuine portions. It is unnecessary to allude to the other grounds on which Hody rests. They do not prove that a later origin must be assigned to some books than the time of Philadelphus, and therefore they do not invalidate Aristobulus' account. The judicious inquirer may easily dispose of such arguments as Hody adduces against the truth of Aristobulus' testimony.

The next historical testimony respecting the Septuagint, is the prologue of Jesus the Son of Sirach, a document particularly interesting, because it contains the judgment of a Palestinian Jew respecting this ancient version. He requests the reader's indulgence on behalf of his own translation, and adds οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος, καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων, οὐ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, λεγόμενα. "And not only these things, but the law itself, and the prophets, and the rest of the books, have no small difference when they are spoken in their own language." From this it appears that the law, the prophets, and the rest of the books, were at that time (130 B. C.) translated into Greek. The author states, that during his abode in Egypt

he perceived several important variations between the Egyptian Jews and those of his own country respecting their modes of handling scripture and their expository treatment of it.

We come now to the account given by Aristeas, an author who pretends to be a Gentile, and prefect of the body-guards of the King of Egypt. In a letter addressed to his brother Philocrates, he relates that Ptolemy Philadelphus, when founding a library at great expense, applied by direction of Demetrius Phalereus the librarian, to Eleazar the High Priest of the Jews, for a copy of the book containing the laws of the Jewish nation, in order to complete the collection of the laws of all countries. Having previously ransomed 20,000 Jewish captives, he sent ambassadors bearing magnificent presents to Jerusalem, with a request that the High Priest would send him the sacred books, and suitable persons to translate them into the language of the country. In compliance with the request of the King, and by advice of the Sanhedrim, a copy of the law was sent, written in golden letters on many skins artificially joined together; together with 72 interpreters chosen out of the twelve tribes. The King assigned them an abode in the palace of the isle of Pharos, where, after mutual consultation, they finished the translation in 72 days. It was then publicly read in presence of the assembled Jews and all the chief men of Alexandria, by whom it was universally approved. Imprecations were uttered against any one who would presume to alter it in the least particular, and it was deposited in the royal library, where it was kept with the greatest care. The elders were sent home loaded with presents and with honour. The King then permitted the chiefs of the synagogues to write out copies for their use, and the version soon became general through all the countries where the Greek language was spoken, and synagogues or churches were established. According to Usher whom Walton follows, this took place in the year 277 B. C. Although many of the ancients supposed that a Greek version at least of the law of Moses existed before this, yet the present would rather seem to have been the first ever made. If there had been another, it is not probable that Demetrius would have been ignorant of it, or that Ptolemy, whilst searching the world for Greek books, would have been at so great expense to procure a new version. Josephus agrees with the narrative of Aristeas, because he took the whole story from him; but Philo dissents in many particulars. The latter passes over

in silence a multitude of things that are reckoned of great importance in Aristeas' narrative, while he adds new circumstances. According to him, Ptolemy King of Egypt sent messengers to Jerusalem to bring Jewish interpreters of the Pentateuch to Egypt. These learned men having arrived at Alexandria, repaired to the isle of Pharos, that they might not be disturbed by the tumult and din of the city. There they made distinct versions, which on comparison were found to agree in every word, although there had been no communication between the translators. It appears thus that they were directed by the Holy Spirit in the choice of every word they wrote. Philo adds, that in memory of the miracle, both the Egyptian and Grecian Jews repaired yearly to the island, and kept a festival on the shore. From this abstract of Philo's account, it is evident that he omits many things detailed by Aristeas. He makes no mention of the ransom of the Jewish captives,—of the presents sent by the King,—of the MS. written in golden letters, or of the number 72. But he relates what Aristeas does not mention, that all the interpreters were *inspired*, so that each produced a version agreeing verbatim with those of his brethren. Justin Martyr, who lived in the second century, endeavoured to harmonize these two accounts. For the seventy-two interpreters he built the same number of cells, in which they had no consultation with one another, and where they made seventy-two distinct versions miraculously agreeing in every particular. From this extraordinary circumstance the King concluded that they were divinely inspired, and sent them back, with presents, to their own country. He even says that the ruins of these cells were visible in his time, and that he had seen them himself at Alexandria! Epiphanius, again, makes thirty-six cells, in each of which two interpreters were shut up, and where they produced thirty-six versions exactly agreeing in all their words. He furnishes, moreover, each cell with a short-hand writer, to whom the versions were dictated. Such is the account given by Aristeas, afterwards exaggerated by the oral traditions of Philo, Justin, and Epiphanius, and which was universally received by the Fathers and others down to the latter half of the seventeenth century. It evidently proceeded from a Palestine Jew, for the purpose of exalting this ancient version; and, as it was known to Josephus, it must have been composed at an early period. But although it is now justly regarded as fabulous and repugnant to historical

truth, we ought not to reject it as *entirely* fictitious. Some truth may probably lie at the foundation, though subsequently encrusted with a multitude of absurd traditions. In separating the true from the fabulous in the narrative, there is some danger of rejecting too much, and thus running to the opposite extreme of the credulity that sanctioned so long the miraculous account of the version. This appears to be the fault of Hody and the majority of learned men by whom he has been followed. In giving the following outline of the origin of the translation, they have rejected too much.

The Jews, say they, who were carried into Egypt by Ptolemy Lagus, 320 B. C., together with such as voluntarily accompanied them, having learned the Greek language, a version of the sacred books, and especially of the Pentateuch, soon became necessary. It was accordingly undertaken by one or more Jews attached to the synagogue. Now the ancients place the translation of the Pentateuch sometimes in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, and sometimes of Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is therefore customary to unite both opinions by fixing upon the period in which they reigned conjointly, viz. 286 or 285 B. C. We are not to suppose that it was made by order of Ptolemy or of Demetrius Phalereus, with the view of its being deposited in the royal library, but that it was undertaken by the Jews for their own use. Retaining their attachment to the religion of their fathers in the country to which they were transported, and losing their acquaintance with Hebrew, in a place where Greek was commonly spoken, they naturally wished for a version of their law in the language best understood, that, when it was read on the sabbath day in the synagogue, the people might know the divine will. That the interpreters, whatever may have been their number, were *Alexandrian* not *Palestine* Jews, is evident from the character of the version itself. It is written in the Alexandrine dialect, and contains words purely Coptic. Thus *οιφι*, an Egyptian measure, is used for the Hebrew *ephah*: the creation of the world is not termed *κρίσις* but *γένεσις*, the term used by the Egyptian philosophers; the Urim and Thummim of the high priest is translated *αληθεία*, the term inscribed in the sapphire-collar worn about the neck of the chief priest among the Egyptians. These, and many other words adduced by Hody, show that the translator of the Pentateuch was an Alexandrian Jew familiar with the phraseology of Egypt. That the Pentateuch

alone was first translated, is testified by Aristeas, Josephus, Philo, and Jerome, all of whom speak of the *law* only. The other books were subsequently translated at different times and on different occasions. That various Jewish writers were employed on the version, plainly appears from the variations in the orthography of proper names, from the difference in the mode of translating Hebrew terms expressive of plants, trees, and animals, and from the degree of learning, varying as it does almost in every book. It is not easy, however, to ascertain at what particular time the different books were translated. In the absence of historical data, we can only conjecture. We know, however, that the other parts of the Old Testament, as well as the Pentateuch, must have been translated by Egyptian Jews, since the occurrence of Egyptian words is not confined to the five books of Moses. It has been generally supposed that the prophets were translated after Ptolemy Philometor. Antiochus Epiphanes, who persecuted the Jews, forbade the reading of the law in their synagogues. Hence they had recourse to the prophets, a section of which was publicly read each sabbath day. But after the death of this cruel tyrant they returned to the reading of the law, retaining the use of the prophets. Now Antiochus began to reign in Syria about the fifth year of Ptolemy Philometor, and died in the 17th year of the latter's reign. It may also be considered probable that the Alexandrian Jews thought it right to follow the example of their brethren at Jerusalem, and that they also turned to the prophets. Hence we may see the reason why the Pentateuch only was translated at first. In the time of the Ptolemies, the Jews were accustomed to read no more than the books of Moses, and it was not till after the edict of Antiochus was issued that they thought of selecting sections from the prophets for public use. Thus the necessity of a version of the law was felt much sooner than a translation of the prophets. The book of Esther was translated under Ptolemy Philometor, as we learn from the subscription. It is generally supposed that Joshua was not rendered into Greek till after the death of Lagus, because the Gallic word *γαιός*, signifying a *javelin* occurs in it; and the Gauls did not make an irruption into Greece and the East till after Lagus' death. This shows that the book was not translated at the same time as the Pentateuch, since we are informed by Pausanias that the Gauls,

to the number of 4000, first invaded Egypt under Ptolemy Philadelphus, 265 B. C.

Such are the sentiments of Hody and others respecting the manner in which this translation originated. It will be evident, however, from what was said before, that we abide by the testimony of Aristobulus, which is not rashly to be rejected without sufficient grounds. In opposition to Hody, we hold that the translation did not owe its existence to the feelings of the Egyptian Jews, when they had lost their knowledge of the sacred originals. It proceeded from Demetrius Phalereus, by whose advice Lagi was influenced and guided. That it was intended by its translators for ecclesiastical purposes cannot be admitted, because the Alexandrine Jews were always solicitous to remain in ecclesiastical connection with Palestine, and not to disunite themselves from their brethren there. To have taken such a step *of themselves*, would have been contrary to their feelings of respect for their Palestine brethren, to whom they were wont to look as their superiors in knowledge, piety, and learning. Besides, we know so little of the establishment of synagogues in Egypt, that any hypothesis which assumes their existence at a particular period before Christ, is extremely uncertain. We must believe also, in opposition to the common statement, that the whole version was made in far less time than what is assigned. It is generally supposed that the Pentateuch was translated a considerable time before the prophets; but this is contrary to the words of Aristobulus, as also to the language of Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Hilary of Poutou. It is admitted that Aristeeas, Josephus, Philo, and the Talmudists, as also Jerome (on Ezek. v.) speak only of the *law*. Still there is some uncertainty respecting the *meaning they assigned to this term*, because it was sometimes taken to comprehend *more* than the five books of Moses. We cannot admit, then, that the prophets were not translated till after Ptolemy Philometor had begun to reign. But there is another reason for concluding that the prophets were translated very soon after the law. Those who take the opposite view, chiefly found it on the truth of the supposition, that the Jews first resorted to the reading of the prophets, when Antiochus Epiphanes forbade the use of the law. It is, however, quite improbable that the edict issued by this cruel king allowed of the reading of any part of the Old Testament. The conjecture that he prevented the reading of the

Pentateuch alone seems first to have proceeded from Elias Levita, but it is opposed to 1 Maccabees i. 41, &c., and Josephus' Antiq. xii. 5. 4. Thus the ground of the supposition that the prophets were not translated till after Ptolemy Philometor, being removed, it remains probable, in the absence of contrary evidence, that there was little interval between the rendering of the law and the prophets. That the version of Esther, too, was made under this king is supported by no good argument. Although it is said, in a note at the end, that it was translated under Philometor, yet we have seen that this refers to the *apocryphal additions*, rather than to the book itself. To attempt to ascertain the period in which each book was translated is altogether arbitrary, because it supposes that a considerable space of time elapsed between the different parts of the entire version; a hypothesis extremely improbable. All we can now know is, that it was begun under Ptolemy Lagi, and finished under Philadelphus. This is the testimony of Aristobulus to which we adhere.

It is manifest that there were different translators, from the different rendering of the same Hebrew words in different books. Thus the Hebrew term translated *Philistines* in English, is in the Pentateuch and Joshua, represented by *φυλιστιιμ*, but in the other parts of the Old Testament by *ἀλλόφυλοι*. The Hebrew word for *passover*, is rendered in the Chronicles by *φασάχ*, but elsewhere by *πάσχα*. Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings are distinguished by a singular error of expression, the use of *ἐγὼ ἔμι* for *ἐγώ*. Thus in Judges v. 3, *ἔσομαι ἐγὼ ἔμι τῷ Κυρίῳ*, *I will sing to the Lord*. *Urim* is expressed in the Pentateuch, Samuel, and Kings, by *δῆλωσις* or *δηλωσ*, but in Esra and Nehemiah by *φωσιζοντες* and *φωσιζων*. *Thummim*, in the Pentateuch is rendered *αληθεία*, but in Esra ii. 63, *τέλειοι*.

Since then this version is the work of at least five or six individuals, its value must vary in different books. All of them employed the *Hellenistic dialect*, or the Greek language with a strong Hebrew colouring; and all of them are occasionally verbose—a fault which no version publicly used in churches should have. Some books are much more literally translated than others, even to such a degree as to present an awkward baldness that ought to have been avoided. Thus the translators of Ecclesiastes and Judges, express the sign of the accusative case *ἰν* by *σὺν*, in which they were afterwards followed by Aquila. The most skil-

ful interpreter was undoubtedly the translator of the Pentateuch. His version far surpasses that of the other books in fidelity and accuracy. The next to this, is the translation of the Book of Proverbs, the very errors of which, says Jahn, exhibit genius. The translator of Job was familiar with the Greek poets, and he is therefore more studious of elegance than accuracy; but his knowledge of Hebrew was very limited and imperfect, for he has fallen into many errors. Numerous additions have been made to those parts of the book that are written in prose, whilst the poetical portions are often defective. Hence Origen was obliged to supply them from Theodotion. Jerome, in his preface to Job, has observed that seven or eight hundred members of sentences have been omitted. With regard to the Psalms and Prophets in general, it is to be regretted that they were not translated by men competent to the task. The same observation applies to most of the historical books. In these portions the interpreters were neither skilled in the languages on which they were employed, nor accurate in adhering to the text before them. Jeremiah is the best executed among the prophets. Amos and Ezekiel deserve the next place; and the lowest must be assigned to the evangelical Isaiah. The version of Ecclesiastes is exceedingly literal; but that of Daniel was so very erroneous, that it has been universally rejected by the Christian church, and Theodotion's substituted in its stead. For a long time it was supposed to be lost, till it was found at Rome, and published in 1772. With respect to this version, it has been made a subject of enquiry, whether the translator of the Pentateuch followed a Hebrew or Samaritan codex. It is well known that the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch harmonise in more than a thousand places, where they differ from the Hebrew. To account for such agreement, it has been supposed by many that the Alexandrine version was made from the Samaritan, and not from the Hebrew copy. The testimony of Origen and Jerome has been adduced in support of this opinion, who affirm that in the copies of the Septuagint in their day, the sacred name *Jehovah* was not written in the common Hebrew letters, but in others very ancient. Again, it is alleged that consonants are frequently confounded, which resemble one another in shape in the Samaritan alphabet, but not in the Hebrew. It has been found that in the 32d chapter alone of Deuteronomy, the Septuagint and Samaritan agree in twenty-four places where the Hebrew is always different. But, although

this hypothesis has been adopted and defended by many learned men, such as de Dieu, Selden, Whiston, Hottinger, Hassenkamp, and Eichhorn, yet the irreconcilable enmity subsisting between the Samaritans and Jews strongly militates against it. The unanimous consent of antiquity refers this version to Jewish authors; and it is altogether probable that the Jews would have rejected a version either taken from a Samaritan copy, or even made by the Samaritans from a Jewish original. We know from Josephus, that there was as much enmity between the Jews and Samaritans in Egypt, as there was in Palestine; for he tells us that they disputed violently in presence of one of the Ptolemies, and that the Samaritans, overcome in argument, were put to death by the king's order.

Another hypothesis, which has been proposed to account for the agreement of the Samaritan with the Septuagint is, that the one was interpolated from the other. But it cannot be considered as probable that the Jews would have consented to alter their Greek version according to the Samaritan text; nor, on the other hand, that the Samaritans would have been contented to adopt the same method of correction. The enmity of the two people must have effectually prevented this mutual interpolation of their Scriptures. Jahn and Bauer suppose that the Hebrew MS. used by the Egyptian Jews agreed much more closely at that time with the Samaritan, both in its text and the forms of its letters. In this way they conceive that the agreement between the Alexandrine version and the Samaritan copy may be explained. But it requires too great an extent of conjecture. Were the instances of agreement fewer, we might be inclined to adopt such a hypothesis in the present difficulty; but that, in the majority of a thousand places, we can suppose they were once harmonious, is a supposition which the great care of the Jews in watching over their sacred books utterly repudiates. This hypothesis then will not account for the harmony now existing between the Samaritan and the Septuagint.

Another supposition has been made by Gesenius, more plausible than any of the preceding, viz. that both the Samaritan and Septuagint flowed from a *common recension of the Hebrew Scriptures*, one older than either, and differing in many places from the recension of the Masoretes now in common use. "This supposition," says Prof. Stuart, of Andover, by whom it is adopted, "will account for the differences and for the agreements

of the Septuagint and Samaritan. On the supposition that two different recensions had long been in circulation among the Jews, the one of which was substantially what the Samaritan now is, with the exception of a few more recent and designed alterations of the text, and the other substantially what our Masoretic codex now is; then the Seventy using the former, would of course accord, in a multitude of cases, with the peculiar readings of it, as they now have done. If we suppose now that the ancient copy from which the present Samaritan is descended, and that from which the Septuagint was translated, were of the same genus, so to speak, or the same class, and yet were of different species under that genus, and had early been divided off, and subjected to alterations in transcribing; then we may have a plausible reason, why the Septuagint, agreeing with the Samaritan in so many places, should differ from it in so many others. Add to this, that the Samaritan and Septuagint, each in the course of being transcribed for several centuries, would receive more or less changes, that might increase the discrepancies between them."

I have great respect for these eminent scholars, but I cannot see that their hypothesis is more probable than any of the others previously advanced, though it is certainly more ingenious and refined. We object to it on the following grounds.

1st. It supposes that before the whole of the Old Testament was written, there was a recension or revision of several books. This is an arbitrary hypothesis which is often put forward by the objectionable critics of Germany. They suppose that much more extensive alterations took place in the text of the sacred books than are consistent with the great watchfulness of the Jews over their holy records, and their extraordinary care in writing out copies. But we are reluctant to proceed on such untenable ground without some good reason. All our conceptions are against such sentiments. And until it be *proved* that such a revision of portions of the Old Testament was actually made, we must keep aloof from the opinion as one of questionable tendency and lax theology. There is no record or tradition in favour of the idea that *inspired* men applied a correcting hand in such a manner till the close of the canon, and to say that *others* did so, is not in unison with right notions of the inspiration of the scriptures; unless it be affirmed at the same time, that they farther *corrupted*, under the idea of *correcting* the holy books.

2d. But not only does this mode of accounting for the harmony between the Septuagint and Samaritan imply that there was a recension or revision of several books before the whole of the Old Testament was written, but it also involves the belief, that such took place at a comparatively early period, before other books appeared in addition to the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and the writings of David and Solomon. If then it be improbable that any recension existed before the completion of the canon, it is surely much more improbable that a revision was made when few books were written.

3d. It supposes that an older revision was still in use after Ezra had revised the whole collection, and closed the canon under the divine guidance. It appears to me very improbable, that in making the Septuagint version, the Jews, who were most probably the translators, would follow a far inferior recension in preference to the sacred books as corrected by Ezra. If this high-priest and reformer were inspired to relate the principal events in which he was engaged, and if he was concerned in revising and arranging the books of scripture, as Jewish tradition uniformly testifies, then there is no good reason against the supposition that he was equally inspired and directed in the latter case as the former. Can it be supposed then, that even after his authoritative revision, the Jews would *make*, or *receive* a version from an old copy, which had suffered partly from the errors of transcribers, and perhaps also from the national calamities of the people with whom it was deposited and by whom it was circulated. Such are some of the reasons why we cannot assent to the theory of Gesenius, however plausible it may appear. It will be seen, that we have assumed, what the majority of the German critics deny, that the remains of the ten tribes retained a copy or more of the Pentateuch, when the Gentiles from the neighbouring parts of Syria associated with them. We shall show hereafter that this is the only tenable ground. It may be also observed, that we have proceeded on the supposition that Ezra closed the canon of the Old Testament, an opinion which, although harmonising with, and founded on the tradition of the Jews, has been generally abandoned by the critics of Germany in modern times. Some of them, however, of no mean qualifications for judging in such matters, still adhere to the older view, and we may hope that more will embrace it, when they examine the whole subject.

Professor Lee accounts for the harmony between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint, in another way. He conjectures that the early Christians interspersed their copies with Samaritan glosses, which incautious and unskilful transcribers afterwards inserted in the text. But he has not shown that Christians in general were acquainted with the Samaritan Pentateuch, and its additions to the Hebrew copy; neither has he taken into account the reverence which the early Christians entertained for the sacred books. We cannot, therefore, attribute the least probability to this hypothesis of Dr. Lee. For ourselves, we cannot see any rational mode of accounting for the agreement between the Samaritan and Septuagint. None of those hitherto proposed is unobjectionable, and it is extremely difficult to devise a better. Some lucky conjecturer may perhaps light upon a more plausible and probable hypothesis than any yet framed; but this is all that can be expected on such a question. To arrive at *certainty*, is almost hopeless. With these remarks we close this part of our inquiry, having pursued it to greater length than may be reckoned proportionate to other Biblical investigations of more moment.

Another inquiry respecting this version has also been instituted, viz. from what kind of MSS. did the translators execute it? Professor Tychsel of Rostock contended that they did not translate the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, but that they transcribed them into Hebrew-Greek characters, from which transcript the version was afterwards made. This was done, as he says, to gratify the king, who was unable to read Hebrew in its proper character, but competent to understand Hebrew writings, as soon as they were presented in characters with which he was acquainted, and adapted to the vulgar pronunciation. This hypothesis of transcription into Hebrew-Greek characters, is founded on some ambiguous expressions in the work of the Pseudo-Aristeas, which might, when taken by themselves, denote a mere copying of the Hebrew text with Greek letters. But in the same Epistle, expressions are employed that cannot be taken without violence in any other acceptation than as denoting a *real translation*. The doubtful phrases should, therefore, be explained and limited by such as are more plain and unequivocal. It may be also asked, with great propriety, by whom could such a transcript have been read, at the time when it is said to have been made? It could not have been understood by the Ptole-

mies ; for although they were acquainted with the Greek language, yet we are quite safe in affirming that they were ignorant of Hebrew. Neither would it have been intelligible to the Jews in Egypt ; and it would have even rendered the reading of the Scriptures much more difficult. If they were unable to read the Hebrew Scriptures in their proper character, much more incompetent would they have been to understand them when dressed out in Greek costume. To suppose that the Alexandrine version was made from such a Hebrew-Greek copy is utterly incredible. The examples adduced to prove it fail in establishing the truth of what they are brought forward to support. The peculiar readings, on which Tychsen builds his hypothesis, may be explained by *mistakes in hearing*, without having recourse to such a supposition as is contradicted by all history. It is unnecessary to enter farther into the refutation of this singular notion, especially as it never obtained general currency. It was examined and refuted by Dathe, Michaelis, and Hassencamp ; and though it was introduced into this country by Mr. Hamilton in his "Introduction to the Study of the Hebrew Scriptures," yet it was probably confined to himself.

The Alexandrine version soon acquired great celebrity among all the Jews who understood the Greek language. Both Philo and Josephus, the former an Egyptian, the latter a native of Palestine, had recourse in their writings, not only to the original itself, but also to this translation. The former has followed it in his allegorical expositions of the Mosaic law ; the latter, in the history of his countrymen. The writers of the New Testament appear to have quoted it, and it was universally received by the early Christians. Even the authors of the Talmud make honourable mention of its origin ; and speak of the Hellenistic synagogue at Cæsarea where it was publicly read. In both Talmuds the fable respecting the inspiration of the translators is repeated ; and we are led to believe, that it was publicly used by the Jews as a church-version. The Fathers indeed declare that this actually took place. When therefore it is said that the Talmud speaks of its being an abomination to the Jews in Palestine, we must not understand this to refer to the *period immediately before and after the birth of Christ*, but to the commencement of the second century and subsequently, when frequent controversies were carried on between the Jews and Christians. The latter were wont to appeal to it as containing remarkable prophecies re-

lating to the Messiah. When the Jews, therefore, were worsted by arguments derived from a version which they themselves had adopted, they betook themselves to the study of Hebrew, and made versions into the Chaldee language. To deprive the Christians of any advantage derived from the Septuagint, their opponents began to deny that it agreed with the Hebrew texts, and their hatred of it soon became as great as their veneration had formerly been excessive. So odious did it become to them, that they are said to have proclaimed a fast on the 8th day of the month *Thebet*, corresponding to our December, for the purpose of execrating the day on which the version was made, and of perpetuating the remembrance of so inauspicious an event. After thus abandoning the Septuagint, they had recourse to the version of Aquila, who is supposed by many to have undertaken his work in opposition to the Christians, and that the Seventy might be superseded by a new translation more conformable to the Hebrew. According to Lightfoot, the authors of the Talmud sometimes quote this version, but never the Seventy. In consequence of the general reception of this translation, copies were multiplied, and mistakes made in their transcription. Even in Philo and Josephus we find passages quoted in which there are evident errors. Alterations, insertions, and omissions, continued to be made at the pleasure of those who were so adventurous as to meddle with the text. From the writings of Justin Martyr, we learn that there were readings in his time that cannot now be discovered in any MS. or edition, but which often harmonize with the Hebrew original. The Jews, in their controversies with the Christians, were able to detect the differences existing; and when the latter adduced quotations against their opponents, they were frequently met with the reply—*Such are not in the original*. This affirmation was generally sufficient to silence the Christians, who could not pretend to follow their more critical antagonists into the original of the Old Testament. In order to remove this difficulty, and to rectify the text of the Seventy so shamefully disfigured, Origen undertook to revise it, by comparing it both with the original and the other Greek versions then existing. He is said to have travelled over the whole of the East collecting materials for his work, and to have spent twenty-eight years in preparing it. When we consider indeed the magnitude of the task, and the labour it necessarily demanded, we will not be surprised at his receiving from the ancients the surname *Adamantius*. His

hardness and patience in enduring such toil, well entitle him to the appellation. In the course of his travels he was so fortunate as to meet with six Greek translations of the Old Testament, viz. those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, together with *three anonymous versions*. The last Greek translation he discovered in the year 228, A. D. From this till the year 231 he travelled about, in consequence of the persecution raised by Decius; and then he appears to have sojourned for a long time at Cæsarea. Here, according to some authors, he began to arrange his collected materials, and to compose at least a part of his great work, which was finished a considerable time afterwards, most probably at Tyre. But we are of opinion that the work must have been begun earlier, probably at Alexandria; and with this De Wette agrees. (See his article in the Allg. Encyclop. 2 sect. 7 Thl.) It contained the whole of the Old Testament divided into columns, like our Polyglott Bibles. He seems to have first published his *Tetrapla*, containing, in four columns, the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Seventy, and Theodotion. Hence the name *Tetrapla*, i. e. *fourfold*, from the four columns into which it was divided. But this was merely *preparatory* to his projected emendation of the Seventy, for in a more enlarged edition he added the Hebrew text both in Hebrew and Greek letters; and as the work then consisted of six columns, he gave it the name *Hexapla*. In some books he used two other Greek translations, whose authors are unknown, in which case it was called *Octapla*, and occasionally a third anonymous version, from which the work was styled *Enneapla*. Thus the different names refer merely to the number of columns. The following is the order of the columns when they were all used: 1st, The Hebrew text in Hebrew letters; 2d, The same in Greek letters; 3d, Aquila; 4th, Symmachus; 5th, Septuagint; 6th, Theodotion; 7th, 8th, and 9th, The three anonymous Greek versions, called the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions in relation to the other four.

We subjoin the following specimen of the Enneapla.—Habakk. ii. 4.

Τὸ ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛ.	Τὸ ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛ.	Τὸ ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛ.	Τὸ ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛ.	Τὸ ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛ.	Τὸ ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛ.	Τὸ ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛ.	Τὸ ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛ.
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙ	ΑΚΥΛΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ ὁ.	ΘΕΟΔ.	Ε.	Σ.	Ζ.
וְצִדִיק	και δικαιος εν	ὁ δε δικαιος	ὁ δε δικαιος εν	ὁ δε δικαιος εν	ὁ δε δικαιος εν	ὁ δε δικαιος εν	ὁ δε δικαιος εν
בְּאִמּוֹנָתוֹ	πισει αὐτοῦ ζή- σεται.	τη αὐτοῦ πισει ζή- σεται.	πισεως μου ζήσεται.	αὐτοῦ πισει ζήσει.	τη αὐτοῦ πισει ζήσει.	αὐτοῦ πισει ζήσει.	αὐτοῦ πισει ζήσει.
יְהִי		σει.		ζήσει.	ζήσει.	ζήσει.	ζήσει.

The great object of Origen in this laborious work, was not to correct the Septuagint from MS. copies of itself, but to collate it with the Hebrew, and to restore it as nearly as possible to that original. He did not alter the version itself by erasing a word or words, but he allowed it to remain just as he found it, accompanied however with such marks as served to show the alterations it ought in his opinion to receive. When he discovered a word in the Hebrew, and in the Greek versions, which was not in the Septuagint, he inserted it out of Theodotion, because in his mode of translation he came nearest the Seventy. If Theodotion had not the supplement, the deficiency was made up from Aquila, and sometimes from Symmachus. In every case he put the name of the translation from which the supplied word was taken, with an asterisk (*) at the commencement, and two dots (:) at the end like a colon, to shew how far the supplement extended. Again, where he perceived an addition in the Seventy, that ought not, according to the Hebrew text, and perhaps also the other translators, to be there, he did not entirely erase it from the Septuagint, but prefixed an obelus (∴) to denote that it was wanting, putting also two dots at the end, to shew how far the obelus was meant to extend. We find also *lemnisks* and *hypolemnisks*, (∴, —), the signification of which is not clear. In this manner he furnished Jews and Christians with a common standard of appeal, by pointing out what the Hebrew text did or did not contain. He hoped to benefit the Christians in their polemics with the Jews. Origen's recension of the Septuagint is called the *Hexaplarian text*, to distinguish it from the text as it existed before, called the *κοινή* or *common* and sometimes the *ante-hexaplarian*. The work, consisting of nearly 50 volumes, does not appear to have been copied, probably in consequence of its magnitude and the great expense necessarily attending a transcript. It is thought to have perished along with the famous library of Pamphilus, when Cæsarea was taken and plundered by the Saracens in the year 658. A. D. Such was the fate of the vast literary work of the immortal Origen, on which he had spent the greatest part of his life: and which, considering the period when it was undertaken, and the state of sacred criticism at the time, may justly excite the admiration of posterity.

But although we regret the loss of a work so valuable in the criticism and interpretation of the Old Testament, yet we are not wholly deprived of its aid. In the beginning of the fourth century Pamphilus and Eusebius transcribed the column containing the text of the Seventy, with the critical marks used by Origen. This

copy, however, being frequently written, was soon corrupted, partly by the omissions and interchanges of the marks, so that it became impossible to distinguish the original text of the translators from the additions of Origen. Marginal glosses and extracts from other Greek versions, were also inserted. Jerome informs us that this recension was received by the churches in Palestine. The *Hexaplarian* text of the Septuagint, with all the fragments of the other versions that could be collected, was published by Montfaucon at Paris 1714, 2 vols. folio, under the title *Origenis quae supersunt*, reprinted by Bahrdt in an abridgment Leipsic, 1769-70; but, as it comes through this transcript, corrupted as it was in the multiplication of its copies, we cannot affirm that it is in the same state as that in which it proceeded from Origen himself.

Other labourers in the same department appeared, though not on so extended a scale. Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch, in the commencement of the fourth century, (312), amended the text of the Seventy after the Hebrew original only, without the use of other translations. This was undertaken quite independently of Origen, and was called the *editio vulgata* or *Lukianos*. This recension was adopted in the churches from Antioch to Constantinople. Another was undertaken, about the same time, by Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop. According to Jerome, it was generally used in the churches of Egypt. From these three recensions all the MSS., and through them the printed editions have been derived, though it is not easy to determine the particular recension which each MS. followed, because they have, in some measure, flowed together. In the two principal MSS. of the Septuagint, viz. the Vatican and the Alexandrine, the basis of the former is the *κοινή*, or earlier common text; whilst the latter exhibits more of the readings and interpolations of Origen's Hexapla. Both texts, however, have been frequently mixed together, so that it is utterly impossible to distinguish them at present.

All our printed editions of the Seventy may be reduced to four principal ones, viz. the Complutensian, the Aldine, the Roman, and the Grabian. The first appeared in the Complutensian Polyglott 1515. This comes nearer to the Hebrew text than any other. The second or Aldine edition, was published in 1518. The text is said to be interpolated, particularly from Theodotion. The third, or the Roman, was published 1587, the basis of which is the celebrated *Vatican MS.* Fourth, the edition published by Grabe, at Oxford, 1707-20, from the *Alexandrine MS.*

The latest, and by far the most splendid critical edition is that begun by Dr. Holmes, 1798, Oxford, and finished by Mr. Parsons (1827), in five volumes folio. It contains the text of the Roman edition, with the various readings of all known MSS. The editors also consulted the writings of the Fathers, and several ancient versions, from which quotations and readings have been extracted. This is the only edition executed on an extensive plan, similar to Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, and to the Greek Testament as edited by Griesbach and Scholz. It is certainly the most accurate and important of all editions that have been as yet published. Its various readings shew that it is scarcely possible to restore the original text by means of the helps in our power. They serve to confirm the opinion generally entertained before the appearance of the edition, that the text of this version is in a worse state than that of any other, with the exception perhaps of the Vulgate.

The merits of the Seventy have been generally acknowledged, and its critical use recognised by all scholars. Among all the ancient translations of the Old Testament, it bears the highest reputation, whether we consider its antiquity or internal value. It is much older than any Hebrew MSS. we now possess, and its authors must have had better opportunities of knowing the Hebrew language, in proportion as they lived nearer the time when it was a living tongue. It shews us, not only the state of the text at the time when it was made, but also the sense attached to it. But no one competent to judge will deny that it has many errors and imperfections, shewing that its real value is by no means commensurate with its high reputation. Most, if not all, of the translators were not competent to the task they undertook. They were not sufficiently acquainted with the two languages, nor did they exhibit a due regard to etymology, grammar, or orthography. The whole version is rather free than literal; figures and metaphors are resolved, and later Jewish dogmas are frequently referred to. (See Gesenius on Isaiah). With all the deductions, however, that must be made, and all the mistakes into which we may suppose the translators to have fallen, it is an important help in the emendation of the Hebrew text, as also in its interpretation. It has even indirectly contributed to the interpretation of the New Testament, being written in the same language, and exhibiting the same idioms. Few will deny that it should be read and studied by every Biblical scholar, as furnishing essential service in the right understanding of those Scriptures which were given for the enlightenment and salvation of men.

LECTURE IV.

ANCIENT VERSIONS CONTINUED.

The Greek translation of Aquila. Aquila was a Jew, born at Sinope in Pontus, at the commencement of the second century, who translated the books of the Old Testament into the Greek language, for the purpose of assisting the Hellenistic Jews in their disputes with the Christians. Epiphanius has given a brief account of his life, but as he is the only writer who has done so, his general character does not lead us to give much credit to his narrative. He lived in the time of the emperor Adrian, and executed his version before 160 A. D. This is inferred from the circumstance, that Justin Martyr who wrote about 160 A. D., and Irenaeus about 176, have quoted passages from his translation. He has been accused by the Fathers of perverting some prophecies relating to the Messiah, but much weight is not to be attached to their accusations, since they were generally ignorant of the Hebrew original. The most they could do was to compare Aquila with the Seventy, and to observe the agreement or discrepancy; but this was not sufficient to indicate to them that he had perverted the original text. Jerome objects to his doctrinal prepossessions, and polemical tendencies, though at the same time he pronounces him "a most diligent explorer of Hebrew words." Dr. Kennicott, in modern times, has repeated the same charge against Aquila, and there is certainly some ground for it. It would appear from Jerome that he made two editions. The reason of this was, his anxiety to render his version as literal as he could; for he found that in the first edition, though generally adhering to the Hebrew words, some expressions were used which he afterwards thought too paraphrastic. The second edition was therefore more literal than the first. Whether this latter edition extended to the whole of the Old Testament, it is now impossible to determine. We know, however, that it embraced Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel.

This version was publicly read by the Jews in their synagogues, and so highly esteemed, that they were accustomed to call

it the *Hebrew verity*. From its extreme literality it is of great critical value. By means of it we are frequently able to show, that certain readings of the Masoretic text, apparently condemned by other translators, are of great antiquity, and that they are preferable to such as probably originated in a paraphrastic mode of translation.

Symmachus is said to have been a Samaritan by birth, and one of those reckoned *wise men* among them. The account of him, however, given by Epiphanius, is contradicted by Eusebius and Jerome, who testify that he was an Ebionite, or, in other words, a semi-Christian. The time when he made his version of the Old Testament cannot be accurately fixed. It is certain that it appeared after Theodotion's, for Irenaeus, (A. D. 177), quotes Aquila and Theodotion, but makes no mention of Symmachus, which he would most probably have done, had his version been then published. Its general structure is different from Aquila's. The translator does not adhere to the Hebrew text so closely as to render it *verbatim* into Greek, but he rather endeavours to express the sense in perspicuous, pure, and elegant language. Hence his translation is celebrated by the ancients as *perspicuous, clear, plain, and worthy of admiration*. It appears from Jerome, that he bestowed upon it the care of a revision; but it cannot be determined whether the second edition extended to all the books of the Old Testament. Criticism, if it proceed with caution and care, may derive some benefit from this elegant translation, although it is not so literal as that of Aquila.

Theodotion was a native of Ephesus, according to Irenaeus, and is said both by Eusebius and Jerome to have been an Ebionite, or semi-Christian. His version appeared during the first half of the second century, for it is cited by Justin Martyr, 160 A. D., and by Irenaeus, 177. The mode of translation adopted by him, holds a middle place between the scrupulous literality of Aquila and the free interpretation of Symmachus. He follows the Alexandrine version very closely, so that his object seems to have been, to add what was deficient in it, to take away what was superfluous, and to correct inaccurate renderings. From the fragments of his work remaining, it appears that he was not accurately skilled in Hebrew; hence he fell into many errors. He has often retained Hebrew words not the most difficult or obscure, expressing them in Greek letters, from ignorance of their signification. Such is the opinion of Eichhorn, though Jahn thinks

that those Hebrew words were used among the Ebionites, and therefore retained by Theodotion. His translation of Daniel was reckoned much better than that of the Septuagint, and was introduced in place of it, into the Christian churches in the second century, or the beginning of the third.

When Origen travelled into Eastern countries, collecting materials for his Polyglott, he discovered three other Greek versions, not containing the entire of the Old Testament, but some books only. These are usually denominated *five*, *six*, and *seven*, from the numbers of the columns they occupied in the Hexapla. The fifth version comprehended the Pentateuch, Psalms, Song of Solomon, and the twelve minor prophets, besides the books of Kings. Jerome says that the author was a Jew.

The sixth version contained the same books as the fifth, except those of Kings. The author appears to have been a Christian at the time he made it; but Jerome says that he was a Jew, meaning that he was a Jewish Christian, like the author of the fifth. His interpretation of Habakkuk iii. 13, which he renders ἐξῆλθες τοῦ σώσαι τὸν λαόν σου διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου favours the idea of his being a Christian.

The seventh version contained the Psalms, and minor prophets. It is doubtful whether the author was a Jew or a Christian, but, from his rendering of the passage in Habakkuk already quoted, it may be conjectured that he was a Jew. These three versions were made after those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; and as far as we can judge from the few fragments that remain, they do not appear to have been literal.

On the Peshito Version.

The name *Peshito* signifies *simple*, or *single*, i. e. *adhering to the sense of words*, in opposition to *allegorical translations and interpretations*. This signification is warranted by the Chaldaic and Rabbinic *usus loquendi*. Much obscurity hangs over the antiquity of this version, but there are several considerations that favour its *early* origin. The first writer who refers to it is Ephrem the Syrian, in the fourth century (378). The translation was commonly received and used in the Syrian church at the time when this author lived, and therefore he usually refers to it by the name of **OUR VERSION**. This circumstance shows that it reached far beyond the time of Ephrem the Syrian; for it is otherwise improbable that a late

version could have obtained so much celebrity, and have been so generally adopted and approved. If we consider, besides, the *mode* in which this Father makes use of it, we shall be led to the same conclusion. Many phrases and expressions in it were obscure to him, and appeared to require explanation. Accordingly we find that he has given interpretations of several terms for the benefit of his contemporaries, some of which are erroneous. The traditional records of the Syrians themselves, coincide with the belief of its high antiquity, to which Ephrem's works naturally lead. The first testimony to our purpose is that of *Jacob of Edessa*, in a notable passage communicated by Gregory Bar Hebræus. In it he speaks of "those translators who were sent to Palestine by the apostle Thaddeus, and by Abgarus king of Edessa." Another tradition makes a part of the Old Testament to have been translated in Solomon's time, at the request of Hiram king of Tyre; and the remainder of the Jewish Scriptures, together with the New Testament, to have been rendered into Syriac at the time referred to by Jacob of Edessa. Both of these traditions are repeated by Bar Hebræus, and enlarged by the addition of a *third*, viz. that the version was made at the time when Asa the priest arrived among the Samaritans. It is evident that some of these traditions savour strongly of national pride and self-complacency. But Eichhorn and others reject them entirely, without sufficient reason. Though partly invested with the fabulous, some truth may lie at the foundation. When we consider the high antiquity of a Syrian church at Edessa, and the early origin of a Syrian literature at the same place, we are inclined to believe that the account given by Jacob of Edessa is entitled to reception. Whether the translator was a Jew or a Christian has been much disputed. The latter is undoubtedly the more correct opinion, for its *internal character* goes to prove that it must have proceeded from Christian hands. No use is made of the Targums, which the Jews must have known, and would probably have consulted in making it. The mode of paraphrasing also adopted in these Chaldee versions, is different from that followed in the Peshito. Figures and anthropomorphisms are not here resolved. Besides, the air of negligence apparent in the translation of the Levitical law, particularly in the sections concerning clean and unclean animals, would scarcely have proceeded from a Jew. But what is most decisive in favour of a Christian authorship, is the interpretation given of passages relating to the Messiah, such as Isaiah vii. 14 ;

lii. 15 ; Zech. xii. 10 ; Psalm ii. 12. These considerations show that the opinion of Richard Simon, that the author was a Jew, cannot be maintained. Possibly he may have been a Jewish Christian, as Dathe formerly conjectured, especially since the version exhibits a Jewish influence in its mode of expression. Whether there were more individuals than one employed in making it cannot be determined with certainty. Eichhorn endeavoured to show from internal grounds that there was a plurality of authors, but his arguments are scarcely satisfactory. But according to the uniform voice of tradition there were several translators of the Old Testament ; and with this agrees the opinion of Ephrem.

According to the express affirmation of Gregory Bar Hebræus, the Old Testament Peshito was made from the Hebrew text ; and internal evidence confirms the truth of the declaration. Peculiar readings of the consonants and vowels are frequently met with ; and mistakes occur, which can only be accounted for on the supposition that the original text alone was employed in its formation. It adheres closely to the original, rendering it both *faithfully* and *literally*. In point of fidelity, indeed, it is the best of all the ancient versions. Its renderings are generally happy, free from paraphrastic circumlocutions on the one hand, and from bald literality on the other. It has been thought, however, by many, that the Greek translation was sometimes consulted ; and that the Peshito was fashioned and moulded after it. Or, if the Seventy were not employed when the Syriac was first made, it is thought, at least, to have been consulted afterwards, for the purpose of revising the Peshito. It cannot be denied that the latter conjecture is favoured by several circumstances, which it is unnecessary to specify in this place. It is true that it fails to be entitled to the authority of a well-established opinion, although there are some probabilities in its favour. In the present state of our critical knowledge, it cannot be affirmed with certainty whether this leaning to the Greek version, proceeded from the translators themselves, or whether the Peshito was subsequently revised so as to approximate the text of the Seventy. It is more probable that in the greater number of instances in which this version agrees with the Seventy, it has lost its original form. It is impossible, however, to tell how far its primitive readings may have resembled the text of the Greek version, and how far it has been altered to correspond with it. We do not possess sufficient data to enable us to institute any inquiry that would probably

lead to a satisfactory result. The materials for comparing it with the Seventy, and for tracing the changes which the Syriac version underwent in the lapse of time from external influences, are extremely meagre and scanty.

If then it be true that the passages in which this version harmonises with the Septuagint afford evidence of interpolations from the latter and not of the original use of the Seventy, as we are inclined to believe—it is no less probable that the approximation to the Chaldee paraphrases which it frequently exhibits, is not so great as to warrant us in assuming their actual use. In the time of Josephus, Syria and Mesopotamia were filled with Jews; and it is not surprising, therefore, that the version itself manifests its exposal to Jewish influence. Traces of the current exegetical tradition may be observed both in it and in the Seventy.

With regard to its contents, all the canonical books of the Old Testament are contained in it. The Apocrypha was not included. The printed Syriac translation of the Apocryphal books was made from the Seventy.

When the Syrian church was divided into different sections, the version underwent various recensions. It is well known that it was held in great estimation by all the Syrian churches, both Eastern and Western, by Nestorians and Monophysites, and that it was adopted as their authorized translation. The Westerns, however, used in their churches in addition to it, a version derived from the Seventy. But although it was highly valued by all the churches, it was not so esteemed by all their individual members. Gregory Bar Hebræus, for example, speaks of it very unfavourably, but this was owing to his excessive veneration for the Septuagint. Historical criticism, says Eichhorn, had not, in his time, cleansed the account of the origin of the Seventy from the common fables so long received; and the superstitious belief in its inspiration was fostered by the circumstance, that the New Testament makes so great use of the Seventy in the way of quotation. The recension of the Nestorians is well known from the scholia of Bar Hebræus. Mention is also made of the *Karkaphensian* recension, the origin of which name is obscure. Some, as Assemani, suppose it to mean *mountainous*, whilst others, as Lee, would derive it from a place in Mesopotamia. Bar Hebræus also speaks of *oriental* and *occidental* MSS. which appear to refer to the two ecclesiastical sects that adopted the two recensions just mentioned.

The Peshito in the Old Testament, and in the New, form two parts of one and the same version, and were probably made at the same time, viz., in the first century of the Christian era. It has been argued, indeed, by Marsh, that the New Testament part at least, was not made till after the canon was formed. It is not probable, in his opinion, that the version would have been undertaken until the scattered books had been collected into a single volume. Now, it has been satisfactorily shown by Semler and Griesbach, that the canon was not formed before the middle of the second century, and therefore we cannot reasonably look for this version before that period, or indeed before the first half of the third century. Such is the view of the learned Marsh, when attempting to turn aside the force of the arguments advanced by Michaelis in favour of the first century, as the date of the Peshito. But from the fact of its wanting those books which were not at once received by Christians, viz. the second Epistle of Peter, second and third John, Jude, and the Apocalypse, it would appear to claim a higher antiquity than that assigned to it by this eminent prelate. It is not probable that these books would have been wanting had the version been made in the latter part of the third century. We assign it therefore to the *first* century of the Christian era, in which the Old Testament part was also made.

The edition of the Old Testament Peshito published by Prof. Lee in 1823, in one volume quarto, for the use of the British and Foreign Bible Society, is the best.

In the New Testament, this version has been found most frequently to agree with the Western family of MSS., though it also contains many Alexandrine readings, and frequently such as are peculiar to itself. Sometimes it harmonizes with *D. Cantabrigiensis*, sometimes with the old Italic; but there is no proof that these coincidences were created by mutual alteration. It is to be observed that it wants the story of the adulteress in the 8th chapter of John's Gospel, as also 1st John v. 7. The version was first made known in Europe by Moses of Mardin, who was sent in 1552 to Pope Julius III., to acknowledge in the name of the Syrian church the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, and to cause the Syriac New Testament to be printed in Europe. It was first published at Vienna 1555 by Albert Widmanstadt, Chancellor of Austria, under Ferdinand Ist. L. de Dieu afterwards published the Apocalypse from an ancient MS., and Pococke, the four epistles wanting in it, viz. 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John,

and Jude. All these parts were collected and printed in the Paris Polyglott, along with the Old Testament division. Gabriel Sionita, who superintended the Syriac part of this great work, assures us, that his MS. was very imperfect, and that he supplied its deficiencies by his own translations from the Latin Vulgate. This text was repeated in the London Polyglott, but with corrections and additions from four MSS. The story of the adulteress was taken from a MS. copy of the *Philoxenian*, or rather the *Harclean* Syriac version belonging to Archbishop Usher, and the Apocalypse, with the four Catholic epistles, was printed after de Dieu and Pococke. The best edition of the New Testament is generally thought to be Schaaf's, 1709, and second edition, 1717, but that prepared by Professor Lee, London, 1816, may be considered superior in correctness and beauty. The late Mr. Rich brought some valuable Syrian MSS. from the East, which are now in the British Museum; but their readings are stated by Scholz to differ very little from the text of the printed edition.

The great antiquity of this version renders it valuable in ascertaining the original text of the Bible; and recommends it as a rich source of good readings to the critic. We need not be surprised that it differs from the Hebrew and Greek MSS. of the Old and New Testaments, since it must have been made much earlier than the oldest now extant. The style is generally pure, the original language well rendered, and the idioms transferred into another tongue with vigour, ease, and propriety; so that it is as far superior to the *Philoxenian* in the character of its diction, as it is inferior in servile literality. Although, therefore, it is of very great utility, both in the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures, yet it may be affirmed, with truth, that its services are more valuable in the latter than in the former department.

Of the Harclean and Philoxenian Versions.

The version usually called the *Philoxenian* or *new Syriac*, published by Prof. White, is not that which was made under the sanction of Philoxenus or Xenayas, bishop of Hierapolis (Mabug) in Syria, by his rural bishop Polycarp, in the year of the Christian era 508. It ought to be denominated the *Harclean*, because it proceeded from Thomas of Harclea, A. D. 616. It was based on the *Philoxenian*; and it appears also that the *Peshito* or

Old Syriac was employed by him. The text is said by Scholz to agree with the Constantinopolitan family, but this is erroneous, for it exhibits the Alexandrine. This version was unexamined till the middle of the 18th century, when Dr. Ridley received three MSS. of it from Amida, of which he afterwards gave some account. It was published at Oxford, at different times, by Professor White. Its character is punctilious literality. It appears to have been the desire and endeavour of the translator that not a syllable of the original should be lost; and therefore he has often sacrificed the Syriac idiom to a rigid adherence to the original text. The style is much inferior to that of the Old Syriac. This version would be of great use for critical purposes if we had reason to believe that it was originally made from Greek MSS., without the adoption of words and phrases from versions previously existing. But as this is not the case, we must assign to it a low place in contributing to restore the genuine readings of the Greek text. It contains all the books of the New Testament except the Apocalypse; and in the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to determine whether or not this book was originally wanting. Gregory Bar Hebræus, who quotes and criticises this version, has no citation from the *Revelation*; a circumstance which favours the opinion that the book did not originally belong to it. It is worthy of observation, that the narrative of the woman taken in adultery, is wanting in the genuine copies of this version, though it was added in a marginal note. It is now impossible to determine whether it extended to the Old Testament.

The true *Philoxenian* is as yet known to the world only in fragments, constituting the marginal annotations of a Vatican MS. examined by Wiseman. It is once alluded to by Bar Hebræus in the preface of his "*horreum mysteriorum*," but in the course of his commentary he never refers to it, from which it has been concluded that in his day it had been almost supplanted by the text of Thomas. The first welcome light that will be thrown on this version will be by the publication of Rich's MSS., deposited in the British Museum, six of which, at least, belong to it. It is said, however, that the greater number contain only the Gospels, or fragments of them.

The Palestino-Syriac, or Syriac Translation of Jerusalem.—This version was discovered by Prof. Adler, about the middle of the 18th century, in a MS. belonging to the Vatican Library, (No. 19), of whose text he gave a lengthened specimen. The

MS. appears from the subscription to have been written in a monastery, at Antioch, in the year 1030. The character and language differ from the common Syriac, and approach very near the *Chaldean dialect*, or that spoken at Jerusalem. From internal evidence, it is supposed to have been made in some part of Syria, subject at the time to the Romans; and to have been derived from the Greek text. It probably belongs to the *fifth* century; and the text generally agrees with the Western family. We have not the entire version of the New Testament, but only a *lectionary*, consisting of lessons from the four Gospels, for all the Sundays and festivals in the year. Prof. Scholz, in his late edition of the Greek Testament, has given readings from it. It is entitled to considerable authority in criticism, because of its antiquity. It is worthy of remark, that the story of the adulteress, though wanting in the Peshito and Harclean, is found in this version almost in the same form as that in which it appears in codex D.

LECTURE V.

ANCIENT VERSIONS CONTINUED.

A Greek Translation of some Books of the Old Testament in St. Mark's Library at Venice, usually called the Graeca Veneta.—Our description of this version must necessarily be brief, because it is comparatively of little use in criticism, and because the accounts of such as have personally examined it yet are meagre. That it was made directly from the Hebrew is proved by its internal character. It is more literal than any other ancient version, even than that of Aquila, adhering with rigid scrupulosity to the original Hebrew words. In the Chaldaic portions of Daniel, the Attic dialect is changed for the Doric. Whether the translator were a Jew or a Christian, he was much intent on elegancies of language, and has therefore produced a version full of peculiarities. We meet with Attic elegancies along with gross barbarisms, high-sounding words used by the best Greek writers, by the side of others quite new and contrary to the genius of the language. The whole is pervaded by a slavish literality. We know neither the age nor the author of this version, but its origin must be placed after the ninth century. It has been disputed whether the author was a Jew or a Christian, but this is a point of little importance. The probability is, on the whole, in favour of the former; and it is thought to have been made at Byzantium, for private use. The version contains the following books: Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Canticles, Lamentations, and Daniel. Part of it was published by Villoison, at Strasburgh 1784, and part by Ammon at Erlangen 1790-91. Its value cannot be reckoned greater than that of the Oldest Hebrew MS. extant. Its readings seldom differ from the Masoretic recension. Extracts from it are inserted in Holmes' edition of the Septuagint.

To *Σαμαριτικόν*. This appellation has been given to certain Greek fragments found, not merely in ancient MSS., but referred to by the fathers of the third, fourth, and subsequent centuries. It is not certain whether they are the remains of a Greek version, or glosses made upon the Seventy by Origen. It is most pro-

bable that they are the real remains of a Greek version of their Pentateuch, made for the use of the Samaritans. When numerous Greek translations of the Old Testament were made in the second century, there appears to have been a desire for similar versions among the Samaritans. The Septuagint having come into disrepute, the author of this version undertook a correction of it which he executed accordingly. Hence the fragments generally agree with the Septuagint. They are not of much use in the criticism of the Old Testament.

The Samaritan version of the Pentateuch.—The author and date of the Samaritan translation of the five books of Moses have been eagerly sought, but with little success. There are no historical documents on which we might build with certainty in such a question as this; and it is therefore useless to form hypothesis after hypothesis. Its origin is referred by some to the time when Esarhaddon sent a priest to the Samaritans to instruct them in the divine law; but others bring it down much later, to some time after the building of the Samaritan temple. Eichhorn and others affirm that it was certainly composed after Onkelos, because his Chaldee version has been extensively used in it; but there is no good ground for such an assertion. We are inclined to believe that it was made at a time when the Samaritans wished for a version in their own tongue, and, consequently, before the Arabic had come into general use among them. We are thus carried back to a period prior to the time when Abu Said finished his Arabic translation. Jalîn thinks that it belongs to the third or fourth century, but it ought rather to be placed in the second. It follows the Hebraeo-Samaritan text word for word, furnishing the same readings and enlargements compared with the Hebrew text, as its parent exhibits. Sometimes it renders tropical expressions by their corresponding *proper* ones, softening the apparent harshness of anthropomorphic and anthropathic phrases. Like all other translations that owe their origin to the Samaritan Pentateuch, it frequently changes the names of God, *Jehovah* and *Elohim* into *the angel of God*, corresponding to the *menra of Jah* of the Chaldee paraphrases. The changes of the gutturals are not various readings, but errors of transcription, arising from the circumstance that the Samaritans could not pronounce those letters. Its agreement with Onkelos merits attention. Some have explained this harmony by the kindred nature of the Samaritan and Hebrew languages, but this is not always sufficient to account

for the remarkable coincidences. We must therefore adopt the opinion that it was *subsequently interpolated* from Onkelos. It appears indeed to have passed through several hands, and to have received numerous additions. Hence we find two different readings of a single passage, and glosses transferred from the margin into the text by ignorant transcribers. The critical value of such a version cannot be great apart from the Samaritan text. It can only have one voice in connexion with its parent. In the few places where it obviously deviates from the Samaritan Pentateuch, it may be used to correct it; but in other respects, it is not entitled to much authority. It is printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts; and Winer has written a dissertation on it. (Leipsic, 1817.)

On the Arabic versions of the Scriptures.—All versions of the Scriptures in the Arabic language are generally supposed to be later than the Mohammedan era, when, after the conquests of the Saracens, Arabic became the vernacular tongue of Christian countries, and translations were consequently required. Those who argue for the existence of such versions before the time of Mohammed are not supported by historical proof, and, therefore, we are not warranted to conclude that any are older than the seventh century, though the Christian religion was early preached in Arabia, and worshipping societies formed, who professed to believe its divine authority. The first translation of any part of the Bible was made by Warka, the son of Naufel, who died three years after Mohammed set forth his claim to prophecy. He translated the gospels (or rather the Bible) into Arabic, which accounts for Mohammed's deep acquaintance with it, as proved by the Koran. The passage which records that he translated the gospels into Arabic is found in a commentary on the life of the Prophet by Ibrahim of Haleb, published at Cairo 1833. The passage literally translated is this—"Warka, the son of Naufel, the cousin of Khadija, had become a Christian at the time of ignorance (*i. e.* before Mohammed) and translated the gospels from Hebrew into Arabic." (See the *Oriental Christian Spectator* for March 1838, p. 88, where, however, the Arabic is very incorrectly printed.) It is evident that the Bible must here be understood by the gospels.

The following Arabic versions have been made from the Hebrew text.

1. A translation made by Saadiah, surnamed *Gaon* or *Hag-*

gaon, i. e. the *excellent* or *illustrious*, a native of Phithom, a town in Fayum, a province of Egypt. In the year 927, he removed to Babylonia, and became rector of its famous academy. But he was soon obliged to fly and remain in concealment till the death of David, son of Zachai in 942. It has been disputed whether his translation extended to the whole of the Old Testament, or merely to those parts that have been discovered. This is a matter which cannot be determined with certainty, though it is probable that he translated all the books. At present we know of the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Job, and Hosea, and we are informed by Abulfaragius that Saadiah also translated the Psalms. It is therefore most probable that all the books of the Old Testament were rendered into the same language at the same time, according to the opinion formerly expressed by Erpenius and Pococke. The Pentateuch stands in the Paris and London Polyglotts. Isaiah was edited at Jena by Paulus, 1790-91, and the translation of Job is preserved in MS. in the Bodleian Library. The whole version is very paraphractical. Far from expressing the energetic brevity of the original, it employs a multiplicity of words, to represent one or two Hebrew terms. But although it must have proceeded from the author in a free paraphrastic form, yet it is scarcely allowable to conclude from the present printed text, that its original condition was the same. Transcribers have taken great liberties with it; and were several copies discovered, some of them would be seen to correspond more nearly with the Hebrew text. It is certain also that it has been interpolated, since we can distinctly trace a systematic alteration. Of these insertions the basis is a Samaritan-Arabic version. Those who conjecture that the Septuagint has furnished contributions to the text of this version, can scarcely prove the truth of their supposition by satisfactory examples. In consequence of its adherence to the Masoretic text, and its having been interpolated, its value in criticism cannot be great.

2. The Arabic translation of Joshua and of 1st Kings xii.—2d Kings xii. 16; Nehemiah i.—ix. 27. The fragment of the books of the Kings proceeded, according to Roediger, from a Jew in the eleventh century. The translation of Nehemiah is also attributed by him to a Jew; but it was subsequently altered by Christian hands after the Peshito.

3. The Arabic version of the Pentateuch edited by Erpenius. This version was printed in Hebrew characters at Leyden 1622,

from a MS. in the library of that place. It appears to have been made by an African Jew, and in modern times, if we are to judge of its age by its character. It follows the Masoretic text so closely, that Erpenius judged it unnecessary to give a Latin translation. Gesenius, Jahn, and others, assign it to the thirteenth century. It cannot be of much critical value.

4. A translation of Genesis, Psalms, and Daniel, by Saadiah Ben Levi Asnekoth. This translation is of still less account than the preceding. The author was a learned Jew of Morocco in the first half of the seventeenth century. It exists in MS. in the British Museum (No. 5503.) As might be expected, it seldom deviates from the Masoretic text, and gives the Rabbinical significations of words. Criticism therefore can derive no aid from it.

5. The Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch by Abu Said. After the Samaritans had lost their ancient language, and adopted in common life that of their Arabian conquerors, they must have felt the want of an Arabic version of their sacred books. For a time they were obliged to use the translation made by the Jew Saadiah, into the Arabic, until Abu Said undertook to produce a new version for the benefit of his brethren. At what time he lived is unknown. We may place him between the middle of the tenth and the commencement of the thirteenth centuries. This follows from his having been acquainted with and made use of the version of Saadiah, who died in 942; and from the notices of time found in several MSS., which suppose it to have existed before the year 1227. Bauer fixes him in the year 1070, on what authority it is impossible to discover, for he may as well have belonged to the twelfth as to the eleventh century. Of this version, several MSS. exist in libraries, but the whole has not been printed. It is quite evident that it follows the Samaritan Pentateuch, because it agrees with it where there is a variation in the Hebrew. It is plain also that the translator had the version of Saadiah before him, and that he made considerable use of it. It is very literal, often giving exactly the same number of words as are contained in the Samaritan text. Owing to its extreme closeness, it is written in impure, and sometimes unintelligible Arabic. In preparing a critical edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch, it may be of use; but in other respects, it yields no assistance to the critic. It is considered of great value in the history of the Samaritan Pentateuch, because there are compara-

tively few sources existing for the emendation of this ancient copy.

6. An anonymous translation of the Psalms. In the Bodleian Library (No. 289 of Pococke's MSS.) is preserved an Arabic version of the Psalms, of which Schnurrer has published Psalms 16, 40, and 110, in Hebrew characters. Criticism need not expect much from this version.

7. There is also in the library at Manheim an Arabic translation of the First Book of Moses, with a Malayan interlineary version, which, judging from the specimen given by Rink in Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek (Universal Library) is of no importance in a critical view.

Such are the *immediate* Arabic versions of the Old Testament. With regard to the New Testament, there are only two editions of it in this language that can be applied to critical purposes.

1. The Arabic of Erpenius, so called, because published by him at Leyden in 1616, from a MS. of Upper Egypt belonging to the fourteenth century. In the gospels it is taken from the original Greek, which it follows very closely, especially in the arrangement of the words; but the other parts are not from the original. In the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline and the Catholic epistles, it was made from the Peshito, and in the Apocalypse, from the Coptic. It is with the gospels only that we are here concerned. They were printed before in this same version, at Rome 1591 and 1619, from the last of which editions they were transferred to the Paris and London Polyglotts. There are in fact three different impressions of the same version of the gospels taken from different MSS., viz. the Roman edition, the Erpenian, and the Karshuni New Testament printed at Rome 1703, folio. The discrepancies between these three must be attributed, either to the transcribers of the MSS. whose texts are printed, or to the editors, or probably to both. In the Roman edition especially, though the gospels bear the marks of the Constantinopolitan MSS. from which the version was made, yet there is good reason for suspecting that many places were altered after the Syriac, Coptic, and Latin; and the other editions are scarcely free from the same charge. This circumstance detracts from its value as a source of emendation, since we have not the means of separating the *additions* from the *genuine version itself*.

2. Another Arabic version, of the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline and Catholic epistles, and the Apocalypse, printed in the

Paris and London Polyglotts, proceeded from a different individual, who probably belonged to Cyrene in Africa. But his version is of little use in criticism, because it has been interpolated. The text is the Constantinopolitan.

Of Persian Versions.—The Scriptures seem to have been early translated into the Persian language. Chrysostom and Theodoret speak of a Persian version, and according to Maimonides, the Pentateuch existed in Persia long before Mohammed. The translation of the Pentateuch printed in the London Polyglott, is of later origin than the appearance of the false prophet. This is clear from Babel (Genesis x. 10) being rendered Bagdad. It must therefore have been later than the eighth century. Like Aquila it follows the Hebrew very closely. According to the inscription in the Constantinopolitan edition (1546) it was made by a Jew called Jacob the son of Joseph Tawus; but the meaning of *Tawus* is obscure. Rosenmuller thinks it denotes belonging to *Tus*, a city of Persia; whilst Lorschach declares it to be a proper name, signifying in Persian, *peacock*. Its age is quite undetermined. Rosenmuller places it in the ninth century; Lorschach in the sixteenth. It is not of much use in criticism.

Not long ago Hassler discovered an *immediate* version of Solomon's writings in a Parisian codex, but I believe it has not been published.

One of the Persian versions of the gospels in the London Polyglott, though made from two Greek MSS. is of no critical value, because the other Persian translation in the same Polyglott, a daughter of the Peshito, was employed by the translator or translators in making it.

LECTURE VI.

ANCIENT VERSIONS CONTINUED.

Latin Translations.

WE come now to speak of the *Latin versions*, in the examination of which we propose to adopt the following arrangement. *1st.* Speak of the old Latin version. *2d.* Of Jerome's new translation made from the Hebrew. *3d.* Of our present Vulgate.

Several Latin versions of the Scriptures, taken in the Old Testament from the Septuagint, and in the New from the original Greek, appear to have existed in the time of Augustine. Among them one held a distinguished place, called *versio Itala, the Italic version*, a name which has given rise to many conjectures, but which should not be altered into *illa* or *usitata*. Jerome names it *vulgata* and *communis, the common*, and sometimes *vetus, the old* translation. Some have controverted the opinion that a number of Latin versions existed so early, but without success. It seems quite probable, however, that only one of them had come into public use, whilst the rest were merely private copies and the productions of private individuals. These translations were soon corrupted and altered in various ways, so that Jerome says, "every one has at pleasure added or omitted according to his own judgment." The age of the Italic cannot be accurately ascertained. The first certain traces of it are found at the close of the second century. Tertullian, A. D. 220, quotes this Latin version, and as some time must have elapsed from its origin till it came into general repute, it may be placed in the last half of the second century. History is silent respecting its country, but the name Italic naturally points to Italy. The African fathers gave it this appellation, because it was used by the Italians as their church version. The circumstances adduced by Eichhorn in favour of its *African origin* are of no weight. The character of the version seems to have been a literal adherence to the texts of the Septuagint and Greek Testament. We find in it also all the mistakes that disfigured the Seventy before Origen's recension, because it was made from the *αοινή* or *Antehexaplaric* text. Hence it may be usefully applied to the emendation of the Septuagint, for the revision of the immortal Origen has been so grossly cor-

rupted, that it is now necessary to restore the text to the same condition as that in which it came from the hands of this learned father. All the fragments of the *Old Italic* that could be discovered were collected and published by Sabatier in his work *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*. Rheims, 1743, 3 vols. folio. In order to remedy the confusion introduced by a multiplicity of versions, Jerome undertook to revise and amend the Italic, after the Hexaplaric text in the Old Testament, and in the New Testament by the original itself. In the latter it would appear that he resorted to Greek MSS. only where a passage was remarkably misconstrued, and that he occasionally consulted Origen's MSS. He proceeded, however, very cautiously, lest the difference between his emendations and the text which he laboured to correct, might appear too striking. During his stay at Rome about 383, after finishing the New Testament, and probably at the request of the Romish Bishop Damasus, he revised the Psalter, but only in a hasty manner, (*cursim*) as he himself says. Yet this recension attained to public church-authority at Rome, and is thence called *psalterium Romanum*. Between the years 384 and 390, or 91, while staying at Bethlehem, he made a new recension of the Psalter more accurate and critical than the former, according to the Hexaplarian text, with the obelisks and asterisks used by Origen. This latter revision has been called the *Gallican psalter*, having been introduced into the churches in Gaul. In the same manner he proceeded with all the books of the Old Testament, correcting them by the hexaplaric text; but those only were published to which his double prefaces are prefixed, viz., Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, and Proverbs. The copy of the rest was lost, as he himself writes to Augustine, by the treachery of an individual to whom he had entrusted it. This revision of the old Latin version contributed not a little to the reputation of Jerome. At Rome, and in Gaul, the psalter, as prepared by him, obtained public authority in the churches; and Augustine commented on his improved edition of Job. But the envy of some was excited against him, especially of Rufin Bishop of Aquileia, who censured him for making the *hexaplaric* instead of the *ante-hexaplaric* text the basis of his emendations. Of this correction of the Italic version by means of the Septuagint, only two books have come down to our times, viz., the Psalms and Job. The translation of the Psalms was embodied in the Romish missal, and from thence transferred to

the prayer-book of the Church of England. Before he had completed his correction of the *Vetus Itala*, he began to make a new translation from the Hebrew, for the purpose of assisting Christians in their controversies with the Jews. Such was his ostensible motive for engaging in the work, which, after the example of Origen, he held forth against the prejudices of his contemporaries, who looked upon such undertakings with suspicion. The treachery of his friend had not crushed his literary ardour. It served only to stimulate him to new and nobler exertions in the cause of sacred criticism. He resolved to be no longer contented with revising the translation of a translation, for such in reality was the Latin version of the Bible, but to undertake the more difficult task of a translation of the Old Testament immediately from the Hebrew. Encouraged also by the counsel of private friends, he engaged in the work which has rendered his name so celebrated in the literary history of the Bible. About the year 385 he commenced with the Books of Samuel and the Kings, and completed the work in 392 or 3, with Jeremiah. But though the whole was finished about 393 A. D., yet the greater part was not published till some time after. In making this translation, the basis of which is the exegetical tradition of the Rabbins under whom he studied, he appears to have consulted all the Greek translations extant, and frequently to have adopted their words, lest he should give offence by departing too widely from the established interpretations. Hence in his commentaries he sometimes corrects his own translation. The *vetus Itala*, as already revised by him, formed the New Testament part of this translation, because he did not think it necessary to make an entirely new version in this division of the Scriptures. But notwithstanding his cautious and timid procedure, the production raised up a host of enemies, who complained loudly of his departures from the Seventy. Even Augustine joined partially with his accusers. It was reserved for the more correct judgment of posterity to perceive and to appreciate the merits of the work. It was adopted in the Latin Church *gradually*, and by *tacit consent*, rather than by the sanction of public authority. In 604 Pope Gregory the Great explained Job from its text, quoting only occasionally from the old Latin version.

From this time it was received into all the Latin churches, and soon entirely displaced the *Italic*.

In consequence of the universal adoption of this version by the

Western Church, numerous copies were required, and many errors committed in their transcription. Some who used the Old Italic in connexion with Jerome's translation, corrected the *latter* by the *former*. Interpolations were also inserted from liturgical books, and even from Josephus. These and many other intentional alterations we owe to the officious and uncritical zeal of half-learned monks. At the command of Charlemagne it was corrected by Alcuin, A. D. 802, "from the most ancient sources," an expression whose meaning has been disputed. According to Hody, it means the Hebrew in the Old Testament, and the Greek in the New, whereas Porson maintains that it was ancient MSS. of the Vulgate. Not long after, another correction was thought necessary. Accordingly Lanfranc, Archpb. of Canterbury, who died 1089, undertook this task. In the year 1150, Cardinal Nicolaus found "quot codices, tot exemplaria," as many copies as MSS., and endeavoured to make a new emendation. About the same time the Paris theologians began a sort of Masora on the Latin version, under the title *epanorthotæ* or *correctoria Biblica*, consisting of corrections from the original language, and the oldest MSS., with all kinds of critical remarks. This was followed by the *correctorium* of Hugo a S. Caro, and was continued by the Dominicans from 1240. Many of these corrections were condemned by Roger Bacon in his letters to Clement IVth. He looked upon the prevailing evil with the true spirit of a philosopher. Only one *correctorium*, however, has been printed, viz., at Cologne, 1508, 4to. From such critical works it is evident that the old MSS. had far more variations than are now to be found in editions of the Vulgate—that many of the readings now current were formerly thought to be spurious, and that it is scarcely to be expected that we can ever bring the text of this version to the state of purity in which it proceeded from its learned author. The Vulgate was the first book ever printed. The first edition is without date or place; the first with a date was printed at Mayence 1462.

In 1528, and succeeding years, Robt. Stephens printed critical editions of the Vulgate. But they were disapproved and prohibited by the Papists, on account of dangerous errors with which they charged the editor. A new and more correct edition was subsequently prepared by John Hentenius, and other Louvain divines, published in 1547, folio, and several times reprinted. In 1573, their *third* and *chief* edition was published at Ant-

werp, having been corrected from MSS. and other sources. But this edition, though extremely valuable from its critical apparatus, was never publicly adopted by the Latin Church, because of its having various readings; for Sixtus Vth forbade the collecting of such materials in future, lest the authenticity of the version should be undermined. In 1546 the Council of Trent pronounced the Vulgate *authentic*, by which no more perhaps was meant than that it should be used as the Church version of Roman Catholics. The Council also commanded that it should be printed as correctly as possible. Such an edition, begun by Pius IVth in 1564, and continued by Pius Vth, was completed by Sixtus Vth, who announced it by a bull, dated 1st March 1589. But in consequence of its being found to abound with errors, his successor, Gregory XIVth, made arrangements for a new edition, which was published by his successor, Clement VIIIth, 1592. It may be observed, that most of the corrections were derived from the Louvain edition. In the preface to that put forth by Sixtus Vth, his edition is declared to be the *authentic Vulgate*, which was the object sought after by the Council of Trent; and in the plenitude of apostolic power, he threatens from St. Peter's chair with all the pains of excommunication, any one who should dare or presume to alter the text in the least particular. But Clement VIIIth was of a different opinion, for he presumed to publish in less than three years after another edition, differing in several thousand places from the preceding, and even contradicting it in many. This second edition was also pronounced authentic by the same infallible authority; and was pre-*fac*ed with similar threats of excommunication against all who should dare to change it in the most trifling particular. In the preface to the Clementine edition, it is said that Sixtus discovered so many errors of the press in his Bible when it was published, that he resolved to recal it and publish a new one. This is always urged by Roman Catholic writers in reply to the arguments against the infallibility of the Popes. It is well known, however, that this transference of the blame to the printer was an expedient proposed by Bellarmine, in an awkward dilemma; for it was *he* that wrote the preface to the Clementine edition. That this is admitted by learned Roman Catholics themselves, is evident from the following words of Hug, in his introduction to the New Testament. "There was, however, a great difficulty to surmount. Was it expedient to depreciate the Sixtine edition by declaring it

faulty? Both the new work and the papal authority would certainly gain nothing by this in public estimation. Should it be pronounced correct? Why then prepare another? In this dilemma, Bellarmine is said to have found out a middle course, and to have proposed that all the blame should be laid upon the printer, so as to vindicate the reputation of Sixtus, and his successors.....Bellarmine was the author of the preface, and it is said to have been the cause of his canonization." (See Hug, p. 281, as translated by Fosdick.) When it is said, therefore, by Romanists that Clement merely fulfilled the intention of Sixtus by sending forth into the world a more correct edition, they allege what they cannot prove. From an examination of both prefaces, together with the texts themselves, it may be shown that Sixtus never intended a second edition; and that Clement's, so far from being a second, is a totally different impression. Sixtus never thought of a second, because, after the work was printed, he corrected many errors of the press, either roughly, with his pen, or by passing small bits of paper over them, or by erasing them altogether. Now, if he had designed to cancel his edition, and to send forth a new one, he would never have been at such pains to correct an impression which was to be totally superseded by a new. They differ in many places where there could be no error of the press; and clauses found in the one are omitted in the other. On the whole, Clement's edition differs more than any other from that of Sixtus, and resembles more nearly the Louvain impression. These important differences between two popes, both claiming infallibility, have not been unnoticed by Protestant writers, as furnishing a powerful and unanswerable argument against the pretended powers of that corrupt church. The discrepancies were industriously collected by Dr. James, librarian to the Bodleian, and published in a treatise entitled, "*Bellum Papale, sive concordia discors Sixti Quinti et Clementis octavi, &c.*" London, 1600. In consequence of this impregnable argument against the infallibility of the Popes, Baldwin the Jesuit, affirmed that Sixtus' edition was never published. It is certainly extremely scarce, probably because it was suppressed and destroyed as much as possible. In the following year, (1593), Clement VIII. published a new edition, altered in many places from the first. This is that which is now universally adopted by Roman Catholics.

The present Vulgate is composed of the following parts. It is not all Jerome's, but is made up of portions belonging to the old

Italic, the Hexaplaric-Latin version improved by Jerome, and his own Latin translation, made directly from the original in the Old Testament.

To the *Vetus Itala*, belong Baruch, the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, and the 1st and 2d Books of Maccabees.

To the *Vetus Itala* corrected by Jerome from the Hexaplar text of the Seventy, belongs the Gallican Psalter, without the obelisks and asterisks.

The other books of the Old Testament are taken from Jerome's new translation, but their text, as we now have it, must have been greatly changed.

The New Testament is Jerome's revision of the old Italic.

It is also to be observed that Judith and Tobit, the only apocryphal books translated by Jerome, are expressly stated by him not to have been reckoned *canonical* by the Jews.

This version has been unduly commended by Roman Catholics, and sometimes unjustly depreciated by Protestants. That its value is great, few competent judges will hesitate to admit. It deserves to be studied by all as a very ancient witness to the readings that prevailed at an early period, and also to the manner in which they were understood. Unfortunately, however, it has come down to us more corrupted than any other ancient translation. The hands through which it has passed have defiled it with the impurity of their touch, so that to restore it now, to its pristine form, is utterly beyond the reach of the highest criticism. The time has come in which a new revision should be made. The version ought to be examined and corrected from all the sources which are at present within our reach. The interdict of its papal editor need not be dreaded even by Romanists. It is perfectly innocuous. And it were much better that the learned of the Romish communion should undertake so necessary an emendation, than that Protestants should meddle with it; for thus the new edition might be used as the standard Bible of the Latin Church. It is of vast importance to separate as far as we may, *Jerome's own*, from the incrustations it has received in its transmission to us. It is not to be supposed that many interpretations which now pass current among Romanists, could have proceeded from him.

The Vulgate has exercised some influence on all the western translations. It is well known that Luther made great use of it

in his celebrated German translation of the Bible, and that he could not have produced so noble and excellent a version without its assistance. Luther's, again, has had an influence on the majority of English translations, and among others, on our own authorized version.

This version may sometimes lead to the discovery of the readings of very ancient Greek MSS. in the New Testament, and of Hebrew ones in the Old. It must be used, however, with great caution; and care must be taken to ascertain that it clearly indicate such readings as originally existed. In some places Kennicott's collations have confirmed it; and the most ancient MSS. of the Greek Testament, especially the Egyptian, have been frequently found to agree with it in their characteristic readings. This indeed may be partly owing to the fact, that Jerome sometimes consulted Origen's MSS. I need scarcely say that it has several manifest mistranslations which were not made by Jerome; and whose object is to support the peculiar dogmata of the Romish church. Whoever therefore is engaged in controversy with Roman Catholics, should be thoroughly acquainted with the Vulgate. He should study its phrases and peculiarities in all their bearings, before he undertake to refute his opponents out of their favourite Bible.

LECTURE VII.

ANCIENT VERSIONS CONTINUED.

Egyptian Versions.—After the death of Alexander the Great, the Greeks multiplied in Egypt, and obtained important places of trust near the throne of the Ptolemies. Hence the Greek language began to diffuse itself from the Court among the people; and the Egyptian was either excluded or forced to adapt itself to the Greek, both in construction and in the adoption of new words. In this way arose the *Coptic*, compounded of the old Egyptian and the Greek—so called from Coptos, the principal city in Upper Egypt. When the race of the Ptolemies became extinct this language acquired greater reputation and authority. The Greek, so much recommended by foreigners, gradually disappeared with the declining influence of those by whom it was spoken. It appears that the Coptic established itself in Lower Egypt sooner, and more extensively, than in the upper division of the country, not only because the Greeks were much more numerous at Alexandria, but because of the commerce extensively carried on by its inhabitants with other nations speaking the Greek language. Hence the necessity of versions of the Scriptures in the new tongue, as soon as the disuse of the Greek became so general as to create a demand for the Bible in the current language of the country. But at what particular period these versions were made, it is impossible to determine with certainty. It is highly probable that the *Memphitic*, or translation of Lower Egypt, was made before the *Sahidic*, or that of Upper Egypt, because, from the circumstances just mentioned, the necessity of a version would be sooner felt in the one place than in the other. Hence the Memphitic may be dated earlier than the Thebaic or Sahidic. At the same time they are independent versions, and may both be quoted as separate evidence for a reading. This appears, says Bishop Marsh, from the difference of their texts, and from the circumstance that additions in the one, are omitted in the other. At present the Arabic language is used throughout Egypt, having been introduced by the

Saracen conquerors; but Michaelis says that the Coptic is still used in the service of the Egyptian church, though understood by none of the audience.

The dialect of Lower Egypt is usually but inaptly called *Coptic*. With greater propriety has it been denominated the *Memphitic*. Several books of the Old Testament translated into this language have been published at different times, and in different places, by oriental scholars. The *whole* of the Old Testament, however, has not been published, neither has it been discovered, though it is probably concealed somewhere in Egyptian cloisters. But there is little doubt that all the books were translated, though some have not yet been found. Different libraries must be explored before they be brought to light. Our plan forbids us to speak farther of this version in the Old Testament, since it was translated from the Septuagint. The New was published by Wilkins, Oxford 1716, with a Latin version. It is attributed by Scholz to the 3d century, though Hug is perhaps more correct in assigning it to the 4th. Its readings, as may be concluded from the country, coincide with the Alexandrine recension, and deserve to be attended to by all whose object is to form a pure and correct text. It is to be wished that it were revised and edited correctly *from all the MSS.* of it at present known. Thus would its use in criticism be much enhanced. It wants the disputed passage, 1 John v. 7. The dialect of Upper Egypt has been called *Sahidic*, from the Arabic name of the country (Al Said), but it may be better denominated the *Thebaic*. This version was also made from the Greek both in the Old and New Testaments, probably in the 3d century. Its readings generally, though not regularly, agree with the Alexandrine family. Not a few are peculiar, and some harmonize with the Latin versions. For the publication of the New Testament in this version, we are principally indebted to Woide and Ford, who endeavoured to give it complete as far as they could. But there are still chasms in the parts which they published that might now be supplied from known MSS. Only some fragments of it in the Old Testament have been printed.

We have also to speak of the *Bashmuric* or *Ammonian* version. This dialect has been denominated from Bashmur a province of the Delta, and from the Ammonian oasis. It differs from the preceding two, and has given rise to much variety of opinion concerning its locality. Some claim for it the rank of a particu-

lar dialect, as Georgi, and Engelbreth; while Münter, and Champollion the younger, perceived no necessity for distinguishing it in such a manner. It seems to have been a kind of intermediate dialect between those of Upper and Lower Egypt, and to have been spoken in the province of Faiom. Only some parts of it have been published; in the New Testament, fragments of the Gospels, and of the Epistles of St. Paul. The text always agrees with the Thebaic, so that Hug and de Wette doubt whether it was a real version made from the original Greek. They are rather inclined to look upon it as the version of Upper Egypt transferred into the idiom of the particular place where it was spoken. Its origin belongs to the 3d or 4th century.

The *Æthiopic* language is an early branch of the Arabic, and the version of the Scriptures in it was made throughout from the Greek. It is thought to be referred to by Chrysostom in his second homily on John. Frumentius, who introduced the Christian religion into *Æthiopia*, is generally supposed to have been its author. It must therefore be assigned to the fourth century, and is deserving of great attention from its antiquity, and from the text it follows. In its different parts it is very unequal. In the gospels, which are the best executed, the Alexandrine recension is generally exhibited, though various readings of different kinds are sometimes combined. Hug thinks that different versions, rather than Greek MSS. were used in translating the gospels, though he does not deny that there are proofs of the latter having been consulted. The New Testament was published in the London Polyglott, but from a faulty MS. If the version were edited in a more correct form, from a collation of several codices, there is little doubt that it would be of great use in the criticism of the New Testament. Agreeing as it generally does with the Alexandrine family, and with the quotations of Origen, it would lead us to see the state of that text at an early period. An entire copy of the *Æthiopic* Scriptures was purchased several years ago by the Church Missionary Society, which, if judiciously edited, would throw much light on this version. The *Æthiopic* language is commonly called the *Geez*.

Of the *Georgian* version.—This version comprehends the whole Bible, made from the Septuagint in the Old Testament, and in the New from Greek MSS. of the Constantinopolitan family. It belongs to the sixth century. The edition publish-

ed at Moscow, 1743, was interpolated from the *Slavonian* version, by the Georgian princes Arcil and Wakuset. This fact greatly detracts from its authority and value, since it is now impossible to separate the more ancient from the interpolated readings.

Of the *Slavonic* version.—This translation, comprehending the entire Bible, was made by Cyril of Thessalonica and his brother Methodius, who, in the ninth century preached the gospel to the Bulgarians and Moravians, and invented the Slavonic alphabet. In the Old Testament part the Septuagint was followed, and in the New, the original. The translation is very literal, frequently violating the idiom of the Slavonian for the sake of retaining the Greek construction. Its text generally agrees with the most ancient MSS., and exhibits in the main the Constantinopolitan family. Of the readings adopted by Griesbach this version has at least three-fourths. On the whole, it is of great value in the criticism of the Greek Testament, in consequence of its excellent readings. It has been disputed whether it was subsequently altered from the Latin. Several editions have been published at different times, but that of 1581 (Ostrog in Russia) is the basis of all succeeding ones.

Gothic Version.—The Maeso-Goths were a German tribe that settled on the borders of the Greek empire, and their language is essentially a German dialect. Their version of the Bible was made by Ulphilas in the fifth century, from Constantinopolitan MSS. in the New Testament, and from the Seventy in the Old. The author is generally ranked among the Arians; but his peculiar opinions seem to have had no influence on his translation of the Bible. Unfortunately it has not been preserved entire. In 1808, Zahn published the four gospels, and a few fragments of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans. But considerable portions have been since discovered of the Pauline letters except the Epistle to the Hebrews, and two fragments of Matthew, which were printed in 1819 and 1829, under the editorial care of Maio and Castillionaeus. This version has been altered from the Vulgate, but it is easy to disjoin the additions from the more ancient and genuine text. The most distinguished MS. of it is the *codex Argenteus*, preserved in the library of the University at Upsal, containing the four gospels with considerable chasms. It received its name from *its silver letters*. The initials are golden, and the letters uncial. Critics are not agreed

respecting its antiquity, though it cannot, as some maintain, be the very copy which Ulphilas wrote with his own hand. This is proved by its having marginal readings, indicating the existence of several transcripts at the time it was copied. The part contained in it has been four times printed; but the impressions are said to be full of errors, owing to the difficulty of decyphering the letters, and to the fading of the colours in many places. The version is highly valued by critics, both from its undoubted antiquity, and from the goodness of its readings, which follow the original text with rigid imitation.

The Armenian Version.—Armenian literature begins with Miesrob the inventor of the alphabet, in the beginning of the fifth century. Before him, the Armenians used Syriac letters. After inventing a new alphabet, he immediately set about a translation of the Bible into this language, assisted by two of his pupils, which he completed in the year 410 A.D. In the Old Testament it was made from the Alexandrine Greek; in the New from the original, and not from the Old Syriac, as many have contended, for it contains the books wanting in the Syriac version. But it is pretty certain that the Peshito was consulted in the making of the translation, and that it afterwards contributed to modify and change it. Haitho or Hethom, who reigned over the Lesser Armenia and Cilicia from 1224 to 1270, is also said to have corrupted it from the Vulgate, to which as a Roman Catholic he was much attached. It was probably by him that 1 John v. 7. was inserted from the Latin, since it is not found in the ancient MSS. It is therefore difficult to discover the original state of this translation. The Armenian MSS. generally, were altered from the Vulgate after the 12th century, and we are not in possession of more ancient copies by means of which the later additions might be distinguished. The whole version was edited by Zohrab at Venice, 1805, from a MS. written in Cilicia in the 14th century, with the assistance of eight copies of the whole Bible, and twenty of the New Testament. This edition was collated for Scholz's Greek Testament. But its utility cannot be great, since it has come down to us with so many interpolations. If we could ascertain its primitive form, it would doubtless contribute much to the advancement of criticism, from the antiquity of its readings, and their intrinsic value. Scholz thinks that if we were in possession of the genuine version, we would

find it to be compounded of the Constantinopolitan and Alexandrian families.

Of the Targums.—Of the origin of the *Targums* or Chaldee versions of the Old Testament, two representations have been given, considerably differing from each other in their main features. Eichhorn and others have endeavoured to prove that their origin is not so ancient as has been generally imagined, and that the earliest of them appeared about the same time as the Talmud, or about the beginning of the third century. This topic is in some degree connected with another relative to the extinction of the Hebrew as a living language. Eichhorn supposes that it did not cease to be spoken at the exile, but that it continued some time after the return, until it was gradually lost. He conjectures, that about a century before the birth of Christ, the ancient language of the Jews was so little known among them, as to prevent the Scriptures from being intelligible when publicly read. At first they were accompanied by a kind of version or paraphrase in the Chaldee, given extempore by him whose office it was to read the law. But these oral comments soon multiplied to such a degree that it was found necessary to commit them to writing, for the instruction of the people. Persons were found competent and willing to undertake literal versions of the law and the prophets into the Aramæan tongue, when it had entirely supplanted the ancient Hebrew. We cannot place this necessity earlier than a century before the birth of Christ, whether we consider the circumstances of the Jews, the nature of the language in which their Bible was written, or the only documents remaining of the period that elapsed between the latest canonical writers, and the coming of the Redeemer. Every view we can take of all the circumstances of the case, leads away from the belief that the necessity of a version into the Chaldee language was felt much sooner than a century before Christ's appearance in the flesh. Such are the sentiments of Eichhorn respecting the extinction of the Hebrew language, and the origin of the Targums, none of which he would regard as written before the third century after Christ. But it appears from Nehemiah viii. 8, that the law was publicly read to the people in Esra's time, with the addition of a Chaldee translation; shewing that the language of the Jews was lost during their captivity at Babylon, so that after their return they could not understand their Scriptures without a version. Now, if this took place in the time of Esra, there is every reason to believe that

the custom was continued. And when we consider that public schools were soon after established, and synagogues erected, in which the interpretation of the law was chiefly attended to, we are confirmed in the same opinion. Great importance was attached to the office of *interpreter* or *translator* of the law, and the Talmudic canon was then in full force, that as the law was given by a *mediator*, so it could be read and understood only by a *mediator*. The oldest parts of the Talmud contain strict injunctions respecting public interpretations of the law, as well as the mode of reading it, and the proper sections to be chosen. The custom of extempore paraphrase seems to have given rise to palpable abuses in after times. Hence, definite hermeneutic rules were laid down, in conformity with which, the interpretation of the law should be conducted. The license of the paraphrast was curbed by canons which were gradually narrowed, and at length universally binding. It is easy to perceive how the value of written expositions would become apparent, when the freedom of the interpreter was abridged by firmly established regulations. The nature of the exposition required, called for *written* interpretations. In this way *oral* gave rise to *written* explanations, the necessity of the latter becoming still more visible when the liberty taken by the extempore translator was abridged by rules to which he must rigidly adhere. It was then readily perceived that the surest and safest method of giving the meaning, was by having a version written for the use of the people, so that nothing more would be required than the bare reading of it in their presence. *External* circumstances were also favourable to the origin of *written* explanations. The Hellenistic Jews were already in possession of the law in their own tongue; and in the 2d century, or rather in the first, the Syrians had begun to translate the holy writings into their language. Greek versions had also proceeded from the Jews themselves in opposition to the *Alexandrine*, and had obtained great approbation. In the midst of this general desire to have versions of the Old Testament in different languages, it is quite natural to suppose that the Jews who spoke the Aramæan should also seek to procure a translation of the Scriptures into their own dialect. In addition to these considerations, we find several traces to guide us to the existence of written Targums as early at least as the time of Christ. A passage in the Mishna has been thought not without probability, to speak of the language and written characters of the Targums

(Tract. Jadaim 4, § 5.) The Gemara mentions a written Targum on Job in the middle of the first century, about the time of Gamaliel (Shabbath, fol. 115, 1.) The chief objection urged against this early origin of the Chaldee versions is the silence of the fathers, none of whom makes any mention of them. Even Epiphanius and Jerome, from whom we might have expected some account of them, pass them over in silence. But this circumstance may be explained by their ignorance of the Chaldee language, and the little importance attached to such versions in comparison of the Greek translations. In opposition also to the late origin assigned to the Targums by Eichhorn and others, it may be mentioned, that they appear to have been used in the making of the Pesbitó version, or at all events they were well known to Ephrem the Syrian in the fourth century.

The language of the older Targums agrees substantially with that of the Chaldaic sections in Daniel and Ezra, but the orthography is somewhat different. The later Targums abound with foreign words, and depart much farther from the old orthography, and sometimes from the old grammatical principles of the Chaldaic. Their present vowel-pointing is different from that of the Chaldee of Daniel and Ezra. It is probable that they were at first written without the vowel points, and that they were furnished with them only after the whole Bible had been provided with such an auxiliary to its pronunciation. But whilst the vowel system of the Hebrew Bible was gradually enlarged and perfected by the Jewish grammarians, the same attention was not paid to that of the Targums, which remained as irregular as at first. Subsequently the editors of these paraphrases endeavoured to bring the pointing of them nearer to that of Daniel and Ezra; among whom Buxtorf laboured with the greatest success. These versions have been corrupted in different ways. Sometimes the abbreviations so frequently employed in them were erroneously interpreted, and sometimes their text was disfigured with interpolations. From these and other causes they are not now printed in the very same form in which they at first appeared. They have also suffered some alterations from the Masoretic text, to which they were rendered conformable when they chanced to differ from it. Even Buxtorf is supposed to have changed *their text* as well as *their vowels* after the Hebrew which he looked upon in all cases as infallibly genuine. In consequence of these circumstances it is not surprising that

the MSS. editions, and quotations from the Targums in Rabbinical writers differ considerably from one another; and that we are sometimes to look into the oldest MSS. and the citations of the Rabbins, for the true reading of a place.

The reputation of these versions among the Jews has always been great, probably because they flatter their national pride, and abound with Rabbinical fables. Some improbable accounts of their origin have been fabricated in order to heighten their credit, but such incoherent tales must be rejected by the sober inquirer.

The word *Targum* is derived from a quadrilateral root, *targam*, signifying *interpretation* or *version*. At present there are eleven extant, three of which comprehend the five books of Moses, 1st, The Targum of Onkelos. 2. That of the Pseudo-Jonathan, so called because falsely ascribed to him. 3. The Jerusalem Targum. 4. That of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Prophets. 5. That of Joseph, the Blind, or one-eyed, on the Hagiographa. 6. A Targum on the five Megilloth, *i. e.*, the Books of Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and Lamentations of Jeremiah. 7. A Targum on 1st and 2d Chronicles. 8, 9, and 10, Three explanatory of Esther. 11. The Jerusalem Targum on the Prophets. To each of these we shall now direct your attention.

LECTURE VIII.

ANCIENT VERSIONS CONTINUED.

1. **ONKELOS.**—According to the Babylonian Gemara Onkelos was a disciple of Hillel, who died sixty years B. C. This Hillel was the grandfather of Gamaliel, Paul's instructor. No good reason has yet been assigned for setting aside this testimony, though Eichhorn, disregarding the Jewish tradition, places him much later. The later Talmudists frequently confound him with Aquila, the Greek translator, a circumstance which confirms the high antiquity ascribed to him by the Babylonian Talmud. His version is incomparably the best of all the Targums. The style is pure, approaching that of Daniel and Esra. It follows the original, word for word, except in some cases where figures of speech are resolved, and anthropomorphic expressions removed or changed, lest corporeity should be attributed to God. Occasionally the translator adopts a freer, looser mode of rendering, in which instances some have conjectured that his version has been interpolated from that of the Pseudo-Jonathan. This work is particularly useful in criticism, because it is very literal, closely adhering to the original words. Wherever the translator deviates from the Masoretic text he is almost always supported by other ancient versions, whence we conclude that he followed the copy before him in these as well as other cases. The reputation of Onkelos is great among the Jews. His version was used by them as a sort of dictionary, giving the significations of Hebrew words; and they composed a Masora on his Targum like that on the Hebrew Bible, which they called *Masora Hattargum*. They also furnished it with accents. In consequence of its utility it has been oftenest printed. It is given in the Paris and London Polyglotts, taken from Buxtorf's edition of 1616.

2. *The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Prophets and Historical books.*—The accounts of Jonathan's life are obscure. He is generally said to have been the most distinguished of the eighty disciples of Hillel, and the colleague of Simeon the Just who took up the infant Christ in his arms. According to this account he lived a short time before the birth of Christ. The

grounds assigned by Eichhorn and others in favour of a more recent period, are unsatisfactory. This Targum, like that of Onkelos, is frequently mentioned in the Talmud; and must therefore have been well known when the latter was written. From several places where it closely agrees with Onkelos, some have supposed that Jonathan made use of Onkelos' version, but the contrary is rather to be assumed. Prideaux, indeed, has adduced the circumstance of his rendering the prophets to shew that he probably found the law already translated by Onkelos; but the opposite conclusion ought rather to be drawn. It is more probable that the Jews would venture to translate the prophets, in which freer scope was allowed, than that they would first undertake the more difficult task of giving a version of the law. Stricter injunctions were laid on the interpreter of the Pentateuch, and greater literality was required. According to the Talmud, he is said to have written down his translation from the mouth of the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, amidst miraculous occurrences. This circumstance shows the high reputation he had among the Jews, and seems to favour the idea that his version was the first of the kind that was made. Some have erroneously looked upon this Targum as the composition of different authors, because it is more literal in the historical books than in the prophets. It contains Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets. The style is inferior to Onkelos. It contains a number of Greek words, from which fault, however, the other is not free; but it has no *Latin* terms, as Eichhorn affirms. It exhibits a multitude of arbitrary explanations, interpolations, and later views, which greatly detract from its value. The style does not agree in the main with that of Onkelos, as Carpzov and Hävernick allege, for it is certainly less pure, freer and more paraphrastic. There is reason, however, to believe that it has been interpolated and disfigured with several additions, which ought to be carefully separated from the more ancient production. The utility of this Targum chiefly bears upon the critical history of the Hebrew text. Although generally harmonizing with the Masoretic recension, yet it differs from it in several readings of importance, in which it is preferable. It stands in the Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, and in the London Polyglott.

3. *The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch.*—This version has been falsely ascribed to the same Jonathan who trans-

lated the prophets, and historical books. The language shews that it did not proceed from him, for it is much more impure, being mixed with foreign words, such as Persian, Greek, and Latin. The mode of rendering followed in both is also totally different. It contains numerous allegories, fables, and dialogues unlike those of the real Jonathan. The dialect in which it is written is that of Jerusalem; and where the author abides by the Hebrew text, he uniformly follows the Rabbinical interpretation. The following circumstances prove that it must have been executed after the sixth century. 1st, Mention is made of the Mishna. 2d, The word Constantinople occurs, which name the city did not receive till the fourth century. 3d, The Lombards are mentioned, Numbers xxiv. 24, and also the Turks, Gen. x. 2, who became known a considerable time after the sixth century. These arguments, taken together, have been adduced to shew that it was not written before the seventh century, to the latter half of which it is assigned by Zunz, and consequently that it is utterly valueless for critical purposes. It appears, indeed, to have been partly compiled from previous interpretations of the same books of Scripture.

4. *The Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch.*—This version is called the *Jerusalem Targum*, either because it was made at Jerusalem, or from its being executed in the dialect of that place. It merely contains interpretations of select passages, and generally agrees with the Pseudo-Jonathan. The fables of the spurious Jonathan are sometimes repeated with additions, and sometimes the Hebrew words are inserted without any explanation. We meet with numerous foreign terms, Greek, Latin, and Persian mixed together, and the language is naturally impure. Whole chapters are occasionally omitted; and again a whole series of explanations is attached to a single word.

Late investigations, conducted with great labour and industry, have fully established the fact, that the Targum on the Pentateuch, falsely ascribed to Jonathan, existed much earlier under the name of the *Targum of Palestine*, or the *Jerusalem Targum*, of which there were several recensions. Thus the Pseudo-Jonathan is identified with the Targum of Jerusalem. That which now goes by the name of the *Jerusalem Targum* is merely another fragmentary recension of the same work as the Pseudo-Jonathan, (see Zunz.) The object of such post-Talmudic versions was quite different from that of the earlier ones. They were designed to

exhibit a system of allegorical interpretation agreeable to the rules laid down in the Talmud, and to embody the traditional expositions which had been long current, consisting of legendary tales and absurd opinions. Hence these two Targums furnish no assistance in the criticism or interpretation of the Old Testament. They are merely useful when viewed as sources of the mode of interpretation, and as the doctrinal system of the later Jews. It is also to be observed that they drew their traditions not only out of the Talmud, but from more ancient and freer Targums. These two versions are found in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott.

5. We come now to speak of Targums on the *Hagiographa*; and *first* of that on the three books, Psalms, Job, and Proverbs. Jewish tradition attributes this paraphrase to one author, but his name is not certainly known. Joseph the Blind is usually fixed on, who was rector of the academy at Sora in Babylonia in the fourth century. The version of the Proverbs adheres very closely to the Hebrew text, never deviating from it except in a few unimportant departures, such as in chap. x. 20; xi. 4, 15. Its agreement with the Peshito has led some to suppose that it was taken from it, and not from the Hebrew; but the coincidence can be sufficiently explained by the *literal character* of both versions, and by the kindred idioms of the languages in which they are written. In some places they differ from each other, where we are compelled to assume the use of the Hebrew. The version of Psalms and Job is nearly allied to that of the preceding in expression and style, and therefore the Targum comprising the three books is justly considered to have proceeded from the same individual. Its utility cannot be great, either in criticism or interpretation.

6. *A Targum on the five Megilloth*, viz. Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. This Targum proceeded from various unknown authors. The books are paraphrased very freely, so much so that the Hebrew original is lost in a flood of Chaldee words and Jewish puerilities. But there is a difference in the character of the several translations, some books being better interpreted than others. That of Ruth and Lamentations is tolerable,—that of Ecclesiastes much more paraphrastic. But the interpretation of Solomon's Song is, properly speaking, no version at all. It is rather an encomium on the Jewish people, filled up with absurdities and superstitions. The anachronisms of the author betray his gross ignorance of history. Of what

utility this paraphrase can be to any one in the criticism of the Scriptures, it is impossible even to conjecture.

7, 8, & 9. *Targums on Esther*.—The Jews have always been accustomed to set a high value on the Book of Esther, and to put it by the side of the Mosaic writings. It is to be expected, therefore, that several translations of it should have been made into the Chaldaic tongue. Three Targums of it have been printed: 1st, A short one without digressions in the Antwerp Polyglott; 2d, A more verbose one, full of additions, fables, and absurdities, published by Francis Tayler, called *the former Targum on Esther* (Targum prius), reprinted in the London Polyglott; 3d, That published by the same under the title of *Targum posterius*, which appears to be the work of a Rabbi. This is even more diffuse than the preceding, abounding in all manner of digressions and fabulous records. Strictly speaking, these three Targums on Esther ought only to be regarded as two; because that printed in the Antwerp Polyglott is the same, as the *Targum prius* of Tayler enlarged with glosses. Several others on the same book exist in manuscript.

10. *A Targum on Chronicles*.—This version was so long unknown, that it began at length to be doubted whether any had ever been made of the book. But in 1680-83, it was published by Beck, from an Erfurdt MS. This edition has many chasms, all of which were filled up in a later published by Wilkins, from a Cambridge MS., and accompanied with a Latin version—Amsterdam, 1715, 4to. This paraphrase is not free from Jewish fables and historical inaccuracies. Its late origin is betrayed by several circumstances, particularly the use of the Pseudo-Jonathan, and the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch, both of which are themselves recent. Criticism therefore need not expect much aid from such a source. Beck ascribes it to Joseph the Blind.

11. *A Targum of Jerusalem on the Prophets*.—In codex 154 of Kennicott (a MS. written in the year 1106), we find a passage of some length quoted in the margin at Zechariah xii. 10; but we know nothing more of it than this fragment. (See Bruns in Eichhorn's Repertorium, xv. 174.) From this account it will be seen that, as far as our present knowledge extends, there is no Chaldee version of Daniel, Esra, and Nehemiah. Hence the assertion of Robinson in his edition of Calmet's Dictionary (Boston, p. 916), that "there are smaller separate Targums on the books of Daniel, Esra, and Nehemiah," is incorrect. The reason as-

signed in the Talmud for not translating Daniel into Chaldee is, because this book reveals the exact time of the advent of Messiah. (Megillah, f. 3. 1). The true cause seems rather to be, that if these books were translated into Chaldee, the holy text of the original would be mixed with that of the paraphrase, since there are Chaldee sections in them; and the superstition of the Jews revolted from such supposed profanity. There are indeed no Chaldee pieces in Nehemiah, but it was taken along with Esra as one book, and hence no Targum of either was made.

Of the Targums in general, it may be observed, that they are of considerable use in a critical view. They show the integrity of the present Masoretic text. It is not denied that they contain readings different from some now current among the Jews, and that they appear to have been occasionally altered in order to be made more conformable to a somewhat altered original. Neither is it to be concealed that the MSS. vary from one another and from the printed copies. But although they might be more skilfully and critically edited from a mutual comparison, it is not probable that they would essentially differ from their present form. As to their having been assimilated to the Hebrew, it remains to be proved that this was done to any extent, or that it was uniformly practised. After all reasonable deductions for probable deterioration, they still afford some amount of testimony in favour of the general integrity of the Hebrew text. They may be advantageously used in a critical edition of the Bible, as suggesting readings of some importance and of real value. Onkelos and Jonathan on the Prophets, *because of their literality*, will be most serviceable, for versions manifestly decrease in value in proportion as they depart from the original. Still more useful are these Chaldee translations in *interpretation*; but this does not belong to our present subject.

A Hebrew Translation of the Chaldaic portions of Daniel and Esra.—A Rabbinical version of the Chaldee sections in Daniel and Esra has been discovered, which Kennicott printed under the text of both, and which was afterwards separately published by Schulz, at Halle, 1782. The author and age are equally unknown. The nature of the diction, however, discovers its *recent* origin. It is exceedingly literal, adhering with rigid scrupulosity to the Masoretic text, and is altogether in the Rabbinical style. It may be assigned to the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth century. Thus its value cannot be greater than that of a modern Masoretic MS.

LECTURE IX.

OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

As an appendix to the description of ancient translations, we here introduce the Samaritan Pentateuch, though it is not a version. It is the very same law as that contained in our Hebrew Bibles, written in a different character. The words are the same as those of the Jewish copy, but the letters composing these words vary in form from the Hebrew. It matters little in what locality the account of it stands, whether after MSS., which is perhaps the best place for its introduction, or after versions, provided the character of the codex itself be well understood.

In the Books of Kings we have a history of the Samaritans, given by inspiration. The ten tribes which revolted from Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, chose for their king Jeroboam, who had previously fled into Egypt for fear of Solomon. After his royal appointment he set up golden calves at Dan and Bethel, lest the repeated visits of his subjects to Jerusalem, for the purpose of worshipping God, should withdraw their allegiance from himself. Afterwards Samaria, built by Omri, became the metropolis of the kingdom of Israel; and thus the separation between Judah and Israel was rendered complete. The people took the name *Samaritans* from the capital city. In the ninth year of Hosea, it was taken by the Assyrians under Shalmaneser, who carried away the inhabitants into captivity, and introduced new colonies into their place, from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avah, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim. (See 2d Kings xvii. 24.) These new inhabitants introduced their own idolatrous worship; and on being infested with lions, which they believed to be sent by the local deities of the place of whom they were ignorant, they communicated with Esarhaddon, the King of Assyria. A priest of the tribe of Levi was accordingly sent, who came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught the people how they should fear the Lord. Thus it appears that their religion was of a mixed character; for in it the worship of various idols was associated with that of the one living and true God. But their

apostacy was not universal, for even when apparently most extensive, God had reserved to himself seven thousand men who had not bowed the knee to Baal. On the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, the Samaritans wished to join them in rebuilding the temple, saying, "Let us build with you: for we seek your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esarhaddon, King of Assur, which brought us up hither." Ezra iv. 2. But the Jews declined the proffered assistance; and from this time the Samaritans threw every obstacle in their way, and retarded the building as much as possible. Hence arose that inveterate enmity between the two nations, which afterwards increased to such a height as to become proverbial. We find afterwards, that in the reign of Darius Nothus, Manasses, son of the Jewish high priest, married the daughter of Sanballat, the Samaritan governor; and, to avoid the necessity of repudiating her as the law of Moses required, went over to the Samaritans, and became high priest in the temple which his father-in-law built for him on Mount Gerizim. From this time Samaria became a refuge for all malcontent Jews; and the very name of each people became odious to the other. About the year 109 B. C. John Hyrcanus, high-priest of the Jews, destroyed the city and temple of the Samaritans; but twenty-five years B. C. Herod rebuilt for them a city and temple at great expense. In this new temple, however, they could not be induced to offer sacrifices; but still continued to worship on Gerizim. At the present day they have dwindled down to a few families. Shechem, now called *Naplos* or *Nablos*, is their place of abode. They still possess a copy of the Mosaic law.

With this remnant a correspondence has been several times instituted by learned men in Europe, but without leading to any important result. It was commenced by Joseph Scaliger, in 1559, and again, after a century, by several learned men in England, in 1675; and by the great Ethiopic scholar Job Ludolf, in 1685. Lately the orientalist De Sacy of Paris, again held correspondence with them. All their letters, and all that is known respecting them, he published in a work entitled, *Correspondence des Samaritaines*, &c. Paris 1829. The best account we have of them, as given by modern travellers, is that of the late American missionary, Pliny Fisk, dated November 19, 1823. (See *Missionary Herald*, p. 310, for 1824.)

"After taking some refreshment we went to visit the Samari-

tans, having first sent to the *Kohen* or priest to know if a visit would be agreeable. His name is Schalmar Ben Tabiah. His first name he sometimes pronounces Salomer. I believe it is the same as Solomon, which the Jews in Jerusalem now pronounce Shloma. He received us in a neat apartment, and we immediately entered into conversation. Ten or twelve other members of the sect soon came in. Our conversation was in Arabic. They represent the number of their houses to be twenty or thirty—about sixty pay the capitation tax. They say there are no other Samaritans in this country, but they are quite disposed to think they are numerous in other parts of the world. In Paris they suppose they were very numerous, until, in a time of war between the French and some other nation, the Samaritans were dispersed. They say that there are however four still living in Paris. They inquired whether there are any Samaritans in England, and seemed not at all gratified when we told them, no. On learning that I was from America, they inquired if there are Samaritans there. I told them no; but they confidently asserted the contrary, and that there were also many in India. They maintain that they are the lineal descendants of Jacob: the *Kohen* and his sons, only, of the tribe of Levi; one family from the tribe of Benjamin; four or five from Manasseh, and the rest from Ephraim. We asked what they would do for a priest if the *Kohen* and his sons should die, and thus the tribe of Levi become extinct. They replied, (*bazah ma beseer*), ‘this does not happen.’ They all speak Arabic, but their books and public prayers are in Samaritan. They call their language Hebrew, and that which we call Hebrew, they call Jewish; for they say their language is the true Hebrew in which the law was given. The difference consists in the use of a different alphabet and different pronunciation. They go three times a year to Mount Gerizim to worship, but do not offer sacrifices there now as they did formerly, lest they should be molested by the Turks. But they offer their sacrifices in a more private way, in the city. We understood them to say that they have no daily sacrifice. We visited their synagogue. It is a small, dark, but neat room, with an altar, but without seats. We were obliged, before entering, to pull off not only our over-shoes, but also our slippers, which are not prohibited even in mosques; and Mr. Jowett was obliged to take off an outer garment which he wears, that is lined with fur. No person can approach the altar except the *Kohen* and his sons.

They expect a Messiah, who is to be a prophet and king, but a mere man, to live 120 years, as Moses did, and to reign at Naplous, over all the world. Those who do not receive him are to be destroyed with the sword. The promise concerning the woman's seed, does not, they believe refer to the Messiah; but that concerning a prophet like unto Moses does refer to him, as does also that concerning Shiloh, Gen. xlix. 10. They admit the sense of this passage as given in our translation, and try to show that there is still a sceptre somewhere, in the hands of Judah. The Messiah will come when Israel repent. They say the story of the separation between Israel and Judah, under Jeroboam and Rehoboam is a lie of the Jews. The city of Luz, or Bethel, they say was on Mount Gerizim, Gen. xxviii. 19. Jebus, they say, was also on this mount, and that Judges xix. 10, as it stands in our copies, is not true.

“ The next day we renewed our visit to the Samaritans. We had yesterday requested to see their ancient copy of the law. The Kohen objected, but after much persuading, and indirectly presenting the motive which generally prevails in this country, *i. e.* the offer of money, he at last consented to show it to us this morning. In order to do it, he said he must first bathe, and then put on a particular dress for the occasion. On our arrival at the synagogue we waited a short time, and he appeared, entered the synagogue, approached the altar, kneeled and put his face to the floor, then opened the little closet which contained the holy book, kneeled and put his face to the floor again, then brought out the brass case which contained the roll, and opened it so as to show us the manuscript, but we were not allowed to touch it. It is in the Samaritan character, and the Kohen says it was written by Abishua, the grandson of Aaron, thirteen years after the death of Moses, and 3269 years ago. (See 1 Chron. vi. 4.) Another brass case stood near this, containing an exact copy of the original manuscript, said to have been made 800 years ago. On a shelf, in the synagogue, were a considerable number of copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch. We saw also the relict of the Polyglott Bible mentioned by Maundrell. The Bible of the Samaritans contains only the five books of Moses. They have, however, Joshua and Judges, but in separate books. They say that since Joshua there has been no prophet. He was the disciple of Moses, and inferior to him. David was king in Jerusalem, but not a prophet. We inquired whether the Samaritans held it lawful to read

the books of Christians. They said there was no law against it, and we left with them one Testament in Arabic, and another in Hebrew."

The Samaritan Pentateuch was mentioned by the fathers Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius of Gaza, Diodorus, Jerome and others. After it had lain concealed for upwards of a thousand years, its existence began to be doubted, and the passages referring to it to be explained in a forced and unnatural sense. At length, Peter a Valle, in 1616, procured a complete copy, which A. H. de Sancy sent to the library of the priests of the oratory at Paris in 1623. It was first described by Morin in the preface to the new edition of the Roman text of the Septuagint, Paris 1628; and afterwards it was printed in the Paris Polyglott. About the same time Usher received six copies from the East, five of which are still in England; but the sixth, which he sent to L. de Dieu, has disappeared. In 1621 the Samaritan codex, now in the Ambrosian library at Milan, was sent to Italy. Meanwhile Peiresc purchased three MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch, two of which are at present in the Royal library at Paris, the other in the Barberinian at Rome. It was inserted in the London Polyglott with emendations, having been previously published in that of Paris.

In respect to the antiquity of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the source from which it was received, various opinions have been entertained; and even now the controversy on these points can hardly be considered as settled. The various theories may be reduced to four.

1st. That held by Usher, who maintained that the Samaritan Pentateuch was the production of an impostor named Dositheus, the founder of a sect among the Samaritans who pretended to be the Messiah. It is alleged that he compiled this copy of the Pentateuch from the Hebrew and the Septuagint, adding, expunging, and altering according to his pleasure. In support of such a hypothesis, Usher appeals to Origen and Photius, whose testimony however, when examined, affords no evidence of the truth of his statement. This impostor was too inconsiderable and of too little authority to have succeeded in procuring universal currency to a forgery. The Alexandrine Samaritans as is well known, opposed Dositheus, and would not have received such a compilation. Besides, if he had corrupted any passages, it is natural to think that he would have perverted those relating to

the Messiah, that they might with greater ease be referred to himself. But all places of this nature in the Samaritan copies agree with the Hebrew; and we may be farther assured that the Jews would not have failed to mention such a fact, as a just ground of accusation against their enemies the Samaritans.

2d. Le Clerc held that this copy of the law was made by the Israelitish priest who was sent by the King of Assyria to instruct the new inhabitants in the religion of the country. All this is mere hypothesis supported by no historical testimony. It was not necessary for the priest to compose a new system, but to instruct the people out of the Pentateuch as it then existed. And when the existing copy was sufficient for his purpose, he would not undertake the labour of preparing an entirely new work.

3d. The opinion of Hottinger, Prideaux, Fitzgerald and others, who think that Manasseh transcribed one of Esra's copies, which he took with him from Jerusalem, into the old character to which they were accustomed. In proof of this, it has been affirmed that the variations in the Samaritan copy from the Hebrew are such as were occasioned in the transcription by mistaking letters similar in Hebrew, but unlike in the Samaritan. This hypothesis is completely set aside by Kopp's treatise on Shemitish palaeography. This learned philologist has shown in a most convincing manner, that the present Hebrew square character had no existence till long after the time of Esra; and that, so far from owing its origin to Chaldea, and having been introduced by Esra, it was merely a gradual work of time, similar to the changes produced in other alphabets. He has traced it from the inscriptions on the bricks at Babylon down through the Phenician, the old Hebrew and Samaritan coin letters, the older and more recent Palmyrene or Syriac characters, to the modern Hebrew. Thus at the time when Manasseh fled from Jerusalem, the Samaritan and Hebrew character must have been substantially identical. It may be observed, that this time has also been fixed on by Gesenius as the most probable period of the origination of the Samaritan codex, but such an opinion arises from the belief that the Jewish Pentateuch did not receive its present form till the time of the Babylonian captivity. He thinks also that many peculiar readings of this copy can be best accounted for on such a ground.

4th. Others are of opinion that copies of the Pentateuch must have been in the hands of the Israelites, from the time of Reho-

boam, not less than among the Jews, and that they continued to be preserved by the former as well as by the latter. This opinion, which was advanced by Morin, has been adopted by Houbigant, Cappellus, Kennicott, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bauer, Bertholdt, Stuart, and others, and appears to me to be altogether probable and just. The prophets, who frequently inveigh against the Israelites for their crimes and idolatries, never accuse them of wanting the law, or of ignorance of its contents. But it may be asserted, that when the greater part of the people were carried away captive into Assyria, they took with them all the copies of the law which they had. This is improbable. It is not likely that the remnant were totally deprived of the copies which we suppose to have been in their hands, for we find that in the time of adversity and distress, they remembered the Lord, and turned to his word. But granting that all the copies of the law were taken along with the inhabitants into Assyria and the other countries whither they were carried, we must suppose that the priest sent by the King of Assyria would take a copy with him, since his office was to instruct the people out of the law. Thus we are brought to the conclusion that the Samaritan as well as the Jewish copies originally flowed from the autograph of Moses. The two copies constitute in fact two different recensions of the same work, and thus coalesce in point of antiquity.

If this account of the Samaritan codex be true, it is easy to see the reason why the Samaritans received nothing more than the five books of Moses. At the period of the separation of the tribes, these books were commonly circulated and universally regarded as a sacred national collection containing all their laws and institutions. And though David's Psalms and some of the writings of Solomon may have been also written at that time, yet the former were chiefly in the hands of the Levites who regulated the temple-music, and were used for the *public service* of Jehovah, rather than as a manual for private instruction; while the latter must have been hated by the ten tribes on account of their author who lived at Jerusalem, and were also rare, from the non-transcription of copies. The prophets too commissioned of God to proclaim his will, and to commit their message to writing, must have been unacceptable to the Israelites, because they uttered many things against them, affirming that Jehovah could not be acceptably worshipped in any other place than Jerusalem.

This circumstance was sufficient to prevent them from receiv-

ing any of the prophetic writings till Esra's time, when their hatred to him and his associates was so great that they would not have admitted his collection of the Scriptures. Whatever other books besides the Pentateuch may have been written in the time of Rehoboam must have been comparatively unknown to the body of the people. This fact in connection with political considerations, was quite sufficient to lead the Israelites to reject all except those of Moses.

Thus it appears that the Samaritan Pentateuch cannot be ascribed to a later period than the division of the tribes. All the arguments lately adduced by Gesenius to refute this opinion are not able to disprove its truth, or to shake its authority. He has been well answered by Eichhorn in the 4th edition of his "Introduction to the Old Testament," and by Stuart of America. It is evident also, that the name Samaritans was first given to that mixed multitude composed of the heathen introduced by Shalmaneser into the kingdom of Israel and of the lower classes of the ten tribes whom he had not carried away. Whatever civil jealousies may have previously existed between them and the Jews, their religious animosities were first excited when Esra and his countrymen returning from exile, refused their co-operation in building the temple. Subsequent events far from allaying their mutual hatred, only roused it to a higher pitch, giving it that permanent and durable form in which it was continued through succeeding centuries.

With regard to the value and authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch there has been considerable difference of sentiment. Some critics have contended for its *superiority* to the Hebrew copy, or at least its *equal value*, while others have regarded it as far inferior. The most eminent critics in late times are disposed to attach considerable importance to many of its readings, while admitting on the whole that it is not equal to the Jewish copy. But Gesenius has shown that very little value is to be assigned to the characteristic features of its text. In the course of a very able investigation, he has proved that no critical reliance can be placed on it; and that it is altogether unjustifiable to use it as a mean of correcting the Hebrew. He has divided all the various readings it exhibits into different classes, under each of which are adduced numerous examples. By a most copious and minute investigation of particulars he has shown, that this document cannot be employed as a source of emendation in the man-

ner recommended by Bauer and others. In consequence of this masterly dissertation, few will be disposed to set much value on its characteristic readings, or to employ them as helps for the establishment of an uncorrupted text. Its credit in the critical world is now destroyed; and it is to be placed much lower in the scale of authorities than the position previously assigned to it by the most eminent scholars. The purity of the Hebrew is not to be corrupted by additions or corrections from such a document; neither is it to be reckoned of any weight in the establishment of the original text of the Old Testament.

In describing the various classes into which Gesenius has divided the peculiarities of the Samaritan codex, I shall follow the account given by Mr. Stuart, to whom we are indebted for a very able review of Gesenius' treatise, in which several topics of great interest are handled with superior talent, learning, and judgment. The reader may also find an abstract of Gesenius' treatise, in Professor Lee's prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott.

1. The first class consists of such readings as exhibit emendations of a mere grammatical nature. For example, the *matres lectionis* are supplied in orthography, the full forms of verbs substituted for the apocopated forms, and in respect of the pronouns, the usual forms are substituted for the unusual ones.

The 2d. class consists of glosses received into the text. These glosses furnish explanations of more difficult words, by such as appeared plainer and more intelligible.

The 3d class comprehends those readings in which plain modes of expression are substituted, in place of such as appeared difficult or obscure in the Hebrew text.

The 4th class consists of those readings in which the Samaritan copy is corrected from parallel passages; or apparent defects supplied from them.

The 5th class consists of additions or repetitions respecting things said or done, which are derived from the preceding context, and again recorded, so as to make the readings in question.

6th. Corrections made to remove what was offensive in point of sentiment, or in other words, which conveyed things improbable in the view of the correctors. Thus, in the antediluvian genealogy, none according to the Samaritan Pentateuch is represented as having begotten his first son after he was one hundred and fifty years old. In the postdiluvian genealogy, on the contrary, no one is allowed to have begotten a son until after

he was fifty years old. Hence, in the former case, the Samaritan usually takes a hundred years from the genealogy, as it is found in the Hebrew; whilst in the latter, one hundred years are commonly added, at least to all those whom the Hebrew copy makes to have children under fifty years of age, except to Nahor. Such changes could not have been accidental, but are evidently the effects of design, as is apparent from the regularity of the principle by which they are pervaded.

The 7th class consists of those in which the pure Hebrew idiom is exchanged for that of the Samaritan. This respects many cases of orthography, and some of the forms of verbs, for example, the second person feminine of the preterite which has a yod paragogic in the Samaritan, and some other forms.

The 8th class embraces such passages as contain alterations made to produce conformity to the Samaritan theology, worship, or mode of interpretation. Thus where the Hebrew has a plural verb with *elohim*, the Samaritan has substituted a verb in the singular, (Gen. xx. 13; xxxi. 53; xxxv. 7. Exodus xxii. 9), lest there should be any appearance of infringing the divine unity. So also they have put *voces honestiores* in some cases where there was a fancied immodesty. To this head Gesenius has referred the notable passage in Deuteronomy xxvii. 4, where the Samaritans changed Ebal into Gerizim, to favour their own temple, which they built on the latter mountain. Some, indeed, have attempted to shew, that this alteration is to be charged on the Jews; but they have not been successful in recommending their opinion to the general acceptance of biblical scholars. The most strenuous defender of the Samaritans in this passage, is Dr. Kennicott, who has certainly advanced some ingenious arguments in favour of the Samaritan reading. But Verschuir, (*Dissertationes exegeticae philologicae* 1773), completely overthrew his reasoning, so that few acquainted with the answer have since ventured to espouse the cause of Kennicott. Of all the readings in the Samaritan Pentateuch, only four are considered by Gesenius as preferable to the Hebrew. These are Gen. iv. 6; xxii. 13; xlix. 14; xiv. 14. It may be doubted, however, whether even these should be deemed superior to the corresponding passages in the Jewish copy.

On the whole, this codex, used by the Samaritans, cannot for a moment be put in comparison with the Hebrew, nor used at all as a source of emendation. Its deviations from the other recension of the Pentateuch, have so much the appearance of design, that

they cannot be allowed to modify or set aside the readings of the Jewish codex. In general, we can easily trace the object of these peculiarities, and the motives to which they owe their origin. Hence they cannot be regarded as of authority or value in the province of criticism. They may serve to shew the interpretation given to a place in early times; but as to their use in restoring displaced readings and in expunging interpolated phrases or words, it cannot be made subservient to the criticism of the Bible. The difference between the two recensions chiefly consists in additions to the Samaritan text. Now, an omission may be made inadvertently, but an insertion evinces design. When, therefore, we usually meet with words and clauses in the Samaritan that are not found in the Hebrew, it is much more probable that they should have been inserted in the one, than that they should have been purposely omitted in the other.

In placing the Hebrew above the Samaritan in all cases, we do not proceed on the false supposition of the absolute integrity of the Masoretic copies. We know that variations exist among the latter, which must be carefully considered and compared; and that other helps must be used for ascertaining the genuine unadulterated text. But we cannot prefer the reading of the Samaritan to the Hebrew, when the two are opposite. Other considerations, indeed, may incline us to adopt the particular words of the Samaritan even when they vary from the Hebrew, as it stands in our common editions. The preponderance of MSS. and of ancient versions may induce us to receive the Samaritan reading; but we would not admit it into the text in opposition to a number of Hebrew MSS., on the sole responsibility of such a codex. The authentic text should not be selected partly from the one and partly from the other; but it should be formed from all the materials we possess. We do not strip the Samaritan recension of all value, but we attach to it little weight in comparison of the Hebrew.

Having thus stated my opinion as decidedly favourable to the Hebrew copy, in preference to the Samaritan, and having briefly alluded to the general grounds of such superiority, I would farther remark by way of corroboration, that the general character of the two nations strengthens the sentiments advocated. The wickedness of Israel was much greater than that of Judah, for the former were more addicted to idolatry. Having less reverence for Jehovah, it is natural to suppose that they regarded his word

less; and scrupled not to reject the other books, of whose existence numbers among them, though separated from their brethren of Judah, must have been aware. The Samaritans were less solicitous about copies of the law than the Jews, and less watchful in their preservation. The latter, we know, were extremely careful to guard the purity of their sacred writings, and scrupulous in altering any thing written. From their general character we cannot attribute to them such designed and systematic additions as those which the Samaritan codex contains, and the Samaritan disposition does not disallow. Hence, though the Samaritan copy could not have been so frequently transcribed as the Hebrew codex, and though the carelessness or ignorance of copyists furnished less cause of mistake, yet we cannot attribute their discrepancies to the depravation of the Jewish.'

But it may be said that the Samaritan deserves the preference, because the Septuagint generally agrees with it where it differs from the Hebrew. Our Lord, and his apostles, quoted oftenest from the Seventy, and their testimony might be regarded as decisive of the value to be attached to the Samaritan. Since they usually preferred the readings of the Alexandrine translation, with which the Samaritan agrees in opposition to the Hebrew, does not this show the superiority of the recension with which the Septuagint coincides? This argument appears plausible at first sight, but its force vanishes when closely examined. Though the Septuagint may generally agree with the Samaritan, yet it also differs from it. We must therefore inquire into the harmony between the quotations of the New Testament from the Pentateuch, and the Septuagint; and then into the coincidence of the Samaritan with this translation in the particular passages cited by the New Testament writers. It is only in case we find the quotations of the New Testament agreeing with the text of the Seventy, and Samaritan, in opposition to the Hebrew, that we are warranted to draw an argument from this circumstance, tending to the disparagement of the Jewish recension. For this purpose I instituted a particular examination of all the quotations from the Pentateuch that are found in the New Testament. The result of this inquiry is the following:—In twenty passages there is no difference between the citation in the Greek Testament and in the Hebrew, Septuagint and Samaritan. All of them agree in exhibiting these places in the same form. There is no perceptible variation in them as they stand in the four documents just

mentioned. In two instances only did I find that the New Testament coincided with the Samaritan and Septuagint, in opposition to the Hebrew. Nor can any thing be built upon these two cases in favour of any hypothesis, because the variation in them is extremely slight. For example, Matthew ix. 4, is taken from Deuteron. viii. 3. In the Samaritan, Septuagint, and Greek Testament we have a distinct term signifying *word*; "every *word* that proceedeth," &c.; in the original Hebrew there is no such separate term. But it is easy to perceive that they all amount to the same thing, for "*word*" is implied in the Hebrew. The other example occurs in Romans iv. 3, taken from Genesis xv. 6. In the Samaritan, Septuagint, and New Testament, we find "it was counted to him for righteousness," but in the Hebrew it reads "he, (God), counted it to him, (Abraham), for righteousness." Here also there is in reality no difference. The verb to *count* or *impute*, taken actively and passively, does not in the least degree alter the meaning of the proposition. Such are the only examples I have found of the New Testament, Samaritan, and Septuagint agreeing where they differ from the Hebrew Pentateuch; and the variation is so slight that it scarcely deserves the name. No argument for the superiority of the Samaritan to the Hebrew Pentateuch can be drawn from these two instances, since the difference is almost a nonentity. When we consider farther, that the New Testament sometimes agrees with the Septuagint where the Hebrew and Samaritan differ from both, we will see that there is no ground for the superiority of the Samaritan to the Hebrew Pentateuch. Thus in 2 Cor. xiii. 1, quoted from Deuteron. xix. 15, the Septuagint and Greek Testament coincide, whilst they differ from the Hebrew and Samaritan, both of which exactly harmonise. I might also refer to a few other passages where the same thing is exemplified, but I deem it unnecessary. It is quite sufficient for my present purpose to have observed, from the fullest induction, that although there are many places of the Greek Testament where slight discrepancies exist between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, when at the same time the latter coincides with the Greek Testament, yet that the Samaritan Pentateuch oftener agrees with the Hebrew than with the Septuagint. Hence nothing can be inferred in favour of the Samaritan against the Hebrew, from the general coincidence between the Samaritan and Septuagint, and the well known fact that the latter is more frequently quoted in the Greek Testament than the Hebrew.

In Exodus xii. 40, the reading of the Samaritan is generally preferred to that of the Hebrew. "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years." So it stands in the Jewish copy, whereas the Samaritan has "the sojourning of the children of Israel, and of their fathers who dwelt in Egypt and in the land of Canaan was 430 years. This addition is reckoned necessary to render the account consistent with history. The Hebrews abode in Egypt only 215 years, but from the call of Abraham to the Exodus was just 430. To me the correction seems to have been made by the Samaritans, in order to remove a chronological difficulty. It is true that the Seventy have the same supplement; but it is remarked in the Talmud by the ancient Jews, that the Septuagint translators amended the text in this place. Thus we perceive that the reading is not modern. The passage presents no real difficulty even as it stands in our Hebrew copies. It is not said that the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt was 430 years, as is erroneously taken for granted by many, but it is merely stated that their sojourning was 430 years. The clause, *who dwelt in Egypt is incidental, not essential* to the sentence. Had the words stood thus, —*the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years IN THAT COUNTRY*, then there would indeed have been a chronological difficulty; but as the passage at present stands, there is nothing imperfect or obscure in the sense conveyed. We know that the sojourning of the children of Israel in various places, beginning at the time when Abram was called by Jehovah, and ending with the departure of his descendants from Egypt, occupied the space of 430 years, which is precisely pointed out in the words before us. I cannot therefore but regard the Samaritan addition as made with no other design than that of solving an imaginary difficulty.

But although we discard the Samaritan Pentateuch as a source of emendation, it is not without utility. Where it agrees with the Hebrew we have strong testimony that the reading is authentic; since they must be reckoned independent witnesses. Between the Jews and Samaritans there could have been no collusion to alter any passage. Such were their jealousies and bitterness towards each other, that we cannot conceive of the possibility of a covenant between them to corrupt the word of God. As a witness, therefore, for the general integrity of the Pentateuch, this recension is of great weight. Although there are

many differences between the two editions, they agree substantially in all the sentiments expressed, and the facts recorded. Here then we have the independent testimony of two witnesses, belonging to different places, and having no intercourse for more than two thousand years, harmonising in all statements, and transmitting the truth in the same words, with the exception of trifling variations. How can this be accounted for on any other hypothesis than the authenticity and antiquity of the Mosaic records? We do not find that the Jews accused the Samaritans of corrupting the Scriptures, neither does it appear that the Samaritans brought such a charge against the Jews. Had there been just ground for the accusation, it is quite probable that it would have been advanced. Besides, this copy has been of great utility in dissipating the rigid notions entertained by the Buxtorfs and others, concerning the letters and vowel points. The discovery of this codex put to flight all extravagant opinions respecting the coevality of the letters, points, and accents. It proved that the two latter were a late invention, devised for the purpose of keeping up the pronunciation of the Hebrew, when it ceased to be a living language. This copy of the law may be consulted to advantage in the interpretation of some passages that have been disputed. Thus in Genesis iii. 15, it shews that the pronoun is to be taken in the masculine gender, and should be translated *he*, not *she*, as the Vulgate has it. It is well known to Hebrew scholars that the pronoun here employed is of the common gender in the Pentateuch, and may be translated in the feminine as far as itself is concerned. But the Samaritan confirms the masculine acceptance, as indeed the Jews have always understood it. This is manifest, from the mode of pointing adopted by the Jews.

In the preceding account of Ancient Versions, I have not given a description of those called *mediate*, since they can be of no authority in settling the genuine text of the original. Those only that have been made *immediately* from the Hebrew or the Greek, are to be regarded as witnesses for particular readings. The former contribute to the establishment of the text of the version from which they were taken, but farther than this, their influence cannot be allowed to reach.

LECTURE X.

ANCIENT VERSIONS CONCLUDED.

In applying any of the ancient versions to the criticism of the Bible, we must first endeavour to procure a correct text of the version itself; for, unless this be done, we will be in danger of attributing to the original, readings which may not be truly warranted by the translation in which we have found them. It is certainly matter of regret that these versions have not been critically edited. Men of learning have frequently published them in an imperfect state. And yet it is both reasonable and necessary that different MSS. and various sources of correction should be employed in their emendation. Editors have often filled up by conjecture such places as were imperfect in their MSS., giving little attention to the comparison of several copies of the version on which they were employed. We should, in the first place, endeavour to obtain as correct an edition as possible of the translation we intend to apply to criticism. And when we find a particular reading in a version differing from that which is generally received, we must examine whether it be a later addition. Ancient versions, in their descent through many centuries to the present time, have suffered deterioration, as necessarily happens to every record of antiquity. They have been altered, corrupted, modified, and changed, by such as have undertaken at various times to transcribe or to amend their texts. They have also been corrected by one another, so that we are often presented with the commingled readings of two or more versions, with no means of separating the component parts into their original distinctness. Thus the Vulgate has exercised an important influence on many translations, in their descent to the present time. It has become so incorporated and blended with others, that they cannot be looked upon as now existing in their original state. From these, and other causes, many ancient translations are not in the same condition as when they first appeared. The Vulgate itself is particularly liable to this charge, so that it must be used with extreme caution. After we have been exceedingly scrupulous in implicitly adopting

a reading merely because it is found in an ancient version, and when we have satisfied ourselves as far as we may, that the passage under review has not been altered in the text of the version, we are next to look to the antiquity of the version itself. The greater its antiquity, the more value *ceteris paribus* is to be attributed to it. The reason of this is obvious. • A translator, in proportion to his nearness to the times when the autographs of the Scriptures were in circulation, is expected to have had purer and more correct MSS. than subsequent transcripts. The nearer the stream is to its source, the clearer are its waters; whilst the farther we go from the limpid fountain we observe the waters muddied by tributary rivulets. So is it with ancient translators, and the MSS. they possessed. Next to the *age*, we must endeavour to ascertain the *character* of the version itself. And here the first consideration is unquestionably the *degree of literality* it exhibits. According to this standard, so will its value in criticism rise or fall. Some versions are exceedingly paraphrastic. Their authors studied elegance and perspicuity of expression, by transfusing the force and spirit of the original into the translations they undertook to execute. Such works will be useful for *interpretation*, but not for *criticism*. They shew the *meaning* attached to the original words, more clearly than *the words themselves* which the translator found in his MS. But when a version is literally executed—when its author has endeavoured to give a corresponding word for each term of the document before him; then we see with tolerable certainty, the exact text of the original which he followed. Literal versions, therefore, such as the Targum of Onkelos, are most to be relied on, as evidence for the existence of particular readings. We must also examine whether an interpreter was master of the languages on which he was employed. If he betray an occasional ignorance of words—if he give a double explanation of the same phrase—if he seem to have deviated from his MS., because it was unintelligible to him, by giving a rendering not appropriate—if he have omitted some terms altogether, then his authority is unquestionably lessened. Some translators consulted one or more versions in making their own. This circumstance deserves to be attended to, because it may lead us to assign but one voice to two separate witnesses. But, in most instances, this may be regarded as an enhancement of the value of a version, provided the others have not been slavishly followed through ignorance, or copied when erroneous. I admit

that it is difficult to detect these things, but when we meet with them in places where there is a certainty of their truth, we ought to be more watchful in such instances as partake of dubiety.

When a version exhibits diversities of style, shewing itself to be the work of several individuals, we must determine the degree of merit due to each, according to the character of his own production. Thus, in the case of the Septuagint, we assign a graduated scale of merit to different books, because they bear the indubitable marks of having proceeded from unequal translators. Nor is the country of the translator to be overlooked, when it may be ascertained, because it may lead to an acquaintance with the probable character of the MSS. he used. Different families of MSS. were current among different people; and we classify *versions* along with *recensions*, not merely according to the characteristic readings they exhibit, but also by the country to which they belong. Still, the great point to be attended to is the character and merit of the version itself. If the translator have introduced other readings than those in the copy before him—if he have omitted some words as unimportant—if he have altered the original from ignorance, or paraphrased or glossed over what he did not well understand, we must make due allowance for these and other manifestations of deterioration; and, in all such instances, carefully abstain from following his authority. It is not improbable, also, that errors may have arisen in a version, from the author mistaking similar words or letters, or from the faded ink of the MS. he used. We are certain that translators actually fell into such mistakes, because we can point to examples fully corroborative of our alleged explanation. They may also lead us to suspect various readings by the erroneous manner in which they divided the text originally written without any separation of words.

These considerations may serve to shew, that it is necessary to use the utmost caution in the application of ancient versions to the purposes of criticism. Many of them have been so much altered from other versions, or from the original by later hands, or from conjecture, that they themselves present various readings. To separate the authentic text from later additions, and to restore it, as far as possible, to the form in which it proceeded from its author, is a task extremely difficult and frequently impossible. Treatises on separate versions, (such as those of Winer on Onkelos, of Roediger on the Arabic translations of the Historical

Books, and of Rosenmüller on the Persian Pentateuch,) must appear in greater abundance, before these sources can be successfully applied to the emendation and establishment of the originals of the Holy Scriptures. Their history must be better known, and their character more accurately described, before they be productive of all the benefit which we may believe them capable of affording. Till then we must just take them as they are, with all the imperfections that adhere to them in their present printed form, and exercise our best judgment in employing them with the least liability to mistake. The Septuagint, the Old Syriac, and the Targum of Onkelos, may be ranked first in the catalogue of those to which the greatest value should be attached; while the Vulgate and Harclean must not be overlooked as among the *best aids*. These five are the chief in utility, though it may be questioned whether they have not been overrated in criticism. For, when we come to inspect them with minuteness, and to scrutinize their readings with care, we meet with much in them that is erroneous. We are often compelled to regard them as corrupted, or to charge mistakes to the account of the translators themselves, or to impute to both causes the blunders that present themselves so frequently. They are certainly more valuable in interpretation than in criticism. They exhibit the *meaning attached to words and phrases* in early times, when their authors had better opportunities of knowing the languages of the Scriptures than we at present possess.

It will be necessary for those engaged in this department of study, when consulting the Polyglott Bibles, not to rely on the Latin translations of the oriental versions there given. It has been found that they are occasionally erroneous, betraying marks of haste, negligence, and ignorance.

In estimating the comparative value of versions among themselves in individual cases, we must be influenced by the number and merits of those containing particular readings, as we mark their agreement with the scope of the passage in which they occur, in opposition to the evidence of other translations. A version which is more ancient, literal, and pure, has naturally greater authority than one with fewer claims to such excellencies. We must also count the number of those agreeing in the same reading. In comparing ancient translations with MSS., and judging of their relative authority, it is more difficult to lay down fixed rules. There is no doubt that a reading certainly found in a version, is

entitled to equal consideration with that of a MS. belonging to the same age. One or more translations may also contain an authentic reading, though it be wanting in a majority of MSS. Whenever, therefore, we may be induced, principally by the authority of the ancient versions, to correct the text of the Bible, we are not justly liable to the charge of altering or amending from a *copy* instead of the *original*; for what are versions but transcripts into another language of the text of MSS.? We should also recollect that several of the versions are older than any manuscript copies we now possess. Hence their age attaches to them more importance even than later documents existing in the original languages of the Bible. Great care, however, should be taken in deciding between the authority of a reading sanctioned by a number of versions, and of another recommended by a number of MSS. Wherever both agree we may be sure that the reading is authentic; but when MSS. and versions vary, we must be guided by considerations of their age, merit, and character, in connection with the scope of the passage and parallel places. I would not, however, attach equal value to an equal number of versions with MSS., unless the latter chanced to be notoriously corrupt. MSS. must be preferred *ceteris paribus*, as evidence for the existence of a reading. It seldom happens that we are obliged to balance these two sources of criticism against each other with an almost equality. All the copies of the originals, and all the versions, generally agree in material readings; and thus we have indubitable proof of the authenticity and purity of the Scriptures. Both harmonize in all cases of essential importance, and we are seldom at a loss to decide which reading ought to be adopted. We are not left to one source of emendation, or to one class of ancient witnesses—we possess several means of establishing the integrity of the Holy Scriptures, and of bringing them near that primitive state of purity in which they issued from the inspired writers.

Having thus seen that the vast collection of various readings, derived from versions, is highly useful, we come to notice the question, why does so great a number exist? Why do the ancient interpreters furnish such a multitude. Could the MSS. from which they copied have exhibited so great diversity, as to cause the countless variations that now exist? I am inclined to believe that a great part of them has arisen from the ignorance, negligence, or hurry of the translators themselves, in addition to other

causes obvious to all. Did we certainly know the precise Hebrew or Greek words found in the documents from which they made their versions, we would see much less diversity. But we cannot really tell, in many instances, what they read in the MSS. before them, by reason of a multitude of circumstances, at some of which I have already hinted. Probably we often set down as various readings furnished by versions, what are only attributable to the unskilfulness or haste of the persons by whom they were made, or to their desire to alter and explain what they may have found unintelligible, or considered obscure. It would much curtail the present list of various readings gathered from these ancient witnesses, could we not only separate the later amendments from their genuine texts, but go up to the MSS. themselves from which the interpreters translated, and point out the instances where they have failed to give the correct sense. Thus erroneous or careless renderings have often attracted the notice of critical editors, under the garb and name of peculiar readings. We may not expect, however, to detect the primitive words of their MSS.; and we must, meanwhile, be contented with the accumulated variety of versional renderings, to which every day is adding fresh materials. Above all, when we find that they are exceedingly trifling, affecting neither the truth nor the integrity of the Scriptures, let us be thankful to the God of providence, who has not suffered his word to be corrupted during the lapse of centuries, and the countless vicissitudes of the people among whom it has been disseminated, but has so overruled the events and circumstances of history, as to give us greater assurance of its general purity than we are permitted to have of any other record of antiquity.

LECTURE XI.

QUOTATIONS OF ANCIENT WRITERS.

THE third source employed by criticism in ascertaining the genuine readings of the Scriptures, consists of quotations made by early ecclesiastical writers. We find that many portions of the word of God have been referred to by them; and in proportion to their antiquity so may we attach greater value to their citations.

In the New Testament the *fathers* are the first persons to whom our attention is naturally directed. Their writings contain a multitude of literal quotations from the Scriptures, which are of some value in the criticism of the Greek Testament. Many of them, too, wrote in the same language as that in which the New Testament was composed; a circumstance that gives greater probability to their evidence for the authenticity of a passage. They must have had MSS. much more ancient than those we now possess—MSS. less disfigured by the alterations and glosses of succeeding transcribers. They lived much nearer the time when the autographs themselves were in circulation; and they must therefore have been unacquainted with a great number of the various readings that now encumber and perplex us with their multiplicity. Those called the Latin Fathers were accustomed to employ a Latin version; but in important passages, it is natural to suppose that they would have recourse to the original, if indeed they were acquainted with the Greek language. The testimony of a Latin father is, however, in general merely an evidence for the readings of the Latin versions he used, while the Greek fathers shew what was written in the original itself. In the Old Testament the Greek fathers ordinarily cited from the Septuagint. Hence their writings have been examined in order to procure readings to determine and fix the text of that ancient translation. It would appear that only two of them were familiar with the Hebrew Bible, viz. Origen and Jerome, a circumstance which renders their quotations from it more valuable than those fathers who quoted from a version. Of the vast number of writers whose works contain references to the New Testament, it would be a

tedious task to mention the country, age, authority, and compositions. Many of them are almost worthless in the department of criticism, since they quote from versions current in the places where they resided. Thus we find the *Vetus Itala*, several of the *Syriac versions*, the *Vulgate*, and others, frequently cited in their writings. It is quite obvious that such quotations are principally and directly valuable in determining the texts of the various versions referred to, whilst they have only an indirect bearing on the originals of the Bible. I shall only mention a few of the fathers, whose writings have been most consulted and most useful in furnishing specimens of the New Testament text, as it was read in their times.

In the second century after Christ lived *Clement of Alexandria*, whose works contain numerous quotations from the New Testament. But it would appear that he generally quoted from memory, as we find him giving the same passage in different words. His citations point out the readings of the Alexandrian MSS. in the second and third centuries.

To the same century belongs *Irenaeus*, bishop of Lyons in France. This father saw and conversed with Polycarp, who was an immediate disciple of John. The only part of his writings which has come down to us is his work *against heresies*, originally written in Greek, but extant only in a Latin translation supposed to be as old as the second century. A few fragments of the Greek have been preserved. From a passage in John's gospel, it has been inferred that this writer used several MSS., and it is equally apparent that he occasionally quoted from memory. His citations agree on the whole with the Constantinopolitan family, though at the same time they often coincide with the Alexandrine. These are the chief writers belonging to the second century whose works have furnished numerous readings in the criticism of the Greek Testament. To the same age belong *Clement of Rome*, *Marcion the heretic*, and *Polycarp bishop of Smyrna*, but such of their works as have come down to us are so meagre in quotation that they have furnished only a few readings.

Passing to the third century, the name of *Origen* stands conspicuous in the list of Greek fathers. This celebrated writer was president for a time of the catechetical school at Alexandria; and it is well known that he paid more attention to the Scriptures in their original languages than any of his predecessors or contemporaries. His learning was far superior to that of all the fathers.

It is matter of regret that few of his works have come down to us in their original language, except *his Treatise against Celsus*. He inspected many MSS., but not with that caution which is required in weighing their discordant readings. As his writings and his editions of the Scriptures were used by subsequent authors, we ascertain from them, as well as from his own quotations, the readings commonly current when he lived.

There is no other Greek father in this century whose writings have been of much utility in the criticism of the Greek Testament. *Cyprian* and *Tertullian*, both of Carthage, were Latin fathers, and generally used some old Latin version in their quotations.

Descending to the fourth century we meet with *Chrysostom* bishop of Constantinople, whose copious commentaries on the New Testament are a storehouse for the critical editor. But we cannot attribute to him great accuracy in his citations. Endued with a warm and lively imagination and with great powers of oratory, we find him very careless in quoting passages from the New Testament. Distracted with the multiplicity of his occupations, he had not sufficient leisure to draw his references to Scripture fresh from the sacred fountain itself. He trusted too much to memory, and consequently confounded similar passages. Sometimes he changes a text though correctly quoted before, and not unfrequently he follows Origen. These circumstances, in addition to others that might be mentioned, must be taken into account by all who wish to collate his writings; and they shew the necessity of the utmost caution in following his authority. In short, this writer cannot be said to agree either with the Constantinopolitan or Alexandrine texts, but to exhibit both. With respect to *Cyril of Jerusalem*, who lived in the same century, his works are of little use in criticism, because he quoted almost always from memory. The chief Latin fathers are *Jerome* and *Augustine*, the former of whose readings agree with the Alexandrine text, and the latter with MSS. of ancient Latin versions.

In the fifth century we meet with the names of *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Isidore* of Pelusium, and *Theodoret*. The citations of the first two agree with MSS. of the Alexandrine family, whilst *Theodoret* in his commentaries generally coincides with the received text. Sometimes he follows Origen or *Chrysostom*.

The last of those called the fathers was *Theophylact*, bishop of Bulgaria, in the twelfth century, whose readings usually harmo-

nize with the received text, though he has many peculiar to the Alexandrine family.

Such are some of the most distinguished ecclesiastical writers whose works have been consulted for critical purposes. They furnish a very small part of the long catalogue of names that might be given in this division of our subject. But among all the Greek, Latin, and Syriac writers that belong to the present department, they are sufficient for our purpose.

In relation to the Hebrew Bible, there are very few ancient authors that give quotations from it in their works. Philo and Josephus are here of little value, because they used the Greek translation of the Seventy instead of the original. The only works of this class are the *Talmud*, and *the commentaries of Rabbinical writers* from the eleventh till the fifteenth centuries. The Talmud contains a great body of doctrine compiled by various Rabbis, embracing both the canonical and civil law of the Jews. It consists of two parts, the *Mishna* or text, and *Gemara* or commentary on that text. The text was collected about the beginning of the third century by R. Jehuda. A commentary was added to it first at Jerusalem, and afterwards another at Babylon. The text is sometimes accompanied with the one and sometimes with the other. Hence we hear of the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud according to the commentary attached. As the authors of the Talmud lived before the text was revised by the Masorites, and as they frequently cite passages from the sacred books with great fidelity, we may expect to find many readings in their works. Their testimony is equivalent to that of MSS. of the same age. Now the places quoted by them were taken from manuscript copies between the beginning of the third and end of the fifth centuries. Hence we may lay it down as a rule that a reading occurring in this great work is generally equivalent to a MS. of the fourth century. And wherever such quotations agree with ancient versions against the Masoretic text, we set great value upon them; since there is reason to believe that many places of the Talmud were subsequently altered after the Masora. In extracting readings from the authors of the Talmud where they differ from the Masoretic text, care and caution must be used; for they appear to have frequently given no more than the sense of a passage, without adherence to the precise words. Hence every discrepancy from the Masoretic text is not at once to be considered a various reading.

The Talmud was collated for Kennicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible by Dr. Gill, whose reputation as a Rabbinical scholar was deservedly great. He collected about a thousand readings, all of which do not properly come under that appellation. In general they are of little value, trivial and useless in criticism. The reason why so few discrepancies exist between the Masoretic text and the quotations of the Talmudists arises from the circumstance that only *printed copies* of the Talmud have been collated, and these have been frequently changed and corrected in conformity with the text of the Masorites. If therefore a greater number of readings from this source be desired, *manuscript copies* must be sought out and examined; for although they too may have been occasionally altered, yet it is natural to suppose that they have undergone much less correction. We have little hope, however, that this work will ever yield many important readings to assist in the restoration of the true text, even though it be explored with the greatest diligence.

From the eleventh till the fifteenth century flourished a number of learned Jews, who produced many works connected with the Hebrew Scriptures. Their writings contain quotations from MSS. of their own, or of a prior age, and the readings thus exhibited are entitled to the same authority as those MSS. of which we are now in possession belonging to the same times. But such citations generally agree with the text as fixed by the Masoretic doctors, so that we reap little fruit from this source. Several important variations indeed deserve attention, but their number is small. And though there be a liability to mistake that for a various reading which may have arisen merely from the carelessness or design of the Rabbi, yet minute attention to the subject may generally preserve the inquirer from such an error. These are all the ecclesiastical writers connected with the Old Testament whose works furnish materials for the ascertainment of the authentic text.

Having thus enumerated and described the three sources of determining what are the Holy Scriptures, it remains for me to speak of the manner in which the third contributes to such an object. I do not say that it is of equal value with the first two, or that it ought to be held in the same estimation. But in every case where it may be legitimately applied, it is a useful auxiliary, though it cannot supersede or set aside the others. In applying readings derived from the works of the fathers, from ecclesiastical

writers, and from the acts of councils, we must proceed with caution. We have seen that they frequently quoted from memory. To this practice even the most learned and accurate of them were addicted. This, then, is the first thing to be attended to. When we find the same passage variously cited in different places of their writings, we are apt to suspect that they did not examine their MSS. before writing down the words in question. The use of various MSS. indeed may possibly have given rise to such a discrepancy, but it is generally to be attributed to their habit of quoting from memory. We must therefore endeavour to arrive at certainty, that such quotations as come under our notice were really taken from MS. copies. It would appear also, that the fathers, like other ecclesiastical writers, have quoted *paraphrastically*, giving the *general sense* rather than the *exact words*. Sometimes we meet with a mere allusion to a place of Scripture, in which case little stress is to be laid on our supposed discovery of the reading found in the MS. It is consequently difficult to tell what particular reading was contained in their copy, because they may not have thought it necessary to consult it before giving a loose comment. Again, it is manifest, that they sometimes omitted certain words, or added others; whilst even critical conjecture was resorted to. Some passages they condensed, others they expanded. Thus it becomes a task of extreme difficulty to convince ourselves that such quotations as we meet with are a faithful representation of ancient MSS. We should recollect also that very few of the fathers were well versed in the original languages of the Scriptures, and that in their disputations they rather aimed like all controversialists, at confounding their opponents than discovering truth. It is not surprising therefore that they sometimes quoted a passage in such a way as to favour their own sentiments, by distorting it a little from the simplicity of truth. In short, we are to weigh the manner in which the quotation is introduced, the context in which it occurs, the formula with which it may be prefaced, and the nature of the work in which it is found. If the treatise be *exegetical*, it will probably furnish a better harvest of readings than if it be *polemical*. In homilies and loose orations, we cannot look for much accuracy in citation. Hence they are least profitable in this department. But such authors as have written commentaries where the words are repeated and explained, are of the greatest utility in affording numerous readings to the critical inquirer. Every writer has his

own characteristic style. Some are exceedingly careless, trusting for the most part to memory; others again are accurate and diligent in transcribing passages. The peculiar manner of each must be attended to, and such authority attached to his quotations, as his general character for accuracy or negligence may warrant. With regard to the Latin fathers, they were for the most part unacquainted with the original Greek of the New Testament. Much less value is to be attached in consequence to their citations. Indeed it is not easy to discover with certainty the readings found in their MSS., because they all used the Latin versions current before the time of Jerome, except such as lived after him, who generally adopted the version prepared by this father. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the most correct edition of every ecclesiastical writer must be had; for some of the older editors altered and corrected from Biblical MSS. the texts of the works they superintended. Thus it becomes a matter of the highest importance to procure the best edition of each father.

I have little doubt that the number of various readings derived from this source has been greatly multiplied from a want of attention to all the cautions and limitations so necessary to be observed. The editions of such ancient works are often so inaccurate, whilst the authors themselves trusted so frequently to their memories, and altered or omitted what they reckoned non-essential to their purpose, that the list has been much augmented. Could we ascertain with certainty the reading which the ecclesiastical writer had in his MS., the heap would be much diminished. Still this source of criticism is not to be disregarded, or reckoned trifling; because the undoubted citation of a passage by an early writer is equal to a MS. of the same age, and may even be superior to that of any copy now existing from the antiquity of the writer in whose works it occurs. Such quotations are more useful for detecting interpolations than in aiding the other purposes of the Biblical inquirer. For when the same passage is quoted by many of the fathers, without the addition of a particular phrase, the omission affords strong presumption against the occurrence of the word or words in MSS. and versions. When many writers have had occasion to adduce the same place of Scripture, omitting a disputed clause for whose existence there is other evidence, we have a strong proof, unless

such evidence be overwhelming, that the addition has been made by a later hand. When a reading rests on the authority of MSS. in concurrence with that of ancient writers, its authenticity is confirmed ; but when it rests solely on the credit of the latter, it must be examined with greater care, and received into the text only under peculiar circumstances. To admit a reading as authentic, which is unsupported by any other authority than the quotation of it in ecclesiastical writers, is generally hazardous. The authors must have lived prior to the age of any MS. which has come down to us, else we cannot attach to the reading that importance which it would undoubtedly have, if found in MSS. and versions besides.

LECTURE XII.

CRITICAL CONJECTURE

A FOURTH source of readings, for the purpose of emendation, is said to be *critical conjecture*. It was formerly the opinion of the most eminent divines, that conjectures were unwarranted and impious, because they were regarded as an innovation upon the language of holy writ, and an attempt to mix up man's imaginings with the solemn words of the Almighty. In modern times theologians have gone to the opposite extreme, while no inconsiderable number of them affirm, that conjectures are as allowable in Scripture as in classical authors. In certain cases, and under certain restrictions, they think it right to reject the authority of MSS., versions, and ancient writers, and to admit a reading on probable supposition, though sanctioned by no advocate. Wherever there is only one copy of an ancient writing, critical conjecture is indispensable. No document can be ordinarily copied without mistake; and whatever errors are committed must be unavoidably propagated in all the transcripts taken from the copy. Even where they may be several MSS., all copied from one and the same, the necessity of critical conjecture still exists, because they are merely equivalent to a single copy. This holds good with respect to some heathen authors, where there is an absolute need of conjecture. But the case of the Holy Scriptures is widely different. In the New Testament especially, we have many distinct MSS. Wherever one is deficient, its defects may be supplied from another. In proportion to the number of copies, the necessity of conjecture decreases. We ought ever to be grateful to Almighty God that so many copies of his word have been preserved, by which we are exempted from the dangerous expedient of obtruding our conjectures on the Holy Scriptures. There are hundreds of MSS. constituting independent classes, made in different countries and at different times. Ancient versions, and writings proceeding from the Fathers, are also within our reach, from which we collect the text, and in difficult cases the meaning of the word of God. We possess abundant mate-

rials for exhibiting a correct and unadulterated text. Thus we are under no temptation to try our own ingenuity, or to set our own judgment above all legitimate sources of emendation. Hence we are of opinion that critical conjecture should be entirely rejected, not only because it is dangerous, but needless. It is possible indeed, that, notwithstanding the number and variety of transcripts which we possess, the true reading may be discoverable in none; but it is by no means probable. Nay, we would almost regard it as an impeachment of the Divine Providence to affirm, that by the help of the multitude of versions, MSS., and extracts which we now have, the genuine word or phrase of the autographs is not to be found. Surely that God, by whom they were given for the salvation and enlightenment of the human race, would not suffer them to descend in this imperfect state. He who has watched over and preserved them amid the fluctuations of time, the desolations of kingdoms, and the opposition of men, cannot be supposed to have left them, even in a single word, to be lost. He who numbers the very hairs of our head, and without whose cognisance a sparrow falls not to the ground, cannot be unregardful of the minute things of his own revealed will. To meddle with the sacred writings in this unhallowed way, is, in my opinion, an act of high presumption. In the present day it is totally inexcusable. With all the apparatus we possess—with all the sources of correction which are now happily opened up to us—it savours of the pride of reason, not of the humility of the Christian. I care not whether doctrines and precepts of importance be not touched, or whether the proposed alteration have a direct bearing on some essential point of faith and morals. I affirm that hypothetical innovation is equally to be avoided. I know, too, that learned men have frequently hazarded conjectures that have been afterwards confirmed by the authority of MSS.; and that they have sometimes happily amended a passage from their own critical sagacity. But even this does not warrant the rashness against which I would put you on your guard. It is better to proceed with caution and safety than to launch out into the regions of fancy, where each imagines that he is free to roam uncontrolled like his neighbour. It is absolutely superfluous to have recourse to critical conjecture in the New Testament, and it is moreover dangerous. We ought always to bear in mind the solemn and fearful announcement in the book of Revelation—an announcement which may be aptly ex-

tended to all the other parts of Scripture; "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book. And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and *from* the things which are written in this book."

A distinction has been usually made between *critical* and *theological* conjecture. By the latter is meant the proposed alteration or emendation of a passage, for the purpose of supporting the tenets of our own party. This is only the application of the former in a wider and more extended sense. If adopted, it would open the door to every species of corruption, and each sect would speedily have a Bible of its own. If the number of passages supposed to require emendation were so great, as to throw a suspicion over many parts of the New Testament, the book would become an uncertain rule of faith. It could not be appealed to as a standard of religion, capable of settling all disputes, and of solving all difficulties. Every man would then believe or disbelieve, as best suited his own principles. The prejudices of party would influence our treatment of the sacred records; and, according to the complexion of our creeds, would be our emendations. I need not detail the evil consequences that must inevitably result from rash and impious conjectures. Wetstein has not sanctioned them by receiving any into the text; neither have any been adopted by Griesbach, in his edition of the Greek Testament.

But although we ought in no case to alter *words* from conjecture, we may exercise our judgment in regard to stops. As the most ancient MSS. were without them, they afford no evidence respecting their right position. But, in modern MSS., when their convenience was perceived, they were generally inserted. In doing so transcribers followed their own judgment. The same is the case with printed editions, the editors of which were guided in adding them by the connexion of the passage. Under *points* we include accents and marks of aspiration, which may be altered as our understanding directs. You may find an instance of erroneous division in the ordinary arrangement of verses, in the 8th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, 20th verse, where ἐπ' ἐλπιδι ought to be closely connected with the succeeding ἔτι,—“in hope that.” These remarks I should not wish to confine to the New Testament. Many critics, who discard

conjecture from the New, think that it is safely admissible into the Old Testament. The reasons assigned for this singular sentiment are the numerous causes of error. In transcribing Hebrew MSS., these causes are liable to produce greater corruptions than in the Greek. Besides, all the Hebrew copies may be considered as belonging to one *recension*, or *edition* as we would say in a printed book. The materials, therefore, are considered to be less ample than those which we possess in the New Testament. These are some of the reasons assigned for admitting the propriety of conjectural emendation in the Old Testament, by those who exclude it from the New. They are not sufficient, however, to convince me of its utility. The materials in the Old Testament are ample enough to justify the rejection of conjectural alteration. The truth of this will be obvious, and will appear far more important to a believer in the *verbal* inspiration of the Scriptures. He who admits the inspiration of the *words*, as well as of the *ideas*—of the *language* equally with the *sentiments*, will naturally endeavour to ascertain, as far as he is able, the *ipsissima verba* of the writers, and will hesitate before he adopt the desperate remedy of which I have been speaking.

LECTURE XIII.

DISPUTED PORTIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

HAVING described the various sources of criticism, from which it derives a pure and correct text, it may not be amiss to allude to the most remarkable passages in Scripture, whose authenticity has been disputed. There are several places which have been minutely examined by critics, and of which they have entertained conflicting opinions. Thus, you will see the mode in which we apply the three helps already described, and the way in which their comparative merits are to be adjusted when they vary in testimony from one another. Besides, by putting you in possession of all the evidence, you will be able to judge of the genuine or spurious character of those portions, and to know them not merely by the report of others, but by actual inspection.

The first to which we shall advert is the celebrated verse, 1 John v. 7, which has been the subject of so many controversies during the last three centuries, and has been productive of great benefit to biblical criticism, because, from the conflicting sentiments of scholars, Greek MSS. and ancient versions have been examined with greater accuracy than they would otherwise have been. I shall state the evidence for and against its authenticity as concisely as possible, so that you may be put in possession of all that has been said concerning it.

In the received text, the seventh and eighth verses of the fifth chapter of John's first Epistle stand thus. Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ] τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν, translated in the printed authorised version, "For there are three that bear record [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness on earth,] the spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one." In the Clementine edition of the Vulgate, the passage is found in

this form, ver. 7. Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in coelo : Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus : et hi tres unum sunt. 8. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra : Spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis : et hi tres unum sunt. In the Complutensian Polyglott, which contains the first printed edition of the Greek Testament, it appears in Greek and Latin as follows ; *οἱ τρεῖς ἴσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν ἴσιν. καὶ τρεῖς ἴσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, &c.* Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo, pater, verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt, et tres sunt qui, &c. The value of this early edition depends on the MSS. from which it was printed. No manuscript authority has been discovered, for the peculiar complexion of the passage as it appears in it, and hence it has been inferred that the editors translated it from the MSS. of their favourite version the Vulgate. In their omission of the final clause of the 8th verse, they are supported only by the Dublin MS., and the codex Ottobonianus. The clause *καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν ἴσιν* is placed, in all ancient MSS., in the received version, and in all other editions, at the end of the 8th verse. They have put it, however, at the conclusion of the 7th, and in this they are countenanced by the codex Ottobonianus alone. Another reason for supposing that the Complutensian editors translated the 7th verse from the Vulgate, is furnished by the fact, that when Stunica, one of the editors, was challenged by Erasmus to produce his Greek authority for it, he appealed to no Greek MSS. He simply replied, that the Greek text was corrupted, and referred to the authority of the Latin which he affirmed to contain the *very truth*. This is a proof that the Greek MSS. used by the editors did not contain the disputed clause. To this may be added the exact agreement of their Greek of the passage, with the verse as it stands in their edition of the Vulgate, the latter of which differs from the most ancient MSS. of the version, in omitting the final clause of the 8th verse. The Complutensian editors have also affixed a marginal note to the Greek text, a circumstance very unusual with them, as only three instances of it occur in the entire edition. In this note, the object of which was to secure themselves from blame for printing the verse, we would expect their best defence. They do not, however, mention any various readings in Greek MSS., nor do they even speak of any codex that contains it. They merely appeal to the testimony of Thomas Aquinas.

In the first place, we shall adduce the evidence against its authenticity, and then that in its favour.

1st. No Greek MS., written before the fifteenth century, contains the passage in question. Of the 187 Greek MSS. of the Catholic epistles that have been collated, from which number four are to be subtracted in this case, making 183, not one contains the words as they stand in the received text. Two alone have the text, viz. codex Montfortii, (34), and codex Ottobonianus, (162.) The former of these is a Latinising MS. as Wetstein proved by several examples sufficient to carry conviction to every mind. Besides, the passage is written in it in such bad Greek, as evidently betrays a translation from the Latin. This charge was long since advanced against it by Professor Porson, and it has never yet been removed. Bishop Burgess, indeed, has tried to defend the Greek of the MS. from such an accusation, affirming that Mr. Porson's opinion of the *bad Greek* of the Montfort MS. was one of the hasty assertions of the Greek Professor, but he has failed to corroborate his statement. He has not succeeded in shewing that Porson's objection to the bad Greek of this codex is unfounded. The charge of its being a bungling translation from the Latin, rests on the omission of the articles usually prefixed to *πατήρ*, *λόγος*, and *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*; on the use of *ἐν τῇ γῆ* for *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*; and on the position of *ἅγιον*. The writer likewise omitted the clause *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν* at the end of the 8th verse, which is wanting in many Latin MSS., especially the modern ones, and which the Lateran council in 1215 had rejected through polemical motives. In addition to these, and other internal proofs of the dependent authority of the MS., its *late date* contributes in no small degree to lessen its value. Michaelis, Griesbach, Porson, Marsh, and Scholz, refer it to the 15th or 16th century.

The codex Ottobonianus, the other MS. containing the passage is ascribed by Scholz who discovered it, to the 15th century. It has the words in a form somewhat different from the usual one. Instead of *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, it has *ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; and instead of *ἐν τῇ γῆ*, *ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*. The absence of the article before the words, *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, is a proof of its Latin origin; and Scholz thinks that it has been altered in many places, to make it harmonise with the Vulgate. Hence its evidence is of no value. As to the *codex Ravianus*, it is now admitted to be a forgery, copied from the Greek text of the Complutensian edition, and the

third edition of Stephens. The *Neapolitan R. MS.* marked 173 by Scholz cannot be quoted as containing the passage, since it has it *only in the margin written by a recent hand*. It may be also observed that the words are wanting in one of the oldest Irish MSS. extant, viz. the *codex Armachanus*, described by Sir William Betham in his "Antiquarian Researches," which he maintains to have been written by Aidus bishop of Sletty, who died about 660. And in all the copies that want this passage, there is no erasure at the place, nor the least indication of any deficiency.

2. It is wanting in all the ancient versions except the Latin. It is not found in the two Syriac, the Arabic, Coptic, Sahidic, Æthiopic, Armenian, Slavonian. And although it be found in the majority of the MSS. of the Vulgate, yet it is absent from all the oldest as well as from many of the modern. This circumstance completely neutralizes its evidence in favour of the clause. It would be more correct therefore to say that the Vulgate does not sanction the authenticity of the passage. Almost all of its MSS. written before the ninth century that have the verse, *exhibit it written in a different hand*, whilst in many it is found in the margin; and of those that have it in the text, some place it before, others after, the earthly witnesses.

3. The ancient Greek fathers have never quoted the place even where we would naturally expect them to do so. Neither is it cited by any of the ancient Latin fathers, where the subject on which they were writing appeared to require it, and where we would suppose it to occur at once to their minds. The advocates of the authenticity of the clause have affirmed notwithstanding that it is quoted by Cyprian, Tertullian, and others, but in this they have been successfully met by their opponents, as we will afterwards see.

4. The best critical editions of the Greek Testament have omitted it. In Erasmus' first edition published 1516, and in his second, 1519, both of which were edited from Greek MSS., the clause is not printed. In his third edition, 1522, he inserted it according to a promise he had made to Stunica, on the faith of the *codex Britannicus*. Of the character of this MS. he entertained strong suspicions, but he inserted the words to "avoid calumny." From Erasmus' editions it passed into those of Stephens, and was adopted by Beza and the Elzevir. It is wanting in the editions of Aldus 1518, Gerbelius 1521, Cephalaeus 1524, and of Colinaeus 1534. To these may be added the editions of

Mace, Harwood, Matthaei, Griesbach, Lachmann, and Scholz. In Knapp's it is enclosed in brackets. Luther did not insert it in the first edition of his German translation of the Bible, and he refused to admit it as long as he lived in any of the subsequent editions. But he had not been long dead when the passage was thrust in, contrary to his express request contained in the preface to the last edition, printed during his life. In the old English Bibles of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, it was printed in small type, or included in brackets; but between the years 1566 and 1580, it began to be printed in the form which it has at present.

We come now in the second place to consider the evidence that has been adduced in favour of this much-disputed clause.

1st. We have already mentioned the two Greek MSS. that contain the passage, and have seen that their testimony amounts to nothing.

2d. It is found in the old Latin version current in Africa before the Vulgate was made. This version is older than the most ancient copy of the Vulgate now used, and existed also before any of our present Greek MSS. It is chiefly preserved in the writings of the African fathers that have come down to our time. But we shall soon see that none of the African fathers in reality quote the passage, and therefore we cannot allow the pertinency or validity of the argument. It is also found in the Latin version now called the Vulgate; but this statement is neutralized by the fact that it is wanting in the oldest and best copies of this version.

3d. It is quoted by many Latin fathers. But it is remarkable that there is not the evidence of a single Italian father for the verse; for that they were unacquainted with it is evident from their writings. Even when defending the doctrine of the Trinity they never quote it, though they cite the words relating to the earthly witnesses. The only evidence in its favour is the African authority, which remains now to be considered. And it is to be particularly noted, that the authority of the Latin fathers is inferior to that of the Greek, in determining the true readings of Greek MSS., because they generally used one or more Latin versions current among them. And even if they had quoted in express terms all the disputed words, this would prove no more than that they were in their MSS. of the Vulgate, or whatever other Latin translation they had. Tertullian in the 3d century, has been adduced in favour of the verse. The passage referred

to is found in his treatise against Praxeas, and is as follows :—
 “Ita connexus patris in Filio, et Filii in Paraclete, tres efficit cohaerentes, alterum ex altero, *qui tres unum sunt*, non *unus*, quomodo dictum est, ego et pater unum sumus, ad substantiae unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem.” Thus the connexion of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, makes three coherent ones from one another, *which three are one (unum, not unus, i. e. one substance, not one person)* as it is said, “I and my Father are one,” denoting the unity of substance, not the singularity of number.” From the words *qui tres unum sunt* being found in the Latin version, it has been inferred that Tertullian borrowed them from it. But he does not produce them as a quotation, and from the succeeding phrase it is manifest that he did not know of the verse. In proof of the assertion *qui tres unum sunt*, he immediately adds, ‘quomodo dictum est ego et pater unum sumus,’ which is a quotation from John’s gospel x. 30. If he had known a text which asserts the unity of the Trinity, he would surely have appealed to it, instead of to one that relates only to the Father and Son. So much for the evidence of Tertullian. Bishop Kaye in his “Ecclesiastical History of the second and third centuries illustrated from the writings of Tertullian,” having examined the present passage, thus observes—“In my opinion the passage in Tertullian, far from containing an allusion to 1st John v. 7, furnishes most decisive proof that he knew nothing of the verse.”

Again, Cyprian bishop of Carthage, in the same century, has been produced as a witness in favour of this verse. Two passages in his writings have been brought forward. The first is from his epistle to Jubaianus, where he thus writes. “Si baptizari quis apud haeticum potuit, utique et . . . templum Dei factus est: quaeso cujus Dei? Si creatoris; non potuit, qui in eum non credidit: si Christi; non hujus potest fieri templum, qui negat Deum Christum: si Spiritus sancti, *cum tres unum sint*, quomodo Spiritus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est? “If any one could be baptized by a heretic, and has also become the temple of God, I ask, of what God? if of the Creator, he who has not believed in him cannot be his temple—if of Christ, he cannot be his temple who denies that Christ is God—if of the Holy Spirit, *since the three are one*, how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him who is an enemy either of the Father or of the Son?” Here Cyprian does not attempt to

prove the unity of the Three persons, but he takes it for granted, *SINCE the three are one*. He pre-supposes it as a truth already known from the Scriptures. Besides it is worthy of remark that the words “*cum tres unum sint*,” though inserted in the later editions of his works, are not found in the edition of Erasmus. Granting them to be authentic, they will prove nothing more than the words of Tertullian, already mentioned, which indeed Cyprian seems to have had in view. The second passage occurs in his treatise *de Unitate Ecclesiae*. “*Dicit Dominus; ego et Pater unum sumus; et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto Scriptum est; et tres (others read hi tres) unum sunt; et quisquam credit, hanc unitatem de divina firmitate venientem, sacramentis coelestibus cohaerentem, scindi in ecclesia posse, et voluntate collidentium divortio separari?*” “The Lord says, I and my Father are one; and again it is written of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, *and the three are one*; and can any one believe that this unity arising from the divine immutability and *cohering* (agreeing) with the heavenly sacraments can be divided in the church, and separated by the will of such as disagree?” Here the words are expressly introduced with the formula of citation *scriptum est, it is written*. There is first a quotation from John x. 30, “I and my Father are one;” and then another is brought forward from 1 John v. 7. This may appear a strong and impregnable testimony in favour of the authenticity of the clause, but when examined it ceases to be an evidence for what it is adduced to prove. It is necessary to observe that the final clause of the 7th verse, and the final clause of the 8th, are the same in the Latin version, though different in Greek, and in the English translation. Hence it is impossible to judge from a mere quotation of this clause in a Latin writer, whether he alludes to the 7th or 8th verse. It is at least possible that he may refer to the 8th, not to the 7th. He says, indeed, these words are written of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, whereas “*et tres unum sunt*,” in the 8th verse, relate only to the spirit, the water, and the blood; but the Latin fathers interpreted *spiritus, aqua, et sanguis*, not *literally*, but *mystically*; understanding by them *Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus*. (*Aqua* for *pater*, *Sanguis* for *Filius*, *Spiritus* for *Spiritus Sanctus*). Of Cyprian’s treatise “*de Unitate Ecclesiae*,” it may be observed, *1st*, That it abounds with references to Tertullian’s against Praxeas; and in writing this passage he appears to have kept his eye on Tertullian. The one so closely

follows the other, that they both constitute, in fact, but *one witness*. 2d, The spirit, the water, and the blood, are called in the passage of Cyprian *heavenly mysteries*. This is quite appropriate, if the spirit, the water, and the blood, mystically represented the Trinity in unity. But how can the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be called *sacramenta caelestia*, (heavenly mysteries)? 3d, That Cyprian quoted the 8th verse and not the 7th, is attested by Facundus bishop of Hermiana in Africa, in the middle of the sixth century. Facundus proves the doctrine of the Trinity by a mystical interpretation of the 8th verse, appealing to Cyprian, who, he alleges, gives the same exposition. We believe, therefore, the assertion of Facundus, who lived in the same country, and used the same version as Cyprian; and hence we conclude that Cyprian's words do not contain a quotation from 1 John v. 7, but a *spiritual application of 1 John v. 8*. The defenders of the authenticity of the passage, oppose to this, the testimony of Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe in Africa, who lived in the 6th century, and understood Cyprian to quote the 7th verse, instead of giving a mystical interpretation of the 8th. "Fulgentius," says Dr. Turton, (Crito Cantabrigiensis) "had in the margin, or probably in the text of his copy of St. John's epistle this disputed verse, which he was anxious to retain as a very useful weapon against the Arians. Knowing that it held its place in the epistle by a very dubious title, and perhaps believing that it had some right to be there, he would naturally endeavour to strengthen its claims as much as he could. This purpose he carried into effect by producing something which looked very like Cyprian's judgment in its favour. Fulgentius would surely never have appealed to Cyprian, in confirmation of a point of faith delivered in the words of an apostle, as he must have known that it was of no consequence, whether it was held by Cyprian or not, if promulgated by an apostle. But, on the supposition that Fulgentius was aware of the dubiousness of the quotation from John, we can readily imagine why he would appeal to Cyprian as a witness for the genuineness of the verse, which he was aware did not rest on very certain ground."

Augustine also, another African bishop, who lived a century later than Cyprian, knew nothing of the 7th verse, for he has never quoted it, even where he treats of the doctrine of the Trinity. He labours to deduce this doctrine from an allegorical interpretation of the 8th verse. Hence Sabatier, one of the most learned

advocates of the verse in the Church of Rome, was obliged to say, that " although Augustine left no stone unturned in order to prove the divinity of the Holy Ghost from John's first epistle, yet it is clearer than the noon-day, that this learned father was altogether ignorant of the existence of the seventh verse." Jerome has also been produced in its favour. In several editions of the Vulgate, a prologue or preface accompanies the Catholic epistles with his name, but this prologue is now justly reckoned a forgery. The fabricator boasts of having restored the verse on the authority of Greek MSS., and complains of the Latin translations for omitting it. The preface has been rejected by the Benedictine editors of his works, by Bengel, and by other learned advocates of the verse. In none of his authentic works, does Jerome make the slightest reference to the 7th verse, even when defending the doctrine of the Trinity.

It has been well asked, if the 7th verse had been known, to what purpose was the mystical interpretation of the 8th, so prevalent among the fathers? On such a supposition, no rational explanation of its invention can be given. But, on the contrary, the mystical application of the 8th verse clearly shows, if it be allowed to do so, that it was itself the origin of the 7th. The origin of the interpolated words, has been thus traced by Bishop Marsh: " At the end of the 4th century, the celebrated Latin father Augustine, who wrote ten treatises on the first epistle of St. John, in all of which we seek in vain for the 7th verse of the 5th chapter, was induced in his controversy with Maximin, to compose a gloss on the 8th verse. Augustine gives it professedly as a gloss upon the words of the 8th verse, and shows, by his own reasoning, that the seventh verse did not then exist. The high character of Augustine in the Latin church soon gave celebrity to his gloss; and in a short time it was generally adopted. It appeared indeed under different forms; but it was still the gloss of Augustine, though variously modified. The gloss having once obtained credit in the Latin church, the possessors of Latin MSS. began to note it in the margin, by the side of the 8th verse. Hence the oldest of those Latin MSS. which have the passage in the margin, have it in a different hand from that of the text. In later MSS. we find margin and text in the same hand, for transcribers did not venture immediately to move it into the body of the text, though in some MSS. it is interlined, but interlined by a later hand. After the 8th century the insertion became

general. For Latin MSS. written after that period, have *generally*, though not *always*, the passage in the body of the text. Further, when the 7th verse made its first appearance in the Latin MSS. it appeared in as many different forms as there were forms to the gloss upon the 8th verse. And though it now precedes the 8th verse, it followed the 8th verse at its first insertion, as a gloss would naturally follow the text upon which it was made." To guard against any misapprehension of these words, it is necessary to observe, that they do not imply that the gloss was *invented* by Augustine, but that he made such use of an interpretation already existing, as to compose a marginal annotation chiefly by its aid.

Another argument, on which the advocates of the verse lay much stress, is taken from the Confession of Faith, drawn up by Eugenius at the end of the 5th century (480); and presented by the orthodox bishops of Africa, to Hunerich king of the Vandals who was a zealous Arian. In this confession is the following passage, which may be literally translated thus: "That we may shew it to be clearer than the light, that the deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is one; it is proved by the testimony of John the evangelist, for he says, "There are three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, *and these three are one.*" Here the passage in question is clearly quoted by these African bishops, who, it may be remarked, suffered severe persecutions for their adherence to orthodoxy. But this only proves that the passage was contained in the Latin MSS. then used in Africa. The narrative itself rests on the authority of Victor Vitensis, a very suspicious writer. The author of the Confession is not certainly known. It has been variously ascribed to Victor, Eugenius, and Vigilius. Besides, it is not said that all the 363 bishops who went to Carthage subscribed it. Victor says nothing about their signing it; and even if they had affixed their names, it is not probable that the majority of them would accurately examine every phrase, and compare it with the MS. they had been accustomed to use. The *author* of the Confession may have had it in his MS.; but that all who subscribed the declaration, believed it to be a genuine part of Scripture, is too much to affirm. Should we allow the story to be true, the Vandal polemics in the council cannot be supposed to have been skilled in Scripture manuscripts, and in the writings of the earlier fathers. They did not strive to over-

come their opponents by *argument*, but by *force of arms*. The orthodox party therefore might produce the verse as Scripture, with little fear of detection.

Another argument adduced in favour of the passage is, that it is found in the Confession of Faith, and also in the liturgy of the Greek church. It has been argued by Dr. Hales, that this church would never have adopted the clause on the sole authority of the Latin, because of the lasting schism that existed between them. Hence he considers the Greek to be a distinct and independent witness for the authenticity of the verse. But there is great reason to believe that the confession and liturgies of the Greek church have not descended to the present age uncorrupted. It is well known that numbers of the Greek clergy were attached to the church of Rome; and it is most probable that the clause was interpolated by some of them in the 14th or 15th century, or even sooner, when the ignorance of the great mass of the people would afford sufficient security against detection. A spurious clause might then have been easily added to the original document. Such is the *external* evidence in favour of the passage. We now advert to the *internal* evidence.

1st. It is said that the *connexion* requires the 7th verse, because the sense is not complete without it. But those who thus argue presuppose that the words *ἐν τῷ γῆ*, in the 8th verse, are genuine, whereas they are as spurious as *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, which are thought necessary to the antithesis. Although the words *in terra*, in the 8th verse, exist in some Latin MSS. which want the 7th; yet they are not found in the oldest Latin copies; and, therefore, we may suppose them to have been inserted as correspondent to *in coelo* of the interpolated clause. On the other hand, such as contend for the spuriousness of the passage affirm, that the connexion is clearer and the sense more complete without it. I believe that the meaning of the whole passage, so far from being injured by the omission of the words in question, is really improved; and that they are not at all required by the scope of the Apostle's argument. Porson has shewn that internal evidence coincides with that of the Greek MSS. in the following manner: "Without the interpolation, certainly the mention of the water, blood, and spirit, in the 6th verse, is, with great propriety, followed by the repetition of the same terms in the genuine text; which repetition is rendered emphatic by the exaltation of the spirit, water, and blood, into three witnesses." He then takes the in-

terpolated passage. In this case, "if the spirit that witnesses, in the 6th verse, be the Holy Spirit, which I think cannot be doubted, 'because the spirit is truth;' why is the epithet (holy), after being twice omitted, added in the 7th verse, to mark a distinction without a difference." He then opposes those who hold that the spirit mentioned in the 8th verse is the human spirit. "If the word *holy*, which is omitted in some few Latin MSS. be spurious, why is the human spirit, without any mark or circumstance to distinguish it, repeated in the same breath, (in the 8th verse.)" Lastly, he reasons on the hypothesis, that the spirit mentioned in the 8th verse is the Holy Spirit. "If the spirit, in the 8th verse, be the Holy Spirit, what is the sense of the same spirit witnessing both in heaven and on earth."

The following paraphrase, by Sir Isaac Newton, with the observations that follow, appears to me so clear, satisfactory, and convincing, that I cannot refrain from giving it in his own words.

"WHO IS HE THAT OVERCOMETH THE WORLD, BUT HE THAT BELIEVETH THAT JESUS IS THE SON OF GOD, that Son spoken of in the Psalms, where he saith, 'Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.' THIS IS HE THAT, after the Jews had long expected him, CAME, first in a mortal body, BY BAPTISM OF WATER, and then in an immortal one, by shedding his BLOOD upon the Cross, and rising again from the dead; NOT BY WATER ONLY, BUT BY WATER AND BLOOD; being the Son of God, as well by his resurrection from the dead, (Acts xiii. 33), as by his supernatural birth of the virgin, (Luke i. 35.) AND IT IS THE SPIRIT also, THAT, together with the water and blood, BEARETH WITNESS of the truth of his coming; BECAUSE THE SPIRIT IS TRUTH; and so a fit and unexceptionable witness. FOR THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR RECORD OF HIS COMING; the SPIRIT, which he promised to send; and which was since shed forth upon us in the form of cloven tongues, and in various gifts; THE BAPTISM OF WATER, wherein God testified, 'This is my beloved Son;' AND THE shedding of his BLOOD, accompanied with his resurrection, whereby he became the most faithful martyr, or witness, of this truth. AND THESE THREE, the Spirit, the baptism, and passion of Christ, AGREE IN witnessing ONE and the same thing, (namely, that the Son of God is come); and, therefore, their evidence is strong: for the law requires but two consenting witnesses, and here we have three; AND IF WE RECEIVE THE WITNESS OF MEN, THE THREEFOLD WITNESS OF GOD,

which he bare of his Son, by declaring at his baptism, ‘this is my beloved Son;’ by raising him from the dead, and by pouring out his spirit on us, IS GREATER; and, therefore, ought to be more readily received.”

“This is the sense plain and natural, and the argument full and strong; but if you insert the testimony of ‘the three in heaven,’ you interrupt and spoil it. For the whole design of the Apostle being here to prove to men by witness, the truth of Christ’s coming, I would ask how the testimony of ‘the three in heaven’ makes to this purpose? If their testimony be not given to men, how does it prove to them the truth of Christ’s coming? If it be, how is the testimony in heaven distinguished from that on earth? It is the same Spirit which witnesses in heaven and in earth. If, in both cases, it witnesses to us men, wherein lies the difference between its witnessing in heaven and its witnessing in earth? If, in the first case, it does not witness to men, to whom doth it witness? And to what purpose? And how does its witnessing make to the design of St. John’s discourse? Let them make good sense of it, who are able. For my part I can make none.” (Newtoni Opera, vol. v. pp. 528, 9, Horsley’s edition.)

2d. It is alleged, that the grammatical structure of the original Greek requires the insertion of the 7th verse, else the latter part of the 8th verse must also be rejected. If the 7th verse do not precede, it is difficult to account for the use of the masculine gender. We would expect *τρία ἴσιν τὰ μαρτυροῦντα*, because each of the witnesses, to which it refers, is in the neuter gender. If the 7th verse be authentic, the writer might naturally carry on the same expression *τρεῖς ἴσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες*, as the spirit, water, and blood, attest the same thing with the heavenly witnesses. To this it may be replied, that the spirit, water, and blood, are *personified* in the passage; and, therefore, the masculine gender is employed in relation to them. They are introduced as *speaking witnesses* for the truth that Jesus is come, and that he has in reality suffered according to prophecy.

3d. Some learned men have contended, from the existence of the article *τὸ* before *ἐν ἑσθιν*, in the final clause of the 8th verse, that it must refer to the word *ἦν* in the preceding verse; and thus that both verses are so inseparably connected, that they must be retained or rejected together. This is certainly an ingenious argument. It is mentioned by Wolfius, in his “*Curæ Philologicæ*,”

and has been ably discussed by Bishop Middleton in his book on the Greek article. It derives its weight, however, solely from the supposition, that the three earthly witnesses concur in testifying *the one thing* testified by the heavenly witnesses. If $\text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}}$, in the 7th verse, be expressive of the *consubstantiality of the divine persons*, then the $\text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}}$ of the 8th verse, cannot be supposed to have any reference to the word $\text{\textit{\nu}}$ in the 7th verse. It is only in case that $\text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}}$, in the 7th verse, denote *consent or unanimity*, that this argument is applicable. Now, it is not certain that the phrase has such a meaning. Interpreters are not agreed in believing that the heavenly and earthly witnesses attest the same thing. Bishop Burgess, the most strenuous defender of the disputed verse in modern times, thinks that the heavenly witnesses of the 7th verse attest the divine nature of Jesus, and the earthly witnesses of the 8th verse his human nature. Dr. Turton observes that $\text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}}$ may be used as equivalent to $\text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}}$, just as in Philipp. (ii. 2), supposing $\text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}}$ $\text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}} \text{\textit{\nu}}$ in that passage to be the genuine reading, in which case it is not necessary to refer the article to any thing preceding.

4. The diction it is said is peculiar to John. The expression, *the word*, is said to be applied to Christ by no other evangelist or apostle; and, in his gospel, he often speaks of the *witness* of the Father, and the Holy Spirit. It is difficult to see the force of this argument. If any expressions identical with those in 1 John v. 7, occurred in his other writings, then we might listen to the observation, but it is not true that any such phraseology is employed by this apostle.

The advocates of the authenticity of the clause, also assign some causes which might have occasioned its omission in many copies.

1. The 7th verse begins and ends in the same manner as the 8th, and therefore transcribers may have overlooked the 7th verse. This occurrence, technically called *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*, has been frequently a source of omissions in the MSS. of the Greek Testament. But it is not easy to conceive how it could have happened in *all* the Greek MSS. of this passage, and in a considerable number of the Latin. It would account for its omission in *some*, but it will scarcely be thought sufficient to do so in *all*, unless it could be proved that all were copied from one MS., at a time subsequent to the destruction of the autograph, or that they belonged to the same recension. But, indeed, it is utterly in-

credible that all the scribes should have erred in the same way, when copying the same passage. Besides, if the verse had disappeared in consequence of the *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*, the MSS. must have retained *ἐν τῆ ἡ γῆ*. But this is not the case. MSS. uniformly want the words *ἐν τῆ ἡ γῆ*, and, therefore, we infer, that there has been no omission arising from this cause.

2d, It is affirmed by some, that the orthodox might have designedly erased it, conceiving that a passage containing the mystery of the Trinity, ought not to be exposed to every reader. Why should not this have been practised in other passages that speak of the same doctrine? This argument would go to prove too much, and is therefore nugatory.

3d, The Arians might have intentionally suppressed it as being inimical to their doctrine. This charge has been brought against them only by some modern writers, but it is totally improbable, for how should they expunge the words, when there is the strongest evidence that they were already wanting, even before Arius was born? Besides, it is impossible that they could have mutilated *all* the copies in the hands of the orthodox; or that the latter were so careless as to permit such an unwarrantable liberty to be taken with Scripture.

4th, Several of the Fathers may have refrained from quoting the verse, because they did not consider it applicable to the controversies in which they were engaged. They may have regarded it as furnishing a proof of the unity of the *testimony* of the heavenly witnesses, but not of the unity of their *nature*.

It is needless, however, to argue for the authenticity of the clause from *supposed causes* of omission. The point is, whether it be *authentic* or *not*; and it is illogical to attempt to argue the question by merely endeavouring to account for the omission of the passage, on the previous supposition that it is *authentic*. The thing to be shewn is, *did the epistle of John ever in reality contain it?* and when this shall be determined in the affirmative, then it will be time enough to devise ingenious conjectures to account for its omission.

5th, It has been affirmed, that the silence of the early Greek fathers is not a proof of their ignorance of the passage, because they have not quoted other places of Scripture which were also applicable to the doctrine of the Trinity, and with which their writings shew them to have been familiar. But we can scarcely conceive of any text which would have more readily occurred to

the memories of the early ecclesiastical writers than the present, if they were at all engaged in controversy respecting the doctrine of the Trinity. It has been usually considered one of the most direct on that subject, and though they may have omitted to mention many other texts in favour of this doctrine, yet so obvious a passage could hardly have been overlooked.

Such are the chief arguments that have been advanced in this tedious controversy, both by the advocates of the verse, and by the opponents of its authenticity. After maturely weighing them all, you will probably be satisfied that the passage is spurious. When it is contained in no Greek MS. except two, quoted by no Greek father, nor even by any Latin father of the first four centuries, when it is wanting in all the ancient versions, and in the most ancient MSS. of the Vulgate itself, it will hardly be reckoned authentic from the slender evidence opposed to such a mass of testimony. It is almost superfluous to add, that many of the most strenuous defenders of the doctrine of the Trinity have maintained the verse to be spurious; and that the great body of critics is opposed to its authenticity. Other passages of holy writ prove with sufficient clearness this fundamental doctrine. It is established by the indisputable evidence of numerous places, whose authenticity cannot be questioned. The Scriptures abound with declarations implying the deity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost. The doctrine of three persons in one Godhead is supported by a hundred witnesses. I am also of opinion, that too much stress has been laid on this clause by the orthodox in general, as if it contained an indubitable proof of the doctrine in question. Granting its authenticity, I would not place it beside other texts relating to the same subject. I think it far from being decisive or even applicable to the point. It may be asked, what substantive is to be understood to the numeral adjective *one*? how is the ellipsis to be supplied? The noun usually supposed to be understood is *θεῖον*. To this it may be objected, that it is not the custom of the sacred writers to employ such an ellipsis; and besides, *θεῖον* is a Pagan appellation of God. It is not found in the Seventy; and in the New Testament it occurs but once, (Acts xvii. 29) where Paul, addressing the philosophers of Athens, adopts their own phraseology. Though the New Testament writers and the Septuagint translators speak of God very frequently, yet they never call him *τὸ θεῖον*. They speak of *εἰς θεός*, whilst the fathers have used in addition the phrase *μία θείότης*. But I have said, that

the text, even if authentic, is not applicable to the doctrine of the Trinity, because it appears to me that *ἕν ἑσται* in the 7th verse will bear no other sense than *consent or unanimity*. Some of the most zealous Trinitarians, among whom was Bishop Horsley, entertained the same sentiments, taking it to have no reference to the *consubstantiality* of the divine persons. The only legitimate way of ascertaining the meaning of the phrase *ἕν ἑσται* is by the authority of the New Testament itself. It occurs in 1 Cor. iii. 8, "he that planteth and he that watereth are one" *ἕν ἑσται* where nothing but unity of purpose is meant. So also John xvii. 22, where Christ prays to the Father that his disciples may be one *ἕν ἑσται* "as we are one." These two passages are thought by Bishop Middleton, to decide the import of the expression in John x. 30, and wherever else it occurs in the New Testament. This mode of interpretation I cannot allow. To take two passages where the phrase *ἕν ἑσται* occurs, and to assign, without examination, the meaning it bears in them, to its existence in two other places, is arbitrary and unwarrantable. It appears to me, that the phrase in question *always bears the same signification*, but that the *sense* is different, according to the position in which it stands. Its meaning is no other than *to be one*; but, whether unity of purpose, power, or essence be intended, must be determined in every case by the vicinity of the phrase itself. If this view be correct, our mode of proceeding will vary from that of Middleton. In 1 Cor. iii. 8, and John xvii. 22, he is right in his interpretation, but he should have consulted the context of John x. 30, before he affixed to it there also the same meaning. "I and my Father are one," that is, *one in power*, for of this the Saviour had just been speaking. Both the Father and the Son are omnipotent; and as soon could any one pluck the sheep out of the hand of the latter, as of the former. In the passage before us, it seems to be entirely foreign from the design of the writer and the scope of his argument, to understand the words *ἕν ἑσται*, supposing them to be authentic, of unity of *essence or nature*. *Consent or unanimity of purpose*, would clearly accord with the preceding context, but *consubstantiality* would mar the connection and destroy the coherence of the passage.

LECTURE XIV.

DISPUTED PORTIONS CONTINUED.

ANOTHER passage of some importance, which has been the subject of much discussion, is, 1 Timothy iii. 16. There are three different readings, viz. Θεός ἐφανερώθη, ὃς ἐφανερώθη, and ὃ ἐφανερώθη. Griesbach has inserted ὃς in the text in preference to Θεός, and in a lengthened note has attempted to justify himself for adopting such an alteration. Scholz, however, has restored Θεός, the reading of the *textus receptus*.

1st. We will give the external and internal evidence as far as regards Θεός.

1. It is supported by 257 MSS. of all countries.

2. The versions that exhibit it are, the Arabic in the Polyglott Bible, the Slavonic, and the Georgian. The Philoxenian Syriac, or as it should be called, the *Harclean Syriac* also has it, as Dr. Henderson has proved.

3. It is sanctioned by all the Greek Fathers who have occasion to refer to the passage. It has been supposed with great probability, that the phraseology of the following ancient writers was suggested by the reading Θεός, and that it can only be satisfactorily accounted for on the hypothesis, that Θεός was contained in the copies they used. Ignatius in his Epistle to the Ephesians, (A. D. 107), speaking of Christ, says, "There is one physician corporeal and spiritual, born and unborn, *becoming God in flesh*, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός," and again in another passage, "Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερομένου," *when God was manifested as man*. Hippolytus a learned bishop, the disciple of Ireneus, (220), thus writes in his homily against Noetus, Θεός ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη, substituting for the word σαρκὶ the synonym σώματι. Dionysius of Alexandria, (260) expressly quotes the words of the Apostle, in his Epistle against Paul of Samosata, with the reading Θεός. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria (326) also cites the passage with Θεός, but the treatise in which this occurs, (the oration concerning the incarnation) is said by Griesbach and others not to be his. As to the other passage adduced by some from his 4th Epistle to Serapion, from which it is manifest that he read ὃς, the majority of

MSS. omit it altogether, so that it is supposed to have been a gloss inserted in some copies of his works, but excluded from the greater number. Little stress, therefore, is to be laid on the testimony of Athanasius, in consequence of the suspicious character of the two passages in his writings so confidently adduced by some over zealous Trinitarians.

Gregory Nyssene (370) frequently cites the text verbatim as in the *textus receptus*. We might refer to the passages in his 2d, 4th, and 10th orations, which clearly prove the truth of our remark. Hence we may perceive how little weight is to be attached to the opinion of Griesbach, who, on the strength of a passage in his treatise against Apollinaris, would persuade us that Gregory read $\delta\varsigma$ or δ . This one passage, which is somewhat indefinite, is not to be put in comparison with, much less above three others, which are sufficiently explicit and conclusive. Chrysostom of Constantinople (398) also quotes and explains the text in the same manner. To these fathers may be added, Theodoret, Didymus, Euthalius, Damascenus, Photius, Oecumenius, Theophylact, and others. The testimony of Cyril of Alexandria, (412) appears to me to belong to the same side, though this is denied by Griesbach. After citing the text, *God was manifest in the flesh, &c.*, he comments on it thus, "who is he that was manifested in the flesh? Is it not plain that it was absolutely and entirely the word of God the Father, for thus the mystery of godliness will be great We by no means say that he was a man simply like ourselves, but *God in the flesh*, ($\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ *in* $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\iota$), and born among us." This passage is cited by Euthymius Zygabenus, who also reads $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ in the disputed text. Griesbach, however, contends that $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ is a corrupt reading in the editions of Cyril's works, instead of $\delta\varsigma$, and he refers to his "Symbolae Criticae," 1785. In this work we find the following parenthetical remark, which will scarcely be thought a sufficient warrant for us to conclude that in the editions of his works that have been published, and where the reading $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ frequently occurs, $\delta\varsigma$ has been changed into that word. "Si $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ legit Cyrillus, addere debet, qui improprie tantum, et *καταχρηστικῶς* a Paulo $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ nominatur," that is, "Had Cyril read $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, he ought to have added, who by Paul is called $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ *improperly*, (*i. e.* figuratively) and by an abuse of the word (the figure *καταχρησις*). This savours of Unitarianism, especially when taken in conjunction with his giving a place to the conjecture $\Theta\epsilon\omega$ for $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ in John's gospel i. 1. He is certainly to be

blamed for there admitting into his various readings an unfounded conjecture of the Socinian Crellius.

Among the Latin fathers who quote this reading may be mentioned Epiphanius the deacon (787), in his panegyric on the second council of Nice. But with a very few exceptions they all read *quod* for ζ , because such is the rendering of the Vulgate.

Having thus very briefly given the external evidence in favour of $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, let us now attend to the internal.

1st. The grammatical construction is simple and natural when we read $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$. Nothing in any other part of Scripture is opposed in sentiment to the meaning of the passage as interpreted with $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$. The second epistle to the Corinthians v. 19th verse, furnishes a parallel exactly in point, viz. $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma \eta\nu \epsilon\nu \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omega \kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu \iota\alpha\nu\tau\omega$. Dr. Samuel Clarke himself allows that the sense is the same with what John says in the beginning of his gospel, that the $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ or $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$, *was made flesh*.

2d. On the supposition that $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ is authentic, it has been argued, that we can naturally and easily explain the origin of the other two readings $\delta\varsigma$ and δ . It is not likely that $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ originated from $\delta\varsigma$, because transcribers are more liable to omit, than to add. Assuming that $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ is the primitive reading, it is easy to account for both the others. Accident or decay may have effaced the traces of the two horizontal lines, viz., the line above, denoting contraction, and the line in the centre of the *theta*. Thus O C would arise from $\overline{\theta}\overline{\varsigma}$. This again would soon be changed into O to agree with the antecedent $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\gamma\mu\omicron\nu$, because of the apparent ungrammaticality. Such is the internal evidence, on which, however, I lay no stress, because in reality it amounts to nothing. In reference to the first observation, the *simplicity of a construction* is an unsafe foundation on which to build an argument in defence of $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, else one would doubt the truth and authenticity of many passages in the writings of Paul, where the grammatical construction is perplexed and entangled. In reference to the second part of the internal evidence just given, I shall remark hereafter.

The external evidence comprehends 257 Greek MSS., and the great majority of the Greek fathers who refer to the passage, together with the Arabic of the Polyglott, the Harclean, the Slavonian, and Georgian versions.

The second reading proposed is $\delta\varsigma$, which Griesbach adopted. Let us see the amount of evidence in its favour.

External Evidence.—1st. It is supported by G. 17, 73, 181, *i. e.*, by four MSS. The first is the *Codex Boernerianus*, belonging to the ninth century, and to the Alexandrian family. 17, and 73 are of the eleventh or twelfth century, and both belong to the same family as G, whilst 181 is of the Constantinopolitan recension. These four MSS. may be reduced to two witnesses, in the following manner. The first three belong to the same recension, and have therefore no more than one voice, whilst the last is an unimportant MS. of the Constantinopolitan family. But G. 17, and 73, must be merged into the Alexandrine recension, and then they go for nothing; for all other MSS. of the same family read $\text{Θ}\epsilon\delta\varsigma$. Hence the testimony of these three is of very little value. As to codex 181, it is of no account whatever, because the recension to which it belongs manifestly exhibits $\text{Θ}\epsilon\delta\varsigma$. We must now allude to A, C, and F, adduced by Griesbach, in addition to G. 17 and 73, as evidence for $\delta\varsigma$; and carelessly copied by Scholz into his strange note on this place. In regard to A, we have good reason to believe that it read $\text{Θ}\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, not $\delta\varsigma$. This is certified by Young, Junius, Huish, Mill, Wotton, Croyk, Fell, Grabe, Ridley, Gibson, Hewitt, Pilkington, Berriman, Walton, Woide, and others. These eminent scholars inspected it, and they all concur in the same testimony. Most of them saw it before the transverse lines had disappeared entirely; and they are surely credible witnesses. Wetstein, indeed, declared that he could not see the transverse line in the circle forming the *theta*, but his veracity was impeached by Berriman, who accused him of admitting to a common friend that he saw the transverse line, which he afterwards denied. And though Wetstein attempted to escape from his concession, yet Woide, the editor of the MS. has shewn that his attempted explanation cannot be admitted. If, then, we rely on the testimony of the earlier and more competent witnesses, for it is now impossible otherwise to decide the matter, we must conclude that the primitive reading was $\text{Θ}\epsilon\delta\varsigma$, not $\delta\varsigma$. It is to be regretted, indeed, that Young retouched the cross line in the *Theta*, because it was somewhat faded. Mill, the editor of the Greek Testament, says, that at first sight the little crossed line escaped his notice, but that on closer inspection, he discovered some traces of it, especially at the left side, where it touched the circle, and that he should have discovered more, were it not for the modern blot drawn over the line. Berriman (1741) declares, “ I several times examined this

MS., and that accurately, and though I could never with my naked eyes discover any part of the ancient transverse line, nor others more quick-sighted than myself, yet, with the assistance of a glass, and having held the book in the sun's rays, I was able to see a part of the old line on the left hand of the new one, within the circle. And two other friends (Gibson and Ridley) with me saw the same at that time, one of whom was able to discover traces of the old line not only on the left hand, but even on the right." Thus there was once an old line, coinciding in colour of ink and style of execution with the rest of the MS., parts of which were discerned subsequently to the time when Young retouched it. But notwithstanding all the testimonies to the true and original reading of this ancient MS., Griesbach still persists in defending OC. "When I handled," says he, "this document, I was greatly grieved that the part of the leaf which contains the disputed reading is so much worn that no mortal can now decypher its original reading." And yet he says, "nevertheless I dare confidently affirm that their report is true who have stated $\bar{\sigma}$ to be the original reading in this MS." Surely such reasoning is most unwarrantable and unfair. He evidently prefers the sole authority of Wetstein to that of all other ancient witnesses, however numerous and credible. It is also worthy of remark that there is another passage in the same work where he allows the Alexandrine codex to be *neutral*. Certainly he is chargeable with inconsistency. In relation again to C. the transverse line of the *Theta* has also vanished, but this is not uncommon in other parts of the same MS. Woide and Velthusen both testify that the reading is \bar{OC} , and the stroke of abbreviation when examined, plainly appears to have been always there. If OC had been subsequently changed into \bar{OC} , it is not easy to discover any reason why one of the strokes should have been omitted. Wetstein, however, followed by Griesbach, contends that the line above OC has been added by a later hand, since it is thicker and more unskilfully drawn than is usual in this MS. But in this he is contradicted by Woide and Less, who give it as their opinion, that the line of contraction came from the same hand as the rest of the MS. Thus it is obvious that C cannot be quoted as evidence for OC. The third MS. mentioned by Griesbach as containing $\bar{\sigma}$ is F, belonging to the ninth or tenth century. Here the same uncertainty prevails as in the case of C, because the transverse stroke of the *Theta* is effaced, if indeed it ever

existed, while the line of contraction above the word is exhibited. The difficulty then is to determine whether the stroke above was written by the same individual as he who copied the MS., or whether it proceeded from a later hand. Matthæi asserts that $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ is the true reading of the codex. Such are the circumstances connected with A, C, and F; and surely no enlightened or judicious critic would now think of adducing them as positive witnesses for OC. The highest probability to which we can now attain goes to shew that the first read $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$. There is considerable probability that the second had originally the same word, and of the third I would conclude nothing.

2d. The Latin, Harclean, Arabic of Erpenius and that of the Polyglott, the Slavonic, and Georgian, are decidedly against OC; but as to the others they are doubtful, since they may be regarded as witnesses for O as well as OC. We cannot, therefore say *with certainty* that any of the ancient versions favours OC. I cannot imagine, therefore, how Dr. Bloomfield can say, in his Greek Testament, that "most of the versions favour the $\theta\varsigma$," since the very reverse is the fact.

3d. It is not quoted by any of the Greek fathers; and of the Latin, Jerome and Theodore of Mopsuesta alone have *qui*. The supposed instances of the quotation of OC, by a few of the Greek fathers, adduced by Griesbach, are not *true quotations* of the passage, but rather *paraphrases* or *explanations*, which cannot prove what he would wish them to do. Thus, the sole evidence in favour of $\theta\varsigma$ consists of four MSS., which may be reduced to an almost nonentity; and we are now prepared to judge of the truth of Griesbach's assertion, "this reading ($\theta\varsigma$), is supported by the most ancient witnesses of all classes."

Let us now attend, in the 2d place, to the internal evidence for $\theta\varsigma$. Three ways of construing the passage have been adopted, on the supposition that $\theta\varsigma$ is authentic. The first was proposed, (I believe) by Professor Cramer. He makes the clause from $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ to $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ a parenthesis, and then $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ $\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, *the living God*, will be the antecedent to $\theta\varsigma$. In this case a strong proof of the deity of Christ is exhibited by the words of the Apostle. But there appears to me something far-fetched and unnatural about it, savouring of an ingenious expedient, rather than plain construction. I cannot, therefore, feel myself warranted to receive this way of construing the passage, though Dr. J. Pye Smith, in his

great theological work, "Scripture Testimony to the Messiah," has adopted it.

The second mode of explaining the sentence, is to take $\delta\epsilon$ to refer to $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ as its antecedent. In this case the antecedent is of the neuter gender, and the relative of the masculine; and, therefore, it is often impeached as bad Greek. When the advocate of this construction refers to many instances, where neuter antecedents are followed by masculine relatives he is met with the reply, "that in such cases the noun is used in a personal sense." So Galatians iii. 16; Ephes. i. 13, 14; 1 Cor. iv. 17, &c. Still there is truth in the observation, that such an anomaly exists in cases where the antecedent relates to *things* as well as *persons*. Thus, Matthew xxvii. 33; Mark xv. 22; xii. 42; John i. 39, 42, 43; Hebrews vii. 3. These are fair examples of disagreement between the gender of the antecedent and that of the consequent, even where *things* are spoken of, not *persons*. Similar anomalies, too, might be adduced from classical writers, especially from Xenophon. It is not bad Greek, therefore, to refer $\delta\epsilon$ to $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ as its antecedent. It is consistent both with the idiom of the classical and of the New Testament diction. But there is a valid objection to such a mode of construing the sentence that completely condemns it, and which is sufficient to deter any one from its adoption. If $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ be the antecedent to $\delta\epsilon$, then the sense requires that $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ denote Christ himself. Some of the ancients appear to have taken the word in this sense; but it is totally opposed to the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament. In every place where the term occurs, it designates, *not Christ himself*, but *some mysterious doctrine*, or *circumstance connected with his person or kingdom*. Since then *Christian doctrine* cannot be said to be *manifested in the flesh, and taken up to glory*; and since the word $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, or the phrase $\tau\omicron\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ never signifies Christ himself, we hold that this method of construing the passage is altogether inadmissible.

3. There is still another method of translating the words, on the supposition that OC is authentic. "*He who* was manifested in the flesh was justified in the spirit, &c." This is the usual rendering of those who hold that $\delta\epsilon$ is the true reading. It has been adopted by Benson, the editors of the improved version, and by Carpenter, with a host of inferior writers belonging to the Unitarian persuasion. To this construction it is commonly objected, that it is foreign to the Greek idiom, both classical and

Scriptural. It is said that the regular Greek construction would have required ὁ φανερωθῆς. So the learned Dr. Henderson, in his valuable treatise on this text. The article, with the participle, is affirmed to be proper, as in Galatians i. 23, ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς, &c. *he that persecuted us*. But it is impossible to deny that such phraseology as ὁ φανερωθῆς, in the sense of *he who*, is good Greek. Professor Stuart has shewn, most ably, that it is good Greek. We may either understand the demonstrative pronoun, οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος, to be understood; or, which amounts to the same thing, we may say that ὁ includes both the demonstrative and relative pronouns, like *asher* in Hebrew, and *what* in English. Ὁ φανερωθῆς, then, in the sense of *he who was manifested*, where the antecedent or subject is understood, is by no means objectionable; since there are many similar examples, not only in the New Testament, but also in classical Greek. So Matthew xiii. 12; xx. 15. But it has been said, that where such an ellipsis, as that before us, occurs in the nominative, it is not used in the sense of *he who*, but *whosoever*; i. e. it is not employed *particularly*, or *specifically*, but *generally*. Must ὁ denote the same thing as ὁ ἰαν or ὁ ἀν? If ὁ, without any antecedent expressed, can only be used in this *generic* way, it is quite obvious that there will be no sense in the passage. If it be not employed to designate a *specific object*, or a *specific individual*, it is plain that the translation *he who* must be abandoned. But the usage of the New Testament abundantly supports the opinion of those who hold that the signification of ὁ may be specific. So John xix. 37. Luke vii. 43. John iii. 34, and numerous other places. Thus it appears, that there is no valid objection to the rendering "*he who was manifested*," &c. It is good Greek, and exhibits a good sense, and cannot be set aside on any internal ground. I confess, therefore, that I do not see any internal evidence sufficient to condemn those who thus translate the relative pronoun.

We come now to consider the arguments for the third reading ὁ, beginning as before with the external.

1. It is contained in no MS. whatever. Griesbach, indeed, following Wetstein, quotes D. or the Clermont MS. as containing it, but it reads θεος; and that such was its primitive form was maintained by Beza, Woide, Michaelis, Matthaei, and others.

2. The Itala and Vulgate, are the only versions that unequivocally express this reading. The Peshito, Ethiopic, Armenian, Coptic, Sahidic, and Arabic of Erpenius, have also been quoted

in its support. But the two first are capable of two different interpretations; the Coptic, Sahidic, and Armenian are equivocal; and the *Arabs Expenii* clearly shows that the translator read *θεός*.

3. All the Latin fathers have *quod*, except Jerome on Isaiah liii. 11, and Theodore of Mopsuesta, in his work on the incarnation, who have “*qui manifestatus est*,” and Epiphanius the deacon, who has *deus*. The only Greek father in whose writings *δ* occurs is Chrysostom, (Homily on the Incarnation), but it is almost certain that this work was not written by him. The evidence of the Latin fathers is not to be regarded as independent of the Latin versions, for, as they quoted from them, their authority is to be merged into that of the translations they adopted. Thus the external evidence for *δ* resolves itself into versions.

2d. Internal evidence is decidedly opposed to this reading. If it were authentic, the meaning would be, “And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness which 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.” It is impossible to understand such language. How could a mystery be manifested in the flesh, or justified in the spirit, or received up into glory? The absurdity involved in such a translation, does not need to be pointed out. But it may be said, that the translators of the Itala and Vulgate understood by the mystery that was manifested, the *person of Christ*; and that there is nothing in the passage itself inconsistent with this acceptance of the word. But the connexion does not at all favour this sense; and the usage of the term wherever it occurs in the New Testament, is entirely adverse to it. The mystery of godliness must mean *some mysterious doctrine relating to Christ*, but cannot designate Christ himself, as the mysterious person. Thus the internal evidence is entirely opposed to *δ* while the external consists of two ancient versions, perhaps only of one. I say perhaps *only of one version*, because it is not certain whether Jerome revised the whole of the New Testament in the old Italic version, or merely the gospels. It is perfectly nugatory therefore, to argue with some, that Jerome’s revision of the *Vetus Itala* in the New Testament, shews that the Greek MSS. of Origen which he had used had *δ*; because it cannot be proved whether his emendation extended to the epistles. And even if it could be *satisfactorily* shewn that he did revise the whole of the Greek Testament, as was most probably the case, it is well known that

he proceeded with much caution in making alterations, and that he was averse to adopt what widely differed from the *Italic*.

Having thus given the evidence external and internal for the three different readings, it remains for us to decide in favour of that one which is supported by the best authorities. The question chiefly turns on the authority of the Greek MSS., and on the different versions of the New Testament. The Greek fathers followed the Greek MSS.; the Latin, generally speaking, the versions, especially the Vulgate. But the evidence furnished by the versions is contradictory and uncertain, whilst that of the MSS. is overwhelming in favour of $\theta\iota\delta\zeta$; 257 of different families and countries, and many of them ancient. I cannot therefore but look upon $\theta\iota\delta\zeta$ as *authentic*. The amount of authority in its favour is to me quite satisfactory. There is no comparison between its claims and those of the rival readings.

It is now impossible to account for the discrepancy between the Greek MSS. and the Latin; to tell why the former read $\theta\iota\delta\zeta$, and the latter *quod*. As to the story relative to the corruption of the Greek MSS. by Macedonius, we will see that it is entitled to little credit.

In connexion with internal evidence, some lay great stress on conjectures respecting the greater probability of $\theta\iota\delta\zeta$ having given rise to $\delta\zeta$ than $\delta\zeta$ to $\theta\iota\delta\zeta$. But this is a point, on which as it appears to me, we cannot arrive at any definite or satisfactory conclusion. One may argue that $\theta\iota\delta\zeta$ would more readily originate from $\delta\zeta$ than $\delta\zeta$ from $\theta\iota\delta\zeta$; whilst the subjective views of another may incline him to the very opposite belief. Plausible means on both sides may be suggested; and therefore I cannot lay any stress on such conjectures. They should not be taken into account as influencing the judgment in determining the respective claims of the two readings.

The objections brought forward against the uniform testimony of the Greek MSS. and fathers, may be reduced to two.

1st. It is said that the text was corrupted by Macedonius bishop of Constantinople, in the beginning of the 6th century. This has been urged by Sir Isaac Newton and the Unitarians. The story rests on the accounts of Liberatus and Hincmar. But when we come to examine the statements of the two witnesses, there is a manifest discrepancy between them. Hence their testimony is lessened in value, and deprived of all weight. Sir Isaac Newton himself is obliged to eke out his reasoning with

hypothesis and conjecture; and yet on so weak and uncertain a basis, he founds the whole of his reasoning. The following considerations may suffice to shew that the story is impossible.

1st. Liberatus says that Macedonius changed $\delta\zeta$ into $\acute{\omega}\zeta$, whereas Hincmar relates that he changed it into $\Theta\epsilon\delta\zeta$. Thus there is a plain contradiction between them.

2d. They relate that Macedonius was deprived of his bishoprick, and expelled from the city for the alteration, *as being a Nestorian*. This shews the falsehood of the entire narrative. Had the Nestorians changed $\delta\zeta$ into $\Theta\epsilon\delta\zeta$, they would have completely overthrown their own doctrine. Their peculiar tenets were, that God was not incarnate as born of the Virgin Mary—that it was not *God* who suffered, died, rose, and ascended into heaven, but that it was *Christ*, by the Holy Ghost remaining upon him. This is so apparent, that, in order to elude its force, Sir Isaac is obliged to put a forced construction on the words, affirming that “the enemies of Macedonius accounted it Nestorianism, though it was not really so.”

3d. We have seen that Dionysius of Alexandria and others, had quoted the passage with $\Theta\epsilon\delta\zeta$ long before Macedonius; and Cyril of Alexandria who opposed Nestorius, made great use of the same reading. It could therefore have been no innovation. The alleged corruption is thus impossible.

4. Suppose the alteration from $\delta\zeta$ to $\Theta\epsilon\delta\zeta$ to have been made, how comes it to pass that all MSS. hitherto collated, with but four exceptions, have $\Theta\epsilon\delta\zeta$, not $\delta\zeta$. Is it possible that Macedonius could have falsified all the Greek copies, both those written before his time, and those since written? If he had been deposed from his office for substituting $\Theta\epsilon\delta\zeta$, would not care have been taken by the emperor Anastasius, (who is said to have expelled him) to have $\delta\zeta$ restored. Would not many copies have been corrected on the supposition of the alleged alteration? Why is it also that there is a total silence respecting this “notable corruption,” as the Socinians term it, in ecclesiastical history, except in the case of two obscure writers? Had it actually occurred, we would naturally expect more account of it from other writers. Nor can we conceive of any temptation that could induce an individual to corrupt a solitary passage in Scripture, for the purpose of proving a doctrine abundantly evident from numerous places. These considerations are sufficiently strong to set aside this most improbable tale, related by two members of the Latin

church, whose favourite version reads *quod*. And yet on this flimsy foundation, Sir I. Newton builds his whole argument. The premises, therefore, being wrong, the conclusion must be false. As far as this tale is concerned, we must pronounce the reading $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ to be authentic.

2d. Another argument of the negative kind brought against $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ is, that it is not quoted by any of the Greek fathers for the four first centuries, nor adduced by them against the Arians. " $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$," says Griesbach, "is not supported by any document older than the end of the 4th century." In answer to this, I may just refer to the testimonies already adduced, especially to that of Dionysius of Alexandria, from which the falsehood of this assertion will be obvious. When Griesbach says also that "all the Latin fathers read *quod*," it is to be observed, that no Latin father of the three first centuries quotes the text at all; and that it is not remarkable that nearly all of those who cite the passage read *quod*, because this word was in the Latin version they used. With respect to the comments of the Greek fathers, to which allusion has been sometimes made, as though they sanctioned the readings $\delta\varsigma$ or δ . Dr. Burton positively affirms, that *in no single instance* do their comments lead to any such conclusion. That the passage was not used against the Arians with the reading $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ will not appear strange, when we reflect that they did not deny that Christ was called $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ in Scripture, for they well knew that he was, but they explained the term in an inferior or subordinate sense. In short, such negative argumentation as this, would prove too much; because on the same ground we might argue against several other important texts, such as Matthew xxviii. 19, and 1 Cor. xii. 4, whose authenticity has never been questioned.

We feel little hesitation, therefore, in saying, that $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ is the authentic reading; and that Griesbach, by admitting $\delta\varsigma$ into the text in the second edition of his Greek Testament, has given the preference to an inferior reading. As to δ , it is certainly supported by the least authority, having no MS. whatever in its favour, and resting solely on the Latin version. Dr. Hales, (*Faith in the Holy Trinity*), errs in saying that δ is better supported than $\delta\varsigma$.

I am inclined to deviate a little from the strict line of duty at present, and to make some remarks connected with the interpretation of this important passage. Whilst we hold that $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ is

fairly entitled to general acceptance as the authentic reading, the Socinian scheme gains nothing by the reading $\delta\epsilon$. If it be translated *he who* with most Unitarians, they still refer it to Christ. What mystery then can there be in the manifestation of a mere man in the flesh? how could a common man be manifested otherwise? The circumstances of a man's appearance in the flesh, cannot surely be entitled to the appellation of a great mystery. Others, however, among the Socinians, deny the reference to Christ, and thus paraphrase the passage: "Confessedly important is the gracious dispensation of the gospel, the doctrine according to godliness, which was revealed to us by a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief, which was shewn to be of divine origin by the attestation of the Spirit, which was viewed with astonishment and delight by those who were authorised to communicate it to others, which was preached among the Gentiles, was believed on in the world at large; was gloriously received by multitudes, in every region where the sound of the gospel was heard." (See Dr. Carpenter's Unitarianism the Doctrine of the Gospel.) Whoever can explain Scripture in this way, may certainly extract any meaning out of any passage. He may safely affix to it whatever interpretation his fancy may suggest or his prejudices propose. He will be in little danger of being attacked by others, because all sensible and sober-minded men will look on him with compassion, marvelling at his blindness and perversity of mind. In our received English version there appears to be something wanting, for which it is difficult to account. We naturally expect something after the word "truth." "These things I write unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but, if I tarry long, *that* thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth;" here we would expect some such thing as this, *I inform you, I give you these instructions*, for certainly the *and*, which begins the 16th verse, appears awkward. To unite the clause, that thou mayest know, &c. with the preceding, "These things I write unto thee," does not seem to me appropriate or correct. We adopt, therefore, Griesbach's punctuation, and put a stop after $\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$. "But if I tarry long, thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God." Then follows the 16th verse, "The pillar and ground of truth, and confessedly great is the mystery of godliness: God

was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit," &c. &c. According to this translation, the mystery of godliness is said to be the pillar and ground of the truth, and confessedly great. The Apostle states that he writes those pastoral instructions contained in the preceding part of the chapter, hoping to come shortly unto Timothy. But, says he, if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, I write further concerning the incarnation, &c. &c. I am aware that Origen connects "the pillar and ground of the truth," with "the church of the living God," no less than five times in his writings; but I also know that he was frequently a loose expositor of Scripture. I can see, therefore, no valid objections to this connection of the words. Dr. Bloomfield, indeed, in his edition of the Greek Testament, (2d edition), a work of great industry, learning and research, objects to this construction, as involving "an *anticlimax* no where found in *Scripture*, and very rarely in any writer of credit;" but the *anticlimax* is merely in his own imagination, and has no actual existence. With deference to his judgment, I must differ from him in this opinion. Some expositors, as Dr. Hales, refer the pillar and ground of the truth to Timothy himself, but we reject this interpretation, and adhere to that given in our authorised translation. The words *ἰδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι* are often explained of the Holy Spirit, by whom Christ is said to have been justified at his baptism, or, according to others, at his resurrection. The term *πνεῦμα*, however, in this passage, means *Christ's divine nature*, as contrasted with *σαρκί*, *flesh*, preceding. The same contrast between *πνεῦμα* and *σάρξ*, is found in Romans i. 3, 4, and in 1 Peter iii. 18. Christ came as a public representative, invested with the mediatorial office. Now, an office implies responsibility; and, when Christ fulfilled all the responsibilities of his office, he was justified. It was by *the dignity of his divine nature* that he was able to atone for sin, and to render entire obedience to all the spiritual commands of God. When he performed all the duties of the office he assumed, he *was justified*.

In reference to the Arian hypothesis, this place can scarcely be urged as decisive against it, unless in connection with others. Arians do not deny, that the title God is given to Jesus Christ in the New Testament, though they are far from thinking him to be true or supreme God. His manifestation in the flesh has, accordingly, been sometimes explained by them of the *Word* or *Lo-*

gos, uniting himself to the man Christ Jesus, and supplying in him the place of a human soul. If $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ be interpreted of a *divine nature simply*, as some take it, it is easy, say they, to perceive how a *divine nature* was exhibited by Jesus in the precepts he delivered, the actions he performed, the pure doctrines he inculcated, and the patience in suffering he evinced. Such is the way in which some Arians reason, and to refute them from the present reading $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ is difficult. Other considerations must be urged against them; for I cannot see that $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ is of overwhelming weight, in opposition to their particular opinions. It is certainly of use in establishing such as are already convinced of the truth of the incarnation, and requires some distortion and ingenious subtilty to turn it aside from its full import and bearing. Still, too much stress has been laid on it by the orthodox, as if it were *alone* sufficient to settle the Unitarian controversy.

LECTURE XV.

DISPUTED PORTIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONTINUED.

ANOTHER passage of a similar kind to the preceding is the narrative of the woman taken in adultery contained in the 8th chapter of John's gospel, from the 1st to the 11th verse. The disputed part begins with the 52d verse of the 7th chapter, and terminates with the 11th verse of the 8th chapter. By many this portion is rejected as spurious, while to some it appears of doubtful authority. Others on the contrary have been anxious to prove its genuineness, and to defend it against the objections with which it has been assailed. It is unnecessary for me to give you a list of the names that are ranged on both sides of the question. There is no lack of learning and talent either in impugning its authority or in establishing its integrity. But the controversy is not to be decided by names however great or eminent. Waiving therefore all preliminary observations respecting the persons who have endeavoured to establish its authenticity, or to throw discredit on the truth of the narrative, I shall proceed at once to detail the arguments advanced both for and against it. These may be divided into external and internal, to each of which we purpose to turn your attention.

First, The External arguments.

1st. It is alléged that the story is omitted in the best MSS., A, B, C, L, T, X, Δ. In some it is marked with asterisks, in others with obeli, as suspicious. Some have it at the end of the gospel, others insert it in the 7th chapter after the 36th verse; and in one or two it is placed at the end of the 21st chapter of the Gospel by Luke. And although the story is found in MSS. D, G, H, K, M, U, yet these are not so ancient or excellent as those that want it. D, which is highly esteemed by many as if it were both ancient and valuable, has frequently apocryphal additions. As to the other MSS. in which it is found, though it is admitted that they are uncial, yet it is said that they belong to the Constantinopolitan recension, and that they are disfigured with several junior readings. In answer to this argument from

MSS. it may be affirmed, that if we look merely to their number we will not be at a loss to decide in favour of the authenticity of the passage. By far the greater number contain the paragraph in question. *Numbers alone*, however, are not to be taken apart from their antiquity, excellence, and value. In reference to the uncial MSS., which have been quoted as omitting the section, it may be remarked, that A ought not to be reckoned, because it is defective from John vi. 50 to viii. 42. Wetstein indeed endeavoured to compute the number of lines which the lost leaves would have contained, compared with the number in the rest, yet this is a very uncertain mode of arriving at any definite conclusion. It is impossible to ascertain the contents of the lost leaves—nothing more than a conjecture can be formed respecting the number of lines they contained. C is mutilated from John vii. 3 to viii. 34. It is evident therefore that A and C must be left out of the list of MSS. that omit the narrative. There remain B, L, T, X, Δ, which are fairly adduced as omitting the section, and which are ancient and excellent MSS. Against these we have on the other side D, which is of great antiquity. Paulus indeed alleges that it contains apocryphal additions, yet it has none to be compared in length with the present passage. With regard to K and M, it may be observed that the circumstance of their belonging to the Constantinopolitan family mentioned by Griesbach in disparagement of them is not certainly adverse to their goodness, for it is not yet indubitably established that the Eastern recension is inferior to the Alexandrine. Thus we have the consent both of the Western or African recension, and of the Asiatic, (which two families comprise according to Scholz all MSS.) in favour of the authenticity of the section. The MSS. marked with an obelus cannot be fairly numbered among those who reject the passage. It is not an index of *omission*, but of *doubt*, denoting that the transcriber found the place to which he affixed the sign in some MSS., and not in others. Neither are the MSS. which place the narrative at the end of the gospel to be numbered with those that wholly omit it. Of the MSS. which insert it in a different place from that in which it now stands we are merely to conclude that their transcribers having found it in the codices from which they copied either at the end of the gospel, or in the margin, ignorantly inserted it in an improper place. And whereas it is found in four MSS. at the end of the 21st chapter of Luke, it seems to

have been read after this portion of Luke in some churches. The writers of MSS. that have left here *an open space*, although it may be too small to contain the section, shew by this circumstance, that they were acquainted with the passage, and found it in some copies, though they thought fit to reject it.

If we next consider the testimony of ancient versions the matter cannot be decided by means of their single evidence. Some very ancient versions have the section, such as the Coptic, Æthiopic, and Vetus Itala; while others, such as the Peshito or old Syriac, omit it. There are more, however, that have the section than omit it, and the authority of versions is, on the whole, in favour of its authenticity.

Next we have to refer to the testimony of the Fathers, who had in their hands the most ancient MSS. The greater number of them omit all mention of it, whilst others speak doubtfully. It is omitted by Origen, Apollinaris, Theodore of Mopsuesta, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Basil, Cosmas, Nonnus, Theophylact catenae editions and MSS., Tertullian, Cyprian, and Juvencus. Euthymius, a writer of the eleventh century, in his annotations on this place, remarks, that he did not find the passage in the greater number as well as in the most important of MSS., and that he looked upon it as very suspicious. In answer to this argument derived from the testimony of the fathers, it has been observed, that it is found in Tatian in his work entitled *Harmony of the Four Gospels*. In the work called the apostolical constitutions written by an eastern bishop about the end of the third century mention is made of the story. It is also noticed by Ambrose, and by Jerome who thus writes, "In the Gospel according to John, the story relating to the adulteress who was accused before our Lord, is found in many MSS. both Greek and Latin." Augustine is also quoted in favour of the passage. To these may be added Sedulius, Leo, Chrysologus, Cassiodorus, and Gelasius 1st. The notes of the Greek scholiasts also relate that the paragraph existed in ancient copies. Now it cannot surely be alleged with the least show of probability, that all of these ancient writers had in their hands such copies only as were corrupted by later additions. Who shall assert that the MSS. which they used, and in which they found the passage in question, were without exception adulterated and interpolated copies? In reference to the long list of fathers above cited, as making no mention of the place, we observe that it is unfair to name such

as were not led in their writings to mention or explain the section. No valid argument against its genuineness can be drawn from their silence, unless the occasion naturally brought the words before them. Unless it was needful to cite or to refer to it in their writings, it is unjust to adduce any of the fathers as evidence for its omission in their copies. By this observation, Tertullian, Cyprian, Juvenus, and Basil, ought not to be included among those who either knew nothing of the passage, or rejected it as spurious. Granville Penn, however, argues "that the passage was wholly unknown to Tertullian at the end of the second century, as is manifest in his book '*de Pudicitia.*' The bishop of Rome had issued an edict, granting pardon to the crime of *adultery* on repentance. This new assumption of power fired the indignation of Tertullian, who thus apostrophized him:—"Audio edictum esse propositum et quidem peremptorium, '*pontifex scilicet maximus, episcopus episcoporum dicit: Ego et moechiae et fornicationis delicta, poenitentia functis, dimitto.*' (c. 1.) He then breaks out in terms of the highest reprobation against that invasion of the divine prerogative; and (in c. 6) thus challenges—"Si ostendas de quibus patrociniis *exemplorum praeceptorumque coelestium, soli moechiae, et in ea fornicationi quoque, janua poenitentiae expandas, ad hanc jam lineam dimicabit nostra congressio.*"—"If thou canst shew me by what authority of *heavenly examples* or precepts, thou openest a door for penitence to *adultery* alone, and therein to fornication, our controversy shall be disputed on *that ground.*" And he concludes with asserting, "Quaecunque auctoritas, quaecunque ratio, *moecho et fornicatori pacem ecclesiasticam reddit, eadem debet et homicidae et idolatriae poenitentibus subvenire.*—Whatever authority, whatever consideration restores the peace of the church to the *adulterer* and *fornicator*, ought to come to the relief of those who repent of *murder* or *idolatry.*" It is manifest, therefore, that the copies of St. John with which Tertullian was acquainted did not contain the "*exemplum coeleste—the divine example*" devised in the story of the "*woman taken in adultery.*"—(Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant, pp. 267-8.) As to Origen, it is well known that his commentary on John has descended to us in a very imperfect and mutilated state; and if it be argued from his silence that he rejected the narrative as not genuine, it may with equal force and truth be affirmed that the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of John's gospel are spurious, because he omits all mention of them in his

exposition of the gospel. Neither can it be inferred from the silence of Chrysostom, that the passage was wanting in the Antiochian copies; for it may be supposed that the religious orator did not consider it prudent or proper to expound this history to a people, who, as appears from his sermons, were addicted to adultery. Besides, Chrysostom has omitted other places of John's gospel in his homilies. The same may be said of Nonnus, who has not only passed over in silence this section, but other places also whose genuineness has never been questioned. It is argued by the opponents of the paragraph that if it was a genuine part of John's gospel, it was omitted in so many MSS. either by accident or design. That it was lost by accident is altogether improbable. The only reason then why it could have been omitted was the fear of affording an excuse for the crime of adultery. But this is contrary to the genius and character of the ancient writers in general. It is therefore supposed to have been taken and inserted from some apocryphal gospel. Some have thought that it was derived from the "gospel according to the Hebrews," because it is stated in Eusebius that Papias put forth a story which is contained in the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," of a woman who was accused before the Lord of many sins. It is doubtful, however, whether the woman, whose history according to Papias, was related in the "Gospel according to the Hebrews," be the same with the woman mentioned by John—nay, it would rather seem that they were different women, from the circumstance that the one is said to have been accused of many sins, the other of the sole crime of adultery. In short, as has been observed by Staedlin, no probable reason can be assigned for the introduction of the narrative into the text, while several causes may be adduced for its omission. The ancient writers found many inextricable difficulties in the story. They found in it something which they could not reconcile with the wisdom of Jesus. They stumbled especially at the circumstance that Jesus did not in their opinion condemn the adulteress; or they were afraid that others inferring from thence the impunity of the crime should take occasion to transgress in the same manner. They were unwilling therefore that it should be read in ecclesiastical assemblies, and they omitted it in the lectionaries. Owing to the same cause, the fathers chose to pass it over in silence in their homilies. Hence it has been inferred that it was not in their MSS. That the section was omitted for these reasons, is evi-

dent from Ambrose's second apology for David, and from Augustine against Faustus. Those who contend that it was taken from *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, or from some other unknown and apocryphal gospel, ought to assign a reason for its occupying the place which it now does in most MSS. This they are unable to do. It is alleged that the great variety of readings throws an air of suspicion over the story. But none of the various readings makes any change in the narrative itself, so as to add to its credibility. The causes of the variety are as difficult to be explained by the impugners of the passage, as by the supporters of its authenticity. Some endeavour to account for the multitude of variations in the text by the circumstance, that the story was at first written in Hebrew in the Gospel according to the Hebrews; and that the greater part of the various readings arose from the different Greek translations. This, however, is mere conjecture. Nothing certain can be affirmed on the subject. It is indubitable, however, that the multitude of various readings does not prove that the passage itself is spurious.

Such is a brief view of the external arguments for and against the passage.

We come now to the internal. It is said that the story is improbable, 1st, Because it is not easy to see how the pharisees and lawyers, who had taken counsel to slay Jesus, and had sent officers to apprehend him, could propose to him so honourable a question concerning their law—a question which exalted to the rank of judge, one whom they looked upon as a private person. When they propose at other times an interrogation to Christ, they either themselves assume the character of judges, as in Matthew xxi. 23, or they send their disciples, xxii. 16, or one individual puts the question, xxii. 35th verse. In answer to this it may be observed, that those who interrogated Jesus on the present occasion were not judges and magistrates, at least they did not appear as such—neither are they called chief priests and pharisees as in John vii. 45, but scribes and pharisees. They were private persons who appeared as witnesses and accusers, for Jesus says, let him who is without fault among you throw the first stone at her, which was the duty of the witnesses. (Compare Deuteron. xiii. 10; xvii. 7; John vii. 25.) As for the honourable question proposed to our Lord by which they constituted him a judge, it is manifest that their design was not to honour but to insult him. They watched for an opportunity of ensnaring

him, seizing upon the present as one which they imagined would be conducive to their base and sinister purposes. They wanted to tempt him, that they might find cause of accusation against him.

2d. It appears improbable in the view of some, that the crime should have been committed at the end of the festival; and that the pharisees, who were scrupulously observant of ceremony, should have brought the woman into the court of the temple at this time. The weakness of this argument is apparent. The feast, and the number of people brought together for its celebration, might very naturally furnish occasion to the crime. The scene and the assembly were both favourable to its commission. Besides, it does not appear that the process was instituted against the woman *during* the feast of tabernacles. From a comparison of several passages it is inferred that the event took place *after* the festival, *i. e.* on the day succeeding the eighth. (Compare vii. 37, 53, viii. 1, 2.) If this opinion be correct, it is easy to see that the accusation of the woman took place the *day after the feast*, and not during its continuance. But even though we should admit that this transaction happened *on the eighth day, the day of holy convocation*, it does not follow that the Pharisees would not have brought the woman into the court of the temple. Their hatred of Jesus led them to disregard every other consideration, and to overlook circumstances to which on ordinary occasions they would have strictly attended. It appears from Numbers xv. 34, *that it was lawful* to apprehend one on the Sabbath day.

3d. The interrogation, it is said, proposed to Jesus, was by no means captious. He had never contradicted the Mosaic law—he had merely rejected the traditions of the Pharisees, whilst it was declared by him publicly that the tendency of his doctrine was not to abrogate the Mosaic law. (Matthew v. 17.) He might therefore have considered that he came as a teacher, not to abrogate the Mosaic law, but to establish it. If then he had approved of the Mosaic law respecting the stoning of the adulteress—if he had said that an adulteress, according to the laws of Moses should be punished with death, with the concurrence at the same time of the Roman procurator, (Matthew xxvi. 66), he would have had nothing to fear either from the Romans or the Jews. To this objection various answers have been given. The want of *captiousness* in the question it is much easier to assert than to prove. We are chiefly to look to the intentions and designs of

those who brought the woman before our Lord. Much of the inquiry depends on the opinion which they had of the probable answer that Jesus would give. It matters little whether Jesus might be able to give such an answer as would have subjected him to no blame or accusation—whether he might have spoken words of wisdom so as to offend neither the Romans nor the Jews—it matters little whether we may discover for him an answer by which he would have evaded the artifices of his enemies, and completely silenced their cavils; the turning point of the argument is, whether the woman's accusers expected that Jesus might probably give such an answer to the interrogation, as to furnish just ground for arraigning him before the authorities of the land. And is it not most reasonable to suppose that the Scribes and Pharisees, actuated as they were by unceasing animosity against him, conceived that there was now an opportunity favourable to the gratification of their malignant passions? There is no reason to believe that they had, in this single instance, departed from their usual course—that they had laid aside their malice toward Christ—that they had renounced all opposition to his person and preaching, desiring to do him honour. If the question was not a captious one, what could have been their object in proposing it? It could not have been to *get* information, since in bringing the woman before our Lord they stated that Moses in the law commanded that she should be stoned. They must have thought that our Saviour's opinion would not in every respect coincide with the sentence of their law; or that he, in interfering with the decision of the case, would infringe upon the prerogatives of others. We are not warranted to devise modes in which Christ *might* have answered the Pharisees—modes, which as we conceive would have freed him from all fear of offending either Jews or Romans, and then infer from them that the question was not a captious one. All depends on the *expectation of the Pharisees themselves*, on the hope *they* had respecting the answer of Jesus.

Much has been said about the character of the persons who appeared as the woman's accusers. It has been debated whether they were *zealots* or not, but it is a point, in my opinion, of no moment. It is altogether a matter of conjecture, not of certainty.

4. "The Pharisees, (verse 5), appeal to the law of Moses, and say, that it is written therein, that the adulteress should be

stoned. This particular precept, however, is not found in the Mosaic writings. In Levit. xx. 10, Deuteron. xxii. 22, the punishment of death is ordered, but the *specific kind of death* is not mentioned. We are informed by the Mishna, that where the law did not name the kind of punishment, the Rabbins directed that *strangulation* should be used. In Deuteronom. (xxii. 24) indeed, the punishment of stoning is denounced against an unfaithful *betrothed woman*. But here it is not a *sponsa* but a *wife* taken in adultery. These lawyers therefore, of the sect of the pharisees, have spoken what can neither be reconciled with the Mosaic law, nor with the Rabbinical interpretation of it." In answer to this argument, it may be stated that Michaelis has proved, that in the passages of Leviticus and Deuteronomy quoted above, stoning is to be understood by the punishment of death. So also in Exodus xxxi. 14, xxxv. 2, the punishment of death is proclaimed against the breaker of the Sabbath, whereas in Numbers xv. 32, 34, &c. the Sabbath-breaker is commanded to be stoned. (Compare also Ezekiel xvi. 38, 40.) Besides, the authority of the Mishna is of little weight in things relating to Jewish customs anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem. The narrative itself is of greater authority and age; whether we admit it to have been written by John himself or not, since it was read by several fathers of the church before the existence of the Mishna. Nor is there any necessity for understanding the term *γυνή* in this place, of a *wife* only. The word may mean a *betrothed woman*, against whom Moses in Deuteronomy denounced the punishment of stoning. *Μορξεία* too, is not restricted to matrimonial impurity, but is of a much more general signification. Hence Philo calls the infidelity of a betrothed woman, a *kind of adultery*. Nor was he peculiar in this opinion, although he says that others reckoned it a crime intermediate between fornication and adultery.

5th. "Jesus who, on other occasions, readily answered captious questions, did now write with his finger, (though he was in no danger, and the answer was easy), which signifies hesitation, and a desire to take time for consideration." I cannot see the point of this objection to the authenticity of the words. It is perfectly nugatory to inquire whether Jesus wrote in the dust significant characters, or figures devoid of meaning. What matters such a thing to us? and how puerile to speculate about it? Perhaps he wrote nothing significant. It is certain, however,

that he did not act thus from fear, or from anxiety to avoid an answer. How inconsistent is it with all Scriptural sentiments of his character and person to entertain the idea, that he shunned an answer from timidity ! It was a custom among the Jews, when unpleasant matters were brought forward, to which they wanted to reply neither in the affirmative nor negative, to write something, as if they were otherwise engaged. Jesus therefore did not refuse to give an answer to his interrogators from timidity and hesitation ; but he wished to shew them, that they were not regarded by him as deserving of a reply ; and moreover, that he had nothing to do with this civil cause. He would not interfere as a legislator or judge.

6. "The reply of Christ, (v. 7), "he that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her," is unsuitable. For it is not necessary that a witness or an accuser should be free from sin ; it is sufficient for him to shew by solid arguments, that the crime of which he accuses another has been actually committed." In answer to this argument, I will not say with many, that the words of Christ refer to *similar sin*, viz. to *adultery and fornication*, but to *freedom from every kind of sin*. I understand them to mean *all kinds of transgression*. But it is manifest, that Christ did not design by these words to prescribe a rule to be observed in courts of justice ; nor did he speak of the duty and office of a *legitimate judge* or witness ; but he declined to decide in the present matter with which he had nothing to do ; and took occasion as a *teacher of morals* to rebuke the Pharisees for their own sins. A passage in Cicero against Verres, 3d Oration, may be quoted as parallel. "Vis corruptorem aliquem vel adulterum accusare ? providendum diligenter ne in tuâ vitâ vestigium libidinis appareat. Etenim non est ferendus accusator qui quod in altero vitium reprehendit in eo ipso deprehenditur." "Would you accuse a seducer or adulterer ? you ought carefully to consider beforehand, whether there be any trace of lust in your own life ; for the accuser is not to be borne, who is himself found to commit the very crime which he censures in another."

7th. "It is not credible that all who had brought the adulteress, especially that the pharisees of sanctimonious appearance were adulterers ; and that they went away from a consciousness of guilt, signifying by their departure that they were not innocent of the crime." This objection rests on the supposition that when our Saviour said, "he that is without sin among you, let him

first cast a stone at her," he meant a *similar sin*, viz. adultery. This meaning I cannot allow of. It is quite improbable and unnecessarily confined.

8. "It is not probable that Jesus was left alone with the woman in the temple, (as we read in the 9th verse), both on account of the celebrity of the temple, to which multitudes resorted, and the curiosity of the people." To this it may be replied, that the words of the 9th verse are spoken only of the *woman's accusers*; and that it was only in relation to them that Jesus was left alone. It is not denied that others were present, for instance his disciples and hearers. It is manifest that Jesus was not left *altogether* alone, from the circumstance that the woman was left "*standing in the midst*," i.e. of the people who surrounded our Lord.

9. "If the case had been real, *both parties* would have been brought for the judgment of our Lord. The law commanded that both "the *adulterer and adulteress* shall surely be put to death," (Lev. xx. 10), yet here, the woman only is accused. And it cannot be alleged that the man was unknown or had eluded justice, for it is pointedly stated that they '*were taken in the very act*,' as in Numb. xxv. 8." (Penn's Annotations to the New Covenant.) In answer to this plausible and ingenious argument it may be observed, that the intention of the Pharisees in bringing the case before Christ was most deceitful and insidious. Their zeal was not for the honour of the law of Moses, or rather of the law of God; but they wished to entrap the Saviour either in his words or deeds. To maintain justice inviolate, and to restrain iniquity by the punishment of offenders, was not the motive by which they were actuated; but their cunning was directed against the Redeemer, that they might have cause to accuse him. They wished to render him obnoxious to the Romans, if he decided that the woman should be put to death; or to the Jews, if he decided otherwise. The accusers probably imagined, that he would not condemn the woman—that his decision would differ from that enjoined in the law of Moses. Why then did they bring only one of the parties before him? This resulted from the object they had in view. They were not actuated by zeal for the honour of their law, else they would have brought both the culprits; but they took occasion from the case to tempt the Saviour, that they might possibly discover some flaw in his character. They imagined that only one of the

parties was sufficient for their purpose, and they chose the woman. We cannot tell why they took *the one*, rather than *the other*; we can only conjecture the reason. Probably they wished to bring Christ into collision with the law of Moses; and the detention of the woman under the present circumstances, appeared to them the best mean of effecting their object. In her case, the Saviour might have inclined to the side of mercy; and thus they would have had reason to charge him with opposition to the Mosaic law. But the Saviour prevented this by the manner in which he smote their consciences. We believe therefore, that the insidious intention of the Jews who presented themselves as the accusers, is sufficient to account for the circumstance, that only one of the parties was actually brought before Christ. It was unnecessary for their purpose to bring both.

10. Those who look upon the paragraph as spurious, appeal to the diversity of style. John's style, say they, is simple, whereas this is more ornate. It is difficult, if not impossible, to perceive in what the ornament of these verses consist; or how it is greater than that of some other places in the same gospel, particularly the introduction.

Such is a summary of the internal arguments on both sides of the question. It is not pretended to be set forth as containing all the single objections that have been urged by individuals against the authenticity of the section. I have given, however, the principal arguments on both sides, omitting a very few that do not deserve mention. Indeed many may think that several others might have been passed over without detriment to the disquisition, because they are both puerile and weak. This is admitted; but when learned men advance such arguments, it is necessary to follow them with a refutation into all their sinuous ingenuities. To Kuinoel I have been principally indebted for the outline, and to him those desirous of more minute information may have recourse.

My opinion of the whole case is this, that internal evidence can never be satisfactorily shewn to decide against the passage. How is it to be supposed that Papias, who is generally said to have introduced the passage, could have foisted it into so many copies? That it might have been found in a few is probable, but with what plausibility can it be maintained that by far the greater number of MSS. should contain it? In my opinion, the length of the passage is a strong presumption in favour of its au-

thenticity. We can easily conceive it possible or even probable, that a few words, or a verse, might have been occasionally inserted in the sacred text; but that so long a story could have been foisted into so many copies, is quite improbable. The length of the paragraph speaks loudly against its spuriousness. And we can assign a probable reason for its omission in so many ancient copies, viz. the unfounded apprehension lest the leniency of the Saviour to the criminal should be misconstrued, as affording encouragement to her sin. To this cause, we are warranted, by the authority of Augustine and Ambrose, to attribute the omission. Jesus, however, distinctly charged her with sin when he addressed her in the words, "go in peace and sin no more." The great body of external evidence is decidedly in favour of the authenticity of the verses. According to Scholz they are found in 295 MSS. and six evangelisteria. In 40 others they are marked with an obelus, in 15 with an asterisk, and in eight they are placed at the end of the gospel. Against the passage are 96 MSS. and 32 evangelisteria. Thus am I justified in asserting that the external evidence is decidedly in its favour. This follows not merely from the number of the MSS. but also from the value and antiquity of at least a part. After weighing, therefore, all the evidences, I think that the section should be retained as part of the text. Both Griesbach and Scholz have allowed it to continue undisturbed, though the former was by no means partial to the *textus receptus*.

LECTURE XVI.

DISPUTED PORTIONS OF NEW TESTAMENT CONTINUED.

THE next disputed text that comes under consideration is Acts xx. 28, a passage perplexed with variations. The readings amount to six, viz. 1. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the church of God*. 2. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου, *the church of the Lord*. 3. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, *the church of the Lord and God*. 4. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου θεοῦ, *the church of the Lord God*. 5. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου, *the church of the God and Lord*. 6. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ, *the church of Christ*.

Let us examine the testimonies in favour of each, beginning with the external evidence for τοῦ θεοῦ.

1. It is said to be supported by the Vatican MS. B, a most ancient and valuable document; by ten others; and, as far as can be judged from the silence of such as collated them, by nine besides, in addition to a lectionary. With respect to B, it has been much disputed whether it reads Θεοῦ or κυρίου. Griesbach affirmed that it had the latter—Birch, Wagstaffe, and Ford, the former. It is well known, however, that Dr. Birch who collated B, did not venture to pronounce with certainty on the reading of it in this place. “Pro certo pronunciare non ausim quid in codice nostro scriptum reperiatur.” (See London edition of Griesbach, vol. ii. p. 116.) It is quite evident that the codex now reads Θεοῦ, but the question is, was this the original writing? It has been found that there are vestiges of κυρίου beneath Θεοῦ, and hence it is inferred that the latter reading has been written over the former. The probability is thus in favour of κυρίου as the primitive reading of B, though Scholz quotes the MS. without hesitation or remark, for Θεοῦ.

The evidence from MSS. then, in favour of τοῦ θεοῦ, resolves itself into ten Constantinopolitan copies comparatively recent, with ten others probably.

2. Of ancient versions it is supported by the Vulgate, the

Harclean Syriac in the text, and a Syriac lectionary in the Vatican, of the 11th century. The Æthiopic is ambiguous.

3. Among the Fathers, the same reading is sanctioned by Ignatius, for he employs the phrase *ἄμα θεοῦ* in his epistle to the Ephesians. But in another recension of the same epistle it is *χριστοῦ*. Tertullian has the same phrase, as also Joannes Damascenus, Theophylact, Leontius, and others. *Θεοῦ* is quoted by Athanasius, Basil, Epiphanius, Chrysostom three times, Ambrose, Antiochus, Oecumenius, Ibas, by Pope Celestine (A. D. 422) who cites the Vulgate, as also Fulgentius (464) and his contemporary Ferrand. Pope Martin, in a council held at Rome (650) recites the received reading; the venerable Bede and Etherius have the same also. We are not certain, however of the testimony of many of these writers, since in different works, and even in different parts of the same production, they countenance different readings. Such is the external evidence in favour of *τοῦ θεοῦ*.

The second reading *τοῦ κυρίου* is supported by 17 MSS., four of which are the most ancient and valuable copies at present known, viz. A, C, D, E, the rest are more modern.

2d. It is found in the Coptic, Sahidic, Harclean Syriac in the margin, the Armenian, and the old Italic, as in the Cambridge MS. and published by Sabatier.

The Æthiopic, as we have already said, is ambiguous, for it uses the same word whether *κύριος* or *θεός* be in the Greek text. Griesbach, whose words are copied by Scholz, thinks that it read *κυρίου*, from its affinity to the Armenian and Coptic versions.

3d. It is quoted by the following Fathers: Irenæus, Eusebius, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ammonius, Maximus, Antonius, Ibas, Lucifer, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, Sedulius, Alcimius, Didymus, and Theophylact. The second council of Carthage has the same, (but in the Greek it reads *θεοῦ*). The apostolical constitutions are also favourable to this reading.

Such is the external evidence for *τοῦ κυρίου*.

The third reading *τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ* is supported by the following testimonies:

1. It is found in 96 MSS. and several lectionaries; but only two of these codices are of considerable antiquity, viz. G, H.

2. The Slavonic version is the only one which favours it.

3. It is supported by none of the fathers before Theophylact. In his commentaries, however, he reads *θεοῦ*. It appears likewise in the Complutensian and Plantin editions.

The fourth reading, viz. κυρίου θεοῦ or τοῦ θεοῦ, *of the Lord God*, is supported in the former shape, by two junior MSS. and the Arabic version of the Polyglott—in the latter by the Georgian version.

The fifth reading Θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου is found in one MS.

The sixth reading Χριστοῦ, *of Christ*, is found in the old Syriac, the Arabic of Erpenius, in Origen *probably*, Athanasius, Theodoret, Ignatius, Basil, and in Fulgentius. Most, however, if not all of these ecclesiastical writers support some of the other readings. Hence they can hardly be regarded as witnesses for the present one.

From this summary of the external evidence for all the readings in this place, it appears, *first*, that as far as regards the testimony of MSS. τοῦ κυρίου is decidedly best supported. *2d.* With respect to the versions, they certainly favour most the same reading. The Harclean and Vulgate only, support the *first*, but some old MSS. of the latter translation have Lord (κυρίου.)

3d. The testimony of the fathers and other ecclesiastical writers is so contradictory and uncertain, that it is extremely difficult to determine on which side the preponderance of their evidence lies. A passage in Athanasius has been quoted as bearing on the present text. Griesbach in his note says, that Athanasius, (contra Apollinarium), denied that the expression ἄιμα Θεοῦ *the blood of God*, occurs in Scripture. In a note to the "Improved Version," it is also said that "the expression the blood of God, is rejected with horror by Athanasius, as an invention of the Arians," and Mr. Belsham, in his *Calm Inquiry*, writes thus, "Our Scriptures, says Athanasius, no where mention the blood of God. Such impudent expressions are only used by Arians." Belsham gives the original words of Athanasius in this form, 'Ουδαμοῦ δὲ ἄιμα θεοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς παραδεδώκασιν αἱ γραφαί. Ἀρειάνων τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήματα, for which he refers to Wetstein. But instead of taking the words from Wetstein he ought to have consulted Athanasius himself. Wetstein is here guilty of a gross perversion of the words of Athanasius; and he is implicitly followed both by Griesbach and Belsham. He inserted καθ' ἡμᾶς of his own, and left out the important words δίχα σαρκός. The words of Athanasius are these, 'Ουδαμοῦ δὲ ἄιμα θεοῦ δίχα σαρκός παραδεδώκασιν αἱ γραφαί ἢ θινὸν δίχα σαρκός πάθοντα καὶ ἀναστάντα. 'Αρειάνων τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήματα. "The Scriptures no where speak of the blood of God without flesh, (i. e. without adding something which

implies the incarnation of God), nor of God suffering and rising again without flesh. Such are the daring expressions of Arians." The work of Athanasius from which these words are taken was written against the Apollinarians, who held that God, *not us united to man, but in his own unmixed essential deity*, suffered and died on the cross. Athanasius therefore asserts that the Scriptures never speak of Christ suffering as God, without mentioning or implying his human nature; and in the very next sentence he goes on to say, "but the Holy Scriptures speaking of God in the flesh, and of the flesh of God when he became man, *do mention the blood, and sufferings, and resurrection of the body of God.*" (See Burton's Testimonies of the Ante-nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ.)

We come, in the next place, to consider the internal evidence. 1st. It is alleged that the phrase *ἰκκλησία θεοῦ* is often found in the New Testament. It occurs in ten places of St. Paul's epistles; viz. 1 Cor. i. 2, 1 Cor. x. 32, xi. 16, 22, xv. 9; 2 Cor. i. 1; Gal. i. 13; 1 Thessal. ii. 14; 2 Thessal. i. 4; 1 Timothy iii. 5. On the contrary, the phrase *ἰκκλησία τοῦ κυρίου* occurs no where in the New Testament. To this, it may be replied in the words of Dr. Olshausen of Koenigsberg, as translated by Dr. J. Pye Smith: "Transcribers would be likely to prefer the more known expression, to that which was quite unusual, without reflecting upon the following word *the blood*. That this connexion of *God* and *blood* is not in the style of the apostles is very plain; for similar expressions are nowhere found in the New Testament." (Biblischer Comm. N.T. vol. 2, and Scripture Testimony, vol. 3, p. 65.) 2d. Michaelis says that "*θεοῦ* is probably the true reading, and all the others are to be considered as corrections or scholia, because *θεοῦ* might easily give occasion to any of these, whereas none could so easily give occasion to *κυρίου*. If Saint Luke wrote *θεοῦ*, the origin of *κυρίου* and *Χριστοῦ* may be explained, either as corrections of the text, or as marginal notes; because the blood of God is a very extraordinary expression: but if he had written *κυρίου* it is inconceivable how any one should alter it into *θεοῦ*; and on this latter supposition 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." On the other hand, it is not difficult to point out the method in which *θεοῦ* might have arisen from *κυρίου*. Transcribers of MSS. were familiar with *ἰκκλησία*

τοῦ θεοῦ from its frequent occurrence in the New Testament. Hence they might have altered the unusual into the common expression. But not only can we account for θεοῦ from κυρίου but also for the other readings. Such as are compound originated from the combination of κυρίου and θεοῦ. Χριστοῦ "was probably," says Dr. Smith, "a designed explication."

On the whole, I am inclined to adopt τοῦ κυρίου as the probable reading. It is best supported by external evidence; and the internal is at least equally strong with that for τοῦ θεοῦ. The most ancient and valuable MSS. lead us to conclude, that it is the genuine phrase. Τοῦ θεοῦ is only supported by junior copies, which is sufficient in Dr. Scholz's judgment to establish its claims to precedence, provided such documents belong to the Constantinopolitan recension. It is strange, that in this place he should have rejected κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ, which is evidently the reading of his favourite family of MSS. Surely he has departed from his own principles, by retaining τοῦ θεοῦ in the text. Griesbach, Lachmann, and most of the critical editors appear to me to have rightly put τοῦ κυρίου instead of τοῦ θεοῦ in the text.

We shall now make a few remarks on the *interpretation* of this passage. And, first, we may state that we are unable to perceive the reason why so many have strenuously contended against the second reading, as if it favoured Unitarian opinions. The whole meaning of the passage does not turn on the mere word θεοῦ or κυρίου, but on διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. This is manifest from the Raccovian Catechism, where the force of the adjective ἰδίον is concealed, because the strength of the argument lies especially in it. Mr. Wakefield advocates τοῦ θεοῦ, and calls Griesbach's testimony respecting the Æthiopic version, *infamously false*. Dr. Hales, therefore, has been unnecessarily solicitous to establish τοῦ θεοῦ, as if this reading alone could rescue the passage out of Unitarian hands. We are not surprised to find the words διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος translated by Unitarians differently from our received version. But on turning to Penn's "Book of the New Covenant," we were not a little astonished to read the translation there given "to rule the church of God, which he hath purchased with the blood of his own Son." (p. 252.) In his note to this passage, he says that the Vatican, and all the most ancient MSS., the Coptic version, and Irenaeus, read διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου with the blood of his *own*, not as the later copies have changed the order, διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος with his own blood. "As it is St.

Paul that is speaking, “ continues he, “ we have no difficulty in supplying the noun emphatically implied by τοῦ ἰδίου. In his epistle to the Romans viii. 32, he says, “ He who spared not *his own Son* but *delivered him up for us all*,” that is, purchased or acquired us by the blood of *his own Son*; and so here, in his address to the Ephesian disciples.” Both Griesbach and Scholz have adopted into their texts the reading advocated in this note, and we believe that it is best supported by authority. But so far from its having a different signification from the junior Greek reading, it is identical with it in meaning. The two phrases perfectly correspond. When the adjective in immediate concord with the substantive is placed after it, both have the article. But when the adjective is put *first*, it is necessary to prefix the article to it alone. This rule is always followed in the Greek Testament, and generally in the Septuagint. But Mr. Penn, ignorant of such usage, or disregarding it entirely, affirms, that the meaning of the two phrases is entirely different. The New Testament contradicts this statement. τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα and τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, equally signify the Holy Spirit; nor is any difference between the meaning of the two phrases at all discernible. On the contrary, they are equivalent. The passage quoted from the epistle to the Romans contains the same *sentiment*, but the *phraseology* is different. Neither can any instance be produced from the New Testament of so harsh and unusual an ellipsis as ἰου, in such a position. It is just as absurd to supply such an ellipsis in this phrase, as to interpret αἵματος *son* with Mr. Wakefield. Both are contrary to the language of Scripture, and unwarranted by the *usus loquendi*. Surely Mr. Penn ought to have known that the interpretation of the two phrases represented by him as the respective readings of the more ancient and later manuscripts, is in reality the very same. The passage furnishes a glorious attestation of the real sacrifice of Christ, which the opposers of his divinity have in vain endeavoured to corrupt and to pervert. It stands forth, however, prominent to view in the sacred volume, unshaken by the efforts directed against it.

The next passage to which we purpose to direct your attention is the last clause of the 13th verse of the 6th chapter of Matthew's gospel, containing the *Doxology of the Lord's Prayer*, ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν, translated in the received version, “ for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory; for ever. Amen.” The authenticity of

these words has been much contested. By some they have been discarded; by others advocated with much ingenuity. Many have been so long accustomed to regard them as a real part of our Lord's Prayer, that they deem it impious to disturb them, or to call in question their divine authority; whilst others scruple not to set them aside on the ground of substantial evidence. Many have been influenced to retain the words, because they have been lisped by them in infancy, under the fond teachings of a mother, and repeated in their hours of prayer, with all the fervour of holy feeling inspired by faith in Jesus. Hence they have become so much associated with the communings of the soul, as well as with the perusal of the word of God, that it is like the tearing away of a limb to discard them without ceremony from the text of the New Testament. But in this and all similar cases, we must be guided simply by evidence; and according as we find it to preponderate, so must our decisions be. Preconceived opinions and early associations must give way before the weight of testimony; for we must not allow them to bias our judgments in matters of important truth. I shall give first, the external evidence; second, the internal.

In favour of the disputed clause, we find the following authorities:—

1st. It is found in all the Greek MSS. yet examined, except eight.

2d. It is contained in both the Syriac versions, as also the Jerusalem-Syriac, the Arabic of Erpenius, the Persian in the London Polyglott, the Æthiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, Slavonic, in a very few MSS. of the Coptic in the margin, and in some MSS. of the Latin version. The apostolical constitutions have it once in the usual form, once in a different manner.

3d. Of the Fathers, it is quoted by Isidore of Pelusium, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Euthymius, Pseudo-Ambrose, who indeed can scarcely be adduced as a witness either in favour of or against the doxology, because he has it in a much more copious form than we find it in the received text, and because in other places he repeats the Lord's Prayer without it; and by German, patriarch of Constantinople, in the seventh century. Such is the amount of external evidence in favour of the words.

The internal evidence may be easily summed up in the words of Calvin—"tam apte quadrat. Neque enim ideo solum addita est, ut corda nostra ad expetendam Dei gloriam accendat, et ad"

moneat quisnam esse debeat votorum nostrorum scopus, sed etiam ut doceat, preces nostras, quae hic nobis dictatae sunt, non alibi, quam in Deo solo fundatas esse, ne propriis meritis nitamur.” “The clause is so exactly suitable. For it was added not only for the purpose of inflaming our hearts to seek the glory of God, and of reminding us of the proper object of our prayers, but likewise to teach us that our prayers which are here dictated to us are built on no other foundation than God alone, lest we should lean on our own merits.” Thus the words express the ground of hope on which the petitions of the suppliant rest, shewing that they are built on God alone, apart from the merits of the petitioner.

We proceed to enumerate the authorities against its authenticity.

1st. It is omitted in the MSS. B. D. Z., and five others of later date. A is here imperfect, but if we are to judge of it by the quotations of Origen, and by the Coptic translation, we infer that the doxology was not originally contained in this codex. It would appear from the remarks of ancient *scholiasts*, that the words were omitted in many MSS., and in others that they were written with red ink, or put in the margin.

2d. It is omitted by the Arabic translator of the four gospels published at Rome, and consequently in the Arabic of the Polyglotts, as having been borrowed from the Roman edition; in an Arabic version in manuscript in the Medicean library, in the Persian published by Wheloc, 1652, in the old Italic with the exception of two MSS., the Anglo-Saxon and the Vulgate, which, however, has generally *amen*, though this word is not found in several MSS. of it.

3d. The Greek Fathers, even when they explain at length the Lord's Prayer and its several parts, omit the doxology; as Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Maximus the Confessor, and Gregory of Nyssa. Caesarius adduces the clause twice as part of a liturgy, but not as Scripture. We find also that Euthymius brings it as a charge against the Bogomiles, that they rejected the *epiphonema* of the Lord's Prayer, *which had been added by the fathers of the church*, quoting it at the same time in the form in which it is found in two MSS., (for thine is the kingdom and the glory of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost). Thus it appears that the great body of the Greek fathers are against its authenticity. With regard to the Latin fathers, it is omitted by

them all. Neither Tertullian, nor Cyprian, nor Jerome, nor Augustine, reads it. To these we may add Juvencus, Chromatius, Ambrose, Sedulius, Fulgentius. Jerome appears not to have found it even in the gospel of the Nazarenes, and Tertullian expressly calls the sixth petition the *clausula* of the prayer.

The only internal arguments which I have met with against the doxology are two; the one formerly advanced by Bengelius, the other by Tholuck. The words of Bengelius are these—“*Celebramus eum (patrem coelestem) tali fere modo quo peregrinantes et militantes contenti esse debemus. Ubi ad metam pervenerit universitas filiorum Dei, mera fiet in coelo doxologia; venit regnum ejus, facta est voluntas ejus, remisit nobis peccata etc.; praesertim tempori illi, quo Dominus hanc formulam discipulis praescripsit, convenientior erat rogatio quam hymnus. Iesus nondum erat glorificatus, etc.*” “In some such way we celebrate him, with which whilst we are sojourners and soldiers we ought to be content. When all the sons of God shall have arrived at the goal, there will be nothing but doxology in heaven; his kingdom has come, his will has then been done, he has forgiven our sins, &c., but petition was more suitable to the time when our Lord prescribed this formula of prayer to his disciples than praise. Jesus was not yet glorified, &c.”

The other circumstance alluded to is this, that the arrangement of the three predicates, βασιλεία, δύναμις, and δόξα, *kingdom, power, and glory*, would better correspond with the two triads of petitions, if the δύναμις stood before the βασιλεία. (See Tholuck on the Sermon upon the Mount.)

To these we may add, that there is no doxology in Luke where the same prayer is recorded; nor do any of the MSS. of his gospel contain a conclusion similar to that found in Matthew. This is certainly a corroboration of the opinion which pronounces the words in question spurious. But it has been said by Matthaei, that it was struck out of the text in so many cases to render Matthew conformable to Luke. This supposition, however, is by no means probable. The veneration of the early Christians for the sacred writings must have been exceedingly small, if they struck this passage out of the Greek text. That so many would have allowed the omission of a part of the New Testament text; and especially of a part that must have been so well known, and so often repeated, cannot be entertained by any who are acquainted with the great care taken of the sacred Scriptures. It

would have been marvellous, if a few daring transcribers or commentators had omitted the doxology; and if so many writers of undoubted repute and piety could have joined in the omission of a most beautiful and appropriate conclusion to the model of prayer taught by our Lord. We cannot, therefore, receive the explanation given by Matthaei, nor can we at all admit the probability of his conjecture, that the corruption is to be traced to Origen.

In weighing the conflicting testimonies thus briefly brought forward, and in coming to a decision upon them, it is not very difficult to draw our conclusion. The greater number of MSS. is certainly in favour of the received reading; but the antiquity and value of those opposed to it, are more than sufficient to counterbalance the number of junior copies. With regard to versions, the evidence seems to favour the genuineness of the doxology. The majority of them, perhaps the most important, contain the disputed words. The only witness of consequence on the other side is the Vulgate, which is unquestionably of great value. Still the Peshito is opposed to it; but this version, with all its merits, is not beyond the suspicion of some interpolations. The quotations of the fathers are indubitably favourable to the spuriousness of the clause. The most ancient as well as the most learned of them, knew nothing of it as a part of sacred Scripture. Putting together, therefore, the preponderating testimony of MSS. and ancient fathers, and setting it over against that of the versions, I am inclined to decide against the authenticity of the words. At the same time I do so with some hesitation, though the testimonies are not equally balanced, because of the great majority of codices in its favour. I trust I have not been hasty in forming my opinion on this point, and that I have given it all the attention necessary to enable me to *make up my mind* with regard to it. I may be indeed mistaken, and I would not be dogmatic. But still I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion which I have just announced. Judging simply from the evidence before me, my best discernment leads me to depart from the reading of the *textus receptus*. And I know, too, that the greater number of learned men who have examined the point, and are competent to judge of it, as also the best editors of the Greek Testament, have been of the same opinion as that which I now hold. When I reflect upon the circumstance that the Complutensian editors, Erasmus, Camerarius, Grotius, Mill, Bengelius,

Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Penn, and others, concur in regarding the doxology as spurious, I need not be afraid to give expression to my sentiments. Many of the older divines might be mentioned as belonging to the same side of the question. Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Pellican, Bucer, Melancthon, Drusius, Walton, Grabe, and Pfaff, together with the illustrious Luther, did not regard it as authentic. It is unnecessary to speak of the moderns, since they almost wholly agree in rejecting the passage. It seems to me a circumstance of no small weight, that its interpolation can be accounted for in a natural and satisfactory manner. It is supposed to have been transferred from liturgical forms into the text of the New Testament. The custom of responding to prayers passed from the Jewish to the Christian church, the people sometimes pronouncing the single word *ἀμήν*, and sometimes a doxology consisting of several terms. Hence we can also assign a probable reason for the different modes in which it appears in different MSS., and for the retention of the term *ἀμήν* in several copies which have not the preceding words. We believe, therefore, that the doxology originated in the ancient liturgies. It was borrowed from them, and inserted in its present place. Thus it appears to me to have been added to rather than omitted from many MSS.

LECTURE XVII.

DISPUTED PORTIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONCLUDED.

WE RECKON it unnecessary to examine the first two chapters of the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. They do not properly fall within our present design, because there are no MSS. or versions that would go to prove their spuriousness. And yet it is well known that doubts have been cast on them, as if they did not form a part of inspired Scripture. This is passing strange. Such an outrage against all the genuine principles of criticism is remarkable. What can be the reason that from the 17th verse of the first chapter of Matthew's gospel to the end of the second chapter; and from the fifth verse of the first chapter of Luke, to the termination of the second chapter, many have thought the narratives to be fictitious? We answer that Unitarians have thrown suspicion on these portions, because they contain an account of the miraculous conception of Christ. That this is the true cause of their ejection, Unitarians themselves admit; and whoever consults the note in the "Improved version" of the New Testament will see that it is not concealed. It is there boldly affirmed that "the account of the miraculous conception of Jesus was probably the fiction of some early Gentile convert." The miraculous conception of our Lord is a doctrine which they cannot reconcile with their ideas of his mere humanity, and hence it must be discarded. But it must be discarded at the expense of the authenticity of these large portions of the New Testament. The editors of the Improved version candidly admit that they are to be found in all the MSS. and versions which are extant, but they affirm in regard to the portion attributed to Matthew, that from the testimony of Epiphanius and Jerome, "they were wanting in the copies used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites." Supposing the truth of this statement, it would certainly be most unwarrantable to regard these portions as of doubtful authority

on such grounds. Nothing but the overwhelming evidence of MSS., versions, and quotations of ecclesiastical writers, would be sufficient to justify the editors in stigmatising these chapters. Such a shadow of testimony against them is truly contemptible, when weighed in the balance against *the unanimous voice* of MSS. versions, and fathers. Treatment of Scripture like the present must always be reprobated as dangerous, irreverent, profane, uncritical. It violates the established rules of criticism, in order to support a pre-conceived notion. It sets aside the authority of the word of God, because, forsooth, human reason thinks that it reveals what is erroneous. Criticism has here nothing to do but to receive with implicit faith these portions as genuine, because they are unquestionably sanctioned by the sources on which it relies for the establishment of a pure text. I might easily shew that an assertion is attributed by the editors of the Improved version to Jerome, which he never made. On the contrary he asserts the very reverse. The passage in Epiphanius, too, on which the editors partly found their statement, proves much more than what is here represented. The first two chapters of Luke's gospel are also said to have been wanting in the copies used by Marcion. Such is the argument for unceremoniously rejecting them, though they are found in all MSS. and versions. Truly on so slender data we might set aside the greater part of the New Testament. Some heretics have rejected this part, others that; some neologists one place, others a different one, until we have little of the divine record remaining. When will men learn to reverence the word of God, and to bow with submission to its dictates? When will they exhibit sobriety in judgment, seriousness in investigation, and caution in theorising? When infidelity ceases to vitiate the mind and to destroy the soul—then, but not till then, may we look for these qualifications in all who treat of Biblical subjects.

Another portion of the New Testament which has sometimes been rejected as spurious, is in Mark's Gospel xvi. 9—20. In this instance as in the former, criticism hesitates not respecting the authenticity of the verses. The weight of evidence in their favour is so overwhelming, that there is good reason for suspecting the judgment of him who, knowing the testimony by which they are supported, refuses to regard them as real parts of inspired Scripture. And yet Granville Penn, in his "Annotations to the book of the New Covenant," has at once pronounced them

apocryphal. Hear the sum of his arguments. After quoting some testimonies, he says—"These testimonies are sufficient to prove that the paragraph in question is at least *apocryphal*, and ought not to be blended with those Scriptures whose genuineness is unquestionable; and that to receive it with the same reverence as those other Scriptures would be to render assent to Scripture a mere conventional form, and to follow the example of the Romish church, which receives the apocryphal books of the *Old Testament*, as equally genuine and canonical with the rest. Our learned reformers detected the disparity of these *last*, and dissolved their union; but the apocryphal passages of the *New* were not yet known to them; and it is only since the discovery and examination of the surviving MSS. have been accomplished, that the true quality of these passages has been brought to light; and it behoves us at the present day to deal with them as our fathers dealt with the others. Scholz, however, who defends almost all the insertions and interpolations which characterize his *Constantinopolitan texts*, contends vigorously in vindication of this apocryphal appendage to St. Mark's gospel; but the most active and laborious collectors in all sciences are not necessarily the best judges of the articles which they collect; especially if they collect them with prejudication, which has manifestly been the case with this learned editor." The paragraph is rejected by him because it is not found in the Vatican MS., nor comprehended in Eusebius' canons of the gospel. The scholia of many codices also testify that it was formerly wanting in the majority of copies. In answer to the highly objectionable statements of Penn, it may be observed, that we cannot allow the authority of the Vatican MS. alone to set aside the authority of all other Greek MSS. which contain the passage in question: of all the versions except one in which it is found, and of almost the entire body of the fathers who acknowledge it. We know of few places for which the external evidence is more overwhelming. Mill, Kuinoel, Griesbach, Lachmann, and Scholz, are decidedly of opinion that it belongs to the genuine text; and the great majority of critics entertain the same sentiments. Even some of the most innovating Germans have declared their opinion favourable to its genuineness. It is most probable that the paragraph was omitted by some on account of the difficulties connected with it; for the ninth verse was thought by many to contradict Matthew xxviii. 1. Indeed, Jerome expressly says that it was thought to be irre-

conciliable with the other accounts of our Lord's resurrection. According to him, the Latins could not reconcile the discordant expressions of Matthew and Mark, *vespere Sabbati*, and *mane Sabbati*. Hence they endeavoured to get rid of the difficulty by rejecting this portion of Mark. But the opposition is only imaginary. That a large addition to Mark's own gospel could have passed current at a very early period, and that it could have found its way into all Greek MSS., except the Vatican codex alone, is almost incredible. The length of the paragraph speaks loudly against its spuriousness. The chief objection to the verses is that Gregory of Nyssa, in his second homily on the resurrection, says, that in the *more accurate* manuscripts, the Gospel of Mark ended with *ἔφοβούνητο γὰρ*, and Jerome affirms that *almost all* the Greek MSS. wanted them. (Omnibus Graeciae Libris pene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus. Quaest. ad Hedib. Quaest. 3.) That little weight is to be attached to the testimony of Jerome in this case will be manifest to such as refer to another part of his writings (Dial. 2, adversus Pelagianos, c. 15.), in which he himself maintains the opposite opinion. It is strange, indeed, that he should have admitted the portion as authentic, if he had believed that it was not found in almost all the Greek MSS. The numerous writers of the greatest antiquity who evidently referred it to Mark, overpower the assertion of Gregory Nyssene. Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Irenaeus, Celsus, &c. &c., are evidences in favour of the passage in question. With regard to the *canons of Eusebius*, in which Mark's Gospel terminated with the words, "for they were afraid," it has been well observed by Hug, that these *canones* do not give us any information as to the condition of the MSS., but only as to the Harmony of Ammonius, for they were merely an expedient made use of by Eusebius to designate the sections of the Harmony in the common MSS. of the gospels. Now the reason that the *canones* end at this point is simply that the Harmony of Ammonius did not contain the passage, and therefore no reference could be made to it. (Fosdick's Translation, p. 481.) Mr. Penn remarks that there is "no relation of correspondence between verses 8th and 9th of the received text; no dove-tailing of connexion; but the latter lies next to it in simple unadhesive juxta-position, proving to unprejudiced observation that they are totally alien to each other." But there is no more abruptness in introducing new matter in the 9th verse than what we find in

other passages of Mark's gospel; and if the gospel terminate at the 8th verse, there is an abruptness for which no parallel can be found in any other. A suddenness of transition from one subject to another may be allowed *before* the termination of a gospel, which would appear awkward and unnatural *at* its termination. And though there be a rapid transition in this place, yet it no more disproves the genuineness of the latter portion than the abrupt change of subject at the tenth and eleventh verses of the 28th chapter of Matthew's gospel, proves that the paragraph commencing with the eleventh is apocryphal. Well has Griesbach called the conclusion *ἰσοβοῦντο γὰρ*, "clausula abruptissima," a "most abrupt clause," and his remark is perfectly just, "it should have appeared incredible to all that Mark finished his brief commentary in this manner," &c.

Thus criticism has no difficulty in pronouncing this portion authentic. Internal and external evidence combine to establish its authority; and in our view it is as certainly to be received, as any other part of the gospel to which it belongs. We cannot therefore but look upon Mr. Penn's Note as a specimen of most unsatisfactory reasoning and adventurous logic, from which we ought by all means to abstain. It deserves the reprehension of every sober and serious Biblical critic.

In the same cursory way I must allude to another passage in the New Testament, viz. Luke xxii. 43, 44. "And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground"—because the evidence regarding it is not so contradictory as to cause us much delay in deciding upon it. It is rejected however by the Editors of the Improved Version, if its being put in Italics is to be considered a mark of absolute rejection. Granville Penn has also considered it apocryphal. But we have no sympathy with such summary modes of arriving at conclusions, as the Improved Version and Mr. Penn have exhibited in this and in other places of Scripture; neither do we look upon their rashness with any other feeling than pity. We shall briefly advert to the verses. They are found in all MSS. and versions, and acknowledged by all the early ecclesiastical writers, who have had occasion to refer to them, with the following exceptions: The Vatican and Alexandrine MSS., both certainly of great value and antiquity, with two others of inferior quality, omit them.

In three uncial MSS. (E. S. V.) and five others, they are marked with asterisks, in two with obeli. Several copies, and the evangelistaria generally, place them after Matthew xxvi. 39. Epiphanius, Hilary, and Jerome assert that they were formerly omitted in some Greek and Latin copies. They are wanting in one version, the Sahidic, and in one MS. of the old Italic. Such is the amount of testimony to be subtracted from the combined weight of MSS., versions, and ancient writers. Every one sees that the great body of the external evidence is decidedly in favour of their genuineness, so that Griesbach has not marked them as even probably to be omitted. On the contrary, he considers them a part of the original text. So Kuinoel "*Plurimi et praestantissimi codices hos versus tuentur.*" They are recognised by fathers who lived before the oldest MSS. in which they are omitted were written, and we must therefore record our dissent from such as pronounce them spurious. None of the critical editors has ventured to expunge them. They are retained by Griesbach, Lachmann, and Scholz. But there is internal evidence according to Mr. Penn, which speaks decidedly in favour of their spuriousness. He says that it was not in the power of an angel to supply strength to Christ's *spiritual* nature, though his *human* nature received food from the hands of angels after his temptation. This takes for granted that the angel who appeared gave strength to his divine nature. Now, so far from holding this opinion, we are disposed to maintain the very reverse. His *human* nature suffered at this time; the agony was not in the *divine*. The temptation in the wilderness throws light on the present passage. It shews that angels attended upon the Messiah; and that an angel might naturally appear in the case before us, to animate, to strengthen, and to comfort. Even good Matthew Henry says, "The influence of the divine nature withdrew for the present; and then, *as to his human nature*, he was for a little while lower than the angels, and was capable of receiving help from them." Mr. Penn quotes Jerome, who only says of the passage "*in quibusdam exemplaribus tam Graecis quam Latinis, invenitur, Apparuit illi angelus de coelo confortans eum.*" But he does not allude to Epiphanius who preceded Jerome, and who appeals to this place when answering an objection of the Arians, that Christ could not be God, because he needed the assistance of angels. Epiphanius makes no mention of any alteration in the copies. Mr. Penn states that the Saviour's prayer for the

removal of his cup was rejected; and that the words are in contradiction to this. We take an opposite view. We believe that there was not a prayer he uttered that was not heard, that there was not a cry he sent forth from the depths of his distress, which was not fully responded to by the Almighty Father. We think that the cup does not mean either *death* or *entire abandonment*, but that it denotes the mental anguish or suffering, which in those moments did almost dissolve the union of the two natures. In this view, the prayer was answered by the appearance of an angel from heaven. This opinion is confirmed by the record of John, in his gospel xii. 27, "Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour? nay, for this cause came I unto this hour." He was a man, and of the same feelings with man, if we except such as are sinful and irregular. The idea of his future sufferings was painfully acute and almost oppressive. The thoughts of his approaching agony became tremendous and overwhelming as the struggle drew nigh. But on praying to the Father he was strengthened and comforted. When Penn says, that "our Lord is not stated to have testified the fact himself; and as those who alone could have witnessed it were sunk in sleep, on what original testimony is it supposed to rest? for it is not corroborated by either of the apostolical evangelists," he forgets the *inspiration* of Luke, which renders his testimony as certain and infallible as that of Matthew or of John. He forgets the superintendence exercised by the Holy Spirit over the minds of the writers, so that they could not err. If holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, it is useless to ask how they obtained their knowledge of circumstances of which they were not eye-witnesses. It matters not to us how they obtained it, if they were moved by the Spirit to leave it on record. Such a neologian remark as Mr. Penn here makes, we strongly condemn. It savours too much of the liberal theology of a Paulus, a Wegscheider, or a De Wette. The reason assigned by some for the rejection of the passage is not at all improbable; viz. that it appeared in the opinion of many orthodox but ill-judging pietists, to favour the doctrine of the Arians, who believed that Christ had not the same impassible nature with the Father.

We come now to John v. 3, 4: "In these lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, [waiting for the moving of the water: for an angel went down at a certain season

into the pool and troubled the water ; whosoever then first, after the troubling of the water stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.] And a certain man was there," &c.

On this passage Bishop Marsh observes : " As this verse is totally omitted in the Cod. *Bezae* and the Cod. *Vaticanus*, which are the two most ancient MSS. now extant ; is likewise omitted in the text of the Cod. *Ephrem.*, (which is somewhat inferior in age to the Cod. *Bezae*), but written in the margin as a scholion ; is written in more modern MSS. in the text itself ; but marked with an *asterisk* or *obelus* as suspicious : and in MSS. still more modern is written without any mark ; we see the various gradations by which it has acquired its place in our present text ; and have proof positive, that this verse was originally nothing more than a marginal scholion, and of course *spurious* : Other passages likewise in the Greek testament, owe their present existence to the same cause." There is considerable variation in the readings of this place. According to some MSS. and versions, the spurious words begin with *εκδεχομένων* *waiting* in the third verse, and end with *νοσήματα* *disease* in the 4th ; whilst according to other authorities, the unguine portion begins with *ἄγγελος* in the 4th verse. Four codices, two of which are uncial (B. C.), 2 versions (Coptic and Sahidic), and Nonnus exhibit the former. Two MSS., one of them uncial (D.), have the place in the latter form, thirteen mark it with asterisks, two with obeli. Of the fathers, Chrysostom, Cyril, Euthymius, Theophylact, Tertullian, and Ambrose have it ; whilst none can be quoted as omitting it. Such is the evidence against the authenticity of the verse. In our view it is not sufficient to counterbalance the great number of MSS., versions, and fathers, that are decidedly favourable to its authenticity. Numbers are manifestly on its side ; and among them many documents of great value and antiquity. We cannot therefore subscribe to the sentiments of the learned Kuinoel : " *Diversarum ergo recensionum codices anti-quissimi et praestantissimi hunc locum omittunt. Debet ergo haud dubie hoc omne additamentum originem suam iis qui quae v. 7, aguntur explicare vellent.*" " The most ancient and the best MSS. of different recensions omit this passage. Unquestionably therefore it owes its origin to those persons who wished to explain the seventh verse." Even Griesbach has not expunged it from the text ; Scholz and Lachmann retain it. The internal evidence is certainly not against its authenticity. We know

that the Jews were accustomed to refer events which they could not explain to the agency of angels either good or bad; but their opinion may have been occasionally founded on facts. Because they explained too many events in this way, we are not to imagine that it was never the true mode of accounting for any phenomena. Dr. Bloomfield is not accurate when he says that for cancelling it, "There is only the authority of two MSS., two very inferior versions and Nonnus. Besides, the MSS. are such as abound with all sorts of liberties taken with the text." There are more than two MSS. that omit the passage; and what this writer affirms of the two to which he refers, is not true of both. On the contrary, the text of the codex B. has not undergone great corruptions. A masterly reviewer of B. in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* for 1789 says, that it is "almost entirely free from those undeniable interpolations and arbitrary corrections, which are very frequently found in C. D. L.; and in the Latin, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions. It may be applied therefore as a mean not only of confirming their genuine readings, but of detecting and correcting those that are spurious." (See Marsh's Notes to Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 808.)

LECTURE XVIII.

ON THE CAUSES OF VARIOUS READINGS IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

WE come to speak of the causes that operated before the invention of printing, in producing alterations in Hebrew MSS. The various readings of the Hebrew Bible have arisen from *accident*, and from *design*. Letters, syllables, and words have been omitted, added, transposed, and interchanged, just as in printed books, which are scarcely free from errata, with all the care that can be used in revising the sheets as they pass through the press. When a transcriber wrote from a copy before him, the similarity of many of the Hebrew letters readily caused one to be mistaken for another. Thus, Beth and Caph, Gimel and Nun, Daleth and Resh, He and Cheth, are nearly alike in form. It is not surprising, therefore, that they were frequently exchanged for one another, from the minuteness of the marks and strokes by which they are usually distinguished. Examples of this most fruitful source of false readings may be found in abundance in Kennicott's Bible. Again, when transcribers wrote from the dictation of another, imperfect hearing gave rise to mistakes. When he who repeated, pronounced, or read badly, the transcriber would be easily misled. Even a good reader of the Hebrew text might not be able to articulate certain letters so nicely, as to make them readily distinguishable by the ear of the copyist. Some of the gutturals must have been sounded very nearly alike, even when the language was vernacular, though we are perhaps liable to exaggerate this fact, because *we* can now make little distinction between them. Letters sounded by the same organs, as the palatals, dentals, linguals, and labials, are also so similar in enunciation, as to occasion mistakes. These two causes of error, viz. similarity in the forms and in the sounds of letters, must have operated to a much greater extent in the Hebrew than in the Greek, though

they certainly existed in the latter also. One or two examples of each may serve to give a clear idea of the changes produced by them. Of the former we have an instance in Ezekiel xxv. 7, where gimel occurs for zayin, לבג (lebag) for לבז (lebaz) *a prey*; and in Proverbs xxi. 29, where beth has been changed into caph, יכין (yacin) for יבין (yabin), *understands* or *considers*. So also vau is exchanged with yod in Genesis xxxvi. 23, and 1 Chron. i. 40. In the former we have עלון (alvan), in the latter עלין (alyan.) Many errors in numbers are to be rectified by the application of this fact, since it is well ascertained that numbers were formerly expressed by letters. Hence some of the immense numbers in the historical books, which have been the occasion of stumbling to many, might be lessened. Thus in 2 Chron. xxii. 2, כב 22, has been changed into מב 42, as is apparent from 2 Kings viii. 26. In reference to this source it may be remarked, that although we hold the Samaritan to be the ancient Hebrew character, from which the present square form gradually arose, yet the principle of accounting for various readings from the similarity of the present letter is not wholly precluded. We are indeed limited to the period subsequent to that in which the square character came into use; but it would be preposterous to deny, that since that time changes have arisen from this cause. At whatever period the Chaldee square character first arose, we are able by the help of this principle, to account for many changes that may have been subsequently made. In regard to the more ancient forms of the letters, we cannot proceed with the same certainty, and to the same extent in carrying out the principle, because we are but imperfectly acquainted with them. Hence the Phœnician, Palmyrene, and Samaritan alphabets, which are merely modifications of one and the same alphabet, cannot afford us that assistance which they would do, if we were as well acquainted with the figures of their letters, as we are with the present square characters universally used in our printed Bibles. By means of the more ancient form of the letters we can account for the interchange of אבן and אבל in 1 Samuel vi. 18; for that אבן is to be read, the context with the Septuagint and Syriac versions clearly shews. Αβελ, indeed, occurs even in Symmachus, but this is no proof of its correctness. The letters *lamed* and *nun* were very much alike in the Samaritan alphabet, a circumstance that easily accounts for their interchange. To this we may refer

the instance given above from 2 Chron. xxii. 2, for the modern mem and caph are not so much alike as the old forms. (See Kennicott's Second Dissertation, pp. 212, 13.) We have now to give a few examples of changes arising from an error in hearing.

There are seventeen commutations of לָל with לוֹ, noted in the margin of our Bibles, that seem to have arisen from this cause. So also aleph is exchanged for he in 2 Chron. xxii. 5, compared with 2 Kings viii. 28. אַרְמִים and אֲרָמִים (the Syrians.) In

1 Sam. xxii. 18, we find דּוֹג (Doeg), where the Keri is דּוֹג.

In Isaiah xxxvii. 9, we find עֵל, but in 2 Kings xix. 9 אֵל. The latter is the correct word.

Another source of alteration is to be found in the custom of reading one Hebrew word for another, or of substituting a different term for that written in the text. Thus the word *Yehovah* was pronounced *adonai*, for which reason we find it uniformly translated in the Septuagint by *κύριος*, and not *θεός*. Before a written *adonai*, *Yehovah* was pronounced *elohim*, to prevent the concurrence of the two words pronounced alike. Another cause of corruption is to be discovered in an improper division of words. Although the most ancient Hebrew MSS. now extant have spaces between the words, and though the synagogue rolls exhibit the same division, yet it is probable that the *scriptio continua* was also employed. There is some reason for supposing it to have been employed in the MSS. used by the Seventy. When, therefore, it was thought convenient and advisable to separate the words from one another, it can hardly be believed that the division would in every case be correctly made. Besides, even after spaces had been left between the words, or points had been used for the same purpose, it might happen that they would be neglected or overlooked by transcribers through haste or carelessness. Thus one word was improperly separated into two, or two combined into one. We have an example of this in Psalm xlvi. 15, where עַל-מוֹת (al-muth) *unto death*, occurs instead of עֹלֶמוֹת (olemoth) *for ever*. The latter reading is preserved in a great number of MSS. and editions, as also in the Seventy, the Vulgate and the Chaldee paraphrast. On the contrary, in Psalm lv. 16, יְשִׁימוֹת (yeshimoth) *desolations*, should be divided, according to the Keri, into יְשִׁי מוֹת (yashshi maveth) *let death seize*. This is confirmed by the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, Jerome, and the Peshito.

The next source of alterations consists in the misunderstanding of abbreviations. Such abbreviations were usually made by writing the two or three first letters of a word with a small horizontal line placed over them to indicate the omission of some letters; or by leaving out the middle letters of a word, retaining the first and last. Hence the omission was sometimes erroneously supplied, or on the the other hand, the abbreviated word was considered entire and complete in itself. Thus יהוה (yehovah) was frequently shortened into 'י, an abbreviation also used in the Targums. In Isaiah xlii. 19, Symmachus has translated כַּעֲבַד יְהוָה (ceebed yehovah) as *the Lord's servant*, by ὁ δούλος μου, shewing that he read in his copy, כַּעֲבַד יְהוָה a contraction for יהוה כַּעֲבַד. So also in Jeremiah vi. 11, חַמַּתִּי (chamathi), an abbreviation of חַמַּת יְהוָה (chamath yehovah), is translated by θυμὸν μου in the Septuagint, *i. e. my wrath*, whereas it ought to be according to the Hebrew, *the fury of the Lord*. In Psalm xxxi. 7, שִׂנְאֵתִי (sanethi) *I hate*, appears to have been understood by all the ancient interpreters as an abbreviation of שִׂנְאֵת יְהוָה (sanetha yehovah) *thou hatest, O Lord*.

Another cause of erroneous readings is that which has been technically denominated ὁμοιστέλιτον. When a person dictating or writing met with the same word occurring after a short interval, he might easily fall into the mistake of omitting the intervening words. We have an example in the xxxvii. Psalm, 28th verse, where the first half of the verse, which should begin with *ע* thus, לְעוֹלָם נִשְׁמְרוּ has been omitted immediately after *ע* thus, נִשְׁמְרוּ because of their similarity. “The humble are preserved, but the seed of the wicked shall be cut off.” The omitted words are preserved by the Alexandrine translators, as also in the Vulgate, Arabic, and Symmachus. A remarkable example occurs at Joshua xv. 59, where there appears to have been a verse at least left out. We find eleven cities mentioned in the Septuagint at this place, which are omitted in the Hebrew; and among them Ephratah the birth-place of Christ. The omission does not seem to have arisen from the malice of the Jews, but by the same word וְחַצְרֵיהֶן (vehatsrehen) *and their villages*, occurring immediately before, and at the end of the omitted words. Thus, letters, words, and sentences were omitted from ὁμοιστέλιτον.

Another cause of alteration in the text arose from the practice of the Hebrews in not dividing a word between two lines. They did not put some consonants of a word in one line, reserving the remainder for the next, as we do both in writing and printing. When there was a vacant space at the conclusion of a line too small to contain the next word, they added letters to fill it up. These supernumerary letters were generally the initials of the following word, though it was also written entire in the next line. Ignorant transcribers, however, sometimes took them into the text. Thus in Isaiah xxxv. 1, the common reading **יִשְׁשׁוּם מִדְּבָר** (yesusum midbar) *the wilderness, &c. shall be glad for them*, arose from **יִשְׁשׁוּ מִדְּבָר** (yesusu midbar) by joining the superfluous *mem* to the end of the verb. De Wette however is of opinion that it is rather the suffix plural. On the other hand, transcribers sometimes suspected the existence of these supernumerary letters technically termed *custodes linearum*, *keepers of the lines*, or *preservers of the lines*, when they did not in reality occur; and by so doing left out part of the genuine text. So Exodus xxxi. 8 the word **כֹּל** (col) *all* appears to have been omitted because of the following **כְּלָיו** (celaiv). The Septuagint, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan, with one MS. of the Chaldee paraphrase, retain the omitted word.

Other false readings arose from negligent transpositions. Letters, words, and sentences were sometimes transposed through the negligence of transcribers. Thus we find in Ezra ii. 46, **שַׁמְלַי** (samlai) for **שַׁלְמַי** *salmal*, as it occurs in Nehemiah vii. 48. In 2 Samuel xxi. 19, **אֲרֵגִים** (oregim) occurs after **יַעֲרֵי** (yaarē) having been transferred from the line below. So also Psalm xviii. 46, **וַיַּחֲרֵגוּ** (vayyachregu), but in 2 Sam. xxii. **וַיַּחֲרֵגוּ** (vayyachgeru). Comparing 2 Sam. vi. 2 with 1 Chron. xiii. 6 we find a transposition of words. So also in Esra ii. 70 compared with Nehemiah vii. 73. We find likewise transpositions of verses in Lamentations chaps. ii. iii. and iv. in the letters *ayin* and *pe*. Important and lengthened transpositions occur in Jeremiah, for which it is not easy to account in a satisfactory manner. Such are the chief *accidental* causes of various readings in the Hebrew text.

But there are also many *designed* alterations, whose origin we

are able to trace. Among these are to be reckoned *scholia* which were very early written in the margin of MSS, and afterwards removed into the text itself. Different kinds of marginal annotations were thus introduced into the genuine text. When the name of a city mentioned in the Scriptures had been afterwards changed, the new name was written in the margin by way of identifying the one with the other. On the other hand, when the ancient and original appellation was still retained, a note was put in the margin, shewing that it was so called *till that day*. In this way some valuable observations relating to chronology, history, and geography, were afterwards taken into the text by ignorant transcribers. Examples occur in the Pentateuch particularly, and it is important to attend to them, because they have been seized on by the enemies of revelation as matters that tend to invalidate the authenticity of the books in which they are found. But had the opponents of the Bible been careful to separate them from the genuine context in which they occur, they would not have charged them as errors or blemishes on the original writer, since they did not proceed from him; but they would have acquainted themselves with their true origin, and ceased to build upon them any argument hostile to revelation. Marginal annotations that afterwards found their way into the text, must not be regarded as portions of the pure inspired Scripture.

Another kind of *scholia* consisted of explanations of difficult passages by easier ones of a parallel nature, and especially was a longer passage appended in the margin of MSS. to a shorter one, when it referred to the same subject and supplied additional circumstances for illustration.* Examples of this are sometimes taken from Genesis xiii. 18 and xiv. 14. In regard to the former passage, it has been said that the place did not obtain the name of Hebron till it came into the possession of Caleb several years after the death of Moses. It must therefore have been added to the Pentateuch by later writers to make it more intelligible to the men of their times. It is doubtful whether this explanation be admissible. A more natural mode of solving the

* Thus לָמוֹ יָז (oz lamo) in Psalm xxviii. 8 is changed in some MSS. into יָז לְעַמּוֹ (oz leammo) from Psalm xxix. 11.

apparent difficulty may be given. Hävernicks supposes that the city had *three* names, viz. Hebron, Mamre, and Kirjath-Arba, all of which it bore at different times. It may be doubted, however whether it was ever called Mamre. Following Eusebius and Jerome he has here fallen into error. (See Winer's *Biblischer Realwörterbuch*, 2d edition, article, *Mamre*). We learn from Genesis xiii. 18 and xviii. 1, that there was a place called the *Oaks of Mamre*, or simply *Mamre*, xxiii. 17, 19, xxxv. 27, deriving its name from Mamre the Amorite. It was an oak-grove near Hebron. Hävernicks however supposes from xxiii. 19 that it was the same *city* as Hebron, and that Mamre the Amorite had given it his name. But the words in this place mean "the same, i. e. Mamre, is the locality where Hebron the city stood." The reason why it was designated Kirjath-Arba is given in Joshua xiv. 15. It was the town of Arba the son of Anak. We infer that it was so called in Moses' time, because the spies whom he sent into Canaan found the grandson of Arba in possession of the place, Numbers xiii. 22. We do not find that Arba built it, but that he gave it his name. Thus there is nothing against the supposition that Kirjath-Arba was its usual appellation in the time of Moses. With regard to *Hebron*, it does not appear that this name was given to the city by Caleb. It was so called by the Israelites before. The Canaanitish name was Kirjath-Arba, the Israelitish Hebron. At the time of Caleb the Canaanitish name naturally gave place to the other which the Israelites continued to give it. Thus the appellation Hebron was the Pentateuchal one as far as we can judge from the account. The case of Jerusalem has sometimes been adduced as parallel to this. It was for a time called *Ælia Capitolina* until in the beginning of the fourth century after Constantine had embraced Christianity, the name Jerusalem was again restored. In this way argues Kanne after Lillenthal, Jahn and Fritzsche, with whom agrees Hävernicks in his *Einleitung* (introduction) erster Theil, zweite abtheilung, p. 306, &c.

The other example taken from Gen. xiv. 14, has also been erroneously applied. The city here mentioned is said not to have been called *Dan* till long after Moses' time, (see Judges xviii. 29.) When Moses wrote, it was named Laish. The Scripture leads us to believe that there were two places called Dan. The one mentioned in Genesis was not the Laish called Dan by the

Danites. It was situated at the sources of the Jordan. Josephus says, that "Abraham fell upon the Assyrians at Dan, for so is the other fountain of the Jordan called." There was a town here named Dan, according to Josephus; and, by the account of Eusebius, it lay four miles westward from Paneas. But this is different from the Dan belonging to the tribe of Naphtali. The expression, "from Dan to Beersheba," cannot refer to the Dan belonging to the tribe of Naphtali, but to the older town situated at the springs of the Jordan. This is deducible from Judges xviii. 28, where we are informed that Laish lay near Rehob, belonging to the tribe of Asher. (See more in Hävernick, and in Eichhorn's *Einleitung*, vol. iii. p. 167.)

These two passages then, cannot be brought forward as instances of later glosses having been transferred from the margin into the text, nor can they be regarded with Prideaux and others, as the additions of Esra, when he revised the whole Scriptures and completed the canon. There is every probability that they proceeded from Moses himself.

A real example of a marginal gloss explanatory of something in the text having been put into it, may be found, perhaps, in Gen. xii. 6. "And the Canaanite was then in the land." The words seem to imply, that at the time of the writer, the Canaanites had been expelled out of the country. We may therefore suppose them to have originally stood as a gloss in the margin. Eichhorn suggests another translation of the Hebrew word אֲז (az) viz. *already*, which would save us from having recourse

to any such supposition. "At that time the Canaanites were already in the land." The Canaanites did not dwell originally at the Mediterranean sea, but they came from the Persian Gulf to the place which they afterwards occupied. So early, then, as the time of Moses the Canaanites were then in the land. These marginal scholia also contained *midrashim* or allegorical explanations in which the Jews frequently indulged. They were generally taken from the Targums, and sometimes from Jewish commentaries. We have also reason to believe that liturgical phrases in the margin were taken into the text; for instance *halleluyah*. All of these marginal annotations were occasionally transferred to the text by transcribers ignorant of their real character, and supposing that they had been originally placed in the margin for the very purpose of being put into their proper position in the

text by future copyists. But the most fruitful source of various readings was the arbitrary use of the *matres lectionis* vau and yod, which transcribers omitted or inserted at pleasure. Hence MSS. differ so much in regard to them, that the half of Kennicott's collection consists of the insertion or omission of these letters. In many cases they are not essential to the words in which they are written, but are to be regarded as mere *fulcra* or *orthographic props* of the vowels. When they are inserted, the vowels are technically said to be *fully written*, when omitted, *defectively written*. In some cases, however, errors were introduced by means of this arbitrary use of the *matres lectionis*; for it was not *always* a matter of indifference whether they were written or not. It is chiefly owing to this cause that the list of various readings in the Old Testament has been so great. But it may be questioned whether they be truly entitled to the name, since they are nothing more than mere differences of orthography in writing the same word. Thus, if an author were to write the word *honour*, occasionally without the *u*; *honor* could not with propriety be reckoned a different reading. Having referred to the chief causes of designed alterations, I would remark, that they were not introduced by such as thought them to be *corruptions*. The veneration of the Jews for their sacred books was too great to allow them to make alterations, knowing them to be wrong. They thought that the changes they made were probably right. They did not mean to falsify or corrupt the scriptures, when they corrected what they thought to be erroneous, or supplied a supposed deficiency. I am aware that the Jews have been frequently charged with wilful corruptions; but the charge has not been substantiated. The early Christians brought such an accusation against them, but it is not probable that they were unbiassed witnesses or righteous accusers. When the Jews quoted from the Hebrew Bible passages differing from the Greek version, the fathers often said that the Jews had there corrupted the Scriptures. But this was all the reply they were able to advance against their opponents, because they were themselves ignorant of the Hebrew Bible. Jerome, who was acquainted with Hebrew, was not of opinion that they had knowingly deteriorated the text; and he was glad to have their assistance in qualifying himself for the task of translation. The following quotation from his commentary on Isaiah, chap. vi., will shew his opinion of the Jews as preservers of the Bible. "Quod si aliquis dixerit, Hebraeos

libros postea a Judæis esse falsatos, audiat Origenem, quid in octavo volumine *Explanationum Esaiæ* huic respondeat quaestiuclæ: quod nunquam Dominus et Apostoli, qui cætera crimina arguunt in Scribis et Phariseis, de hoc crimine, quod erat maximum, reticissent. Sin autem dixerint post adventum Domini Salvatoris et prædicationem Apostolorum libros Hebraeos fuisse falsatos, cachinum tenere non potero, ut Salvator et Evangelistae et Apostoli ita testimonia protulerint, ut Judæi postea falsaturi erant." "But if any one shall say that the Hebrew books were afterwards falsified by the Jews, let him hear what answer Origen gives to this question in the 8th volume of his expositions of Isaiah, viz. that our Lord and his Apostles, who accuse the scribes and Pharisees of other things, say nothing of this, which was the greatest crime. But if it should be said that the Hebrew books were corrupted after the coming of our Lord and the preaching of the Apostles, I cannot refrain from laughter at the thought that the Saviour and Evangelists, and Apostles, produced their testimonies in such a way that the Jews were afterwards likely to falsify them." If the Jews did not corrupt the Scriptures after the origin of Christianity, as the history of the text shews, it will hardly be maintained by any that they falsified them before. Whilst thus believing in the general fidelity of the Jews, in guarding and preserving incorrupted their holy writings, I would not assert that in every case they are to be considered as blameless and praise-worthy. That some corruptions may have been attempted, by individuals among them, I will not deny. The following passage has been regarded by some as an instance of this intentional falsification. In Psalm xxii. 17, they appear to have written כְּאַרִי (caari) instead of כְּאַרְיָ or כָּרָו (caaru or caru). The Jews, and a few Christians as Paulus and Ewald, translate כְּאַרִי as a lion, to which Rosenmüller, Jahn, De Wette, Winer, and Hengstenberg, justly object. It is, according to them, an irregular plural for כְּאַרִים (caarim) from the verb כָּרָו (cūr) to bore through or to pierce. Gesenius does not deny that it may be taken as the participle Kal formed after the Chaldean manner and in the plural, though he thinks that the two grammatical forms of remarkably rare occurrence in the one word are unusual. He renders it, as lions, contrary to all the ancient interpreters; and explains it contrary

to the New Testament, of David pressed by the soldiers of Saul. His article on the phrase, in his *Manual Lexicon*, (p. 470), is a specimen of neologian interpretation to be read with caution, and not by any means to be followed as correct. The Arabic concave verb *كَوَّرَ*, in the second conjugation *كَوَّرَ* (Kawwara) is to be compared with the present term; for, with the accusative of the person, it signifies *to bore through*. (See Hengstenberg's *Christology*, Vol. i. p. 178, &c.) The Septuagint, Syriac, and Vulgate confirm the reading, *they have pierced*. This word the Jews are supposed to have altered, lest the passage should be thought to have a reference to the death of Christ. With regard to the word *חַסִּידֵיךָ* (chasideka) in Psalm xvi. 10, which many of the Jews, and some Christians read in the plural, meaning *thy holy ones* (without any reference to Christ), it cannot with propriety be urged against the former as a corruption which they introduced; for it was read in the singular by all the ancient Jews, though the moderns have laid hold of the plural form for polemical purposes. The Masoretic reading is unquestionably the singular number, as the vowel points and the marginal note prove. "With the Queri or marginal reading," says Professor Stuart, "to which the vowel points are adapted *i. e.* the singular number, agree Peter, Paul, and the Seventy, all of whom have *ἐν ὁσίον σου*, the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate, Arabic, Æthiopic, Jerome, Talmud of Babylon, the ancient Rabbins, also 156 codd. of Kennicott and 85 of De Rossi, and 44 editions of the Hebrew scriptures." (Andover Bibl. Repos. vol. i. p. 100.) Some critics have laid down the rule that the reading which is less orthodox in the Jewish sense, is preferable to the orthodox; to which there can be no good objection. But we do not stand in need of its aid, since these two passages are the only ones in which there is the least appearance of designed corruption on the part of the Jews.

Having thus enumerated the chief sources of designed as well as accidental alterations, we come next to enumerate the various causes of changes in the New Testament.

During the 1400 years that elapsed between the age of the apostles and the invention of printing, the MSS. of the Greek Testament were exposed to the mistakes of transcribers. It is not to be supposed that any copy could be made perfectly free from all error, for imperfection necessarily attaches to every

thing human. Whatever mistakes therefore happened to be in a copy, were liable to be propagated in all the transcripts made from it.

The various readings in the MSS. of the New Testament originated either through *unintentional error* or *design*. We will attend to each in order.

1st. *Of unintentional mistakes*.—These happened from various causes. In the first place, they arose from defective sight, which occasioned the exchanging of letters for each other, the transposition of words, the omission of terms and clauses by what is technically called *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*; and the repetition of words. All of these mistakes are referable to sight. We shall give one example of each. When the MS. was lying before the copyist, his eye might mistake a letter similar in form to another. To judge properly of this, it will be necessary to consider the figures of the capital letters in which the ancient MSS. were written. The small letters are too modern to have occasioned many errors, though they may probably have given rise to some. The letters Α, Λ, and Δ—Ο and Θ—ΟC and ΘC are examples of similarity in shape. In Mark v. 14 we find ἀνήγγειλαν for ἀπήγγειλαν, *they told*. Words were exchanged for one another, as in Romans xii. 13, μνείαις for χρείαις, *to the memories*, instead of *to the necessities*. Words were also transposed, as in Romans i. 13 καρπὸν τινὰ for τινὰ καρπὸν, *some fruit*. The omission of words and sentences by *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* was not uncommon. When a word after a short interval occurred a second time in a passage, the transcriber having written it once at the beginning, looked again at his MS., and his eye happened to catch the same word at the end of the passage. Hence he wrote what succeeded, omitting the intervening words. The same remark applies to words having the final syllable alike. We find an example in Matthew x. 23, as written in some MSS. φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην instead of φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν, ἅν ἐκ ταύτης διώκωσιν ὑμας, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην. Fritzsche, however, and Scholz, contend that the former is the true reading. Again, a letter, syllable, or word may be written twice instead of once, thus furnishing a various reading. So for καπερναοῦμ ἡ Matthew xi. 23 several copies have καπερναοῦμ μὴ, which reverses the meaning intended.

2d. Under unintentional mistakes we also class those arising from imperfect hearing. Copyists frequently wrote from the dictation of others to facilitate their work. Hence they might be

readily misled by different words similarly pronounced, or by different letters similarly sounded. Thus 1 John iv. 2, *γινώσκετε* for *γινώσκειτε* ye shall know. *Itacism*, by which is meant a similar pronunciation of certain letters which ought to be differently enunciated, frequently contributed to the mistakes of copyists who wrote from the dictation of others. The exchange of *ι* and *η* is said to constitute the *proper itacism*, but the term has been extended to embrace all exchanges of vowels and diphthongs. (See Penn's Annotations, p. 61 pref.) Thus in 1 Peter ii. 3, we have *χρῖστος* instead of *χρηστος*; in Romans ii. 17, *ἴδε* instead of *ἰδε*; in Acts xvii. 31, *ἰκουμένην* instead of *δικουμένην*.

3d. Errors of memory also belong to this general head which are exemplified in the transposition of words, and the exchange of such as are synonymous. The copyist reading over several words might readily invert their order, or substitute a term of similar signification for one in the original, before he began to write down what he had fixed in his memory. Thus Matthew xx. 10, *ἀνὰ δηνάριον καὶ αὐτοὶ* instead of *καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνὰ δηνάριον*: Matthew ix. 8, *ἐφοβήθησαν* instead of *ἰθαύμασαν*.

4th. Errors of the judgment may also be regarded as belonging to the present division. These are discoverable in the wrong separation of words. The most ancient MSS. were written in one continued series of lines, without intervening spaces. Hence copyists sometimes divided them erroneously. Thus, 1 Cor. xv. 10, *ὄυκ ἐνι* for *ὄυ κενη*. Philippians i. 1, *συνεπισκόποις* instead of *σὺν ἐπισκόποις*. As abbreviations also were employed in MSS., and often to a great extent, they were sometimes misunderstood. So in 1 Timothy iii. 16, instead of *ΘC* many copies read *OC*. By an error also in the judgment, glosses and parallel passages were taken into the text. When a transcriber perceived glosses in the margin, consisting of explanations of words by their synonyms, he imagined that they were parts of the original text, and that therefore they ought to be taken into it. As an example of this may be adduced the Acts of the Apostles i. 12, where one MS. reads after *σαββάτου ἔχον ἰδόν*, the words *ροσούτον ὃν τὸ διάσημα ὄσον δυνατὸν Ἰουδαῖον περιπατήσαι ἐν σαββάτῳ*. In the gospels the same occurrence is often recorded more fully by one of the sacred writers than by another, a circumstance that shows the absence of a designed combination among them. Hence improving transcribers imagined that the shorter account is imperfect, and ought to be supplied from the longer. Thus the greater part of the 35th

verse of the 27th chapter of the gospel by Matthew, is supplied from the parallel place in John xix. 24, and does not properly belong to the former gospel. Fritzsche (Comment. on Matthew), rightly remarks: “ Verba ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου διεμίρισαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον, quae in nonnullis subsidiis post vocc. βάλλοντες κλῆρον adduntur, plerorumque Cdc auctoritate recte induxerunt (subduxerunt?) *Matthæius* et *Griesbachius*, tanquam ex Joh. xix. 24, male huc derivata,” p. 813. “ The words, *that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, they parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots*, which are added in some copies after *casting lots*, have been rightly removed by *Matthæius* and *Griesbach*, (as also *Scholz*), on the authority of the greater number of codices, as having been erroneously put into *Matthew’s* text from *John* xix. 24.”

Such are the chief accidental causes of the alterations that have been made in the text of the Greek Testament. We call them *accidental*, because they were not made with the intention of deceiving others, or of corrupting the sacred records of divine truth. They are to be attributed for the most part to the haste or carelessness of transcribers, who did not possess sufficient knowledge, or exhibit sufficient accuracy in copying MSS. But though many errors were thus produced through the unskillfulness or negligence of copyists, yet we have good reason to believe that some arose from *design*. Involuntary mistakes were frequent; but intentional alterations were not few likewise.

1. Under this latter head we place such changes as were made for the purpose of correcting the language of the original. Transcribers supposed that they could improve the MSS. they undertook to copy. In this respect they undertook to do more than what they were generally qualified to perform, or warranted to attempt. We can easily imagine that a Greek, accustomed to the pure style and diction of the writers that flourished in his native country, might look upon the Hebraistic language of the New Testament as harsh in many of its idioms, and therefore requiring correction. Though the diction is precisely such as might *a priori* be expected from Greek writers born in Judæa, yet it might appear strange to native Greeks, accustomed to judge of other languages by their own. Hence some transcribers corrected what needed no correction, endeavouring to soften harsh idioms, and to remove apparent inelegancies of expression.

In the same way a difficult and obscure reading was sometimes changed into one clearer and more obvious. Hence the rule laid down by many critics, that, where two different readings occur, one of which seems obscure and perplexed—the other easy and obvious to the most ordinary capacity, the latter is suspicious. The following are instances of the truth of these remarks. The terminations belonging to the Alexandrian dialect were removed in the forms *εἶπαν, ἦλθαν, ἔπεισαν* and the usual endings substituted. John i. 14, we find in D. *πλήρη* instead of *πλήρης*; and in Luke viii. 31, *παρεκάλει* instead of *παρεκάλου* in many MSS. In the quotations made by the New Testament writers, either from the Septuagint translation or immediately from the Hebrew, copyists did not refrain from their emendations. When such citations differed from the copy of the Seventy used by the transcriber, he thought them erroneous and corrected accordingly. This, indeed, has been denied by some learned men, but we are inclined to give our assent to it, though it is highly probable that it occurred but seldom.

2. Sometimes historical, geographical, archaeological, and doctrinal difficulties, which occasioned perplexity, were taken away from the text, and other expressions introduced. So Mark ii. 26, certain words were either entirely left out, or Abiathar altered into Abimelech. In John i. 28, instead of Bethany was put Bethabara. In Mark xiii. 32, *οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς* was omitted by some. Thus wilful corruptions were introduced into the text for the purpose of supporting a favourite dogma. The writings of the fathers abound with invectives against the heretics for their falsification of many passages in the New Testament in order to weaken the force of their opponents' arguments, or to give additional weight to their own. But these accusations are not always well-founded, since their enthusiasm often led them to regard as corruptions all deviations from their own copies. They were not capable of that calm and philosophical inquiry which is necessary to distinguish between true and false readings. And not only have the heterodox, or those branded as heretics by the dominant church, been guilty of this corruption, but even the orthodox themselves are not free from the charge.

3. Additions from liturgies were also introduced. Thus *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* was frequently interpolated, as in Matthew iv. 12.

The doxology of the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi. 13, is supposed to have been taken from a similar source; as also the word *ἀμήν* at the end of several books.

In addition to all that has been said on the subject of various readings, it ought to be remarked, that the manuscript itself, from which a transcriber copied, was sometimes effaced in a few of its letters or words, or partially faded. In this case, the fault was not attributable to the transcriber but to the copy which he used.

LECTURE XIX.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

HAVING enumerated the majority of the sources of designed as well as accidental alterations, we come, in the next place, to examine and to describe the history of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old and New Testaments, beginning with the unprinted state of both.

The first period into which the history of the Hebrew text may be divided is that which preceded the close of the canon. We know nothing of this except what is contained in Scripture itself; and we are not at liberty to speculate on the subject with unlicensed and arbitrary suppositions. How the separate books, after having been written by inspired prophets and historians, were preserved in respect of the state of their texts: how frequently they were transcribed, and with what degree of correctness, it is utterly beyond our reach to divine. May we not conjecture, however, that much care was bestowed on them; and that however grievously the Jews, at times, departed from their God, they still retained some veneration for their sacred books. It is not probable that the Hebrew text met with so unfavourable treatment, as is supposed by many of the German critics. A comparison of the parallel sections of the Old Testament does not, by any means, prove that it was subjected to the carelessness and arbitrary procedure of transcribers and officious critics. That it suffered great alteration and corruption is merely assumed. The differences between the parallel sections shew rather the genuineness and integrity of the books in which they occur. Had the same words been found in them; or had they exactly harmonised, we might have suspected design or collusion; but their variations discover the artlessness of the writers. We disagree, therefore, with Eichhorn, Bauer, Gesenius, De Wette, and others, who have given lists of parallel passages in some books

of the Old Testament, in order to shew that the text was early exposed to arbitrary and unfavourable treatment. We are of opinion that their conclusion does not follow from the premises. The most important phenomenon in this part of the history is the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch, concerning which we have already spoken at length. The character of this edition of the Pentateuch is uncritical, shewing the arbitrary treatment to which the books of Moses were early exposed. Additions, alterations, and transpositions, are quite apparent, indicating the manner in which men attempted to change and correct the sacred word of the Most High. A close alliance between the Samaritan and the text which lies at the basis of the Septuagint has always been noticed. Hence many think that they flowed from a common recension. One thing is certain, that the Seventy agree with the Samaritan in about 2000 places against the Jewish text, however we may strive to account for the reason of so remarkable a harmony. The peculiarities of the Samaritan codex and of the Septuagint seem to prove, that critics, having no right ideas of the nature of their employment, took great liberties with the text of the Bible. But their officious and arbitrary zeal cannot be too strongly condemned. In other books of the Old Testament besides the five books of Moses, the Seventy follow a recension of the text considerably different from the Jewish. In Jeremiah and Daniel, deviations from the Hebrew similar to those in the Pentateuch occur, for we find a different arrangement of sections, as well as a diversity in single passages, and in the entire form of the text. The books of Job and Proverbs also present the same kind of disarrangement and alteration, all of which are rather to be put to the account of the Septuagint translators. Far different was the conduct of the Palestine Jews in the treatment of their sacred books. Every circumstance leads us to believe that they were very scrupulous in guarding the text from innovations, and that they watched over it with a religious anxiety that cannot be too much lauded. Happy would it have been for them, if they had attended to the spirit equally with the letter. Some have supposed that from the copy preserved in the temple other MSS. were corrected as they became corrupt; but this is mere conjecture. We cannot contradict the unanimous testimony of history by affirming that the Jews were negligent of their holy records, for they have always been remarkably vigilant in preserving them free from

fabulous additions and human corruptions. It is quite sufficient for us, however, to know, that whatever errors and mistakes had crept into different copies were rendered apparent at the time the canon was formed. It is impossible, indeed, to ascertain, with accuracy, the time when the canon was completed, but this does not affect our sentiments. History does not indubitably guide us to the discovery of this important epoch in sacred literature. But, by taking into account a variety of circumstances well ascertained, we can arrive with tolerable certainty at a period *within* which it must have been completed. The three leading opinions which alone deserve attention are, that the canon was closed by Malachi, the last of the Jewish prophets, as Kennicott supposes. Others, again, believe that this was done by Simon the Just, about 150 years after Malachi, as Prideaux maintains. But we are inclined to believe with the learned Hävernick, that "Esra, in unison with other distinguished men of his time, was the person who completed the collection of the sacred writings." And we have every reason to believe that he was divinely inspired in revising the various books that had been previously written; so that whatever corrections he made are to be received as the infallible words of Almighty God. All the inaccuracies that may have unintentionally crept into the numerous copies transcribed before his time, were rectified by this inspired man. Hence the text of the Old Testament scriptures, as revised by him, was perfectly free from error. If this account be true, as we have reason to believe, (though De Wette, excellent in stating objections to every thing, says that it scarcely deserves examination), then we are not much concerned about the previous period of the history of the Old Testament text. Even if we were able to trace the corruptions that it may have undergone in the progress of time, it would be without advantage or utility; because a correct and genuine copy was furnished under the sanction and superintendance of Heaven, by Ezra. We pass, therefore, to the period commencing with the establishment of the Old Testament canon, and closing with the completion of the Talmud about the commencement of the sixth century after Christ.

The Targumists, Onkelos, and Jonathan, adhere closely to the Masoretic text. In the second century we have the Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, which deviate from it much less than the Seventy. In the Hebrew column of

Origen's Hexapla, we find also a text allied to the Masoretic recension, and almost always agreeing with the Masora, where the later MSS. depart from it. In the 4th century, Jerome, when making his translation from the Hebrew original, employed Jewish teachers and MSS. Hence we are able to account for the remarkable conformity of his version to the Jewish recension, which we now possess. But we may assume, as highly probable, that the Jewish text at an earlier period, of which there is no remaining memorials, was pretty nearly in the same condition. In the two Gemaras, viz. the Jerusalem and Babylonian, belonging to the fourth and sixth centuries respectively, we discern many traces of a critical skill, which was well applied to the preservation of a pure text. Precepts are laid down respecting biblical calligraphy, different readings in MSS. are mentioned, and the true ones are restored. But the most important fact with which we meet, is the adducing of certain kinds of critical corrections which were begun at a much earlier period, and were said to be originally derived from Moses. These are not to be regarded with some as the results of formal recensions, but rather as fragments or traces of revisions previously made. They are 1st עֲטוּר סוֹפְרִים (ittur sopherim) *ablutio scribarum*, the removal of the prefix *vau*, erroneously put before several words in the passages, Genesis xviii. 5; xxiv. 55. Numbers xii. 14. Psalm lxviii. 26; xxxvi. 7. 2d, תִּיקוּן סוֹפְרִים (tikkun sopherim) *correctio scribarum*, the correction of sixteen or eighteen passages, by removing interpolated orthographical mistakes. Among these are Genesis xviii. 22. 1 Samuel iii. 13. 3d, *Puncta extraordinaria*, marks of rejection over fifteen words, for example לֹלֵא, Psalm xxvii. 13. אֶשֶׁר, Numbers xxi. 30. בְּקוֹמָה, Gen. xix. 33. Gesenius has found that points over single letters and words, in Samaritan MSS., denote their spuriousness. Yet they appear sometimes to have had another meaning over Hebrew letters, as in the word just quoted from Genesis xix. 33, for we find in the tract. Nasir, f. 23, c. 1, this explanation, "Wherefore is there a point over the letter *vau* in the word *bekumah*, relating to the first-born? To point out, that when she lay down he did not know, and when she arose that he did know." 4. קְרִי וְלֹא כְתִיב (keri velo cethib), readings which do not stand in the text, but yet should be there; in which

case the Masora puts the vowel points in the text, and the consonants in the margin. Seven or eight passages of this sort are enumerated, for example, 2 Samuel viii. 3; xvi. 23. It is worthy of remark, that the marginal notes in these places, as well as the vacant spaces and points in the text, are later than the Talmud. 5. **כְּתִיב וְלֹא קָרִי** (cethib velo kerī), readings which stand in the text, but should be removed; words which the Masora does not punctuate. This occurs in five places, for example, 2 Kings v. 18, **נָא**. It is evident both kinds of readings are merely to be considered as glosses. 6. The Talmud also mentions different readings which the Masoretes call **קְרִי וְכְתִיב** (keri ucethib), for example, on Job xiii. 15. Haggai i. 8.

The custom of numbering the letters, with which the Masoretes appear to have fruitlessly occupied themselves, was also known to the Talmudists. (See Kiddushin, f. 30, c. 1.) The *unusual letters* which were probably used at first as the symbols of critical annotations, though afterwards mystically interpreted, belong to this period, and shew that minute attention was given to the text. The exchanging of words looked upon as unseemly or immodest, for *voces honestiores*, the latter of which are put by the Masoretic doctors among the *Keris*, is likewise mentioned in the Talmud.

The third period of the history of the Old Testament text reaches from the completion of the Talmud to the invention of printing. The learned Jews, especially at Tiberias, where there was a famous school till the 11th century, continued to cultivate the Hebrew language, and the criticism of the Old Testament with which it is intimately connected. They enlarged the observations of their predecessors and teachers by new remarks, and turned their attention to the vowel-system, the origin of which cannot be placed earlier than the 6th century. To this grammatico-historical tradition the name Masorah was usually applied. Much of what it contains has been already described, as found also in the Talmud. The name certainly points to an early origin. Part of it is older than the Talmud, though not reduced to its present form till a period much later. The Jews and some of the old Christian divines were accustomed to refer it back to Esra, or even to Moses, an opinion extravagant and improbable. But although this great work must have been very ancient, gradually increasing in magnitude as it descended, yet it is usual to limit the term Masorah to the criticism of the present period,

and to call such as were thus employed Masoretes. The various observations were finally collected together just as those comprehended in the Talmud had formerly been. They were written in separate books, of which there are MSS. extant. Afterwards they were put in the margin of the MSS. of the Old Testament text. Regarding the work as the "hedge of the law," or the preserver of the purity of the text, the Jews seemed desirous to express the signification of the name by the position and form they gave to it, whilst they enclosed the text with it in all the curious shapes it is found to present.

The Masora, (derived from the Hebrew word מִסְרָה *to hand down, traditio* tradition), has been divided into two parts, the great and little Masora. The latter, which in MSS. and Rabbinical Bibles is usually inserted between the Hebrew text and the Chaldee paraphrases, and which also accompanies our ordinary printed editions, contains only a few critical remarks, the most important of which are the announcement of the Keris. The great Masora contains an abundant harvest of observations which are not in themselves of high value. When we speak of the Masoretic recension of the text, we do not mean that the Masoretes gave a certain form to the text itself, or that they undertook and executed a new revision of it. But they made the *textus receptus* the basis of their critical remarks, and gave in many places their sentiments regarding it. If the text were altered in every case where they recommend, if it were made conformable to their ideas of what it should be, it would be allowable and appropriate to denominate it *the Masoretic recension*, but the phrase though not strictly applicable is customary. Had the remodelling recommended by the learned Jews been carried out into execution, we might speak with precision and accuracy of the Masoretic revision. By far the most important part of the Masora consists of the marginal readings or Keris, which the Masoretes always looked upon as preferable to the textual; and which the later Jews have always adopted. It is well known that a word for which a Keri stands in the margin has not its own vowels but those of the Keri. The most frequent example of a Keri, is the word *Jehovah*, which has the vowels of *adonai*, though this is not accompanied by a mark in the margin. In such a case we must either read the Keri or the textual with its proper vowels. Thus when יהוה occurs in the text, we must either read *Hi* according to

the *Keri*, or *Hu* after the *Cetib*, but to say *Hiv* would be barbarous.

The *Keris* are critical, grammatical, orthographical, explanatory, and euphemistical, of each of which we will give a few examples. The *critical Keris* consist, 1st, in different divisions of words as in Psalm lv. 16. where the *Ketib* is יְשִׁימֹת, but the *Keri* יְשִׁי מֹת 2d, in the transposition of consonants, as in 1 Kings vii. 45, *Ketib* הָאֵהֶל, *Keri* הָאֵלֶה 3d, in alterations of the consonants, as in Ezekiel xxv. 7, *Ketib* לִבָּנ, *Keri* לִבְז 4th, in the restoration or removal of a consonant, as in Amos viii. 8, *cetib* נִשְׁקָה, *Keri* נִשְׁקָעָה Joshua viii. 12, *Ketib* לַעִיר, *Keri* לַעֵי

The *grammatical Keris* are such as Jeremiah xlii. 6, *cetib* אָנֹכִי, *Keri* אֲנִיחֶנּוּ.

The *orthographical* are such as the following, 2 Chron. viii. 18, *Ketib* אֹנִיּוֹת, *Keri* אֲנִיּוֹת.

The *explanatory keris* or *glosses* may be exemplified by Proverbs xx. 20, *cetib* בְּאִישׁוֹן חֶשֶׁךְ, *keri* בְּאֶשְׁוֹךְ חֶשֶׁךְ.

Euphemistical keris are such as Deuteron. xxviii. 30, *cetib* יִשְׁגְּלֶנָּה, *keri* יִשְׁכַּבְּנָנָה.

It has been a subject of dispute among scholars from what source the Masoretes derived the *keris*. It is highly probable that the opinion of those who maintain that they were generally taken from MSS. and from tradition is nearest the truth, though it may not be improbable, also, that they were in part the offspring of conjecture. It is natural to suppose that the Masoretes sometimes gave the results of their own judgment, especially in the notices of some difficult words, as in Exodus iv. 19, where it is remarked on the words לֶךְ שׁוּב מִצְרַיִם (*lek shüb mitsrayim*)

go, return to Egypt ה' סְבִירִיךָ מִצְרִימָה. The word *sebirin* here employed points out terms that ought to be read otherwise, *conjectures* that terms should be otherwise read. It is *thought* or *conjectured* that *He local* should belong to the word מִצְרַיִם (*mitsrayim*) *Egypt*. The Masoretes also noted exegetical, grammatical, and orthographical difficulties and unusual expressions. As an example of such exegetical singularities, we may adduce the following remark; "The verb נִשְׁבַּע (*nishba*) joined with

בְּאֱלֹהִים (belohim) signifying, *to swear by God*, occurs four times, 1 Samuel xxx. 15; Gen. xxi. 23; Joshua ii. 12; 1 Samuel xxiv. 21." On Psalm xxii. 17, it is observed that there are two words with kametz in different significations, meaning that כְּאֲרִי is here used in a different signification from what it bears in Isaiah xxxviii. 13. Instances of grammatical remarks are such as when it is observed on Gen. i. 22, on the word בְּיָמִים that *there are three letters dageshed, i. e. with patach under beth followed by dagesh*. On Genesis xvi. 13, it is remarked on רָאִי, there is no other place where the same word has chateph kamets. The orthographical usually refer to the vowels written fully or defectively.

But although we deem it probable that these keris and marginal annotations of the Masoretes were partly the offspring of conjecture, as well as the result of an ancient recension of Hebrew MSS., yet it is right to state that the presumption in favour of the former is not strong. Whatever be the actual fact, it is surely a matter of thankfulness to Divine Providence that the Masoretic doctors did not at once foist their remarks into the text, but that they were contented to put them in the margin. With respect to the *number* of the keris, it varies in different MSS. and editions. It is also to be observed that MS. copies sometimes put the keris and sometimes the ketib into the text. In addition to the keris, the Masora contains the critical remarks of the Talmud enlarged and augmented. Besides all this, the verses, words, and consonants of the different books are counted, a task which, though certainly unparalleled in point of *minute* labour, is of little use except in shewing the extreme diligence employed in guarding the very letter of the text.

The application of the Masora in the criticism of the Old Testament is somewhat difficult and embarrassing, because its text has fallen into great disorder, both from the irregular manner in which it has been transcribed, and from the custom of putting the text of the original along with it. It was printed for the first time in the first Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg, (Venice 1518), superintended by Felix Pratensis, who did little for the correction of the Masora. But in the second Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg, (Venice 1526), edited by R. Jacob Ben Chayim, more care was bestowed on it. The editor, however, made nu-

merous mistakes, many of which were afterwards corrected by Buxtorf, in his Rabbinical Bible, (Basel 1618), though this learned man also fell into errors. Jacob Ben Chayim divided the Masora into the *textual* and *final* Masora, the latter consisting of an alphabetical collection of Masoretical remarks not contained in the margin. At the end of the second Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg, is a collection of *oriental* and *western* readings, or in other words, *Babylonian* and *Palestinian*, communicated by the editor Jacob Ben Chayim, and the result of an ancient revision of the text. Their number is about 216, and is given by Walton in the 6th vol. of the London Polyglott. They contain the deviations occurring in the Babylonian and Palestinian texts of all the books of the Old Testament except the Pentateuch, which was probably more carefully copied than the rest of the Scriptures. These readings refer only to the consonants, if we except two relating to *He mappik*; and are concerned partly with the orthography and forms of words, partly with the *keri* and *cetib*. We are entirely ignorant of the sources from which the collection was procured. Judging, however, by the contents, the collection must be older than many of the observations of the Masoretas. It may be probably referred to a period anterior to the introduction of the vowel system, since it contains no allusion to the vowels. It is certainly of considerable value, and proves that the oriental no less than the western Jews, had always attended with some degree of care to the state of the text.

In addition to this list of various readings, we meet with another in the Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, and in the last volume of the London Polyglott, which belongs to the 11th century. It is said to owe its origin to the labours of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, the respective presidents of Jewish academies in Palestine and Babylon. These readings refer merely to the vowels and accents with one exception, viz. Canticles viii. 6, where Ben Naphtali remarks on the word *שְׁלֵהֶבֶתֶּיהָ* that it ought to be divided thus, *יְהוָה שְׁלֵהֶבֶת יְהוָה* the fire of Jehovah. From the nature of this collection it has been inferred that the vowel system and accentuation of the Old Testament were completed at the time it was made. The old unpointed MSS. had gone out of use, and the vocalisation of the present day was current.

Here the history of the unprinted text may be said to close. The old unvowelled copies perished, and new ones furnished

with points and accents came into use. Hence all our Hebrew MSS. are so modern, that none of them is older than 800 years. But although the ancient copies are now irrecoverably lost, yet there is no reason for supposing, that their preservation to the present time would have had any essential influence in altering the form of the text. It is almost certain that the later copies contain the same text as the more ancient, and that no important changes have passed upon the words of holy writ. We have reason to believe that MS. copies were not altered according to the Masora, since there are many ante-Masoretic readings still extant. From the time of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, it can scarcely be affirmed with truth, that the MSS. were gradually made more and more conformable to the Masora, since the text appears to have been established and settled when the punctuation system was completed. Nor can it be believed with good reason, that the Targums exerted an influence on the text of MSS., especially after the time when the study of Hebrew grammar was zealously prosecuted by the Jewish literati. The desire of innovation, if it ever existed among the Jews, was repressed by the Masora, and their reverence for the words of the Holy Books was too great to allow them to make alterations in their text from Chaldee paraphrases. When therefore Eichhorn says, that many a MS. was altered according to the Targums, he makes an assertion which cannot be proved. Rather might we affirm with Kennicott, that the Targums were sometimes altered in compliment to the copies of the Hebrew text. We cannot be too grateful to the God of providence for his watchful care over the Old Testament Scriptures, and for the instrumentality of the Jews, his own people, which he employed in preserving inviolate the Holy Books containing his revealed will. The reverential attention which this nation gave to the Hebrew text, and the jealousy with which they guarded it from corruption, we look upon as a part of the wise arrangements of the most High, who raises up individuals for the performance of certain duties, and puts it into their hearts to engage in works tending to promote his glory. We think that there cannot be much difference of opinion at the present day among Biblical scholars, relative to the utility of the Masorah. Few will venture to deny that it has in some measure secured the Hebrew text from corruption; though there may be a diversity of sentiment regarding the *degree* in which its influence has been thus exerted. Many parts of it are

highly useful, others trifling and puerile. Even the calculations of the letters in different books though a loss of time in one sense, must have operated in no small degree towards the preservation of the words. On the whole, we cannot but believe, that the labours of the Masoretic doctors have been of essential use in maintaining for so long a period the genuineness and integrity of the Hebrew text, though we are willing to concede that it is not now infallible in all minute particulars. Some few errors crept in which the Masora cannot remove.

We come now to the history of the *printed* text. Having enumerated the majority of the sources of designed as well as of accidental alterations, and having described the treatment of the unprinted text, we proceed to examine the various attempts that have been made to restore the text to its original purity. After the invention of printing, it became the desire of many to publish corrected editions of the Holy Scriptures, though it is matter of regret that they seldom gave a systematic description of the materials they used. The history of the printed text is important as shewing us the manner in which our present copies of the Hebrew Bible were edited, and the sources opened up for obtaining the genuine words of the original. The first editions are now equivalent to MSS., and may be looked upon as memorials of the state of the text at the time they were printed. There are three early editions from which all others have flowed, and with which it is especially necessary to be acquainted, viz.

1st. That published at Soncino 1488, the first entire copy of the Hebrew Scriptures that was printed, though detached books had been previously published, such as the Psalms. The text of this edition contains the points and accents. We do not know what MSS. were used in the preparation of it. Judging, however, from the general state of learning at the time, and particularly from the character of *its sacred literature*, it is not probable that the best codices were selected as the basis of its text. Kenicott states that this very ancient edition differs from Van der Hooght's in 11,000 words. From it was taken the Brescia edition, published in 1494, 4to., used by Luther in making his German translation of the Bible. The very copy which he had is still preserved in the Royal library at Berlin, and is deservedly an object of great curiosity to all Protestants.

The second great edition which served as the basis of others

was that in the Complutensian Polyglott 1514-17, taken from seven MSS.

The third was the second Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg published by R. Jacob Ben Chayim at Venice 1525, 6, folio. The text is principally formed after the Masora, but Spanish MSS. were employed in making it. Almost all our modern printed copies have been taken from this edition. The Antwerp Polyglott 1569-72 folio has a text compounded of those adopted in the 2d and 3d editions. So says Le Long by Masch, vol. i. p. 347. "Quatuor prioris operis Regii volumina continent. V. T. insertis suis locis libris apocryphis, et quidem contextum Hebraicum ex Complutensi editione cum editione Veneta Bombergi collatum." "The first four volumes of this royal work contain the Old Testament with the apocryphal books inserted in their proper places; the Hebrew text being made from that in the Complutensian edition collated with the Venice edition of Bomberg."

Among the editions furnished with a critical apparatus that of Buxtorf published at Basel 1619 occupies a high place. It contains the commentaries of the Jewish Rabbins Jarchi, Abenesra, Kimchi, Levi Ben Gerson, and Saadiah Haggaon. The appendix is occupied with the Jerusalem Targum, the Great Masora corrected and amended in many places, and the various readings of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. The Chaldee paraphrase was pointed by the learned editor after the analogy of the Chaldee in Daniel and Ezra.

The chief editions with various readings are those of Sebastian Munster, Jablonski, Van der Hooght, J. H. Michaelis, C. F. Houbigant, and Benjamin Kennicott. Munster's edition was published in 1536, 2 vols. 4to, Basel, and contains parts of the Masora with critical annotations. The text is *supposed* to be founded upon that of Brescia 1494, for the editor *has not told* us what codices he used. The edition of Dan. Ern. Jablonski also deserves to be mentioned. It was published at Berlin 1699, 8vo. and again at the same place in 1712, 12mo., but not so correctly. The text was chiefly taken from Leusden's second edition (1667.) But the editor consulted all the cardinal editions then published, besides several MSS., from which sources he gave a text remarkably accurate, and a selection of the most important readings. The points and accentuation were minutely attended to, so that next to the edition of Michaelis, Prof. Stuart pronounces this the most accurate. Van der Hooght's appeared at Amsterdam 1705,

celebrated for its beauty and convenience. The text is taken from the edition of Athias published in 1661, and also in 1667. The Masoretic readings are given in the margin, and at the end are collected the various readings of the editions of Bomberg, Plantin, Athias, and others. The edition published by John Henry Michaelis in 1720, is accompanied with the readings of 24 editions, which the editor examined, besides five MSS. in the library at Erfurt. His collations however were hasty, and are not to be depended on as strictly accurate. Prof. Stuart characterises the text of this edition as the most accurate in all respects; but perhaps Van der Hooght's by Hahn may now rival it. In 1753 C. F. Houbigant published a new edition of the Hebrew Bible in folio, which he had previously announced by prolegomena in 1746. The text of this splendidly printed work is that of Van der Hooght without the points. In the margin of the Pentateuch the Samaritan readings are added. He collated for it twelve Hebrew MSS., but not with sufficient accuracy, for he has only noted a few of their *select* readings. Indeed he did not attach much importance to them as sources of emendation, whilst he manifested an undue partiality for versions and for the Samaritan Pentateuch. For his excessive use of conjectural emendation he has been justly condemned. Controlled by no authority and guided by no rules, he has shewn himself a most daring and wanton critic. He impiously treated the Bible as men are wont to meddle with the productions of profane authors, curtailing, and correcting it as he thought fit.

We come now to speak of the edition of Dr. Kennicott, the most important of all that have yet been published. Having directed public attention to the subject by the publication of his two dissertations on the state of the Hebrew text, and having even called forth the liberality of the British nation to bear the expense of such an edition as he proposed, he gave to the world the first volume in 1776, Oxford. The second volume appeared in 1780 also in folio. The number of MSS. collated by himself and his associates in the undertaking, of whom the chief was Prof. Bruns of Helmstadt, amounted to 694. Besides these a number of printed editions was examined, and various readings selected from them. The text is Van der Hooght's without the points, from which all the variations in his authorities were marked as different readings. In addition to his collation of MSS. and printed editions, he followed the example of the principal editors of the Greek Testament in having

recourse to Rabbinical writings, the chief of which is the Talmud. He has given quotations from the most distinguished Jewish writers where they cite the Hebrew Scriptures. In the general dissertation annexed to the second volume, he gives a full account of the MSS. that were collated, and of all the authorities consulted in the preparation of the work. The great expectations that were formed respecting this edition of the Hebrew Bible were somewhat disappointed on its appearance. Perhaps however they had been unreasonably high. Amid the immense mass of various readings which he had collected with so great labour, few were found to be of any value in the emendation of the text. The majority were at once seen to be the mere *lapsus* of transcribers. For this he was unjustly censured, as if he could have given more and better readings than those which he found in his MSS. But we think that he was rightly blamed for not laying down certain fixed rules in comparing and judging of Hebrew MSS.; and for failing to employ that accuracy in extracting readings which is so very desirable. He had not sufficient ability to apply those copious materials which he had the merit of amassing, in the way that Griesbach proceeded in the New Testament. Although therefore he has brought together a great apparatus, he does not seem to have exercised himself much in weighing varying evidence. In short, he was not a consummate critic, though well entitled to all the praise of a laborious editor. His edition enabled men to see that the Hebrew text has undergone no remarkable alteration or corruption; and that the MSS. have been preserved in a surprising state of uniformity by the influence of the Masora. Apart from the effects of Masoretic labour on the text, this sumptuous edition would have exhibited greater and more important diversities in its critical apparatus. All the readings may be said to belong to one *recension*, which was made at an early period by the learned Jews of Tiberias. And from all we know of the veneration of the Jews for the Holy Scriptures—a veneration in many cases approaching to superstition,—we are led to believe that the Masoretic text is on the whole a correct one. We cannot suppose that the Masorettes corrupted the materials which they had in their hands—this were in the face of all analogy and of every probability—we must rather maintain that they employed them in a conscientious and faithful manner, knowing that they contained the words of God to their fathers and themselves. We

may remark that Kennicott's edition is defective in judicious extracts from ancient versions. Indeed this source of emendation has not been sufficiently consulted and applied. In the years 1784-88, John Bernard de Rossi published at Parma in four volumes 4to an important supplement to Kennicott's Hebrew Bible. These variations were taken from 88 MSS. used by Kennicott, and collated anew by De Rossi, from 479 in his own possession and 110 in other hands, from many editions and Samaritan MSS. and also from ancient versions. This immense collection was made with marvellous industry and singular care by one who displayed a better judgment than Kennicott in such matters. The prolegomena prefixed to the work contain a history of the Old Testament text filled with hypotheses, a theory of criticism not grounded on the best principles, and a list of the MSS. and editions collated. These additional readings are of the same character generally speaking with those of Kennicott. In 1793 an edition was published at Leipzig intended to supply in some degree the want of the expensive collations of Kennicott and De Rossi. This work was edited by Doederlein and Meisner, and contains a selection of the most important readings. The edition of Jahn in four volumes (Vienna 1806) is preferable to the preceding in the selection which it presents. It also gives the books of Kings and Chronicles in a kind of harmony, and has the Psalms divided into *στροφῆς* according to the parallelism.

The text of Van der Hooght may be now regarded as the *textus receptus*, since it has been followed by almost all later editors. Simonis, Rosenmüller, Judah d'Allemand, and Haas have preferred this text to any other. The cheapest and in all respects the most accurate edition of the Hebrew Bible is that of Hahn, who has simply corrected the mistakes of Van der Hooght's text. It is stereotyped. (*Editio stereotypa denuo recognita et emendata*, Leipsic. 1832.)

Thus it appears that nearly 1300 MSS. of the Old Testament Scriptures have been collated. We are not to suppose however that they all contain the entire of the Old Testament. Few in fact embrace all the books as the MS. of Dresden (*Codex Dresdensis*) and the MS. of Norimberg I. Some have the Pentateuch, either by itself, or with the Megilloth and Haphtaroth—others have the Prophets—others again the Hagiographa. Some have only one book, such as the Psalms, or Esther, or Canticles. A few possess merely the Haphtaroth.

The labour expended on such critical editions as we have mentioned is not to be regarded as thrown away, because they exhibit so few essential variations in the text. A knowledge of the agreement of all known MSS. and versions is perhaps sufficient to compensate for all the toil and expense that have been employed. The Masoretic text appears to be in general so correct, that we need not expect the future appearance of many important deviations from it. It has been found that the older the versions of the Old Testament are, and the purer their state, the nearer they come to the Jewish text. Still we believe that there are passages requiring emendation though they cannot be numerous. In the mean time, we must wait for other undertakings in Hebrew criticism similar to Kennicott's. The criticism of the Greek Testament is still before that of the Hebrew Bible, having been earlier begun and more vigorously prosecuted.

LECTURE XX.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

WE have already pointed out the causes of various readings in the New Testament. Following then the same order which we have just observed with respect to the Old, we will give a brief history of the New Testament text *unprinted* and *printed*.

The criticism of the New Testament is rich in materials, especially in ancient MSS. In this respect it is much superior to the Old Testament, having been more extensively cultivated. But although the history of the criticism of the New Testament records the industrious collection of a large amount of materials, on which learned men have expended the best energies of their lives, yet it is not equally abundant in well accredited facts, such as might be of essential benefit in enabling us to judge of the changes and alterations which the text may have undergone. In relation to the period when the two parts of the New Testament, viz. the *εὐαγγέλιον* and *ἀπόστολος*, or in other words, the four gospels, and the Pauline and other epistles, were put together, so as to form one whole, history is silent. About the beginning of the third century, it is certain that all the books of the New Testament which we now have were acknowledged as divine; and received as canonical in different countries and among Christians in general. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, agree in recognising the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of Paul, the first epistle of Peter and of John, and the Apocalypse. The epistle to Philemon, though not quoted by Irenæus and Clement, was probably known to them. The epistle to the Hebrews is quoted by Clement. The second epistle of John appears to have been known to Clement, (*Stromata*, i. e. *Miscellanies* Lib. III. *Paedag.* III.) and to Tertullian, (*De hab. mulier.* c. 3.) The epistle of Jude is cited by Clement and Tertullian. With regard to the third Epistle of John, Dionysius of Alexandria was acquainted with it, and classes it with the

second Epistle among the *φερόμενα*, i. e. writings alleged to be genuine. Clement of Rome appears to have been acquainted with the epistle of James, for in his first letter to the church at Corinth, he exhibits striking resemblances to the Apostle in particular positions and arguments, and in respect to phraseology. (See Hug's Introduction by Fosdick, p. 621.) Irenæus appears expressly to quote 2 Peter; and Origen speaks of it, though he says it was disputed.

About the middle of the third century Hesychius and Lucian, who had been employed on the text of the Seventy, undertook to amend the MSS. of the New Testament. Jerome speaks of the MSS. which they are said to have revised, but he does not seem to have had a favourable opinion of the results of their critical labours in the New Testament department. Owing to several causes, the MSS. which they undertook to revise did not obtain extensive circulation or general approval; and we are even informed that Pope Gelasius issued a decree against "the gospels which Lucian and Hesychius falsified." The recension of the Seventy made by Hesychius obtained repute in Alexandria and Egypt generally; whilst that of Lucian was chiefly current at Antioch and Constantinople. If therefore we might hazard a conjecture relative to their recensions of the New Testament, we would be inclined to say, that they were circulated respectively in the same localities. One thing is pretty certain, viz. that they were not the authors of recensions which came into such repute as to be widely circulated and generally adopted. Semler indeed and Hug have sanctioned the supposition that they were current to a great extent; but their opinion is not supported by ancient testimony. Jerome does not attach to them the importance which these scholars would lead us to believe they had attained, for he says that they had few adherents. Some are of opinion that Origen, besides his great work the Hexapla, made a revision of the text of the New Testament; especially because Jerome mentions the *Origenian MSS* of the gospels and epistles. But Eusebius knew nothing of such a work, and surely he would not have passed it over in silence. We may well suppose, also, that he had little inclination or strength to undertake such a task after the completion of the Hexapla. The probability therefore is, that when Jerome speaks of the MSS. of Origen as he does in his Commentary on Matthew xxiv. 36, and on the Epistle to the Galatians iii. 1, he

merely refers to such codices as Origen had made use of; and which, from their accuracy and the celebrity of the individual to whom they belonged, were highly valued.

The only sure data from which we can draw conclusions respecting the fate of the text in early times consist of those documents in which it is contained, viz. MSS., versions, and quotations of the fathers. Apart from these we are left to conjecture alone, since history is so defective in important and credible facts relating to the subject. At a period comparatively recent, when criticism began to assume that interesting aspect which it afterwards presented, and when men surveyed the mass of accumulating materials with philosophic eye, certain internal marks were observed to belong to several documents containing the same text. A relationship or similarity in characteristic readings was noticed. Bengel appears to have been the first to whom the idea suggested itself of dividing the materials according to the peculiarities which he faintly perceived. It was afterwards taken up by Semler. But Griesbach endeavoured to give precision and fixedness to the vague notions entertained on the subject by investigating it with great acuteness and critical tact. The different forms of the text which Semler and Griesbach observed, they called *recensions*, a name which has been more generally adopted than any other. Perhaps however the appellation of *family* is more appropriate and less liable to misconception. Strictly speaking, the term does not apply to the Occidental and Constantinopolitan families, even according to the sentiments of Griesbach himself. The Alexandrian indeed is said to rest on an actual revision of the New Testament, which was undertaken at the time when the *εὐαγγέλιον* and *ἀπόστολος* were put together into one volume, but he reckons the Occidental to have been gradually formed in the progress of time, by the propagation of the old unrevised MSS. In like manner he believes the Constantinopolitan recension to have originated from the transcribers of MSS. mingling together the other two recensions, rather than from the labour of a critic undertaking to revise the original text. The mere name however is comparatively unimportant, provided it be remembered that it simply denotes the agreement of certain documents containing the text of the New Testament, in their characteristic readings. The mode in which Griesbach determined the country and age of each recension, was by means of characteristic readings in the quotations of the fathers, and in ancient

versions. According to the peculiar readings contained in these sources, so did he form his conclusions relative to the locality in which the recension was current, and to its antiquity. The following is the system framed by Griesbach. 1st, *The Alexandrine recension* exhibited by the church-fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Isidore of Pölusium, &c., and in the 8th century by John of Damascus. The versions belonging to it are the Memphitic and Hareclean wholly, and the Æthiopic and Armenian in part. The uncial MSS. B, C, L, in the gospels, and in the Epistles A, B, C, also contain it. Its general characteristic is grammatical purity and accuracy.

2nd. *The Occidental recension*. This appears in the Latin translation of Irenaeus, in Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and others; among the Latin versions, in the Vetus Itala in particular, in the Sahidic and Jerusalem-Syriac. The Greek-Latin MSS. generally exhibit it; D in the gospels, and D, E, F, G in the Pauline epistles. The peculiarity of this recension is, that it is *exegetical*, containing glosses, circumlocutions, and more Hebraisms than the former.

3d. *The Constantinopolitan recension*, which appears in the writings of the fathers that lived from the end of the 4th till the 6th century in Greece, Asia Minor, and the neighbouring provinces. It appears also in the Gothic and Slavonic versions, in the uncial MSS. A, E, F, G, H, S, of the gospels, and in the Moscow codices of Paul's epistles. This recension is compounded of the other two, and exhibits more Graecisms than the Alexandrian. In addition to these three, Griesbach thought that the Peshito contained a mixed text, which could not with propriety be classed under any of the preceding, and, therefore, he believed that it was repeatedly interpolated from different Greek MSS. The text of the gospels also as exhibited in the writings of Chrysostom resembles the old Syriac in its being a compound of different recensions. Such an amalgamation of the other recensions was exalted by some into a *fourth*, called by Hänlein the *younger Constantinopolitan*. (See his *Einleitung*, 2d part, p. 120), exhibited by the MSS. P, Q, T, and several others. The Ethiopic, Armenian, Sahidic, and Jerusalem versions are said to contain interpolations characteristic of this recension, whilst the writings of Theophylact and Oecumenius exhibit a more extensive incorporation of different families.

A majority of *recensions* not of *individual MSS.*, was regarded by Griesbach as decisive of a reading. After the individual MSS., versions, and quotations have been examined, for the purpose of discovering to what family they belong, the recensions are allowed to determine the value of a reading. Hence, if any reading belong to two recensions and not to the third, it is justly entitled to a place in the text, even though the number of single MSS. belonging to the *third recension* in which it does not appear, should far exceed the number of the individual MSS. belonging to the other two.

We will now give Hug's system of recensions, contained in his introduction to the New Testament.

1st. In the MSS. of the gospels D, 1, 13, 69, 124, and of the epistles, D, E, F, G, as also in the old Latin translations and the Sahidic version, he finds a text substantially the same as the Occidental recension of Griesbach. To this unrevised and faulty text, he gives the name *κοινή ἔκδοσις*. Until the middle of the 3d century he believes that the text of the New Testament was exposed to the arbitrary innovations of transcribers; and that it was disfigured by a great number of additions, glosses, and interpolations. This *κοινή ἔκδοσις* was multiplied by the Alexandrine copyists, and circulated through the countries of the West, where it was in common use long after. But whilst the *Occidental* recension of Griesbach agrees in the main with the *κοινή ἔκδοσις* of Hug, the latter differs from the former in reckoning the Peshito together with the quotations of Origen and Clement of Alexandria, as belonging to the unrevised text. In reference to the old Syriac, Griesbach afterwards assented in a great degree to the opinion of Hug. About the year 250, several recensions of this *κοινή ἔκδοσις* were undertaken by different individuals, by Hesyehius in Egypt, Lucian in Syria, and Origen in Palestine.

2d. The revised text of Hesyehius became current in Egypt. According to him, B, C, L, of the gospels, A, B, C, of the epistles, the Memphitic version, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria and others, exhibit the Hesyehian recension.

The third form of the text he finds in the recension of Lucian just referred to, calling it the Constantinopolitan recension, exhibited by the MSS. E, F, G, H, S, V, of the gospels, G of Paul's epistles, and by almost all the Moscow MSS. used by Matthaei. To it also belong the Slavonian and Gothic versions.

The fourth form of the text he attributes to the revision of Origen as found in the codices A, K, M, all of the gospels, in the P'hil-

oxenian or rather Harclean Syriac, and in the writings of Chrysostom and Theodoret. Such is a brief representation of the system of Hug, a system characterised by great ingenuity and acuteness.

Another system lately proposed is that of Scholz in the prolegomena to his edition of the New Testament, published in 1830. This celebrated editor maintains the existence of only two great classes or families of MSS.; viz. the Asiatic or Constantinopolitan and the Alexandrine or African. The Western, which we find as a distinct class in other systems, coincides in his opinion with the Alexandrine. In opposition to Griesbach he prefers the Asiatic to the Alexandrine. The chief reason which appears to have induced him to reduce all the materials of criticism to two classes, is the remarkable agreement of the various documents belonging to the Constantinopolitan recension with each other, and the great variations between all that do not belong to this family. To the Asiatic belong all the MSS. which were written in the eight last centuries; to the Alexandrian, the great majority of the uncial MSS. that are still extant, and a few of the more recent. The reason why he gives the preference to the junior codices is, because in his opinion the Asiatic were directly derived from the autographs of the authors themselves, or from transcripts of them carefully made and religiously preserved. Hence, he argues that this family contains the original text in a high degree of purity. Besides, he alleges that at Alexandria, where the allegorical mode of interpretation prevailed, transcribers were not so scrupulous in copying with accuracy the words before them; but that they filled the margin with alterations and glosses that were afterwards received into the text itself. At Constantinople the same liberties were not taken by grammarians. There the sacred documents were preserved with much greater care. He believes that the greater number of the variations exhibited by the Constantinopolitan family was caused partly by the intrusion of Alexandrine readings, and partly by the unintentional mistakes of copyists; but it continued in much purity from the 4th century downwards, when the veneration of Christians for the sacred books was greatest, and when they were appealed to in the religious controversies which agitated the ancient churches.

Such is a condensed view of Scholz's system.

Rink agrees substantially with Scholz in assuming only two classes of MSS., the *Occidental* (A, B, C, D, E, F, G); and the

Oriental, embracing those written in the cursive character. The former he divides into the two families of the *African* (A, B, C); and the *Latin MSS.*, (D, E, F, G.) The African he regards as the result of the arbitrary corrections of the grammarians, of ignorance, and of carelessness. (See his *Lucubratio Critica in acta Apost. epp. cath. et Paulin. &c. &c.* Basel 1830, 8vo.)

Having thus given some account of the leading systems of recensions that have been proposed, it remains for me to make a few observations on them.

Of Griesbach's it may be said that it is certainly ingenious and plausible. But when examined it can hardly recommend itself to the adoption of the critic. It was acutely objected to by Eichhorn in his Introduction to the New Testament, and still more so by Dr. Laurence, late archbishop of Cashel, who assailed it with no less vehemence than success, though unhappily with a degree of unbecoming asperity. The observations of Laurence were certainly such as to shake it to the foundation. Indeed Griesbach's system has been the subject of frequent animadversion; and many well-founded objections have been made to it. It has been exposed to the severest attacks and assailed by the weightiest arguments. In fact, all critics who have proposed different theories of recensions have animadverted on Griesbach's arrangement. Michaelis, Matthaei, Nolan, Eichhorn, Hug, Scholz, and others whom it is unnecessary to name, have stated objections to it. In America, Mr. Norton has finally come forth and so demolished it, that it can hardly be revived by any admirer of Griesbach, however ardently he may love the system, or however ably he may set himself to defend it against the attacks to which, since its first appearance, it has been exposed. (See Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, additional Notes, p. 4, section 2.) Its credit has been completely ruined by Mr. Norton, if it was not so already by Dr. Laurence. The former has shewn the self-contradictions of Griesbach, his fluctuating opinions, his modifications of the system, and his almost abandonment of it in the last work he lived to publish. I have seldom read so able or convincing an argument to disprove the truth of any theory. It has been well observed by Dr. Laurence that the existence of three classes of MSS. has never yet been proved by induction—that the *number* has not been definitely settled. There is in truth no line of distinction between the Alexandrian and Western classes that can be clearly defined. Even Origen and Clement of Alex-

andria, the principal authorities for the Alexandrian text, coincide in a great measure with the Western recension, so that it is not too much to say that the separating boundary of these two families is an imaginary line resembling the circles on a globe which have no actual existence.

With regard to Hug's system, it may be observed, that it is not free from imperfection and error. Griesbach himself made some valid objections to it, and succeeding scholars have increased their number.

It may be remarked in the *first place*, that the Peshito, which he places among the memorials of the *κοινή ἔκδοσις*, does not altogether correspond with it, though Griesbach has admitted that it is nearer to it than to the other states of the text. Origen and Clement are classed by Hug with the original confused text as it existed before the middle of the third century. The former, however, did not use the *κοινή*, at least exclusively, but the Alexandrine recension. It is only in his commentary on Matthew that he employs an Occidental MS.; for in his commentary on Mark he uniformly quotes an Alexandrine MS., and his usual text agrees with the Alexandrine recension. Clement again frequently agrees with the Alexandrine in opposition to the Western recension, and therefore he cannot be properly reckoned as belonging to the latter.

2. The Hescychian revision, agreeing in the main with the Alexandrine of Griesbach, does not rest on a firm historical basis. It appears to have had a very limited circulation, even in the country where it was made. Jerome says, "praetermitto eos codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa conventio, &c." "I pass over those MSS. named after Lucian and Hesychius, which are perversely contended for by a few individuals, &c.," and Pope Gelasius says, "evangelia quae falsavit Lucianus et Hesychius apocrypha." "The *apocryphal* gospels which Lucian and Hesychius have falsified." Besides, that form of the text ascribed to Hesychius appears in reality to be older, since Origen, and even Clement of Alexandria, exhibit the Alexandrian recension. Hesychius did, therefore, probably nothing more than revise it.

3. The historical foundation on which Lucian's recension rests is also insecure. Besides the passage already quoted from Jerome, proving that both the revised texts of Hesychius and Lucian were confined to a narrow circle of usage, and that neither exerted that

general influence which Hug would assign to it, we may further refer to the following words of the same father, "Lucianus tantum in scripturarum studio laboravit, ut usque nunc *quaedam exemplaria* scripturarum Luciana nuncupentur." (Hieron. de viris Illustr. c. 77.)

4. It is extremely doubtful, and even improbable, that Origen undertook a revision of the κοινή ἑκδοσις. The passage on which Hug founds this opinion, occurs in Jerome on Matthew xxiv. 36, "quum in Graecis et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus, hoc non habeatur adscriptum,"—"whereas in the Greek copies, especially those of Origen and Pierius, this clause is not written." The MSS. of Origen and Pierius rather mean here, such as had been used and sanctioned by these individuals, and were therefore valuable. Origen himself, when speaking of his critical edition of the Septuagint, asserts,—“In exemplaribus autem N.T. hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi.”—"I did not think that I could do this (correct the MSS. of the New Testament) in the copies of the New Testament without danger." In short, this fourth form of the text ascribed to Origen is not sufficiently distinct from the others to form a separate recension.

From these remarks, which have been made by others before us, it may be seen that the system of Hug is not of sufficient authority or weight to commend itself to general approbation. It rests for the most part on slight and slender grounds, such as history refuses to sanction. Positive facts frequently oppose themselves to it. Some of the ablest critics in Germany have objected to it, among whom, besides Griesbach, are De Wette, Schott, and Rink. The last named in particular has completely overturned it. Mr. Norton has also opposed it with his wonted ability.

We come now to speak of Scholz's system. We cannot but think that this scholar's attempted proofs of the purity of the Constantinopolitan recension, its being directly derived from the autographs of the apostles, and its unchanged character from the very earliest period, are meagre and unsatisfactory. Ecclesiastical history, to which he appeals, furnishes no real proofs of the soundness of his positions. We believe that it affords very few materials towards a history of the text of the Greek Testament. Wherever Scholz has resorted to it, which he seems desirous of doing, the judicious and acute inquirer will perceive that it does not bear him out in his statements. We could have wished for more discrimination, less haste in coming to conclusions, and a

soberer judgment. We fear that the *number* of MSS. has influenced him in a great measure to prefer the Constantinopolitan to the Alexandrine family. We imagine that few critics will be convinced by his attempted arguments to establish the great corruption of the Alexandrine codices. Eusebius has related a fact which would go to prove the very opposite. At the request of Constantine he made out 50 copies of the New Testament for the use of the churches at Constantinople; and as we know that he gave a decided preference to the Alexandrine copies, it cannot well be doubted that he would follow those sanctioned by Origen. Eusebius therefore had no such opinion of the vast superiority of the Asiatic to the Alexandrine codices as our modern scholar. It may naturally occur to the mind of the reflecting student, if the most ancient MSS. belong to the Alexandrine recension, and the modern to the Constantinopolitan, why is the former regarded as inferior to the latter? Surely the most ancient documents ought to be reckoned of greater value, and as more probably containing the authentic text. I am quite aware that this is liable to exception however rational and probable it may seem. It does not necessarily follow that the *text* of the older MSS. is also the older and less adulterated text. The original text *may be* preserved in the junior MSS., and is doubtless presented by them in many instances. The mere circumstance of antiquity in codices, is not sufficient of itself to warrant their possession of the primitive original text. But unless there be some evidence counterbalancing the antiquity of MSS. I would be inclined to prefer them to junior ones. Believing, therefore, that Scholz has not satisfactorily proved the corruption of the Alexandrine documents, I cannot agree with him in preferring the cursive to the uncial MSS. The acknowledged antiquity of the latter has not lost much of its value, notwithstanding all that Scholz has said. In grouping together the Alexandrine and Occidental into one class or family, he has adopted a division for which the public mind was pretty well prepared, and in which we imagine that he was right. It certainly depends much on the precise notions entertained of the extent of a recension or family, whether the number be limited to two, or whether it be increased to more. Some may reckon as a sort of *sub-class* what others would at once exalt into a proper recension. Thus, though Griesbach and Hug differ in the number of recensions, their systems are substantially the same. The general division of all the materials into two

great families is simple and easily apprehended. It does not aim at excessive refinement, neither does it tax our power of discernment to the utmost. It draws a line of distinction broad enough to be seen. The subject is in itself subtle and unexact. Its nature abhors demonstration. It cannot perhaps be so bounded and fixed as to preclude a latitude of opinion in many of its details. We would not, therefore, be dogmatic. Still there appears to be an over-refined minuteness in maintaining the existence of more than the two families, which cannot be clearly followed by a sober judgment. It requires a very delicate acumen to perceive more than two great classes; and after all, a good deal is left to the imagination. We are willing, therefore, to subscribe to the theory of Scholz, in as far as it makes only two families of MSS., versions, and fathers. But the great question is, whether the Constantinopolitan be preferable to the Alexandrine. Griesbach gave the decided preference to the latter. Scholz's opinion is directly the reverse. The former is in our view more correct. Dr. Scholz adduces the great uniformity of the Constantinopolitan or junior codices as a proof of their superiority to the Alexandrine, whilst he notices and dwells on the many diversities existing within the Alexandrine itself as an evidence of its having been extensively altered and corrupted. Yet in this consideration there may not be much weight. Uniformity does not necessarily argue purity. Much of the diversity alleged to exist in the Alexandrine family itself, is owing to the fact of its containing very ancient memorials. Frequency of transcription, and the unavoidable alterations that befall all such documents, together with their wide circulation in different and distant places, may serve in a good degree to account for the greater variations in the Alexandrine class. When it is farther recollected that many able and acute men have thought it indubitable that an older form of the text, originating at an uncritical period, and prevalent throughout an uncritical region, may be clearly distinguished from a different condition of the same text, as modelled by the critical age of the Greek Church, we need not be surprised that both, grouped together in one class, should present diversities. I am not, therefore, inclined to subscribe to the system of recensions proposed by Scholz. After reading his prolegomena with great attention, I cannot see that he has proved what he wished to establish. He indulges in too many hypotheses and bold assertions to recommend his peculiar

principles to the general acceptance of the candid and cautious inquirer. The accounts of this new theory given in English books are far from being accurate, and are even calculated to leave an erroneous impression on the minds of those who trust to them, without perusing the words of the learned editor himself. It is said, for instance, that Scholz has nearly, if not altogether set at rest the question of recensions by the simple and satisfactory theory which he has laid down with so much learning, and supported with so much historical research. But I am far from thinking that the subject is exhausted, or that it has been placed on a firm or solid basis. It is still open for discussion. They who suppose that the system of Dr. Scholz is liable to no well-founded objection are certainly unacquainted with its nature, and with the foundation on which it rests. In short, none of the systems yet proposed is free from serious objections. The efforts made by the various authors to establish them are failures. Hence we implicitly follow none of the critical editions of the New Testament.

We are inclined to believe that there are scarcely sufficient historical facts to furnish ground for any system of recensions properly so called. Conjectures have been put forth too liberally respecting revisions of the text in early times, and respecting the texts of ancient MSS.; but the data for any well-supported theory to rest on are extremely slight. The subject therefore may furnish endless scope for the speculations of the German critics. It is just of that vague and undefined nature which excites the curiosity of men without gratifying it. I fear, therefore, that no well defined historically-sustained system of classification can be proposed in the present scanty state of our knowledge with regard to the early treatment of the text. I fear that no palpable, plain, and well founded theory will be brought forward at least for a long time. Arbitrary conjectures, vague surmises, historical data light as air have been frequently resorted to; and if in future, some able, acute, and learned man give us some secure ground to stand on, I shall look upon him as a great benefactor to sacred literature. Whoever will clear away the doubts and difficulties that belong to the subject, and give it an aspect of soundness and of security will gain to himself great reputation. Such an individual has not yet appeared, and I have some apprehension that he never will. I do not feel myself justified at present to reject, as several learned men have done, the whole

system of classification as visionary and fanciful. It is useful thus to arrange the materials of criticism. The existence of certain characteristic readings belonging to the various memorials of the text may be perceived, however much we may speculate on their causes. Yet it is quite true that it is very difficult in some cases to distinguish the family to which a particular reading belongs, because the characteristics of its text may be equally divided between two classes. Or they may be so slightly marked, that it is almost impossible to detect the family with which it should be associated. The marks of its relationship may be so obscurely defined as to make it a very nice and subtle question to determine its appropriate recension. It is also true that no one MS., or version, or father, exhibits a recension in a pure state; but that each form of the text appears more or less corrupted. It is manifest, moreover, to every scholar, that the doctrines of the classifiers have been incautiously applied. Still we are scarcely prepared as yet to set aside the whole matter as one of ingenuity rather than of truth. And yet the various attempts to erect such systems have been hitherto so unsatisfactory and unsuccessful, that we need not be surprised if men generally be inclined, at no great distance of time, to look upon these fine-spun and gossamer webs as quite airy and unsubstantial. We would not much marvel, if the prevailing sentiments on this subject be in a few years those now entertained by Dr. Lee and Mr. Penn, who have spoken of it as one of speculation or rather of nibility. Its intricacy and obscurity may afterwards lead the majority of critics to cast it aside as unworthy of their sober regard. The classes are so much blended, that it becomes a matter of difficulty to disentangle them in particular instances. Hence its subtlety and minuteness may lead scholars to view it as utterly futile. There is a presumption in favour of such a result. Posterity may be amused with the ingenious speculations of their predecessors respecting the various readings of the New Testament. I am not prepared, however, at present, to go so far as Dr. Lee or Mr. Penn. Their language is too strong. The former says, "*Ingeniosae illae familiarum fabricae, uti mihi videtur, in unum tantummodo finem feliciter extructae sunt; ut sc. rem in seipsâ haud valdè obscuram, tenebris Ægyptiacis obscuriorem reddant; Editoresque eos, qui se omnia rem acu tetigisse putent supra mortaliū labendi statum, nescio quantum, evehere.*" (Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott, p. 61.) The latter thus speaks, "The

diversities resulting from all these causes, gradually but continually multiplying through several ages of transcription, in different and distant countries, produced, at length, texts characteristically differing from each other, and from the most ancient surviving text; and the innate propensity of the mind, to clear its notions by endeavouring to reduce its confused ideas to systematical arrangement, prompted some late learned critics to persuade themselves that they had discovered, in the chaos of various readings, certain fixed marks or tokens, by which they could be reduced into true *classes* or *orders*." (Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant, preface, p. 37). I cannot relish this language in all its force. In so important an undertaking as the establishment of a pure text, it facilitates much the labour of an editor to classify and arrange MSS., versions, and quotations, so as to be able to decide without much hesitation on the claims of a particular reading. In the formation of a standard text, it is useful to lay some such foundation. At present, I abide by the twofold division of Scholz, without placing any reliance on his historical proofs of the superiority of the Constantinopolitan to the Alexandrine family. I prefer the latter, *ceteris paribus*. It is more ancient, more valuable, less adulterated—at least so it seems to me. At the same time, I believe, that the data for classifying the documents, containing the text of the New Testament, are quite insufficient to establish any system; and that, therefore, we are to regard the subject, though so much canvassed, as still unsettled and likely to be so.

Having thus given a brief account of the text of the New Testament in its unprinted state, we pass to the history of the printed text and the critical treatment it has received.

The New Testament was not printed so early as the Hebrew Bible and the Vulgate, because the influence of the papacy was unfavourable to the circulation of the original text. The *whole* of the New Testament (for different portions had been published before), was first *printed* in the Complutensian Polyglott 1514, though it was not *published* till 1517. Germany has the merit of having issued the first Greek Testament printed in 1516 at Basel, under the superintendence of Erasmus. These two editions were published independently of each other. They constitute the basis of the *received text*, and the source of all subsequent impressions. It is to be regretted that the best critical materials were not applied in their preparation; but we are to

remember the state of sacred learning at the time, and the scanty sources of criticism accessible to the Biblical scholar. The editors, indeed, of the Complutensian Polyglott, in their preface, boast of their having made use of MSS. in the Vatican library, but they give no description of them; and the probability is that they were modern, because the Complutensian text so often opposes the testimony of the older and more valuable documents. The editors have been accused, not without reason, of having altered many places agreeably to the Vulgate. Indeed, it is almost certain, that they borrowed 1 John v. 7 from their favourite version. We know, too, from actual collation, that the codex Vaticanus, *i. e.* B, was not in the number of those used by the editors, a circumstance that casts suspicion on the boast that they had received very ancient and valuable codices from Rome. Erasmus again, used as the basis of his edition, four Greek MSS. not older than the 12th century, and two of them *Latinising* ones. In the Apocalypse he had one more ancient than any of those from which he edited the other parts of the Greek Testament. But he did not confine himself wholly to these materials in preparing the text; for he occasionally altered from the Vulgate, and from critical conjecture. In the year 1519 appeared his second edition, in 1522 the third, in 1527 the fourth, and in 1535 the fifth. The text was altered in all of these subsequent impressions. The passage, 1 John v. 7, was first admitted into the third edition, on the authority of the codex Montfortii, and is consequently wanting in the early editions of Luther's translation, which followed the second of Erasmus. In the last two editions, Erasmus made great use of the Complutensian Polyglott, especially in the book of Revelation. These are the two impressions whose influence has been very great in all subsequently published. Their text was repeated, with alterations by several editors whom it is unnecessary to mention. The third place among the early editors of the Greek Testament has been assigned to the celebrated Robert Stephens, whose first edition was printed at Paris 1546, 16mo, chiefly taken from the Complutensian, and usually designated the *mirifica* edition from the commencement of the preface. The second edition was published in 1549. In the third, 1550, in folio, called the *regia* or royal edition, he followed the 5th of Erasmus, with which he compared fifteen MSS. and the Complutensian Polyglott, marking the variations in the margin. In 1551 appeared another edition, ac-

accompanied by the Vulgate, and the translation of Erasmus, and remarkable as being the first into which the division of verses was introduced. The next person who contributed to the criticism of the Greek Testament was Theodore Beza, who had fled from France to Switzerland on account of his religion, where he became the disciple and successor of the famous Calvin. The text of his first edition, 1565, folio, was the same as that in the third of Stephens, altered in about fifty places, accompanied with the Vulgate, a Latin translation of his own, and exegetical remarks. In his second edition, 1582, he had the advantage of the Syriac version and two ancient MSS., viz. codd. Claromontanus and Cantabrigiensis. A third impression appeared in 1589, and a fourth in 1598. All of these differ from each other, and contributed more than any other editions to the settlement of a *received text*. The Elzevir editions contain partly the text of the third of Stephens and partly that of Beza. The first appeared at Leyden 1624. The editor's name is still unknown, and therefore the impression goes by the name of the printer. The second edition of 1633 proclaims its text to be the *textus receptus*, which it afterwards became. Subsequently, three other editions issued from the same press. The editor does not appear to have consulted any Greek MSS., for his readings are to be found either in Beza or Stephens. This edition was soon reprinted and circulated through different countries with little variation. Thus was the common text, regarded though it be by many as almost inspired in all its words, prepared from very few materials, and these not the most ancient or valuable. Critical conjecture contributed its share to its formation; and arbitrary alterations, originating in the minds of the early editors or adopted from the corrupt Vulgate, were unscrupulously introduced. And yet a text so faulty and defective in accuracy as it must necessarily be from the circumstances of the times, and the conduct of the editors, continued for a long time to gather around it that sanctity which ignorance at first attached to it, and which even the learned had subsequently joined in not refusing. In progress of time, however, the want of a better and more correct edition was felt, when the critical apparatus had accumulated by the labours and researches of subsequent editors, and when they ventured at length to apply a reforming hand to the text that had long possessed so great authority.

Brian Walton, celebrated as the editor of the London Poly-

glott, gave a more copious collection of various readings than had before appeared. This was farther enlarged by John Fell, in his edition, published at Oxford, 1675, and reprinted by Gregory in 1703. Here it has been said that the infancy of the criticism of the Greek Testament ends, and the period of its manhood commences.

Dr. John Mill, encouraged and supported by Bishop Fell, gave to the world a new edition in 1705, Oxford, in folio. The text is that of Stephens' third edition. In it the editor gave from Gregory's MSS. a much greater number of readings than is to be found in any former edition. The extracts that had been made from ancient versions he revised and increased, selecting with his own hand very many from the oriental translations in the London Polyglott. Nor did he neglect quotations from the ancient fathers. To his work he prefixed learned prolegomena. It is said that it contains not less than 30,000 various readings, a circumstance which exposed him to many attacks, as though his work had a tendency to undermine the authority of the Christian religion. Ludolph Kuster reprinted Mill's Greek Testament at Amsterdam in 1710, enriching it with the readings of twelve additional MSS. The first attempt to amend the *textus receptus* was made by John Albert Bengel abbot of Alpispach, in Wirtemberg. His edition appeared at Tübingen, in quarto, 1734, to which was prefixed his "Introductio in crisin Novi Testamenti," containing his system of recensions. Subjoined to it is an *apparatus criticus*, containing his collection of various readings, which was chiefly taken from Mill, with important additions. In the text he imposed upon himself the singular law not to give any thing that had not been already printed. In the Apocalypse, however, he sometimes took the liberty of inserting readings that had not been printed before.

John James Wetstein also contributed in no small degree to the advancement of sacred criticism, by his large and celebrated edition of the Greek Testament, published at Amsterdam in 1751-52, 2 vols. folio. In 1730 he had published *prolegomena*. Though it was his wish to give a new and corrected text, yet various circumstances compelled him to give the *textus receptus*. But he noted partly in the text itself by a particular mark, shewing a proposed omission, and partly in the inner margin, immediately below the text, such readings as he preferred. His collection of various readings, with their respective authorities, ex-

ceeds all former works of the same kind in copiousness and value. He corrected and enlarged the extracts given by Mill, adding to them those of Bengel; collated anew many MSS. that had been superficially examined; gave extracts from many others for the first time, and made use of the Harclean version, hitherto uncollated. He marked the uncial MSS. with the letters of the alphabet for convenience, and the cursive with numerical letters, in which he has been followed by almost all subsequent editors. His exegetical notes have justly subjected him to the charge of partiality. They consist principally of extracts from Greek, Latin, and Jewish writers, quoted for the purpose of throwing light on the meaning of the text. They are often useless and inappropriate, having little reference to the passage for whose elucidation they are adduced, and contributing nothing to its right interpretation. This edition of the Greek Testament is indispensable to all who are conversant with sacred criticism; and will always remain a lasting and marvellous monument of indomitable energy and unwearied diligence, united to an extent of philological learning rarely surpassed by any single man. The editor does not seem to have taken up the idea of Bengel respecting *recensions*, or *families*. This has been supposed by many to detract from the high value of the work. The prolegomena contain a treasure of critical learning that will always be prized by the biblical scholar. They were republished by Semler, and furnished with valuable notes by the editor. As a theologian, Wetstein is accused of having entertained Socinian sentiments; from which charge his notes show that he is not free. His peculiar creed, however, does not appear to have influenced his statement of the evidence for a particular reading. As a critic, his judgment is generally unbiassed, and his decisions sound. In 1763 Mr. Bowyer, a printer in London, published the Greek Testament in two volumes 12mo, containing a text such as Wetstein recommended.

We come now to speak of a scholar who is pre-eminently distinguished in the history of the New Testament criticism, Dr. John James Griesbach. He enlarged and enriched the store of materials collected by Wetstein, with new and important additions, by collating MSS., versions, and early ecclesiastical writers especially Origen, with great industry and labour. The idea of *families* or *recensions* in the materials of the New Testament, recommended by Bengel and Semler, he adopted and car-

ried out with much acuteness, nice discrimination, and considerable success. His first edition appeared at Halle, 1774-75, in two volumes. The three first gospels were synoptically arranged; but afterwards in 1777 he published them in their natural and usual order. The common text is altered according to the judgment of the editor, founded on a comparison of the documents which he possessed. Nothing has been changed from conjecture, and nothing adopted into the text on the sole authority of versions and quotations in ancient writers, without the sanction of MSS. A select number of various readings is placed beneath the text. In his *symbolæ criticæ*, Halle, 1785-93, 2 vols. he gave an account of his critical labours, and the collations of new authorities he had made. Such was the commencement of Griesbach's researches—the first fruits of those literary labours which constitute the most important æra in the history of Scripture criticism.

Between the years 1782—88, Christian Frederick Matthæi, Professor at Moscow, published a new edition of the Greek Testament, in 12 vols. 8vo. His text comes very near the *received*, and was chiefly founded on the collation of more than a hundred Moscow MSS., which he was the first to examine. It is accompanied with the Vulgate, with scholia, and *excursus*. The editor avowed himself the enemy of the recension system; the despiser of the ancient MSS., especially the cod. Cantab., and of the quotations of the fathers. He exhibited an undue predilection for the junior Moscow documents; and spoke in an unwarrantable tone of severity of Griesbach and others. His merits consist solely in his having collated many new MSS. with great care, and having thus augmented the materials that might serve in other hands the important purpose of producing a correct and pure text. Before the completion of his edition appeared that of Alter in 1786—87; 2 vols. The text is that of the Vienna MS., with which he collated 22 others in the Imperial library, noting their various readings. To these he added readings from the Coptic, Slavonian, and Latin versions. The objection to this edition is that it contains the text of a single MS. of inconsiderable value. In 1788, Professor Birch of Copenhagen farther enlarged the province of sacred criticism by his splendid edition of the four gospels in folio and quarto. The text is merely a reprint of the third edition of Stephens; but the materials with which the edition is furnished are peculiarly valuable. They consist of extracts taken by himself and Moldenhauer, in

their critical travels, from numerous MSS. which had not been examined by Wetstein; and of Adler's selections from the Jerusalem-Syriac version, discovered in the Vatican library. Birch was the first who carefully collated the celebrated *codex Vaticanus*, or B, a circumstance that chiefly added to the great value of his edition. The publication of the second volume was prevented by a great fire at Copenhagen that destroyed many of the materials and put a stop to the work. But, in 1798, he gave to the world his collection of various readings on the remaining parts of the New Testament, except the Apocalypse. In 1800, he published those relating to this book also, thus completing the work which he had undertaken. These were the new sources possessed by Griesbach, in addition to such as he had formerly examined. Such was the copious collection of critical materials existing, when he began to prepare his second edition. His object was not to supersede the labours of Wetstein, nor to exhibit all the readings contained in that expensive and now rare edition; but he wished to furnish students with a convenient and portable edition of the Greek Testament, provided with such a critical apparatus as would be adequate to give them a correct idea of the state of the text. He selected, therefore, the most important readings. For the new edition he made extracts from the Armenian, Slavonic, Latin, Sahidic, Coptic, and other translations, and from early ecclesiastical writers; besides incorporating into his collection the results of the labours of Matthaei, Alter, and Birch, already described. In 1796 appeared the first volume, containing the four gospels; and, in 1806, the second, both published at Halle. At the end of the second volume he has a dissertation on 1 John v. 7. The work was reprinted at London 1809, and again in 1818. The very valuable prolegomena prefixed to it may be well styled a storehouse of information respecting the history of the text, and the principal materials that must be employed in correcting it. The work is indispensable to every critic and sacred interpreter; and will always form a necessary part of the library of a learned divine. None can satisfactorily or thoroughly pursue his studies without it.

In the year 1827, many new materials having been procured since the date of Griesbach's second edition, it was deemed necessary to publish a third, the superintendence of which was undertaken by Dr. Schulz. The first volume was published at Berlin 1827, containing the prolegomena and gospels. This

edition contains various readings from nearly 20 new sources, many corrections of Griesbach's references and citations, besides considerable improvements in other respects, which need not be minutely specified. The second volume never appeared.

Passing over the minor editions of Dr. Knapp of Halle, first printed in 1797, and several times reprinted, of Schott, Tittman, and Vater, all of which were chiefly taken from Griesbach, we proceed to notice the last great critical edition of the Greek Testament which has appeared, viz. that of Dr. J. Martin Augustus Scholz, one of the Roman Catholic professors at Bonn. The first volume was published in 1830, 4to, containing the gospels; and the second in 1836, completing the work. This edition is founded on a different system of recensions from that of Griesbach, which it was doubtless intended to rival and supersede. In collecting materials for the work, he spent 12 years of incessant labour. He informs us that he visited in person the libraries of Paris, Vienna, Landshut, Munich, Trèves, Berlin, London, Geneva, Turin, Florence, Venice, Parma, Rome, Naples, the libraries of the Greek monasteries at Jerusalem, of St. Saba, and the isle of Patmos, collating either wholly or in part all the MSS. of the New Testament in those libraries, and comparing them with Griesbach's text. He also examined the ancient versions, and the passages cited by the fathers and in the acts of councils. The prolegomena prefixed to the work consisting of 172 quarto pages contain ample information respecting all the codices, versions, fathers, and councils, which have been used as authorities, together with a history of the text, and an exposition or defence of his peculiar system of classification. The text is accompanied, in the inner margin, with the general readings characteristic of the three great families, whilst the outer margin is similar to that of Griesbach's edition. The total number of MSS. which he has added to those previously collated is 606; and though we may hesitate to rely on the accuracy of the extracts which he has given for the first time, yet he deserves the thanks of every critic for the many interesting documents he has brought to light.

His researches have restored several readings which Griesbach had expunged from the text; and have raised the *textus receptus* higher in reputation than Griesbach's labours placed it. In consequence of his preference of the Constantinopolitan family, he has given a text which comes much nearer the Elzevir edition

than Griesbach's ; and, in a few important passages, we must say that he has exhibited the true reading where his distinguished predecessor, in opposition to his own testimonies and authorities, strangely altered the ancient form of a passage. The learned world is deeply indebted to this laborious editor for the valuable work which he has published. The materials which he has put within the reach of those who would investigate for themselves the vast apparatus with a view of eliciting the genuine and primitive readings, are abundant. Notwithstanding the great merit of his predecessor, and the danger to his own reputation of following in the same path, he has gained for himself an imperishable name among the promoters of Scripture criticism. Though we cannot look upon him as equally sagacious, acute, and judicious, with Griesbach—though he may be inferior in all the qualifications that constitute an accomplished editor of the Greek Testament, yet we are not insensible to his merits as a laborious and diligent scholar. He has put us in possession of so many helps and means of correction, that we need not often be at a loss to decide upon the authenticity of a phrase, or the spuriousness of a word. But his collations appear to have been cursory, and consequently superficial. They cannot always be depended on. We know too from his notes that he has sometimes implicitly copied Griesbach's words, even when they lead to a result different from his own. What influence this edition may exercise on the public mind it is yet impossible to say. It has been welcomed with avidity by many ; and has, we fear, been too highly extolled by those who have never studied the principles on which the text is formed, or read with attention some of the collations he gives. That it will completely supersede Griesbach's I cannot believe, though in a few important passages I am inclined to prefer the readings it exhibits. One thing is pretty certain, that it will never command the confidence of the Protestant critics in Germany, or be regarded by them as the production of a man in all respects qualified to undertake so Herculean a task. And should it supplant Griesbach's edition in our own country, we will probably find that this will be owing to the partiality of the editor for the Constantinopolitan text, rather than to its intrinsic merit, or to the truth of his peculiar system. I cannot believe, however, that those who are fully capable of giving a calm and unprejudiced decision, will ever consent to place the Byzantine family on an equality with another confessedly more ancient ; or that the in-

ternal goodness of one document may not sometimes render it equivalent to a number of inferior codices which are merely the repetitions of each other. The few great biblical scholars, who guide the opinions of the many, will probably scruple to adopt the entire system of Scholz; though they may occasionally prefer his text to that of Griesbach, because the authorities of the latter sometimes lead to a different conclusion from that which he has himself drawn.

The small edition of C. Lachmann, recently published at Berlin, 1831, 12mo, deserves to be mentioned. The editor says, that "he has no where followed his own judgment, but *the usage of the Oriental churches*. So often as he has found this not to be consistent, he has as far as possible been guided by the agreement of the Italian and African churches." He has noted the diversities of the *textus receptus* from his own at the end of the volume. Thus the judgment of this scholar coincides in some measure with that of Scholz, in exalting the Oriental above the Western recension. Opposed then as he is to Griesbach's system, it is still a subject of controversy whether the Oriental or Occidental MSS. be of the highest and best authority. This edition has met with some success on the continent; for the author has been encouraged to undertake a new and large work with a full apparatus. Whether he may be able to establish his opinions as to the criticism of the text on a sure and immovable basis, we know not; but it is certain that in Germany, where there are many scholars able to decide on such matters, a number have acceded to his views. De Wette, in particular, in the last edition of his *Einleitung*, (introduction) shews a leaning towards the views of Matthæi, Scholz, Lachmann, and Rink, all of whom agree in substance in preferring the Oriental MSS. De Wette, however, seems to me not always deliberate in weighing the opinions of others. Hence his fluctuating sentiments.

Having thus given a history of the text of the whole Bible, printed and unprinted, and having shown the attempts made to restore it to its genuine purity, it remains for me to say a few words on all that criticism has accomplished. The result of it has been to establish the genuineness of the Old and New Testament texts in all matters of any importance. No new doctrines have been elicited by its aid—no historical facts have been summoned forth from their obscurity by means of it. All the doctrines and duties remain unaffected. Of

what utility then has it been to the world? why all the labour and prodigious industry expended? have all the researches of modern criticism been thrown away? We believe they have not. They have proved that there is no material corruption in the records of inspiration. They have shewn in the most successful manner, that, during the lapse of so many centuries, the text of the Holy Scriptures has been preserved in a surprising degree of purity; and that it has not been extensively tampered with by bold and daring hands. We discover that it is very nearly in the same state as that in which it was found 1700 years ago. The German critics with their immense researches have not been able to shew that the common text varies in any matter of serious moment from that which they recommend. It is substantially the same as their own proposed texts, and entitled to as much attention, until they establish to the satisfaction of the great body of thinking men, the changes which they wish to make. Thus has criticism built a basis on which we may securely rest our faith. It has taught us to view the Scriptures, as we now have them, in the light of *the infallible word of God*. We may boldly challenge the opponent of the Bible to shew that this book has been materially corrupted. Empowered and emboldened by the fruits of criticism, we may well say, that the Holy Scriptures remain essentially the same as they originally proceeded from the writers. We need not, therefore, be under any alarm when we hear of the vast collection of various readings accumulated by the collators of MSS., and by the critical editors of the Bible. They are in general of a trifling nature, resembling the differences of orthography, that we find in the writings of different authors, and the varieties of collocation in which the varying taste of writers puts the same words. Confident, therefore, of the general integrity of our religious records, we can look upon upwards of 100,000 various readings in the New Testament alone, without alarm, since they are so very unimportant as not to affect our belief. I thank my God that I am thus assured of the immovable ground of my faith, and that I am able to walk without apprehension over that sacred field which he has given me to contemplate and to explore, as his own glorious and gracious production. My faith in the integrity of his word is not a blind or superstitious principle, when I perceive, that all the results of learning incontestably shew, that the Bible, as we have it at present, may be regarded as the sacred gift of heaven,

whose spuriousness no effort of infidelity can expect to demonstrate. Let the illiterate and plain reader of the Bible also take comfort to himself when he learns, that the received text to which he is accustomed, is substantially the same as that which men of the greatest learning, the most unwearied diligence, and the severest habits of study, have elicited from a prodigious heap of documents. Let him go forward with a heart grateful to the God of salvation, who has put him in possession of the same text as is possessed by the great biblical editors, whose names are so well known in the literature of the Scriptures.

“Of the various readings of the New Testament,” says Mr. Norton, and similar remarks hold good of the Old Testament, “nineteen out of twenty, at least, are to be dismissed at once from consideration,—not on account of their intrinsic unimportance,—that is a separate consideration,—but because they are found in so few authorities, and their origin is so easily explained, that no critic would regard them as having any claim to be inserted in the text. Of those which remain, a very great majority are entirely unimportant. They consist in different modes of spelling; in different tenses of the same verb, or different cases of the same noun, not affecting the essential meaning; in the use of the singular for the plural, or the plural for the singular, where one or the other expression is equally suitable; in the insertion or omission of particles, such as *α* and *δ*, not affecting the sense, or of the article in cases equally unimportant; in the introduction of a proper name, where, if not inserted, the personal pronoun is to be understood, or of some other word or words expressive of a sense which would be distinctly implied without them; in the addition of “Jesus” to “Christ,” or “Christ” to “Jesus;” in the substitution of one synonymous or equivalent term for another; in the transposition of words, leaving their signification the same; in the use of an uncompounded verb, or of the same verb compounded with a preposition, the latter differing from the former only in a shade of meaning. Such various readings, and others equally unimportant, compose far the greater part of all, concerning which there may be or has been a question, whether they are to be admitted into the text or not, and it is therefore obviously of no consequence in which way the question has been or may be determined.” (Genuineness of the Gospels, additional Notes, pp. 38, 39.)

LECTURE XXI.

THE DIVISIONS AND MARKS OF DISTINCTION IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND GREEK TESTAMENT.

THE next subject which naturally comes before us is, the divisions and marks of distinction of the Hebrew Bible, and Greek Testament.

First, we will speak of *the Hebrew text*. The largest and most ancient division of the Old Testament, which must have been contemporaneous with the completion of the canon, is into three parts, the law, the prophets, and the holy writings, תּוֹרָה *torah*, נְבִיאִים *nebiim*, and כְּתוּבִים *cethubim*. These are referred to by Jesus the Son of Sirach, in the prologue, when he speaks of “the law, the prophets, and the rest of the books;” and by our Saviour in Luke xxiv. 44, where by “the Psalms” is meant not merely the book which bears that name in the Scriptures, but all books except those included in *the law* and *the prophets*. *The law* comprehended the five books of Moses. *The prophets* were subdivided into נְבִיאִים רִשׁוֹנִים (*nebiim rishonim*), *the former prophets*, viz. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and נְבִיאִים אַחֲרֹנִים (*nebiim acharonim*) *later prophets*. The latter again were divided into גְּדוֹלִים (*gedolim*), *greater prophets*, viz. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel; and קְטַנִּים (*Ketannim*), *lesser prophets*, of which there are twelve. The appellation *cethubim* was afterwards translated by γραφαῖα and ἀγιόγραφα. Among the *cethubim* were the five *megilloth*, (Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Samuel, Esther), and the *poetical books*, (Job, Proverbs, and Psalms.) The rest are Daniel, Esra, Nehemiah, Chronicles. All Christians, however, have placed Daniel among the prophets, as is done in the

Septuagint translation. In the arrangement of the individual books, the Seventy, the fathers, and our English translators, differ from the Jews. Among the Jews themselves there is not strict uniformity in this particular. The Talmudists and Masoretes, as also the German and Spanish MSS., differ from one another. The German copies follow the Talmud, the Spanish the Masora. In the former, the Hagiographa stand in the following order: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Esra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles: but in the Spanish they are differently placed, viz. Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Esra, Nehemiah.

It is not to be supposed, however, that all Hebrew MSS. contain even the whole of the division called *Hagiographa*.

It is now generally admitted that the Old Testament text was originally without the vowel points, diacritical marks, and accents. The division into words also was not originally employed, though it is highly probable that it originated at the time when the square character came into use. When the single letters were regularly separated at equal intervals, it is natural to suppose, that two words were more widely separated than two single letters. On the stone of Carpentras, a monument of the old Aramaean writing, we meet with such intervals, as well as in the most ancient Syriac MSS. In this way, MSS. in the Hebrew square character, by spacing between the first and last letters of two successive words, avoided the use of points in the text, to serve a similar purpose. Yet if we are to judge from the analogy of other languages, it would appear that such an interpunction preceded the separation of letters into words, which we suppose to have been first made when the square character became general. The oldest Greek and Latin inscriptions and MSS. present such interpunction; and it is probable that it came from the east. The Phenician inscriptions also contain a division of words made by points; and the Samaritan has a like interpunction. If, therefore, we are to look to the analogy of the modes of writing practised by other nations who may have derived them from the east, it cannot but appear probable, that the ancient Hebrew MSS. had the same method of dividing words. The *final letters* are intimately connected with the spaces left for dividing words in the text, though they were not themselves intended to mark such a separation. When room

was left between two words, scope was afforded for a freer tracing of the final letter.

The verses and the interpunction are in Hebrew denoted by the accents. It is highly probable that these marks of accentuation were originally of a rythmical kind ; but as the sense is so closely connected with the rythm, they came also to mark the interpunction, and to distinguish verses. But it would seem that the division itself into certain periods, verses, and half verses, is older than the accents by which it was afterwards pointed out. Such divisions were probably attended to at first in the public reading of the Old Testament, and were afterwards fixed by written signs, so as to lose their previously fluctuating character. If this account be correct, then the present *marked division* into verses, made at the time of the vowel-system by the Masoretes, is more than a thousand years old.

The verses called פסוקים *pesukim*, mentioned by the Talmud, are different from those now in use, as we may convince ourselves by comparing the numbers in the Talmud with those at the end of the several books in our present editions. Jerome divided the prophetic and poetical books into *cola* and *commata*, *i. e.* larger and smaller sections ; and the historical books into *cola*. This he did, according to his own words, for the convenience of the reader and the eliciting of the sense. Perhaps the *pesukim* of the Talmud were similar to these sections made by Jerome. The poetical books were also written in *lines* (στίχοι) in the translation of the Seventy, and the Vetus Itala, just as they appear in some old MSS. still extant. The *marking* of the verses with *numbers* was a comparatively modern invention. Robert Stephens introduced it into the Vulgate in 1548 ; and in 1557 it appeared, for the first time, in an edition of the Pentateuch, and afterwards throughout the whole of Athias' edition, 1661.

The modern division into chapters is of Christian origin, and first appeared in the edition of the printed text by Daniel Bomberg, 1525, from which time it was continued among the Jews. Like that of the New Testament, it might have been more judiciously made ; but it is needless to complain of what cannot now be remedied. It is supposed to have proceeded in the thirteenth century from those scholastic divines who, along with Cardinal Hugo, were the authors of a concordance. By others it is ascribed to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, about 1220. Before the introduction of chapters, some inconvenience was felt

in the matter of quotation and reference. A section or paragraph was alluded to by some principal word in it, or by the chief thing which it contained. So Philo, de Agriculturâ, p. 203, writes, *λέγει γὰρ (ὁ νόμος) ἐν ταῖς ἄραις*. "in the curses." Deuteron. xxviii. So Aben Esra, on Hosea iv. 18, says, "it is written in Eli;" and Rashi, on Hosea ix. 9, "it is Gibeon in the concubine." Judges xix—xxi. In the New Testament, quotations are sometimes made in this Rabbinical mode. So Mark xii. 26, "have ye not read in the book of Moses *in the bush*," *i. e.* the section relating to the bush; see Exodus third chapter. Romans xi. 2, "wot ye not what the Scripture saith in Elias," *i. e.* the part relating to Elias. See 1 Kings xvii—xix.

The Masorettes sometimes divided the text into סדרים *sedarim* סימנים and *simanim* (σημεῖα) but these differ from our present chapters. So also the *capitula* of Jerome containing paragraphs made with reference to the sense, like the *tituli* and *breves* of the Latin version.

The lessons appointed to be read in the synagogue on the Sabbath day have received the name of פרשיות *parshioth* or *parashoth* in the Pentateuch, and הפטרות *haphtaroth* in the prophets. The Pentateuch is divided into 54 larger *parashoth*, according to the number of Sabbaths in an intercalary year; but they are subdivided into smaller portions for the sake of convenience, which are usually designated by the same title. Such as begin a new line are called פתוחות *pethuchoth*, *open*; while those that commence in the middle of a line are denominated סתומות *sethumoth*, *close*. Hence the larger are marked by the letter *Pe* thrice repeated, or samech thrice repeated, according as they are *open* or *closed* sections; the smaller with *pe* or *samech*. The time of their introduction cannot be discovered; but it is not probable that they are as old as the custom of publicly reading the law in the synagogue. They are mentioned in the Talmud, but Jerome takes no notice of them. A section from the prophets was usually read after a *parash* from the law. The origin of reading the prophets in this public manner is generally attributed to the interdict of Antiochus Epiphanes who forbade the reading of the law. This account of the rise and custom is of very questionable credit. It was first given, as far as we have been able to trace, by Elias Levita. De Wette justly characterises it as an "unhappy conjecture," (eine unglückliche Vermuthung). With greater probability, Vitringa conceived that when the Jews had been freed from severe persecutions by means of the Maccabees, they endeavoured to improve the

character of their worship, by adding portions from the prophets to those of the law. It prevailed in the time of Christ, as we see in the New Testament, (Acts xiii. 15 ; Luke iv. 16,) but there were no definite appointed portions at that time assigned to particular days. The word *haphtarah* signifies *dismission*, because it concluded the Sabbath day's service. It may be remarked that the *haphtaroth*, do not embrace the *whole* of the prophets, as the *parashoth* do the books of Moses, but merely selected portions.

Of the different divisions of the Greek Testament.—The largest division of the New Testament was into the gospels (τὸ εὐαγγελικόν), and the epistles (τὸ ἀποστολικόν) to which the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse were attached. The apostolical epistles were afterwards subdivided into the *Pauline* and *Catholic* epistles.

The text is supposed to have been originally written in one continued line, without punctuation, and without distinction of words, sentences, or paragraphs. Accents, spirits, and iota subscribed, were also absent. But the inconveniences of this mode of writing were easily perceived, and remedies were accordingly applied to remove, or at least to lessen them. About the year 462 Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, divided the text of the Acts of the Apostles into *στίχοι* or lines, containing just so many words as were to be read uninterruptedly. Of his procedure in the gospels we have no account. The reckoning of *στίχοι* is denominated *stichometry*; and the copy furnished by Euthalius, with such a distinction, was called a *stichometrical* one. This mode of writing still exists in the most ancient MSS. of the New Testament. In order to save the space necessarily lost by stichometry, the *στίχοι* were afterwards divided by points. This is observable in K. or codex Cyprius. With regard to the *σημασα* which we find mentioned, they were perhaps the *στίχοι* under another name. One thing is certain, that both were sometimes counted at the end of MSS., and that their number is not very different. The accents are considered to be more ancient than the *στίχοι*, but Euthalius first brought them into general use in his stichometrical edition. From stichometry gradually arose a system of regular punctuation, such as we find commonly adopted in the 10th century. Different, however, is our present system, which was not firmly established till the 16th century. Iota subscript was introduced with the cursive writing in the 10th century, but it was often written by the side of other letters, even after that time. The gospels were anciently divided into *κεφάλαια*.

*The following is a Specimen of Stichometry
from the Codex Cantab. Acts of Apostles, I. 1.*

**ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΗΝ
ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΩΣ ΟΦΙΛΕ
ΩΝ ΗΡΞΑΤΟ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΙΝ ΤΕ
ΚΑΙ ΙΑΔΑΣΚΕΙΝ ΑΣΧΡΗΣΗΜΕΡΑΣ
ΑΝΕΛΗΜΦΘΗΝΤΕ ΙΔΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΣΑΠΟΣ ΤΟ ΑΙΟΣ
ΔΙΑ ΠΝΕΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΣ ΕΞΕΛΕΞΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕ
ΚΗΡΥΣΣΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ.**

*The following is a Specimen of Stichometry
so arranged as to save the room of open spaces
so manifest in the other. It is from the Codex
Cyrrenus. Matthew, II. 21. &c.*

Ο δε εγερευς. παρελαβε το παιδιον. και την μητερα αυτου.
και ηλθεν εις γην Ισραηλ. ακουσας δε. οτι Αρχελαος βασιλευει εκει της
Ιουδαίας. αντ Ηρωδου του πατρος αυτου. εφορηθη εκει ακελθειν.

λαια and τίτλοι. The former are smaller sections, and were numbered in the margin; the latter are greater, and were marked on the upper or lower margin. The gospel of Matthew contains 68 τίτλοι and 355 κεφάλαια. Sometimes both are designated by the one appellation κεφάλαια, as we find Theophylact to have done. The larger divisions or τίτλοι, were of later origin than the κεφάλαια; but their precise date, as well as their author, cannot be ascertained. Chrysostom knew nothing of them; in Theophylact they are generally used. Hence it has been supposed that they are not older than the sixth century. The smaller or κεφάλαια, are generally attributed to Eusebius, who, in imitation of the gospel-harmony of Ammonius, projected a harmonical register of the four gospels, into which all the sections relating to the same things were introduced. Ammonius had collected and put together these corresponding sections, and Eusebius merely reckoned them up. Hence they are called the Ammonian-Eusebian sections. Both divisions are found in most MSS. The Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles were also divided into κεφάλαια, which many have ascribed to the invention of Euthalius. From his own language it appears that he merely incorporated them into his own stichometrical edition of the New Testament. But he found them already existing, not only in the epistles of Paul, but also in the Acts of the Apostles, and Catholic epistles. All that he appears to have added to them was the summaries of the contents, which he found already made for the Pauline letters, but which he himself projected in the Acts, and Catholic epistles. These divisions or κεφάλαια, were smaller than our present chapters, since the Acts contained 40, the Epistle to the Romans 19, and that to the Galatians 12. Andreas of Cappadocia divided the Apocalypse into κεφάλαια, of which there were 72; and also into 24 λόγοι. Besides these distinctions of the New Testament, we also meet with others which deserve to be mentioned. The Jews were accustomed to portion out the law and the prophets into chapters, one of which was to be read every Sabbath day. In imitation of this practice, the early Christians, in the public reading of the New Testament, divided the books into lessons, which were read in their assemblies. These were called *ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ* or ἀναγνώσματα, *i. e.* church lessons. The gospels were divided into 57* of these; and the Acts and Epistles into the same number. Thus the whole of the New Testament, except the Apoca-

* Hug says that there were only 56.

lypse, was read through in a year, the four additional pericopes probably serving for four festivals. We observe in some MSS., as in the codex Bezae, the practice of writing these περικοσαι marked by the word *ανάγνωσμα* in the margin with the letter alpha (*ἀρχη*) at the commencement, and tau (*τελος*) at the conclusion. Other copies mark them by the number of the Sabbath to which they belong. The MS. contained at its beginning or end a list of such church-lessons, which was called *συναξάριον*; and when the day was specified on which each was to be read *μηνολόγιον*. Subsequently when the old divisions were shortened and lengthened at pleasure, and when a collection of extracts from the Greek Testament, served the same purposes as the whole book, in the estimation of many, particular MSS. were written, containing nothing but these selections, hence called *εκλογάδια*, and in Latin lectionaria, lectionaries. . When they consisted of portions of the gospels only, they received the name of *εὐαγγελιστήρια*, evangelistaria; and when they were taken from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, *πραξαπόστολοι* praxapostoli. The Greeks, however, adhered to the more ancient divisions till the eighth century, though the Latins adopted the more modern, even at the end of the fifth; probably because the old division did not correspond to the increasing number of their festival days. The present division into verses proceeded from Robert Stephens, who introduced it into his edition of 1551. It was made by him, as his son Henry tells us, *inter equitandum*, by which is meant, according to Michaelis, that when he was weary of riding, he amused himself with this work at his inn. It is obvious that it admits of great improvement. The division of chapters now in use is generally ascribed to Hugo a St. Caro, in the 13th century, who published a *biblia cum postilla*. Like the division into verses, it might be considerably improved, as it often breaks the connexion of an argument or discourse. With regard to the titles and subscriptions of the separate books of the New Testament, it is certain that they form no part of the inspired writings. They are to be regarded as later additions to the authentic text. The titles vary in different MSS., for example *τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον* and *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον*. The Evangelists may, indeed, have prefixed the single word *εὐαγγέλιον* to their gospels, but the phrases *κατὰ Ματθαῖον*, *κατὰ Λουκᾶν*, &c. were afterwards added. They were prefixed to the different gospels and epistles after the canon had been formed, to distinguish the compositions of the respective

writers, and were in use as early as the time of Tertullian, Irenaeus, and Clement of Alexandria. The subscriptions were originally nothing more than repetitions of the titles; the place and circumstances in which the individual books were written were subsequently added from tradition and conjecture. Their human origin is manifest from their frequent inaccuracies. The form in which they appear at present is derived from Euthalius of Alexandria, who borrowed them from the *synopsis of sacred scripture* attributed to Athanasius, and introduced them into his stichometrical edition of the Greek Testament.

LECTURE XXII.

NATURE OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

IN entering upon this subject I might occupy myself with a preliminary inquiry concerning the *antiquity* of the Hebrew language. Whether it was the *original language* of mankind is a question that has been frequently discussed at considerable length. There was a time when "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech;" and it is an interesting inquiry to trace the relation between this universal language and that dialect which was afterwards spoken by Abraham and his posterity. That there was an intimate connection between the original language of men and that afterwards called the Hebrew, is supported by all the evidence that can be obtained on such a question. From all the considerations we are able to bring together, we are led to believe that the dialect of the Israelites was substantially the same with that of the original parents of mankind. As far as we are able to judge from historical data, there was only one language spoken in Western Asia, among the different dialects of which the Hebrew claims the pre-eminence in point of antiquity. It is not my present design to detail the various presumptions which appear to establish with tolerable certainty the truth of the opinion just stated. I pass on to consider the nature of the language itself, as a written dialect; and the various aspects which it presented at different times.

In thus attempting to develop the nature of the Hebrew, we must compare it with its kindred dialects to perceive the points of resemblance existing between them. Its features are to be traced in the alterations it has successively undergone, or as they still bear the impress of its early origin; and by contrasting them with those of the Shemitish languages we will better perceive the peculiarities of the Hebrew no less than its high claims to great antiquity. It must be evident to all that this dialect is limited in *forms*, not only in reference to its grammatical structure

and diction, but also to its entire range. Its forms are not developed in the greatest perfection. But this deficiency may be attributed in part to the character of the oriental mind, which regarded the substance itself, rather than the form in which it should be presented. Another consideration should be kept in view as also influencing the genius of the Hebrew language. The tendency of the Jewish literature was exclusively religious. The language must therefore have been in a great measure confined to a particular circle of ideas, to which its modes of expressions were necessarily adapted. The Hebrews attended rather to the idea than to its dress—to the essence of that with which the mind was occupied, more than to the garb in which it was clothed. Hence the form does not seem to be so ductile or willing to follow the ideas as in other languages; neither is the thought so definitely expressed. But although the cultivation and development of this dialect was regarded as a matter of minor importance, yet we are not to suppose that it was destitute of scope for such expansion. On the contrary, it was possessed of the finest facilities for a full and copious development. The Arabic shews how such germs as are contained in the Hebrew might have been nurtured and expanded, so as to exhibit a rich variety of forms, though the latter never reached that high degree of perfection, for which it was so well adapted by its internal character. The roots or primitives of the language are augmented and modified in various ways. When the naked idea contained in the root is coupled in conception with certain minute modifications, the root assumes a certain form suited to each of these shades or variations of signification. Hence arises what is denominated a *stem*, consisting of the root in a state of flexion, as adapted to the delicate distinctions connected with the original simple idea it before implied. In the farther progress of the language the words as they now actually exist, proceeded as *branches* from the stems. Originally all roots were monosyllabic. This was the most ancient mode of writing. Afterwards they became triliteral. As soon as the language began to proceed beyond its rudest and simplest elements, its roots must have been lengthened, and they gradually became triliteral. A few have extended to four firm sounds, and even to five; but the compass of three sounds was the regular fixed limit of augmentation. Hence the roots are almost all triliteral; and it is now impossible to trace them up to their monosyllabic state. It is the province of grammar to explain the ori-

gin and intrinsic force of *forms*; or, in other words, to develop the principle of formation which predominates in the Hebrew and other Shemitish dialects. A few of the biliteral roots still remain, from which we are able to form some idea of the manner in which the trilaterals were constituted. We find that the latter arise from the former with the greatest regularity and consistency. Sometimes the trilaterals are furnished with a firm letter, such as is chiefly calculated to affect the *signification*, or to develop the idea of the word with greater fulness and force. The hissing letters Zayin, Tsade, Samech, and Shin, or their blunted sounds D and T are of this nature. Or, on the other hand, trilaterals have been made from biliteral roots by the addition of a weak letter, such as was intended to assist the euphony or to promote the symmetry. When these qualities were regarded rather than the modifying of the fundamental idea, feeble sounds such as *vau*, *yod*, and the aspirates were employed to increase the stems. As an example of the former, we may adduce the unused root סמל *to be like*, from which comes סמל, *an image*, where the letter samek was joined to the root מל. In משל, the accessory letter of kindred sound is affixed to the same root, in a different position. (Compare in Greek ὁμοιος, in Latin similis). An instance of the latter is exhibited in יטב *to be good*, from the root טב by the prefixing of *yod*. In both cases the primitive elements of the language are apparent; but especially in the latter, when the feeble sounds have been preserved apart from each other. Where they have remained separate and distinct, we observe the external increment of stems more clearly. On comparing the Hebrew with the Aramaean in this particular, we perceive that the former has kept the feeble incremental sounds much more from uniting than the Aramaean. In the latter, they have been blended and mixed together. Hence the complete mingling of the forms *pe yod*, *pe aleph*, and *pe nun*, the two former borrowing from the *pe nun*, and *vice versa*. But in Hebrew, on the contrary, the significations of verbs *pe yod* and *pe nun* are different, as יצר and נצר. In Syriac, again, the verbal forms *pe yod* and *pe vau* more frequently coalesce than in the Hebrew, and *lamed he*, *lamed aleph* have been incorporated into the one form *lamed aleph*. This increase of stems may be farther seen in the *conjugation-system*. Sometimes the *internal* modification of the idea is distinguished by the *internal vocalisation* which adapts itself to the different shades of conception. The

vowels change with regularity and constancy, to mark the distinction of the active and passive, transitive and intransitive ideas. Such a moulding of the original conception of the root is aptly denominated *internal*, because it is made within the verbal stem itself, without external aid. But this main feature of the Hebrew has been almost obliterated in the Aramaean language. There the passive is formed by the addition of external letters, (the syllable *eth*), contrary to the genius of the Semitic languages. Hence the passive and reflex forms coincide in outward aspect. In the Greek language the passive is similarly related to the middle. But there is also an *external* modification of the idea contained in the stem, which is marked by an alteration of the consonants. Thus, in the conjugation *niphal*, a reflexive turn is given to that of the root—whilst in *piel*, by a reduplication of one of the radical sounds, the idea of the root is rendered more intensive. The reason why the reduplication of the second radical in *piel* regularly occurs, is to be found in the principle followed in the intensive forms, of making the verbal stem develop itself by its own intrinsic force. Hence also, when a progressive development was required by the sense, the verbal stem went farther than is exhibited by *piel*. In those verbs called *pluriliterals*, the intension is remarkably strong; but they are of very rare occurrence, having been called forth by peculiar circumstances. In Aramaean, again, a much greater number of intensive forms appears, without marking the idea with the same precision and distinctness as in Hebrew. Even the fundamental feature of the intensive form has there disappeared; for, instead of doubling a radical letter, there is a mere prolongation of the pronunciation, (*pael*). Proceeding in this manner the Aramaean went farther than the Hebrew, causing the primitive mode of making intensive stems in a great measure to disappear. It compensated for the lengthened pronunciation, by the addition of new letters; and thus new forms arose.

From these observations it appears that the Hebrew, as contrasted with the Aramaean, in a grammatical respect, has greater purity. The original elements of the Semitic family of languages are more apparent in the former. It has more steadfastly abided by its primary essential simplicity. The Aramaean exhibits the characteristic genius of the Semitic dialects in a state of degeneracy and decay. It is more impure than the Hebrew, in so far as it has lost its most ancient elements. If we compare again

the Hebrew with the Arabic, it exhibits a deficiency in cultivation and polish, but presents a greater richness in vowels and variety of tones.

Having spoken of the *grammatical character* of the Hebrew language, we shall next refer to the *diction*, in treating of which the etymological character of the language comes before us. The etymology presupposes a *phonetic basis*, or, in other words, the idea intended to be conveyed is inherent in the *sounds*, from which it extends itself in various ways. Such an etymological character is especially prominent in the regular trilateral formation that distinguishes the language. The fundamental idea of the word is essentially inherent in the two fundamental sounds which contain and express it by an onomatopoeia. That this is a true representation, will be evident to those who attentively examine a number of syllables that are resolvable into the expression of one common fundamental idea, which all of them appear to have been originally designed to set forth. These syllables communicating an idea by onomatopoeia, were afterwards combined in various modes, so as to form words apparently different, though in reality containing the same idea. The syllables רר , גב , פע , פר , &c. are of this kind. It is an exceedingly difficult, if not impossible task, to trace back these syllables so as to resolve them into single sounds, and to point out the idea contained in the single letters of which the syllables are composed. This has been indeed attempted, though every one will see the extreme uncertainty of arriving at any satisfactory result in so subtle an analysis. It would appear, besides, an erroneous supposition, that the fundamental idea of a word is inherent in one of the simple sounds of which it is composed. It is only in the combination of two sounds that we consider the idea of the stem to be found. This is the simplest form into which we can resolve the stem, in order to educe from it the idea which it expresses. To attempt, therefore, to find the idea of a word in *one* of the sounds, of which it is at present composed, is not only difficult but impossible; because it is inconsistent with the structure and philosophy of the language. But when the relation of several ideas to one another is intended to be expressed, as is done by the fundamental particles, *vau*, and the prepositions ו , ב and ל , one sound is sufficient to connect them. The case is different with regard to the

verb and noun forming the chief constituents of the language where the radical idea lies in the combination of two sounds, to which a third was subsequently added. The original character, then, of the Hebrew language is manifested in the visible connection between the fundamental idea of a particular word, and the *phonetic* external form which it assumes. There is an intimate union between these two things, which was the result of design. The great ruling principle was onomatopoeia, according to which monosyllabic roots were formed, and in accordance with which they were intended to express particular ideas. The conception is thus essentially associated with its external form. The latter was composed of sounds suited to the nature of the former. Hence the peculiar genius of the language. In consequence of the numerous forms giving so much variety to one fundamental idea, the distinguishing feature to which we have alluded is more easily observed; for the fundamental idea, and its accessory variations, do not consist of single radical words externally put together; but the latter are ranged round the former with such compactness and unity as to constitute a single word. This characteristic of the Hebrew language has long since attracted notice; and from it arises the fact, that its entire stock of ideas may be reduced to a few simple radical ones. The number of roots is inconsiderable, but the variety of ideas they express is almost inexhaustible. Thus much of the character of the *diction*. The copiousness of the language cannot be accurately determined. So few remains of it have come down to our time, that it is impossible to tell its resources from the scanty memorials now existing. Comparing it with the Arabic, it does not appear to have been so copious, but it was richer than the Syriac. By looking to the synonymous words which it still contains, our opinion of its fulness will be raised. Thus it has been remarked, that there are no less than fourteen words signifying *to break*—ten, *to seek*—and nine, to express the *act of dying*. Fourteen convey the idea of *trust in God*—nine, *remission of sins*, and eight, *darkness*. *Observance of the law of God* is denoted by no less than twenty-five different phrases. These facts certainly lead to the belief, that the language, in its living state, was abundant and copious in its words. It is to be regretted, however, that these modifications of the same idea expressed by different terms, have not received from Lexicographers that minute attention to which they invite the philosophic mind. The best Lexicons, such as

those of Gesenius and Winer, are deficient in this department. They have not been careful to trace the nicer shades of meaning, and to exhibit them in proper arrangement.

The language exhibits a twofold diction, the poetic and prosaic. This distinction may be traced both in the earlier and later Hebrew. The probability seems to be, that Hebrew poetry had not the metres of other languages. As far as it can be now known, the long and short syllables, and the varieties of verse thence arising, did not belong to it. Its characteristics are four. 1st, A parallelism between the members of a period in sentiment or expression. 2d, A certain rythmical conformation of sentences. 3d, A figurative or parabolic style. 4th, A diction peculiar to itself. The poetic diction is separated from that of prose in a very marked manner, both in a *lexical* and *grammatical* respect. To the former belongs the use of words of rare occurrence, instead of such as were common. So also we find adjectives supplying the place of definite nouns, for example, the emphatic use of many abstract nouns, instead of their concretes. 2d, In a grammatical respect new forms of words are employed, as אֱלֹהִים for אֱלֹהִים, *God*; הָיָה for הָיָה, *to be*; the plural in יָיִן which is an Aramaeism; the suffix הָ added to nouns in the absolute state; the suffixes in מוֹ, לְמוֹ, יְמוֹ, יְהוּ, וְהִי, &c. On account, also, of frequent paronomasia, a rare word or form is employed.

Whether the Hebrew language had dialects, can scarcely be determined by the scanty remains of it we possess. It is quite probable, however, that it was so diversified. The northern districts of Palestine may have differed from the southern in their pronunciation, because their inhabitants were subject to different influences. The dialect of the north must have inclined to the Aramaean, and been more corrupt and impure than the rest. Thus, in Judges xii. 6, we find that the Ephraimites pronounced סִבְלָת, (sībbōlēth), for שִׁבְלָת, (shībbōlēth). The song of Deborah has been thought, with some degree of probability, to contain traces and proofs of dialectic diversity. In it there are manifest Aramaeisms, shewing the influence under which those who lived northward were placed. So the prefix שִׁ, Judges v. 7, has been regarded as a peculiarity in the northern dialect. It does not occur in the Pentateuch, but it is found in the book of

Judges, in the section relating to Gideon. Nor is it less probable that the dialect of the people differed from that of books. An example of this occurs in Exodus xvi. 15. When the children of Israel saw the manna they said, מַן הוּא, (mān hū), *what is this*, but the author himself gives the word מָה, as expressive of the interrogative, *what*. In a similar case, Genesis xlvi. 23, הֵא, (hē), appears to be a term belonging to the language of popular intercourse, in distinction from that of literature. It signifies here! behold! and is to be closely connected with the pronoun לָכֶם, (lācēm).

We must now allude to another topic, in connection with the Hebrew language, which has not been unnoticed by modern scholars; I mean the introduction of foreign words. It is obvious that great caution and discrimination must be applied in separating between what is essential to the language and what is merely adventitious. We must distinguish between the remains of a family of languages, before they assumed distinct and dissimilar features, and between those forms and words that passed from other people to the Hebrews, lest we attribute to them a later historical connection than that which they justly possess.

1st. The country with which the Hebrews had the earliest intercourse was Egypt. To the influence of its customs and language they were necessarily exposed. We find, accordingly, that the Pentateuch contains many expressions originating in their sojourn there. So אַחֻזָּה (āchū), *the reeds growing on the banks of the Nile*; יְאוֹר (yeōr) *a river*, particularly the Nile; בְּהֵמוֹת (behēmōth) *the hippopotamus or river-horse*; שֵׁשׁ (shēsh) *fine linen, &c.*; and Egyptian proper names. In the time of Solomon, and later, a considerable commerce was carried on by the Hebrews with the same country, which also gave rise to the transfer of many words. So מֶפֶז מֶפֶז (Hosea ix. 6.), or מֶפֶז noph (Isaiah xix. 13.), Memphis. It is to be remarked that Egyptian words are accommodated to the Hebrew idiom. So כִּנְזָם (cinnam) (Exodus viii. 16), translated *lice* in the authorised version. In the later writings of the Old Testament other terms are substituted. Thus, instead of שֵׁשׁ (shēsh) בִּרְזִיץ (bützc) is uniformly adopted. The former regularly occurs in the Penta-

teuch. Again, a foreign Aramaean term has sometimes come into the place of one purely Egyptian for the purpose of making it better known, as well as to point out the strangeness of the expression and the custom to which it refers. So אַבְרֵךְ (abrēk)

(Genesis xli. 43.), *bow the knee*.

2d. The Persian words occurring in the Old Testament are of later introduction than the Egyptian. In the Pentateuch none whatever are found, for the opinion of some that the words פַּרְנָךְ *Parnāk*, *Pharnaces* (Numbers xxxiv. 25.), and דַּת *dath*, a law (Deuteron. xxxiii. 2.), and several others, are properly Persian, is not well-founded. Even at the time of Solomon's reign we find no certain indications of the influence of the Persian on the Hebrew language. It is only in the later writings of the Old Testament that this is observable. An example occurs in 2 Chron. ii. 7, אֶרְגָּמָן (*argēvān*) *purple*, for which אֶרְגָּמָן (*argāmān*) elsewhere exists. The exchanging of the *vau* for *mem* can only be explained on the supposition that the word is Persian. During the time of the Persian dominion many proper names and appellatives were adopted.

3d. Greek words are not found in Biblical Hebrew. In the Chaldee sections of Daniel and Esra the names of several instruments of music have been attributed to Grecian origin, but this is by no means certain. Rather might probable etymologies be found for them in the Semitic dialects, as has been done by Hävernick in his commentary on Daniel. We are inclined, therefore, to believe that no Greek words occur in the Old Testament writings.

We now proceed to give a historic sketch of the Hebrew language, briefly noticing the various features which it presented at different periods. For general purposes it is sufficient to speak of it as it existed *before and after the captivity*, thus dividing it into epochs. But it is incumbent on such as would minutely investigate its nature to dispose of it in another method. 1st. We might consider the Mosaic period, or the state of the language in the time of Moses, as exhibited by his writings. 2d. The period when David and Solomon lived. 3d. That of the captivity, reaching to its extinction as a spoken language. These divisions are justified by its internal character, but their full discussion is unsuited to my present design. I must there-

fore content myself with a cursory view of the most prominent features belonging to each of the periods mentioned.

The literature of the nation, properly speaking, begins with Moses. It is probable indeed that there were written documents before him, containing records of the history of the nation; but to argue that he drew large portions of his writings from these is arbitrary and conjectural. If he was inspired of God, as we believe that he was, to record events and circumstances of the highest importance and interest, why need we speculate about original documents from which he derived a part of the knowledge communicated. It can never be proved that he consulted histories and genealogies preserved among the Israelites; and it could be of no utility to know the fact, supposing it to be fully established. But we reject it altogether as a pure imagination with which we have no concern. We have said that it is probable there were written documents in the Hebrew tongue before he lived—what they were, it were idle to inquire and vain to ask. The regularity of the structure and syntax of the language, as it appears in the Pentateuch, would lead us to entertain such an opinion. It is there exhibited in a state of high culture and development, and it is natural to suppose that it did not attain to such a state of refinement at once. A considerable time may have been required for the gradual unfolding of the language, until it came to be spoken and written with so great regularity. We are aware, however, that reasoning from analogy in such a case is uncertain, and, therefore, we do not propound with confidence our sentiments respecting the great length of time during which the language was written and cultivated before Moses. It is a *probable* not a *certain* affirmation.

1st. *Of the language of the Pentateuch.*—In order to judge of the peculiar mode of writing observable in the Pentateuch, we must not look to the historical portions, because their language very nearly resembles that of the later histories of Chronicles, Esra, and Nehemiah. They are, therefore, to be left out of the account as enabling us to ascertain the peculiar idioms of the Pentateuchal dialect. It is especially in the poetical parts that we find the characteristic features of the language at the period when Moses wrote. The style of the laws, in connection with that of the poetry, exhibits the distinguishing marks by which we define it, when compared with that of the remaining books of the Old Testament. The essential element of the poetry is

elevation and vigour of expression. That artificial conformation so prominent in the poetry of the Bible, is here in a great degree unknown—rhythm and parallelism are neglected. The language employed in recording the laws is marked by definiteness and precision, qualities particularly necessary in all legal compositions.

The peculiarities of language observable in all the books of the Pentateuch are the following:—

1st. *Peculiarities of grammatical formation.*—To this belongs the use of the pronoun הוּ (hū), *he* or *it*, in the common gender. In all other parts of the Old Testament the masculine and feminine are constantly distinguished, by employing הִי (hī) for the latter. The ground-form of the demonstrative pronoun appears in לָזֶה (lāzeh), Gen. xxiv. 65: xxxviii. 19. The older form הָאֵל (hāēl) for הָאֱלֹהִים (ēllēh) occurs eight times in the whole of the Pentateuch, and is repeated from it 1 Chron. xx. 8. The Pentateuch employs the short form only in connection with the article, whilst the writer of Chronicles rejects the prefixed article. The pronoun plural of the first person נַחְנֹּוּ (nachnū) occurs four times in the Pentateuch, and but twice in all the other books of the Old Testament. The usual form אַנְחֹנֹּוּ (anachnū) is more recent, having been made by the addition of *aleph prosthetic*. In relation to the suffixes we find the old uncontracted form הִי (Gen. i. 12.); הִ—formed from it, afterwards changed into וִ— we find very frequently. In books of later composition than the Pentateuch the former affix occurs only in poetry, and even then very rarely, (Kings and Ezekiel). The verbal suffix וּמֹ— occurring once in Exodus xv. 5. appears to be primitive. The verbal form יַעֲמֹדֶנָּה (yāamōdēnah) Gen. xxx. 38, in the third plural feminine is very ancient. A peculiar abbreviation of the imperative, resembling the original character of this future, is presented by the forms שְׁמַעַן (shemāān), Gen. iv. 23, and קִרְעַן (kirēn), Exodus ii. 20. Since the future is formed from the imperative, it is quite natural to suppose that the latter form is an abridgment of the former. הִתְּ—*intensive* in the future with *vau* conversive, occurs but four times in the Pentateuch, but it is frequent in the writings of the succeed-

ing period; and in those, composed at the time of the exile, it regularly appears. The full and original form ןִ , as the termination of the preterite, third pers. plural, is found in Deuteronomy viii. 3, 16, יָרְעוּן , (*yādēūn*). In other places of the

Bible it does not appear, except once in poetry, Isaiah xxvi. 16. Some grammarians represent the *nun*, in this case, as paragogic, but this appears to be incorrect. The niph'al form of verbs *pe aleph*, has uniformly aleph as a guttural, but the original form has been retained in the Pentateuch and there only, as נֹחַז , (*nōchaz*), Numbers xxxii. 30. The infinitive construct of נָתַן , (*nāthan*), viz. נִתֵּן , (*nēthōn*), exhibits its original regular form, only in the Pentateuch. The origin of verbs *ayin yod*, from those *ayin vau*, is easily perceived from their use in the Pentateuch, thus, Gen. vi. 3, יָדֹן , (*yādōn*); Gen. xxiv. 63, שֹׂאֵחַ , (*sūach*); Deuteron. xxx. 9, שׂוֹשׂ . The abstract nominal form, with the external affix מ , occurs only in the Pentateuch as having relation to *time*, so Exodus xii. 40, מֹשָׁבַע , (*mōshāb*) *the time of the Israelites' abode in Egypt*. נַעַר , (*nā'ar*), occurs in both genders as signifying a *young man* or *young woman*. The termination of the construct state in י is peculiar to the Pentateuch, and to the prose part of it only. So also the termination י־ , in the same state, distinguishes the writings of Moses. The form יְקוּם , (*yekūm*), as an abstract noun, signifying *existence*, occurs only in Genesis vii. 4, 23, and in Deuteron. xi. 6.

2d. There are also *syntactical* peculiarities in the books of Moses. Thus we have a pronoun separable, in an oblique case, without another pronoun preceding, as in Gen. iv. 26; x. 26, $\text{לֵשֶׁת גַּם הוּא יִלְרֵךְ}$ (*lēshēth gām hū yüllād*), for which the later form would have been לֵךְ (*lō*). So also the influence of a suffix on a succeeding substantive is such that it changes its form without actually giving it the suffix. ex. gr. עֲזִי וְזִמְרָת (*ōzzi ve-zimrāth*) for זִמְרָתִי (*zīm-rāthī*.) The term מֵאָה (*mēāl*) a *hundred*, is always employed in the Pentateuch as a substantive, but it afterwards lost its peculiar form.

In expressing *quantities* or *numbers of times*, the idea of *time* in this sense is expressed in a twofold manner. 1st, Either by the

substantive פַּעַם (păām), plural פְּעָמִים (peāmīm). 2d. By the simple numeral word where no ambiguity could exist. But in the Pentateuch the *usus loquendi* in this particular does not appear to have been fixed; since besides these methods we find רְגָלִים (regalīm) Exodus xxiii. 14; Numbers xxii. 28, &c., and מְנִים (monīm) an old word derived from מֶן (mūn), signifying *times*, Gen. xxxi. 7, 41. Such are some of the chief peculiarities relating to the grammar and syntax of the language.

In addition to them we also meet with a number of unusual and antique terms and applications of words, ex. gr. גֹּזָל (gōzāl) is used of *young fowl*, whereas בֵּן (bēn), would stand in the later Hebrew: רֵאָה (reēh) as a particle is used for הֵן (hēn) or הִנֵּה (hīnnēh) *behold*, and occurs nine times in the Pentateuch. מִסָּת (mīssāth) *sufficiency*, Deuteron. xvi. 10, for רַב (rāb): גָּחֹן (gāchōn) *the belly*, Gen. iii. 14; Levit. xi. 42. אֹן (ōn) in the signification of *sorrow* occurs only in Gen. xxxv. 18, and in Deuteron. xxvi. 14, whereas in the other writings of the Old Testament it is regularly אָוֶן (āvēn) except in Hosea ix. 4, imitated from the Pentateuch. מִין (mīn), *kind* or *species*, is found no less than twenty-eight times in the writings of Moses; but in the age of David זָן (zān) was employed to express the same thing, Psalm cxliv. 13. קָבַב (kābab), Numbers xxiii. 8, in the metaphorical sense of *cursing*, was afterwards superseded by נָקַב (nākāb). כָּשַׁב (cēsēb) occurs fourteen times in the Pentateuch; but it is never found in the other parts of the Old Testament. Instead of it we have כָּבַשׁ (cēbēs). The former is the more ancient, as far as we can judge from etymology. רָכַשׁ (rācāsh), and רְכוּשׁ (recūsh), are often found in Genesis, as also in Numbers, signifying *goods* or *substance*, as distinguished from *living property*, such as cattle and flocks. The same words appear to have come again into use at a much later period, for we find them in Chronicles, Ezra, and Daniel. There is this difference between the earlier and later usage, that the latter refers them to *cattle*, which the former does not. We have thus given

a few examples of words applied in an antique sense, or terms occurring in the Pentateuch, which were afterwards supplanted by others.

Of *peculiar modes of expression* we have now to furnish some instances. Numbers xiv. 9, *their shadow* (צִלָּם) (tsillām) *is departed from them*, is an ancient poetic phrase for “their help is taken from them.” It occurs no where else in the Old Testament, though the term צֶל (tsēl) in the sense of *protection*, is frequent in poetry. Again, the expression נֶאֱסַף אֶל עַמּוֹ (nēšaph ēl ammāv) *was added to his people*, is also peculiar to the writings of Moses, for it is not found in the other books of the Old Testament. Instead of it we usually meet with the phrase שָׁכַב עִם אֲבוֹתָיו (shācab ĩm abōthāv) *slept with his fathers*. The term עַם (ām) *people*, is always used in the singular number in the Pentateuch, to denote the *covenant people*, or *people of God*, and is thus distinguished from גּוֹי (gōi) which is never used of Israel. But in the other parts of the Old Testament the two terms are interchanged. In the plural עַמִּים (āmim) is employed in an enlarged and more extended signification by the prophets, as we find particularly from Hosea ix. 1; Isaiah xi. 10; but, in the Pentateuch, the plural has a meaning in strict accordance with its singular signification. It denotes the people who constituted the collected whole, represented as in covenant with the Supreme being; consequently, after the theocracy was established by Moses, the twelve tribes were designated by the plural term. But this confined sense is, as I have just observed, foreign to the other books, though in the Pentateuch it is strictly observed. There is another word in the writings of Moses of kindred origin and signification, viz. עֲמִית (āmīth) which is constantly employed to denote *fellowship*, *society*, and is not so appropriately rendered *neighbours*, because it is an abstract noun. רֵיחַ הַנְּחִיחַ (rēach hannīchōach) *a sweet-smelling savour*, is found very often in the Mosaic writings applied to the sacrifices offered to God. But it does not appear in the other books of the Old Testament, for we find in its stead רוּחַ מִנְחָה (rūach mīnchāh) *to smell an offering*, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19—קוּמָה יְהוָה (kūmah yehōvah) *arise, O Lord*, was properly an apostrophe to God, when

the ark was lifted up and carried, as is proved by Numbers x. 35. This historical application was afterwards relinquished, and in the Psalms the phrase is frequently employed in a figurative sense for help or assistance. The phrases

וַיַּעֲפִילוּ לְעֹלוֹת (vayyăpilū lăalōth), Numbers xiv. 44, and

וַתַּהֲיִנוּ לְעֹלוֹת (vattāhīnū laalōth), Deuteron. i. 41, are ancient and peculiar modes of expression, which can only be properly explained by the aid of the Arabic language, as Schultens has well shewn. The former is translated in the received version, *they presumed to go up*—the latter, *ye were ready to go up*, which is aside from the true meaning. It means, *ye thought it a light matter to go up*, i. e. ye went up rashly and heedlessly—גָּלָה עֲרָוָה

(gālāh ărvāh) is the usual expression in the Pentateuch for *cohabitation*; but it is only found besides in Ezekiel xxii. 10, where there is a manifest verbal allusion to Levit. xx. 11. Its later usage is different, as may be seen from Isaiah xlvi. 3—כָּסָה אֵת

עֵין הָאָרֶץ (cīssah ăth ăn hāārets), *to cover the eye of the earth*,

belongs to the Pentateuch alone. It is a highly poetical expression, in which the earth is personified, and exhibited as a woman with her face veiled. Such are some of the peculiar modes of diction employed in the Pentateuch, and to the attentive inquirer they will appear to savour of high antiquity. The more they are examined, the more will they be seen in a light different from that in which they are viewed by many modern critics in Germany, who endeavour, by proofs drawn from the language of the Pentateuch, to bring down its composition to a much later period than the time of Moses. But in their zeal to discover marks of recentness in the diction employed, they have overlooked such antique words and peculiar phrases as those just quoted. Their arguments will not stand the test of a strict and impartial scrutiny. Notwithstanding the weight and authority of the names that have sanctioned such sentiments, they have not commanded the assent of all scholars. In Germany itself, men of great erudition have risen up who have defended the old and opposite ground with an ability quite refreshing and satisfactory to the pious student of the Bible. And we hope that, ere long, some of the authors themselves, who have published such strange opinions, will see fit to renounce them on farther investigation.

We come now to the *post-Mosaic period*.—When the Hebrews came into the promised land, the circumstances of their new situation must have exercised considerable influence on the dialect they spoke. They saw around them many productions of nature with which they were unacquainted. Hence, their language must have been enriched with new words, whilst others fell into disuse and were forgotten. Terms belonging to natural history were now added; whilst their domestic wants, their modes of life, and their increasing civilization, gave rise to new appellatives. We find now for the first time an appellation of the cypress, viz.—**בְּרוֹשׁ** (*berōsh*), and several names for serpents, such as **אֶפֶה** (*ēpha*), **אֶפְחָה** (*ēphāh*). Moses had expressed a *husbandman* by the periphrasis **עֶבֶד אָדָמָה** (*ōbēd adāmāh*), but now the single term **אִצְבָּר** (*iccār*) was employed. For **חֶרְמֶשׁ** (*chērmēsh*) a *sickle* in the Pentateuch, we find **מִגָּל** (*māggāl*); for **חֶמֶת** (*chēmēth*), a *bottle*, we have **נֹד** (*nōd*). The ancient words **מָסְוֶה** (*māsvēh*) a *veil*, and **כּוּמָז** (*cūmāz*) a *necklace*, were discontinued. Other expressions were altered in *signification*, so as to exhibit with greater definiteness the characteristic nature of a thing; thus, instead of **הִתְיַלֵּד** (*hīthyallēd*) *to declare the pedigree*, Numbers i. 18, a term which might have been easily misunderstood, **מָנָח** or **סָפָר** (*mānāh*, *sāphar*), and still later, **הִתְיַחֵשׁ** (*hīthyachēsh*) were employed. The expression **עָנָה נַפְשׁ** (*innāh nēphēsh*) *to afflict or humble the soul* was supplanted by **צוּם** (*tsūm*), though the former still continued in poetry.

It is quite natural that the book of Joshua should be most assimilated in its language to the Pentateuch, because it was written immediately after, and records the events which took place subsequently to those narrated in Deuteronomy. Both the single terms and idioms it employs are similar to those found in the writings of Moses. Thus **נָלוֹן** (*nālōn*) *to rebel or murmur*, niphals of **לוּן** (*lūn*) ix. 18; **זָנַב** (*zinnēb*) *to fall upon the rear*, x. 19; **אִשָּׁה**

(ishshēh) *a sacrifice*, xiii. 14; מַחֲצִיִּית (māchatsīth) *the half*, xxi. 25; מִלֵּא אַחֲרַי יְהוָה (millē ācharē yehōvah) *to follow after the Lord*, xiv. 8, 9, 14; הִשְׁמַר לְנַפְשֶׁךָ (hīshshamēr lenaphshēka) *take heed to yourselves*, xxiii. 11; אֲבְנֵי שְׁלָמִים (abnē shelāmim) *whole stones*, that is, such as have not been hewed or cut, viii. 31. and Deuteron. xxvii. 6; “the sand that is upon the lip of the sea or the sea-shore,” xi. 4, the same as in Genesis xxii. 17. Sometimes an extension was given to the signification of a word. Thus אֲשְׁדֹּת (ashēdōth) xii. 2, 3, appears to mean *the plain*, in opposition to הַהָר (hāhār) *the mountain*, x. 40; whilst in the Pentateuch it was limited to *the roots of a mountain*. This, however, is contrary to the opinion of Gesenius, who takes the term as having the same signification both in Deuteronomy and in Joshua. The proverb in Exodus xi. 7, *no dog shall move his tongue against Israel*, occurs here x. 21, without the word “dog,” *none moved his tongue against Israel*. Such proverbial sayings are wont to be shortened in the progress of time, as we see in this instance exemplified. From these, and other examples that might be adduced, it appears that the language of the book of Joshua approaches very near to that of the Pentateuch, by which indeed it was greatly influenced. The diction is soft, flowing, and pure. Some scholars have endeavoured to show that the language of Joshua belongs to a later period, and that it is much more corrupt than that of the Pentateuch. We need only mention Maurer, Hirzel, and De Wette. The proofs of their statement they have not been able to recommend to general adoption. On the contrary, they have been subjected to a severe scrutiny by several eminent Oriental scholars, who have shown in a very triumphant manner, that the forms supposed to be recent are rather to be considered as original and primitive.

Between the time of the composition of the Pentateuch and David, the book of Job presents an interesting specimen of the state of the Hebrew language. It is easy to perceive the influence which it exercised on the subsequent poetry of the Israelites, when we examine the books of Psalms and Proverbs along with Job. In Psalms a similarity of idea, in Proverbs a similarity of expression, has been often remarked. It would here be out of place to prove that the book of Job is older than either;

and that we are not to suppose that the analogies between it and them are to be accounted for on the ground that the former was written subsequently to the other two. The nature of the language employed is of itself sufficient to show that its origin must be referred to a period antecedent to the composition of the Psalms. In Job the use of Aramaeisms is strongly marked, evidently pointing to a period prior to David, in whose time the language was purer. Besides, these Aramaeisms differ essentially from the later ones, exhibiting an ancient and primitive character, quite distinct from the corrupt and degenerate Aramaeism of a later age. Thus we find עֲתִיד (āthid) in its originally forcible signification of *skilful, experienced, or equipped*, Job iii. 8; xv. 24; whereas, in Aramean, the same term is used in a weaker sense equivalent to the Greek *μιλλων* with an infinitive. In like manner מִלֵּל (millēl) occurs in its original distinctness from דִּבְרֵי (dibbēr), the former in a bad sense, the latter in a good. Instead of the more recent form בִּשְׁלוֹחַ (beshālōā), *suddenly or unexpectedly*, Dan viii. 25; xi. 21, Job has בִּשְׁשָׁלוֹם (bāshshālōm) xv. 21. לֹא בְיָד (lō beyād) *without human assistance, by the sole power of God*, became afterwards בְּאֶפְסֵי יָד (beēphēs yād) Dan. viii. 25, and דִּי לֹא בִידָיו (dī lō bīdāyō) Dan. ii. 34, 35.

The poetry of David's time has a more polished aspect, and purer diction. The language is easy and flowing—the parallelism carefully observed, and the rythm peculiarly marked. The simple object of the inspired writers belonging to this period was to pour forth the desires of the heart in petitions to God—petitions which naturally and regularly assumed a rythmical structure, inseparable from genuine lyric poetry. Their compositions present the lyric poetry of the Hebrews in a very high state of cultivation, equally distinguished by purity of language, and by sublimity and beauty of conception. Earlier modes of expression had then become unusual. Seldom do we observe tendencies and approaches to them. Thus שׁ prefixed, occurs in the cxxii. and cxxiv. Psalms. Pure Aramaeisms are of very rare occurrence, as in Psalm ii. 12, בָּר (bār) *son*. שֶׁפָּרַעַל (shāphāř āl) *to be delighted with a thing*, (see Dan. iv. 14), instead of the Hebrew יָטַב בְּעֵינַי (yātāb

beēnē.) שִׁבְעָה (shibbēach) to praise, instead of הִלֵּל (hillēl) Psalm lxiii. 4; cxvii. 1. אַזַּי (azai) then, an old form resembling the Chaldee, אֲדָ-יַיִן (ēdā-yīn), Psalm cxxiv. 3, 4, 5. נָסַק (nāsāk) for עָלָה (ālāh) to ascend, Psalm cxxxix. 8.

In the writings of Solomon, Hebrew poetry is presented in still higher and more cultivated forms. The want of a temple-poetry had been admirably filled up by the Psalms of David, and now other species were introduced. To Solomon is ascribed the composition of *Proverbs* and *longer poems*, 1 Kings iv. 32. The three books commonly ascribed to him, viz. *Proverbs*, *Canticles*, and *Ecclesiastes*, bear a very marked and definite character of style and language. They present, as might be expected, great similarity with some diversity. It is easy to see that many words have somewhat different significations from those they bear in the Pentateuch. Some have thought the analogy of the *usus loquendi* between the three books quite remarkable, on account of the different subjects of which they treat, and especially the short compass of the *Song of Songs*. But the peculiarities of all must be taken together as characteristic of the writings of Solomon. Those belonging to one of the books must not be considered apart from the others. This would be taking a partial view of the subject, such as could not be justified. The language and style of the three works, must together constitute the *usus loquendi* of Solomon's writings. The analogies subsisting between them cannot have been accidental, not only on account of their singularity, but their number. The opinion that some of them were written in a diction designedly imitative of the other, cannot be allowed by any who read their poetry with a spirit alive to its sublimity and beauty. We must not, therefore, separate these different compositions on account of several things peculiar to each, which they contain. They are distinct works written on subjects widely different, and we cannot, therefore, expect complete and constant uniformity in their diction. The object of the inspired writer in the *Song of Songs* is so uncommon for a treatise of any length, and the mode in which it is handled is conducted with so much poetic beauty throughout, that it is not surprising that the poem should present several expressions and modes of diction unlike any that are found in *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*. But notwithstanding the dissimilarities, there are

still so many points of resemblance, that we are strongly led to conclude that they were composed at the same period, and by the same author. Without stopping to point out their characteristic differences in a lingual respect, we will shew very briefly, some of the analogies that exist between them. In the first place, we shall mention such as appear between Proverbs and Canticles; and next we shall shew the similarities of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. Proverbs v. 3, נֶפֶת הַתִּפְּנָה שִׁפְתֵי זָרָה (nōphēth tittōphēnah siphthe zārah) *the lips of a strange woman drop as an honeycomb*, closely resembles in expression, Canticles iv. 11, נֶפֶת הַתִּפְּכָה שִׁפְתוֹתַי (nōpheth tittōphēnah siphthō-thāyīk) *thy lips drop as the honeycomb*. The word נֶפֶת (nōphēth) is also found in Proverbs xxiv. 13, and in its full form, Psalms xix. 11. The term שׁוּק (shūk) street, Proverbs vii. 8, and Canticles iii. 2, is used in place of רְחוֹב (rechob.) The union of the words מֵר אַהֲלִים וְקִנְמֹן (mor ahalim vekinnamon) *myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon*, is found in Prov. vii. 17, and Canticles iv. 14. We may compare also רָוַח רְדִים (ravah dodim) *to take the fill of loves*, Prov. vii. 17, with שִׁכְרוּ רְדִים (shicru dodim) *be intoxicated with loves*, Cant. v. 1; חָרַר (charar), Prov. xxvi. 21, with its occurrence in Canticles i. 6. Again, נִשְׁקִיּוֹת (neshikoth) *kisses*, Cant. i. 2, is found in Prov. xxvii. 6. The same figurative use of the term מַעַיִן (mayan) *fountain*, is found in Prov. v. 16, and Cant. iv. 15. חֵךְ (chek) *the palate* is taken for *speech*, Cant. v. 16, and Prov. viii. 7. רָהַב (rahab) is taken in the same signification in Prov. vi. 3, and in Cant. vi. 5, viz. *to urge or prevail upon*. (Graviter institit. Gesen. s. v.). The term חָלִי (chali) is found in Prov. xxv. 12, and Cant. vii. 2, signifying *a necklace*. The manner in which wine is spoken of, Cant. vii. 10, הוֹלֵךְ לְמִישָׁרִים (holek lemesarim) *going straightly*, and Prov. xxiii. 31, יִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּמִישָׁרִים (yithhallek bemesharim) is worthy of notice. The use of הוֹן (hon), the usual expression in the book of Proverbs for עוֹשֵׁר (oser) appears also in Canticles viii. 7. In

Canticles viii. 6, we find the expression, *set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arms*, which appears also in Prov. iii. 3; vi. 21; vii. 3.

These analogies, and others that might be pointed out, serve to shew that the probability of both works having proceeded from the same author is quite reasonable and well-founded. In Ecclesiastes we find features of language resembling those of Proverbs and Canticles which lead us to believe that it belongs to the same period. It is true that the whole current of German theology is opposed to the opinion that Ecclesiastes belongs to the same period as the acknowledged writings of Solomon. Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, and others, speak positively on the subject, and even Hävernich places it after the captivity, along with Chronicles, Esra, Nehemiah, and Esther. The ground of such a hypothesis is the Aramaean complexion of the book, by which it is said to be remarkably characterised. We believe, however, that the number of Aramaeisms has been greatly exaggerated, and that parallels to many of those Chaldee expressions adduced to prove that the book belongs to a later age than Solomon, might be found in the older writings of the Bible. Chaldaisms are not sufficient to warrant us to attribute a production to a late period of the Hebrew language, since there is perhaps no part of the Bible altogether free from expressions of this kind. This has been ably shewn by Hirzel in his *Commentatio de Chaldaismi Biblici Origine et Auctoritate Criticâ*, Leipsig, 1830. Without entering into a defence of the old opinion, that the book of Ecclesiastes is rightly attributed to Solomon, we shall merely adduce a few expressions which it has in common with the books of Proverbs and Canticles **בַּעַל כְּנָף** (*baal canaph*) *a fowl*, Eccles. x. 10, and Prov. i. 17. **חִבּוּק יָדַיִם** (*chibbūk yādäyīm*) *to fold the hands*, Eccles. iv. 5, and Prov. vi. 10. **שׁוּק** (*shūk*) *street*, Eccles. xii. 4, 5. Prov. vii. 8, and Cant. iii. 2. **תַּעֲנוּגוֹת** (*täanugōth*) *pleasures, delights*, Cant. vii. 7. Eccles. ii. 8. We find the same *paronomasia* in **שֵׁם** and **שְׁמֶן** (*shēm* and *shēmēn*) in Eccles. vii. 1, and Cant. i. 3. **לֵב מְרִפָּא** (*lēb marpē*) or simply **מְרִפָּא** *a gentle spirit, mildness, tranquillity of mind, or modesty of language*, Eccles. x. 4; Prov. xiv. 30; xv. 4. It is unnecessary to adduce a multitude of analogies, as they are so obvious to

every reader. We cannot allow of the explanation of these similarities given by Hävernicks, by whom they are attributed to the *imitative character* of the book. Neither can we assent to the conclusion drawn from other words and forms of expression, as if they characterised the period after the exile, when Ecclesiastes is supposed to have been written. Several of them are erroneously taken for pure Chaldaisms or Syriasms, whilst others occur not only in the late books, as Esther, Daniel, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, but also in the earlier. In this way we reduce the list of Aramaean words and forms given in Gesenius' *History of the Hebrew Language and Literature*, (*Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, p. 36), and in Hartmann's *Lingual Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament books*, (*Linguistische Einleitung in das Studium der Bücher des A. T.*, p. 374.) Like most other books of the Old Testament, however, it possesses many things that are peculiar to itself. Thus it has an unusual number of abstract forms; the frequent use of the substantive verb יֵשׁ (yesh), denoting the proper essence of a thing, and of its opposite אֵין (en.) The expressions רְעוּת רִיחַ (rēuth rūach) *vezation of spirit*, or rather *a following of the wind, an empty pursuit*, (*sectatio venti*, Rosenmüller), i. 14; רַעֲיוֹן רִיחַ (rayon rūach) *vezation of spirit*, and others, are peculiar. A number of terms are of Aramaean origin, as כְּבַר (cebar) *long since*, i. 10; ii. 12, 16, &c. כִּשְׁרֹן (cīshrōn) *prosperity*, ii. 21; iv. 4; v. 10. יְהוּא (yehū) for יְהִיא (see Ewald, by Nicholson, p. 163, Note 2.)

Now that we are tracing parallelisms in the *usus loquendi* of different books of the Old Testament, we may extend our survey, so as to take in a wider range. The songs of the inspired Psalmist agree in many respects with those of his illustrious son and successor, whilst the book of Job may not inaptly be included in the comparison, though earlier written than the Psalms of David. The writings of David, Solomon, and Job, may be classed together, as belonging to the same period, and harmonising in point of language to a degree that can only be perceived by him who sits down with his Hebrew concordance to trace the same word in the different books, and to observe the recurrence of the same expression. We merely stop at present to make the remark,

as we do not intend to adduce examples of the truth of our statement. The matter is worthy of the consideration of all Biblical scholars, and has been less attended to than it ought, by the philologist and lexicographer. In the book of Ecclesiastes, the Aramaean colouring is stronger than in others. In Job it is very evident also, though quite distinct from the later degenerate Aramaean; and it forms a powerful ingredient of the poetic vigour. The Psalms and Proverbs have fewer Aramaeisms than Canticles, a circumstance which may be ascribed in part, to the higher poetry of the latter, assimilating it to the book of Job.

To the period of which we have been speaking belong the historical books, Judges, Samuel, and Ruth. The style is simple, and the diction presents, on the whole, few peculiarities, being generally devoid of an artificial cast, like the historical records of higher antiquity. Yet we sometimes meet with concise and energetic peculiarities in the *usus loquendi*, by which it is made to resemble the language of poetry, especially of the poetry produced in the same period. These books contain few Aramaeisms, for such as have been attributed to Judges and Samuel, should rather be regarded as older forms of genuine Hebrew words.

We come now to speak of the ancient prophetic literature which succeeds the writings of David and Solomon. The division of the tribes, and the decay of the national religion, exerted a prejudicial influence on the literature of the Jewish nation. In all the qualities that are usually thought to constitute the highest excellence of poetry, the writings of the prophets are not to be compared with those which we have last mentioned. We speak merely of the general character of both, for there may, perhaps, be found single passages in the prophets approaching to, or equalling, some part of Job or Canticles. But we must carefully attend to the time in which they wrote, because there is a marked difference between their prophecies. Only the earlier part of the prophetic literature belongs to the golden age of the language. In it we find a correct and classical style, uncorrupted by foreign idioms. This statement, however, does not apply to the *oldest* of the prophets, whose writings have come down to us, for the beginning of a new epoch does not generally afford the best examples of the language by which it is characterised. Hence Hosea, Jonah, and Amos, present a diction somewhat harsh, devoid of smoothness, and apparently without polish. But their immediate successors furnish specimens of a language pure and

polished, the last memorials of its living independence. We look upon them as the final examples of the manhood of the Hebrew, after which it began to verge towards the debility of age.

The diction of Hosea bears the evident marks of antiquity, and presents some unusual constructions and connexions. That of Jonah resembles Hosea's, with some peculiarities of its own. The same may be said of Amos, whose diction is frequently sublime, though some have endeavoured to find out pastoral figures and imagery in his writings, on account of his occupation, and the humble rank in life to which he belonged. But it may be questioned whether he exhibits more imagery from pastoral life than other Hebrew poets; and as to his alleged rude and unpolished diction, it does not appear to us. His style is full of imagery, whilst, at the same time, it is concise, simple, and perspicuous. Jerome calls him *sermone imperitum, rude in speech*, but this is thought by Gesenius to be unjust.

The succeeding prophets, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Obadiah, may be all classed together as possessing a similar complexion of language. Isaiah and Micah very nearly coincide. They furnish the finest specimens of writing. Their language is purely classical, possessing the poetic element in high perfection, and partaking of the poetic external form. They abound in beautiful instances of *paronomasia*, a favourite figure of rhetoric in all oriental languages, and especially in Hebrew poetry. The language of Isaiah, in particular, is of the most classic cast, surpassing that of all the other prophets in sublimity, energy, and beauty. In these and other excellencies he stands at the head of all the prophetic poets. In some of the prophets just mentioned, we find that Aramaeisms have been avoided, and the purity of genuine Hebrew expression made to predominate, as in Nahum and Habakkuk; whilst in others, as Micah, the Aramaean element appears, though in such a manner as not to destroy their poetic character. The third chapter of Habakkuk has been justly regarded as one of the most splendid portions of the prophetic writings, the language presenting the highest specimen of lyric poetry. The purity and elegance of his diction have attracted the notice of all critics. The Aramaean complexion of Micah has been transferred to the latter part of Isaiah by many scholars, as though it appeared there also in a high degree. Hence the last portion of the book of Isaiah has been assigned to a much later period than the first portion of the

work, by most of the German critics. Men of the highest reputation as Hebrew scholars, have, in some measure, hazarded their fame by endeavouring to prove, from the language of Isaiah in the last 27 chapters, that they should be attributed to a much more recent date than the time of the prophet himself. We need only mention the names of Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Paulus, Bauer, Bertholdt, De Wette, Gesenius, and Hitzig, as the chief impugners of the authenticity of this portion. But it has been demonstrated, especially by Kleinert, (1829), that the alleged Chaldaisms, and traces of a later *usus loquendi*, are not to be regarded as proofs of that which they are brought forward to support. To him, therefore, we may refer, as shewing that the words and forms, which are thought to belong to a later period of the language, when it was subjected to Aramaean influence, do not furnish sufficient, or satisfactory evidence, of the supposed fact. The argument has been completely taken out of the hands of those who regard the latter part of his prophecies as unauthentic. In addition to Kleinert's treatise, we may also refer to Hengstenberg's *Christology*, (1829, Berlin), vol. 2d, page 172, &c. and to Hävernicks' *Introduction to the Old Testament*, (1836, Erlangen), vol. i. page 219, &c.

We have now arrived at the *second* or *silver* age of the Hebrew, reaching from the captivity down to the time when it ceased to be a living language. This period, including that which immediately precedes, is marked by the influence of the Chaldee dialect on the Hebrew. In consequence of this Aramaean tendency, there arose a new literature, strikingly different from the earlier. After the death of Josiah, Judah was continually exposed to the invasions of the Babylonians. The people were harassed by the frequent attacks of their enemies, and began to lose that power and independence which they had formerly possessed. Forgetting their dependence on Jehovah, they were given up as a prey to be devoured by other warlike nations mightier than themselves. Thus were they punished by God for their apostacy and rebellion. In such circumstances it is natural to expect that their language would lose the purity and independent character which belonged to it in the flourishing state of the nation. In the literature of a people we look for modifications corresponding to the external influences to which they are subjected. Nothing is more natural than that the language of the conquered should approximate to that of their conquerors. In addition to this, the

language itself had began to degenerate, participating in the national decay. The Hebrew idiom had become more corrupt, a circumstance which of itself brings the language near to the Aramaean. The literature of the present period is marked by the *principle of imitation*. There is in it a visible resemblance to the documents that appeared in the older and purer state of the language. The latter may be said, in some measure, to be reproduced in another form. Hence many peculiarities of the ancient poetry appear again, in the diction of this period, with the venerable garb of archaisms. The same *imitative* principle is observable in the poetic compositions belonging to this period, viz. a part of the Psalms and Lamentations. In the orthography of this later dialect we perceive the *semblance of endeavour after distinctness*. Thus, the *scriptio plena* of the vowel letters appears in words of the most frequent occurrence, as יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, (yerushalayim); דָּוִד, (David). There is also a tendency to lengthen trilateral stems, especially by the insertion of *resh* as שָׂרְבִיט, (sharbit), *sceptre* instead of שֶׁבֶט, (shēbēt), in Esther; סַרְעֶפָה, (sarappah), *a twig*, Ezekiel xxxi. 5; כִּרְבֵל, (cirbēl), instead of כָּבַל, (cābal), *to put on*, Chron. and Daniel. Even proper names are not free from such an increment, as דַּמְשֶׁק דַּרְמֶשֶׁק, *Damascus*, (Chron.) Gesenius observes that the Syriac presents the same feature. Again, ה, final of the feminine noun, is cut off, leaving, as in Aramaean, a mere *o* or *u*, as רִבּוֹ, (ribbo). The difference between passive and reflex forms is less apparent than in the earlier state of the language. The reflex are used for the passive and vice versâ. The use of the future, with *vau conversive* is infrequent, and the verbal stem frequently appears in the full form of the future absolute. The particle אֶת is no longer distinguished as a mark of the accusative and as a preposition. The Aramaean particle ל appears in its stead as the sign of the accusative. In order to see more plainly the decay of the language, it will be necessary to compare the phrases and forms of expression representing the same ideas in the older and later documents. The departure of the popular diction from the ancient *written* dialect, occasioned in the composition of the writers of the later

period an approximation to the idiom commonly spoken. Thus it is said in the Pentateuch **כִּי אֵשׁ יֵצֵא מֵחֶשְׁבּוֹן** (*ci esh yat-seah mecheshbon*) *for a fire goes out of Heshbon*; in Jeremiah **כִּי אֵשׁ יֵצֵא מִח** (*esh*) *fire* is uniformly feminine in the Pentateuch, (Gesenius' Lehrgebäude, p. 546, note). In the Pentateuch we find **לְהַבָּה מִקִּירַת סִיחֹן** (*lehabah mikkiryath sichon*) *a flame from the city of Sihon* (Numbers xxi. 28) in Jeremiah **לְהַבָּה מִבֵּין סִיחֹן** (*lehabah mibben sichon*) Jeremiah xlvi. 45. In the Pentateuch occurs **וּמַחֲצֵי פְּאֵתַי מוֹאָב** (*umachats paathe moab*) *and shall smite or strike the corners of Moab*, Numbers xxiv. 17. In Jeremiah **וְהִאֲכַל פְּאֵת מוֹאָב** (*vattocal peath Moab*) *and shall devour the corner or region of Moab*, xlvi. 45. Here the prosaic singular stands for the poetic dual. In the Pentateuch we find **וְקָרַקְרַךְ כָּל־בְּנֵי־שֵׁת** (*vekarkar cöl benē shēth*) Numbers xxiv. 17, *and destroy all the children of Seth*, or rather the children of *tumult*, i. e. of the tumultuous din of war. In Jeremiah **וְקָרַקְרַךְ בְּנֵי שָׁאוֹן** (*veködköd benē shāōn*) *and the crown of the head of the children of noise*, xlvi. 45. In the same manner we might contrast several *prophecies* in Isaiah and Jeremiah; such as Isaiah xv. 16; Jerem. xlvi. 1; Isaiah xlii. 14; Jerem. l. 51.

A comparison of the books of Kings and Chronicles shews, in a marked and most instructive manner, the declining state of the language. Although the date of their composition is scarcely separated by a century, yet their styles are very different. The two books of Kings discover the period of their origin only by a few peculiarities, for the language seems to be modelled after the more ancient and pure diction; whilst those of the Chronicles change the older orthography and forms of words. They substitute new words for old ones, either by altering the orthography, or by changing the signification whilst retaining the proper form. Hence we find in the latter the *scriptio plena*, the Aramaean orthography with *aleph prosthetic*, as **אִישַׁי** (*ishai*) *Jesse*; 1 Chron. ii. 12; the compensating of *dagesh forte* by a liquid, as **דְּרִמְשֶׁק** for **דְּרִמְשֶׁק** 1 Chron. xv. 27. The older forms, such as the termination **וִין**, the pronoun **אֲנֹכִי**, **מִמְלָכָה**,

(mamlecah) תַּחֲנַח (techinnah) מַעֲבֵחַ (maabeh) passed into the modern עֵבִי, תַּחֲנוּן, מַלְכוּת, אֲנִי, הִי. In like manner we find older constructions supplanted by modern ones. Thus the names of countries, when employed to designate the inhabitants, are not construed with the singular feminine of the verb, but with the plural. (Ges. Lehrgeb. p. 469). Later expressions are substituted for earlier ones. Thus for פָּקַד (pākad) *to number or muster*, we find סָפַר (saphar); for כָּרַת (carath) *to root out*. נָתַשׁ (nathash), &c.

The diction of Zephaniah, the contemporary of Josiah, may be regarded as an approximation to that of the period we are considering. It marks the Hebrew language *in transitu*; possessing a considerable portion of its purity as seen in the days of David and Solomon, with much of the degeneracy which had begun to pass upon it. Although, therefore, his language be pure in relation to the time in which he lived, yet there are many striking proofs of its corruptness in his prophecies. The later *usus loquendi* is not unobservable, and particularly a similarity of the diction of Jeremiah. Thus the expression קָפָא עַל־שִׁמְרָיו (kapha al shemarav) i. 12, *to be settled on his lees*, is found in Jeremiah xlviii. 11. חִסִּיף (hesiph) *to make an end of, to consume*, i. 2, 3, is found in Jeremiah viii. 13. Still his language has many peculiarities by which it is distinguished from the other compositions of the Old Testament. For example, i. 9, דּוֹלַג עַל־הַמִּפְתָּן (doleg al hammiphtan) *who leaps over the threshold, i. e., who approaches the Lord without a sacred awe, in an unprepared and unsanctified state*. i. 12 אַחַפֵּשׂ אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלַיִם בְּנֵרוֹת (achappes eth yerushalayim bannēroth) *I will search Jerusalem with candles*.

With regard to Jeremiah, his mode of writing is much more corrupt than that of Zephaniah, and the influence of the Aramaean upon it much more visible. There are many analogies between his diction and that of the books of Kings, though the latter is much more impure. The imitative principle already referred to is also exemplified in this prophet. Hence when we compare his language with that of Moses and the earlier prophets, we observe a similarity between them. In the place of old expressions we

find new ones, which were partly unknown to a former age, and partly used in a different signification. So יָאָה (yaah) a more recent softening down of נָאָה (naah) *to be beautiful*, Jeremiah x.

7. In Psalm xciii. 5, we have אָחַם (cātham) in the old dialect is allied in signification to חָתַם (chātham) *to be stained or defiled*, Jerm. xi. 22, just as עוֹב (ūb) in Aramaean, *to veil over*, is softened from עוֹפָה (ūph) Lamentations ii. 1. From the ancient רָעַע and רָצַץ (ratsats) we find in Jeremiah (v. 17,) the verb רָשַׁשׁ (rashash) *to break*; חָמַח (hamah) became חָמַל from which is derived חָמּוּלָה (hamullah) *tumult*, Jerem. xi. 16, and Ezek. i. 24. We find also in the writings of this period a number of foreign words added to the language, expressive of objects with which the Hebrews became first acquainted in their intercourse with the Babylonians. Thus we find מְדִינָה (medīnah) *a country or province*, Lam. i. 1. 1 Kings xx. 14, &c. סָגָן (sāgan) *a prefect or ruler*, Jerem. li. 23. פְּחָה (pechah) *a captain*, Jerem. li. 23, &c. 1 Kings x. 15, 20. רַב (rab), a title of honour, generally in connection with other words, as רַב טַבָּחִים (rab tabbāchīm), *captain of the guard*, 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jerem. xxxix. 9, רַב־מָג, (rab-mag), *prince of the magicians*. The older term was, שָׂר (sar). But we see the corruption of the language, particularly in a *grammatical respect*. The cultivation and polish observable in its most flourishing state, have here given way, in part, to its old original character. Hence we find many *archaisms*. Numerous forms, deviating from the pure Hebrew approximate to the *Aramaean*. Thus the full pronominal forms, אֲנִי, אַתָּה, אֵתָּה, are regularly employed instead of the abbreviations of an earlier and more polished state of the language. ה, the preformative of the conjugation Hiphil, is frequently changed into ת, thus producing a harder form, Tiphil, for example, תִּחְרַה (techerah), *to act violently, to dispute*, Jerem. xii. 15; xxi. 5, (see Ewald's Grammar, translated by Nicholson, p. 121.) Verbs with *aleph* or *he* for one of their radicals, make the *vau* or *yod* of their ground-

form more frequently appear, thus, אֲבִירָה, (obīdah) future Hiphil, Jerem. xlv. 8. נִבִּיתָ, (nibbētha), for נִבְּאתָ, preterite niphal from נָבָא, *to prophecy*. So also we find מְבִי for מְבִיא, (mēbī); הַחֲטִי for הַחֲטִיא, (hächati), &c. Abstract forms are employed instead of the concrete formerly in use, as בְּרִית, (bōrith,) *lye*, Jeremiah ii. 22, for בּוֹר, (bōr), Isaiah i. 25. The prefixing of the article to the first noun, in the construct state, is decidedly anomalous, Jerem. xxxii. 12; xxv. 26. 1 Kings xiv. 24. 2 Kings xxiii. 17. (See Ewald, by Nicholson, p. 324, § 514, 3). The constant interchange of אֶת the mark of the accusative and the preposition is a sure sign of the corrupt state of the language.

Those writers who were commissioned by heaven to deliver divine communications to the people during the Babylonish captivity must be ranked still lower in regard to the purity of their language. We refer to Ezekiel and Daniel, who belong to the actual period of the 70 years captivity. The former is said to exhibit so much negligence of diction, that his prophecies contain proportionably the greatest number of grammatical anomalies. We shall adduce a few of the most remarkable examples. Passing over such as he has in common with Jeremiah, the following pronominal forms are partly ancient, partly Aramaean. אֲיִהָא xli. 15. אֶ for אֶהָ xxxvi. 5. אֲיִהָנָה i. 11. אֲיִהָמָח xl. 16. אֶהָנָח xvi. 53. אֶהָנָה xxiii. 48. אֶתָנָה xliii. 20, &c.

The verbal forms נִבְּרָהָ xxxi. 5, קִרְרָהָ xxvii. 31, יִזְכְּלוּ fut. kal of אָכַל *to eat*, xlii. 5, are likewise anomalous. The joining of the infinitive in וְתִ— with the plural suffix, vi. 8; xvi. 31, is also remarkable. Two forms have been put into one in the word נֶאֱשָׂאָר (nēshaar) *I was left*, ix. 8, (see Gesen. Lex., p. 1080, 4th edit.) Of nominal forms, the plural אֶת— is peculiar, xlvii. 11; so also מוֹבָא (mōbā) for מְבוֹא (mābō) xliii. 11, *entrance*. (See Lehrgeb. p. 374.) The dual terminations יִ— xliii. 18, and םִ— xlvi. 19. are also unusual.

The language of Daniel does not contain so remarkable ano-

malies as that of Ezekiel, though it is deeply tinged with the prevailing Aramaean colouring indicative of the degeneracy of the Hebrew. Thus the infinitive termination וְיָת xi. 23, is only found besides in Ezekiel xxiv. 26. בַּג (*bag*) *food*, Daniel i. 5 ;

Ezekiel xxv. 7. כְּתָב (*cethab*) for סֵפֶר (*sēphēr*), *a writing, or*

book. Dan. x. 21. Ezek. xiii. 9. In addition to the expressions and forms of this writer, which are also found in Ezekiel, he exhibits many new Aramaeisms peculiar to himself ; for example, מוֹעֵד (*mōēd*) for עֵת (*ēth*) *a definite space of time, especially a year*, with which may be compared the Chaldee עֲדָן (*iddan*),

Dan. xii. 7 ; חִידָה (*chīdah*) for מִרְמָה (*mirmah*) *fraud* ; viii. 23 ;

בִּזָּה (*bizzah*) for בַּז (*baz*) *booty*, xi. 24, 33 ; the form תַּעֲמֹדְנָה (*tāamōdēnah*), viii. 22 ; עֶרֶב בּוֹקֵר (*ērēb bōkēr*) instead of the ancient expression בֵּין הָעֲרֵבִים (*bēn hāarbāyīm*), Exodus xvi.

12, in Greek $\nu\chi\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\nu$. Daniel viii. 14.

The writings that appeared soon after the exile, viz. Chronicles, Esra, Nehemiah, and Esther, present features of language similar to those that characterise the times of the captivity.

The greatest corruption of the language is observable when the dialect of the common people, or, in other words, the *Chaldee*, was adopted by the writers. This, indeed, was called forth by peculiar circumstances, as Jerem. x. 11. Dan. ii. 4—vii. 28. Esra iv. 8—vi. 18, and vii. 12—26. These passages are not to be looked upon as presenting the pure idiom of Babylon, but rather as an exemplification of the Aramaean combined with the Hebrew. The pure Hebrew element has frequently been prescribed in opposition to the influence of the Aramaean idiom, for example, in the position of the article, the use of the dual form, the passive conjugation Hophal, and the doubling of the non-gutturals, &c. But, on the other hand, we find an Aramaean element distinctly preserved, notwithstanding the existing prevalence of the Hebrew. As an example of this we may adduce the deficiency of vowels in the *forms* of words, the *status emphaticus*, or emphatic state, the use of the particle לְ as the sign of the accusative, the formation of passives by prefixing the syllable תָּא , &c. On comparing the Biblical Chaldee with the later dia-

lect of the Targums, we find, that, whilst the former consists, in the use of the Hebrew and Aramaean elements so combined, as that their respective features have not been effaced by the opposing influences they exert on each other, the latter shews the Hebrew element in greater subjection to the Aramaean, and almost overwhelmed by its predominant power.

After the captivity several writers appear to have aimed at a purer Hebrew dialect than that which characterised their contemporaries. The prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, have written in a style free from Aramaeisms; a circumstance generally explained by their intimate knowledge of the older Hebrew writings, and their imitation of the purer language. Zechariah is particularly remarkable for his freedom from what is Aramaean. Very few traces of the later *usus loquendi* are to be found in him, such as the *scriptio plena* דָּוִד, (David), xii. 8, 9, and the word אֲלֻפִּי, (alluph), a *governor*, ix. 7; xii. 5. All of these prophets want concinnity of expression.

But, notwithstanding the great corruption of the Hebrew language, as manifested chiefly in the Chaldee portions of the Old Testament, we are not to suppose that the older dialect ceased to be understood and read by the well educated part of the Jews, or by such as were employed in expounding the sacred oracles. It is marvellous to find that such an intimation of ignorance, in regard to the pure Hebrew writing, has been directed towards the writer of the books of Chronicles. But there are men, professing to believe in revelation, who hazard many conjectures savouring of pure infidelity. This insinuation must be associated with an anti-christian spirit, though put forward by such eminent scholars as De Wette and Gesenius. Those who do not believe in the inspiration of the writers, may, indeed, hold the opinion in perfect consistency with their principles, but such as are taught to view the holy Scriptures as coming from God himself, through the instrumentality of men specially called and appointed, will abhor the sentiment, though proceeding from accomplished scholarship. And here it is proper to make a remark upon the mode in which we have spoken of the Old Testament writers, and of the state of the Hebrew language, as exhibited in the productions bearing their names. We thought it unnecessary and inconvenient to refer continually to the divine superintendence exercised over them in recording

events and predictions. But the fact that they were inspired in all they uttered, is sufficient to give us the highest confidence in their sentiments and declarations. If we look no higher than themselves, we stop short of the great author of all the communications which they were directed to make known; and we will have a lower idea of their authority than consists with a proper reverence for Scripture. But when we extend our mental vision to the Almighty author, and view the prophets and writers as commissioned by him to utter and to record predictions and admonitions for the benefit of mankind, we take a right view of the subject, and of the inspired men of whose language we have spoken. Let it be remembered also, that nothing which we have advanced is, in our view, inconsistent with the strictest views of inspiration taken by many Christians. I speak of *verbal inspiration* in its narrowest sense, for which multitudes contend, and which is undoubtedly the safest theory that can be adopted. We do not think that this kind of inspiration is opposed to diversity of style. It leaves different writers at liberty to adopt a characteristic diction by which they are distinguished from others. The cultivation of a language also, and the various stages of advancement and corruption through which it passes, may be spoken of in accordance with verbal inspiration. When the Holy Ghost puts words into the minds and mouths of men, he does it in such a way as corresponds to their habits and situation. The cast of language they employ, under his suggestion, is such as the influence of the various external circumstances to which they are exposed, would lead us to expect. It varies with the human instrument employed, and with the people addressed. The Spirit inclines those under his influence to write his instructions in such language as will be most intelligible to those for whom it is designed. As the genius of a language varies, from the numberless influences to which it is exposed, so will the inspired diction in like manner vary, to accord with the common dialect as spoken and written. The Holy Ghost leaves the peculiar mental habits of the individuals selected to be seen through the messages they convey. Even their situation in life may be perceived in the images they employ, though they are all the while directed and influenced in the use of such figures by the Spirit. Nor is the imitation of another inspired writer at all inconsistent with this view of the subject. The language and forms of expression, formerly used by another writer, may be

partly adopted and modified by a succeeding one, without necessarily implying that the *language* of the latter was not, strictly speaking, inspired. Such was the opinion, too, of the late Rev. Robert Hall of illustrious memory. "Nahum was a great prophet and a great poet. *Isaiah was greatly indebted to him.*" (See *Gardiner's Music and Friends.*) We do not attempt to explain the mode in which these things can be reconciled to the satisfaction of all. We are not called upon to do so. It is enough for us to know the fact that they are so, without puzzling ourselves with vain questions and subtle inquiries that minister no profit. We have alluded to them here, lest it should be thought by some that our manner of speaking places the sacred writers in circumstances too similar to those of ordinary authors. Although, in tracing the history and progress of the Hebrew language, it was most convenient to avoid constant allusions to the office of the Holy Spirit; and though it was in a great degree necessary and unavoidable to employ such language as we did, yet we must not forget that there is no inconsistency between it and the strictest view of inspiration which has been taken. The Bible was intended for the use of men, and it was written by men in such diversity of style and diction as was suited to the feelings and wants of those to whom it is addressed. Thus it was, in a great degree, characteristic of the times and individuals when and by whom it was produced.

I have thus given a very brief sketch of the Hebrew language, noticing its prominent features at different periods. The nature of the present work prevented me from entering into the subject with minuteness, though it presents a wide and interesting field of investigation to the biblical critic. Should any complain of the brevity with which I have treated this part of my proposed course, let them recollect that it would legitimately demand a separate volume, and that I have endeavoured to proportion my treatment of it, in this place, to the degree of copiousness with which other subjects are discussed. In the mean time, I may refer to those authors who have written upon it in detail. These are Gesenius in his "*Geschichte der Hebraischen sprache und schrift,*" (History of the Hebrew language and literature); Hartmann in his "*Linguistische Einleitung in das studium der Bücher des alten Testaments,*" (Lingual introduction to the study of the Old Testament books); Böttcher in his "*Proben alttestamentlicher Schrift-erklärung nach wissenschaftlich. Sprachforschung,*" (Specimens

of explanation of the Old Testament writing according to the principles of Scientific Philology); Hävernicks in his "*Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das alte Testament*," (Manual of historico-critical introduction to the Old Testament), and to Hirzel in his "*Commentatio de Chaldaismi biblici origine et auctoritate critica*," (Essay on the origin and critical authority of Biblical Chaldaism.) In addition to these, separate works on particular books may be consulted, as Hengstenberg on the Authenticity of the Pentateuch, Maurer on Joshua, Hitzig on Isaiah and on the Psalms, Kleinert on the Genuineness of the entire Prophecies contained in the book of Isaiah, Knobel on Jeremiah (*Jeremias Chaldaizans*) and on Ecclesiastes, Movers on Chronicles, &c. All of these books, however, except one or two, are shut out from the greater number of students, being written in a language which few study to acquire, and which fewer still master. But this fact is scarcely to be regretted in the present case, because the treatises just referred to are highly objectionable. They contain rash and dangerous speculations, against the influence of which it is necessary to warn you. The *inspiration* of the books of scripture is never referred to in them,—the language is regarded merely as that of fallible and erring men. Hence the adventurings of such writers into the wide regions of speculation are presumptuous and daring. The only exceptions we make are the works of Kleinert, Hävernicks, and Hengstenberg, though even these are occasionally liable to censure. The influences of the Holy Spirit are at all times needed to preserve us from error, but especially are they necessary to guard his people from religious error of a subtle and insinuating nature. Still it is of high importance to know what has been advanced even by the objectionable critics of Germany, that we may be fitted to do justice to the historical literature of the Bible. Some excellent remarks may be found in books tinctured with neologism; and if we be competent to separate the chaff from the wheat, the precious from the vile, we may be even instructed and benefited by the perusal of productions generally unsound.

The question now remains to be answered, how long did the Hebrew continue to be a living language. Of the different replies that have been given, we must select that one which appears, on examination, to be best founded. The older Jewish grammarians uniformly held that it became altogether a dead language during the Babylonish exile; and the majority of

Christian divines have assented. But in modern times, a different opinion has been entertained and advanced by several illustrious scholars, among whom Gesenius and De Wette are the most conspicuous. They suppose that the language was not wholly lost at that time, but that it was spoken and cultivated in a good degree after the exile, until it gradually died away. It has been thought by them marvellous and improbable that the Jews, in so short a space, should forget their native tongue and adopt a strange dialect, especially as many of those born before the captivity returned to their own country, *Esra* iii. 12. But unless we fix upon the captivity as the epoch of the death of the language, we will in vain look for any time to which so important an event can be probably referred. It is quite arbitrary to suppose that the taking of Palestine by Ptolemy Lagus exercised so great an influence on the inhabitants as to cause them to forget the dialect they spoke. If, therefore, we do not place the extinction of the language in the time of the captivity, where shall we find a more appropriate period for it? Besides, if the Hebrew had not been almost wholly superseded during the captivity, every attempt to restore its use would have been made. Had it been but partially extinguished, it is contrary to all historical analogy to suppose that a conquered race would afterwards adopt the language of their conquerors when freed from the yoke of their oppression. The Jews were not a people who were likely to lay aside their own language for that of a foreign enemy. Their love of their own nation and hatred towards others, especially that reverence with which they uniformly regarded their sacred national records,—a reverence not confined to their internal character but to all their externalities, combined to keep away a language different from their own. We are thus led unavoidably to the conclusion that the ancient dialect of the Jews was irrecoverably overwhelmed by Aramaean influence during their exile in Babylon. No attempt to restore it after their release from bondage could have succeeded, else there is every reason to believe that it would have been tried. The national genius is a sure warrant for adherence to every thing old and venerable, especially for the preservation of the language in which the holy books were written. Nor is it remarkable, that during a comparatively short exile, the language should cease entirely to be spoken. For we know that prior to that time, the Chaldee had begun to exercise a considerable influence upon it. It had received the Aramaean colouring

even before. When the Jews, therefore, came into close and actual contact with the Babylonians, it is by no means surprising that the process which had already commenced should be consummated; or, in other words, that the Aramaean element should completely overwhelm and suppress the genuine Hebrew idiom. It is not inconsistent with these sentiments to believe that the Jews read their sacred books and continued in some degree to cultivate the older language in which they were written. The regard they had for the divine records, and the care with which they preserved them, forbid us to suppose that Hebrew ceased to be understood by the well educated among the people. Attached to their own customs, and viewing all other nations with abhorrence, they were kept from amalgamating with them in manners, language, and friendship. But necessity obliged them to adopt the language of their conquerors, because it was that of common life. The circumstances in which they were placed tended to the extinction of their own. Their tenacity to their national religion and language preserved them indeed from a speedy abandonment of these distinctive peculiarities; but the predominant influence of external events, and daily intercourse with the Babylonians during seventy years, sufficed to extinguish the dialect they had previously spoken, and which had been gradually verging towards the Aramaean, before it was completely superseded. It is clear, from a passage in Jeremiah, that the Aramaean had been adopted by the people during their abode at Babylon, for it is written there, "thus shall you say unto them," implying, that the Chaldee words which follow were to be spoken in their hearing. But it has been alleged, as an objection to the opinion we have advanced, that several authors wrote after the exile in the Hebrew dialect for the benefit and instruction of the people; which would not have happened had it become to a great extent unintelligible. The priests and prophets, however, who explained the older writings to the people, would also explain these at the same time. Besides, we carefully distinguish between *written* and *spoken* language. We deny not that the knowledge of Hebrew would be retained longer as the language of books, than that of conversation, and for a greater period among the better educated. Many who had ceased to speak Hebrew were able to read it; and hence, several inspired authors wrote in substantially the same dialect as their predecessors. On the other hand, it is inexplicable, on the supposition that the genuine Hebrew

was not extinguished during the captivity, how the Chaldee portions of Daniel and Esra could benefit the people if they were not acquainted with that dialect. Had the Hebrew continued to be spoken, these Chaldee sections, and not the ancient writings, would have required an interpreter. Appeal has been made to Nehemiah xiii. 24, to prove that Hebrew was generally spoken after the return from the captivity. "And their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people." In this passage it is related, that the children of those Jews who had taken wives from among the Philistines, Ammonites, and Moabites, could not speak the Jewish tongue. By the Jews' language is understood, according to Gesenius, the *Hebrew language*. The term יְהוּדִית (yehūdith) is a relative one, and simply de-

notes, in this place, the language which the Jews usually spoke at that time. Hence, it must mean the Aramaean in opposition to the different dialects of the Philistines, Ammonites, and Moabites. The Hebrew word אַרְמִית (arāmīth) could not have been

adopted, because the other dialects were Aramaean; and thus יְהוּדִית alone could form a proper and suitable contrast. In 2

Kings xviii. 26, the same term is employed, in a different sense, to denote the Hebrew language, because it stands there distinguished from the Aramaean. This explanation is favoured by the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament. The phrases *ἡβραϊστί* and *τῆ ἡβραϊστὶ διαλέκτῳ* signify, *the dialect then spoken in Palestine*, viz. the Aramaean. Reference has also been made to Nehemiah viii. 8, in order to prove that the Hebrew language was still spoken by the people. "So they read in the book, in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." On the *right interpretation* of this verse depends the truth or unsoundness of the argument built upon it. The

word מְפָרֵשׁ (mephōrash) rendered in the authorised version *distinctly*, is explained by Gesenius *literally* or *faithfully*. But this is contrary to the use of the word פָּרַשׁ (parash) in the Penta-

teuch, where it signifies *to explain*. Levit. xxiv. 12. Numb. xv. 34. It must therefore mean *adding the explanation of it*. What such explanation was we infer from the passage itself. It could

not have been *comments*, or *short expositions of difficult passages*, for the purpose of rendering them clearer and more intelligible, because this idea is expressed by the words that follow, "they gave the sense and caused them to understand the reading." The explanation alluded to must therefore have been the translating of the text, which they read into the usual dialect spoken by the people. In the same way מְפָרֵשׁ (mephārash), Ezra iv.

18, is used to express the translating of Aramaean into Persian. So also the word *targum* stands both for *interpreting* and *translating*. In the time of the Talmudists פָּרַשׁ (pārash) was restricted

to *explanation*, and *targum* to translation. In the time of Esra, the word *targum* had not received this special signification. Thus it is plain that, when Nehemiah lived and wrote, the Hebrew language was unknown to the people, and that a translation of the text of their sacred books into the Aramaean was required to make it intelligible. The inscriptions on the Maccabean coins do not prove that Hebrew was spoken in the time of the Maccabees, because, though there are a few phrases stamped upon them in the ancient dialect, yet they have also *Aramaean* words. Hence we infer that Hebrew had partly ceased, even as a written language, since in these monuments the Chaldee accompanies it.

LECTURE XXIII.

ON THE HEBREW CHARACTERS.

THE changes which pass upon the written characters of a language in the lapse of time, must be viewed in connection with the people who use it, and with the country they inhabit. Their peculiar modes of thought, and the external influences to which they are subject, no less than the aspect of the writing itself, must be attended to by him who would successfully push his inquiries into this department of knowledge. The language, even when viewed in relation to its written characters, is necessarily modified by the wants and habits of the nation. Thus a people advanced to a high degree of cultivation and intellectual refinement, are more careful of their writing and more desirous of improving it, whilst such as are not habituated to reflection or devoted to literature, contemplating only corporeal and sensible objects, possess a written language of a very stationary nature. If also a convenient material be abundant, a facility and frequency of writing will characterise a people accustomed to mental inquiries. Hence arises a cursive form of letters, by which the former figures of alphabetical characters will be effaced or corrupted in proportion to the extent of the usage and the desires of the people. Thus the historical circumstances of a nation, its habits, peculiarities, and desires, and its advancement in civilization, give origin to *tachygraphy*. Wherever certain national characteristics are found, we are warranted to look for its existence and

influence. It arises in fact out of them. It is easy to know tachygraphy by its peculiar aspect. A superficial delineation of letters without attention to their minute parts—the linking of them together—the prolongation or bending of the final ones, to allow a readier and freer transition to those that follow; such are the chief lineaments by which it is distinguished. In contrast with this form of a written language stands *calligraphy*, which generally appears after the former, and betokens a higher national taste. When a people have advanced to a great degree of refinement, they have leisure and desire for beautifying their writing. The Hebrews especially had an elevated motive for adopting improvements in the external form of their language. Their literature consisted of the record containing the will of Jehovah, by which their civil and ecclesiastical polity was regulated. Their writings thus possessed a sacred character. Hence the desire for a more regular, beautiful, and artificial method, of exhibiting to the eye those records which they were taught to reverence as coming from the Almighty himself. This improvement, characteristic of the taste and habits of the people among whom it appears, is obviously the accompaniment, and, in some measure, the result of high mental culture. Like *tachygraphy* it is easily recognised in its general features. It goes back to the forms that existed before the cursive writing changed and modified them—aiming at regularity and symmetry. The letters that had been linked together before, it separates, attaching to them new ornaments and decorations. In this way the taste of a nation is manifested. The artificial formation of the letters, and their equal separations, indicate the refinement of the national mind.

These general remarks may be of some utility to us in our endeavour to develop the Hebrew writing. They are taken for granted as true in all palaeographical investigations, and we will find them exemplified and confirmed in the case of the Hebrew, no less than other Oriental languages.

That we may trace the successive and gradual changes which the written Hebrew characters underwent, it is necessary to go back to the oldest monuments extant, to compare them with the younger, and to form our judgment accordingly. In this way we may be able to observe the progress of the characters in which the remains of the ancient Hebrew are presented to us, with their

approximation to the original shapes which they had in the most ancient times. The oldest memorials of Hebrew writing reach no farther back than the middle of the second century before Christ; and consist of the coins stamped under the Asmonaeon princes, which are now admitted to be genuine. The characters inscribed on these monuments nearly resemble the Samaritan, which were preserved and retained by this people with great fidelity. The greater number of the Maccabean coins have on one side an urn with manna, and the inscription שֶׁקֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל, *the shekel of Israel*, on the other, Aaron's rod, with the words יְרוּשָׁלַם הַקְּדוּשָׁה, *Jerusalem the holy city*. According to these inscriptions, which consist of consonants alone, without vowel-marks, the coins must have proceeded from the Jews, and not the Samaritans, although the characters resemble in shape the letters of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The alphabet of these coins too, must have been the usual one at that time among the Jews, for it cannot be regarded as at all probable that the Maccabees borrowed the Samaritan letters to put on their coins, or that they imitated an older writing then obsolete. There are sufficient grounds for believing that the alphabet of the Asmonaeon coins was that employed, 140 B. C., in copying the MSS. of the Bible, and in the general business of life. Thus in the second and third centuries before Christ, the Jews wrote in a character agreeing in form with the Samaritan, and essentially differing from the later Hebrew. As far as we can judge from the coins of the Maccabees, the Hebrew and Samaritan letters were then similar. This fact is confirmed by express historical testimony. Julius Africanus, Origen, and Jerome have left in their writings a few notices confirmatory of its truth. Origen speaks of the letter *tau* having in the old alphabet of the Jews the form of a cross, and of the word *Jehovah* having been written in the old Hebrew letters. The letter *tau*, therefore, widely different as it now is from the same letter among the Samaritans, must have been originally identical with it in form. Hence we infer that both alphabets were originally identical, consisting of the same letters. Talmudic tradition is favourable to the same truth, viz. that the Samaritan and Hebrew letters were once alike in form. If we compare now, this old Hebrew character with the most ancient existing monuments of the Phenicians that reach back to the second and third centuries before Christ, we find so great a

resemblance as to shew that the Phœnician and old Hebrew characters were originally the same. The difference between them consists merely in the greater angularity of the latter. Instead of the round heads which some characters in the Phœnician have, they are sharper and more angular in the ancient Hebrew writing. This peculiarity distinguishes several of the letters used by the two nations, whilst in the case of others there is an exact coincidence. The comparison of the two alphabets presents us, moreover, with this important palæographical fact, that so early as the second century before Christ, the Hebrew mode of writing had received an *approximation* to the cursive character, as far as it had departed in form from the old Phœnician, with which it was at one time identical. This cursive character would have been probably more apparent if the writing were known to us through any other medium than that of stamped coins. It is natural to attribute greater stiffness to coin letters, and to suppose that they were more carefully formed, than such as are to be found in the ordinary writing of a people. And if we examine with minute attention the Phœnician alphabet, it is observable that it presents a cursive character also, even in its existing memorials, though as in the case of the Hebrew, the peculiarity must have been more obvious in the style of writing adopted in common life. Thus our inquiries into the Hebrew alphabet, and the changes it underwent, begin with the Asmonæan coins, as forming the oldest existing monument of its condition. We might, indeed, go back with Kopp to the Babylonian bricks, which he has minutely examined and analysed, and which must be referred to the sixth century before Christ. But such an inquiry would only shew that the Babylonian and Phœnician characters were substantially the same. The former are ruder and more unshapely than the latter, indicating by contrast the traces of art and improvement which the Phœnician character underwent. Following the stream of time, we come down to the *Aramaean* memorials of the old Hebrew alphabet, exhibiting the gradual progress of the writing. These consist of the *older* and *more recent*—the *older* including the stone of Carpentras, and some coins belonging to the same place—and the younger, the Palmyrene inscriptions belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian æra. The cursive character that had already appeared in its incipient state is here much more apparent. The older Aramaean writing shews

a dividing of the heads of the letters that are closed in the Phenician; and the junior Aramaean exhibits the same characteristic in so advanced a state that even a trace of the final letters appears in the mode in which *nun* is formed. In this stage of the progress of the alphabet, the principles of calligraphy are strongly marked. The younger Aramaean writing is particularly symmetrical, and many letters are furnished with spiral flourishes. The Aramaean writing may be looked upon as an intermediate condition of the alphabet between the old Hebrew and the square character in common use. It marks the character *in transitu*, partly resembling the ancient Hebrew as found on the coins stamped under the Maccabees, and partly the modern. The square mode of writing presents the alphabet advanced to a considerable degree of cultivation, if we may so speak. It shews it not only in the aspect of an alphabet consisting of cursive writing with strokes of union and enlargement of final letters, but also as the fruit of calligraphical skill and beauty, with its uniformity, its regular divisions, the closed tops of letters, and the apices. Let us now investigate the *age* of these Aramaean documents. Here there is much difficulty and great uncertainty. Nothing positive can be ascertained as to their exact antiquity. The Palmyrene inscriptions belong to the first three centuries after Christ, but the Palmyrene writing may be dated before Christ. It has been justly observed by Eichhorn, that the age of the inscription is not at the same time the age of the writing which it exhibits. We may antedate the inscription by a century at least. This is quite probable, though we cannot substantiate it by an appeal to memorials so early existing. The only historical testimonies that bear on the present inquiry are those of Origen, Julius Africanus, and Jerome, to which we have already referred. Jerome in particular describes the letters by name in such a way that their identity of form with our present square character cannot be doubted. The Gemara and Mishna have been also adduced as corroborative of the same thing. A passage in Matthew's gospel also indicates that *yod* was then the least letter of the alphabet, and the expression *μία κεραία* (one tittle), shews that even then the letters of the alphabet were furnished with *apices*, such as are peculiar to the square character, Matthew v. 18. From these historical data it follows as a consequence, that the change of the old Hebrew into the square character must be referred to

a period prior to the advent of Christ. This period coincides with the time when the Aramaeans exercised an influence over the Jews—when the language and manners of the latter strongly approximated toward what was Aramaean. When the Jews lived in exile in Babylon, their language had been already modified by that of their conquerors. Subsequent events tended to increase and to perpetuate the influence previously exercised over them. Hence the forms of their letters continued to be moulded in the same direction, and changed for such as were more beautiful. We know that the Jews lived in close connection with the Aramaeans, from the time when Seleucus Nicator planted colonies of them in Antioch. After the canon was completed by Ezra and other distinguished men of his time, the Jews were eager to multiply copies of their sacred books. But the origin of the synagogues, established for the reading and explanation of the law, contributed to improve and to fix the mode of writing that was just coming into use. The present character was adopted as the ecclesiastical one; and the demand for copies of the holy writings served to establish its authority, and to recommend it to general use. The Mishna gives strict rules concerning the manner in which the synagogue-rolls were to be prepared and written upon, a circumstance that presupposes care and attention to the copying of the law. Thus did the scribes endeavour to make the writing regular and beautiful, when the people were generally awakened to the interest and importance of their national records. In the period subsequent to the institution of the synagogue service, the written characters were being fashioned and framed with skill and beauty under the hands of many copyists, who laboured to make them more regular and uniform, until they assumed such forms as have remained essentially the same for more than eighteen hundred years. The circumstances in which the people were placed, and the various influences to which they were exposed, insensibly contributed to produce a peculiar mode of writing that bears in itself internal evidence of calligraphical art.

The following table will make the truth of these remarks more obvious:—

Babylon	Phoenic		Old Hebrew and Samaritan	Aramaean		Modern Hebrew
				The Older	The later Palmyrene	
	𐤀	𐤁	א	𐤀	𐤁 𐤂	א
𐤂	𐤂	𐤃	ב	𐤂	𐤃 𐤄	ב
		𐤄	ג		𐤅	ג
𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	ד	𐤅	𐤆 𐤇	ד
		𐤈	ה	𐤈	𐤉	ה
𐤊	𐤋		ו	𐤊	𐤋 𐤌	ו
		𐤍		𐤍	𐤎 𐤏	ז
𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	ח	𐤐	𐤑 𐤒	ח
		𐤓	ט		𐤔	ט
	𐤕	𐤖	י	𐤕	𐤖 𐤗	י
	𐤘	𐤙	כ	𐤘	𐤙 𐤚	כ
𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	ל	𐤛	𐤜 𐤝	ל
	𐤞	𐤟	מ	𐤞	𐤟 𐤠	מ
𐤢	𐤣	𐤤	נ	𐤢	𐤣 𐤤	נ
	𐤦	𐤧		𐤦 𐤧	𐤨	ס
	𐤩	𐤪	ז	𐤩	𐤪	ז
		𐤬			𐤭 𐤮	ח
	𐤰	𐤱	ט	𐤰	𐤱	ט
	𐤳		פ	𐤳	𐤴	פ
	𐤶	𐤷	ק	𐤶	𐤷 𐤸	ק
	𐤺	𐤻	ר	𐤺	𐤻	ר
	𐤽	𐤾	ש	𐤽	𐤿	ש
	𐥀	𐥁	ת	𐥀	𐥁	ת

From this sketch of the progress of the Jewish writing it is evident, that the changes and modifications which the alphabet underwent, were the gradual work of time and of art. There was no sudden alteration of one character for another under the influence of one individual ; but the alphabet was insensibly changed, till it assumed the forms which it has borne for many centuries. The circumstances in which the Jews were placed must be taken into account as influencing their language. Their exile, their return, their erection of synagogues, and multiplication of copies of the holy books, are all to be regarded in the description of their written language. It is true that there are very few monuments to guide us in our details of the gradual changes that passed upon the language, but those that do remain confirm and justify the opinions that have been advanced. We begin with the old Hebrew characters found on the coins stamped under the Maccabees, which are substantially the same as the oldest Phœnician writing at present known. We find that even in the second century before Christ, the letters of the alphabet had become cursive, having partly lost the rude and irregular forms which they had in prior times. In the Aramaean monuments we observe the marks of art and cultivation still farther developed. The influences of calligraphy are clearly marked there. This is so obvious in the Palmyrene inscriptions, that no one can possibly mistake the fact. The present square character succeeded the Aramaean forms, and is the result of continuing and increasing calligraphy. It was common in the time of our Saviour, and seems to have been principally formed by the Jewish scribes, who, after the erection of the synagogue, strove to beautify and to bring to perfection the characters in which copies of their scriptures were written. Each of them would naturally contribute something to the regularity of the alphabet, until it was so much changed and refined, that no traces of resemblance could be observed between its original and modern forms. The authority and influence of the Masoretes, in succeeding times, appear to have arrested and unchangeably fixed its mutable character. It is also to be remarked, that the old Hebrew and the Samaritan character are identical. The Samaritans retained the forms which they had received from their ancestors. They were not subject to external influences like the inhabitants of Judah,—influences which the latter could not withstand. This firm ad-

herence to their ancient manner of writing, formerly exhibited by the Samaritans, has continued to mark their character as a people down to the present time. Many consonants of their present alphabet have a close similarity to the figures which the old Hebrew stamped on the Asmonæan coins bears, proving that in the second and third centuries before Christ the mode of writing, common among both, was substantially the same. If the account given of the Hebrew letters be correct, it also follows, that in the time of the Septuagint translators, the square character had not come into use. At that period the old Hebrew character was still common. Some other method, therefore, of accounting for the departures from the Hebrew text in that version, so far as they relate to the letters, than that which explains them on the ground that the square character was then used, must be adopted, because such a supposition is contrary to matter of fact, to actually existing monuments. The square character had no existence then, although it must have originated, as we have seen, prior to the coming of Christ.

In the preceding sketch I have not attempted to decide the question, whether the character found on the Asmonæan coins be the *daughter* or *sister* of the Phœnician. This depends on the opinion entertained respecting the people among whom letters originated, whether the Babylonians or Phœnicians. The subject cannot be treated on positive data, though we might arrive at probability in our conclusions, by taking into account all the historical circumstances and analogies that are known to antiquarians and philologists. We are inclined to believe that Babylonia was the country that gave origin to letters, and that the Phœnician is consequently a modified and altered form of the Babylonian alphabet. I would be far from speaking with confidence on this point, when learned men are so divided in their sentiments concerning it. In one thing, however, they are all agreed, viz. in looking to *Hither* Asia as the country where letters were invented, to which historical accounts manifestly point the eye of the inquirer. The particular people to whom the honour belongs cannot be discovered with any certainty.

It remains for us to consider the well-known tradition that Ezra, after the return of the Jews from captivity, wrote out the Old Testament scriptures in the Chaldee character. In whatever way we explain such a legend, its truth cannot be maintain-

ed. The posterity of the captives of Babylon used the old Hebrew characters upon coins several centuries after the return of their fathers; and at the time they were thus inscribed there is every mark of their having been the usual written symbols of ordinary life. The introduction of the square character by Ezra, instead of the Samaritan, must have been a conjecture of the Jews to account for a phenomenon which they were unable satisfactorily to explain. The conjecture soon passed into a current tradition, obtaining, in the progress of time, all the authority of a historical fact. Even in the time of Origen, we find that this tradition existed. What is related by him as a common saying among the Jews, is mentioned by Jerome as though it were an undoubted truth. The later Jews attributed too much to Ezra, regarding him as the author of all the external alterations which the text of the Old Testament underwent; and their successors were not disposed to question the truth of those obscure traditions which were handed down to them in so great abundance. It is highly probable that the word *sopher*, applied to Ezra in the sacred writings, was misinterpreted by the early Jews. Looking for an explanation of the difficulties which presented themselves in regard to their alphabet, they remembered that this term was applied to Ezra. They saw the square character used in all Biblical MSS. after Christ, and they could neither harmonise it with the old Hebrew letters found on the Asmonæan coins, nor with various accounts respecting their ancient forms. Thus they knew by tradition that *tau* had the figure of a cross; and they could not account for the total alteration of its shape. In this dilemma they did not resort to history for an explanation of the changes which their alphabetical characters had undergone. But they recollected the term applied to Ezra, and abiding closely by its etymological signification of *writer* or *scribe*, they conjectured that he had received this honourable appellation because he had written out their sacred books in a new character so different from the ancient. The true meaning of *sopher*, viz. a person learned or skilled in the law, was thus entirely overlooked, whilst a close adherence to *etymology* misled its admirers. Such is the most probable explanation of the origin of the mistake.

In treating of the Hebrew vowels, I do not intend either to record all the controversies to which they have given rise, or to discuss the subject in a polemical manner. It is better, in my

opinion, to avoid such a representation as is calculated to distract the mind with a multiplicity of views, and to dissipate correct ideas. The most ancient mode of writing probably consisted of consonants only, a peculiarity which could be tolerated in a language while yet in its simplest elements, and consequently characterised by a poverty in flexion. When, however, the Hebrew language was more developed and enlarged, it is difficult to imagine how the alphabet could consist of mere consonants. As vowel sounds were intimately united with the consonants, it cannot be supposed that an improving language could leave them long unexpressed by particular letters. Although, therefore, we may admit, that the language, in its simplest rudimental form, had no vowel characters, yet we are inclined to believe, that as soon as it began to extend and to enlarge itself beyond its imperfect rudeness, it adopted them as indispensable to its improved form. Hence arose the custom of writing the vowels in places where they were required by distinctness, when the progress of time gave birth to various efforts to render the language more complete. For this purpose consonants already existing were employed as vowels, without any new additions to the former characters. And such representatives of vowels were selected, as exhibited sounds in accordance with the vowel. Thus *yod* and *vau* were employed to express the vowel sounds *î* and *û*, and also the mixed sounds *ê* and *ô*. In like manner the letter aleph, which is a guttural, was used to express the vowel sound *â*. To this simple, original vowel-system, observable in the Hebrew language, the structure of other dialects presents an analogy. The Æthiopic, Arabic, and Syriac, exhibit a similar feature in regard to their vowel sounds. It cannot be looked upon as a *regular vocalisation*, for it was but sparingly used. The improvement in the mode of writing did not keep pace with the progress of the language itself, and thus there was an ambiguity in the former which could only be compensated by the definiteness of the living language. In the later books of the Old Testament there is manifestly a greater distinctness, frequency, and regularity in the use of the vowel representatives. The *scriptio plena* is much more extensively employed. Thus the mode of writing exhibits an approach to greater plainness and distinctness. The Samaritan Pentateuch may be referred to as evidence bearing on the point in question. In this document the vocalisation

of which we speak is found with a very considerable degree of regularity. The Asmonæan coins may also be noticed as exhibiting the same vowel system, though it is natural to expect a very sparing use of it in such monuments. According to this account, the ancient Hebrew alphabet, though consisting essentially of consonants only, employed some of its signs as vowel representatives, when the necessity for distinctness, and the improving state of the language, called for some expedient mode of expressing vowel sounds. But they were only used occasionally in this capacity. They were not regularly or systematically made to serve such a purpose. A comparison of other dialects, with this vocalisation of the Hebrews, will show that, simple and inadequate as it may appear, it was sufficient to accomplish the object which it was intended to serve. Though it afterwards increased to a cumbrous and complicated system, unlike that of the Syrians or Arabians, yet we find that it was at first analogous to them in point of simplicity and of poverty. We infer, therefore, that it was the method originally employed for representing the principal vowel sounds; though to such as are accustomed to the present minute and comprehensive system, it may seem very imperfect and even insufficient for the purpose for which we have affirmed it to have been chosen.

By an attentive survey of the Septuagint translation, we observe, that the system exhibited in it is built on the ancient mode of representing the vowels to which we have just adverted. It is important to mark the vocalisation adopted in this version, because it serves to show that the later enlarged system is only a continuation of that which was current at the time of the Seventy, but with great extension. Whilst based on the most ancient and simplest mode of representing the pure vowel sounds, it is evidently the progression and improvement of its predecessor. In the translation of the Seventy, the contraction of the diphthongs *ai* and *au* into *ē* and *ō* appears incomplete. Thus *Ἄλλαμ* (אֵלֶם), *Θαίμαν* (תַּימָן), *Γαυλων* (גַּוְלוֹן), *Ναβου* (נְבוּ). The same thing is manifest in the kindred dialects. So also the Seventy transform yod without a vowel in the beginning of a word into a pure vowel sound, as יְדוֹתוֹן into *Ιδοτουον*, which is also found in the Syriac language. In place of *chirek*, which the Masoretes have adopted

with great uniformity as an auxiliary vowel, they exhibit the original full sound \hat{a} , in the manner of the Semitic dialects, as *Μαδιαν* (מִדְיָן) *Σιμλων* (שִׁמְלוֹן). It is very seldom that the same vowel-representative chirek has passed into any other than the \acute{a} sound, though there are such exceptions as *Κεδρων*, (קֶדְרוֹן). In

segolate forms the original \hat{a} frequently appears in their translation, though in Hebrew it is only exhibited in pause, such as *Αβελ*, *Λαμειχ*, *Ιαφεθ*. Sheva vocal appears also in the character of a rapid and fleeting vowel sound according to its original usage. Thus we find *Σαμουηλ*, *Ζαβουλων*, &c. as in Arabic. It is also to be remarked, that the assimilation of vowels in general is much more common and comprehensive than in the later system. The principle is more extensively adopted than the Masoretic practice would seem to warrant. Examples of this are presented in the words *Σοδομα*, *Σολομων*, *Γομορῶτα*. The inclination of the gutturals to the \hat{a} sound, to which they are the nearest, and with which they most easily accord, is not much observable, and therefore we find *patach furtive* expressed by a simple \hat{e} . Such are the chief peculiarities in the vowel system of the Seventy, showing that in some cases there is a visible approach to the modern vocalisation of the Masoretic, whilst in others there is a marked distinctness. Standing as it does between the original simple system, and that which was subsequently formed, features of its resemblance to both may be easily recognised. It is to be regarded as the traditional and current pronunciation of the time in which the version appeared, and will always remain a proof of the later origin of the present system. Many have erroneously represented it as destitute of unity, or as the exhibition of an irregular, unsettled, and inconsistent pronunciation. This mistake seems to have arisen from comparing it with our present system with its minute distinctness and divisions of sounds, and from transferring our ideas formed upon it to the vocalisation presented by the Seventy. Every thing leads to the supposition that it is a *faithful exhibition* of the customary pronunciation of the period. So far, therefore, it is complete in itself. The same mode of pronunciation is found also in the Hexapla of Origen, though an approximation to the later system is much more visible. The \hat{e} sound, for instance, instead of the \hat{a} frequently occurs as an auxiliary vowel,

as דְּמַעָה, δεμα; נְבוֹר, γεβωρ. This sound forms an intermediate link between â and î, into the latter of which it afterwards passed in many words.

Following the chronological order of the subject, we come to Jerome and the Talmud as witnesses of the vocalisation prevalent at a period subsequent to the coming of our Lord, and to Origen. The writings of Jerome present a marked approximation to the Masoretic system. The ancient vocalisation appears in an improved and definite state, extended and considerably enlarged by the addition of other signs expressive of several relations and distinctions of sounds. The segolate forms, comprehending a large class of words, are constantly written by Jerome according to the present vowel pointing, for example *deber*, *reseph*, whereas they are represented in the earlier vocalisation with their ground-forms, such as *καρ* for קָר. We find, too, that wherever this father undertakes to give the exact vocalisation of the text, in cases where the translations quoted by him deviate from his own, he follows the mode of pronunciation that accords with the Masoretic. Thus, when he says that מִים might either be read *miyam* or *mayim*; אַרְבָּה, *arbe* and *arubah*; שְׁעִרִים, *searim* and *seorim*; in these instances, and in others, the interpretation which he gives shews that the vowel-system, with which it accords, coincides with that afterwards developed. Now we know that Jeromè had learned Jews for his instructors, from whom he received his knowledge of the language, and that he exhibits substantially their views of the text. Thus it appears that they were in possession of a pronunciation essentially agreeing with that vowel-system which we now follow. At that period Rabbinical tradition had sanctioned it by its authority, so that Jerome adheres closely to it, even in particular instances where others had followed a different reading. From an examination of the works of this father, it is also inferred, that the letters *vau* and *yod* were regarded as vowels. In relation to *ayin* and *aleph*, he speaks of them also as *vowel-letters*, (*vocales literae*), but the expression is identical with *aspirations*, and shews that these letters were thought to have feeble sounds resembling each other. This circumstance is confirmed by the fact that they were frequently interchanged. In short, it is certain, from his writings, that he was unacquainted

with the present vowel marks, or with any diacritical signs invented for the purpose of reading the text. He makes no express mention of them in all his works, and wherever he has occasion to describe words, his description has regard to the consonants only. The usual terms employed are *scriptum*, *scribitur*, whereas he speaks of the vowels in such terms as *lectum*, *legitur*. The contrast thus implied between the pronunciation of a word and the letters composing it shews, that whilst the consonants were written, the vowels were supplied from traditional usage. His decisions respecting the vowels are the result of a comparison of the text, the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and Rabbinical tradition. By the last he was particularly guided in his judgments, seldom departing from its authority or contradicting its testimony. The circumstances, indeed, in which he was placed, and the manner in which his knowledge of the Hebrew language had been acquired, tended to establish him in the current opinions of the Palestine Jews. The word *accentus* which he sometimes uses, is erroneously taken in the sense of a sign for regulating the reading. According to the usage of the Greek and Latin grammarians, it means either the mode of pronouncing the vowels and some of the consonants, or written marks, and, according to the tenor of Jerome's writings, it must be taken in the former signification. Again, if we have recourse to the Talmud, we shall find that it makes no express mention of vowel points and accents. We find, however, in it a pre-supposed traditional pronunciation, not of a mutable and uncertain kind, but firmly established, partaking of all the characteristics of a settled consistent whole. The vocalisation of the Talmudists, applied to the text, renders the sense simpler and more literal, and it was therefore enjoined, not to mar the simplicity of the received canonical text, by departing from such a system. But, although the Talmudists profess a firm adherence to this text, yet they subject it to many alterations, from the variety of *interpretations* which they affix to it. Without condemning it they take great liberties with its structure. There are two modes of altering the text which bear upon the vocalisation, shewing the views of the Rabbins in regard to the vowels. One is, where a passage of Scripture is intended to be quoted but is not appropriate according to its right reading. In this case, the punctuation is generally altered. The second is, where an actual quotation is intended to be given, in which

case the reading of the text is sometimes altered after the vowels. It is evident from both, that the Talmud pre-supposes a definite vowel-system, on which it founds its argumentation, and to which it appeals. But it is no less true, that the opposition between the *mikra* and the *masoreth*, recorded in it, demonstrates that *written* vowel marks were then unknown. Some Rabbins decided in favour of the textual reading or *mikra*, others for the altered reading or *masoreth*. This latitude could only have proceeded from an unvowelled text, affording scope for such interpretations as deviated from the established method of pointing, and implied the absence of written vowel characters. Nor does the Talmud contain even the incipient lineaments of a *written vowel system*. The passages to which some have referred, as showing the vowel points mentioned in the Talmud, do not establish the fact. They speak of *signs of dividing words according to the sense*, but not of *written vowel points*. Thus we are led to seek for the origin of the present *written* vowel system in a period subsequent to the composition of the Talmud, when the Jews became more desirous to elucidate the sacred text, and to render the understanding of it easier and more certain. The flourishing seminaries existing before the writing of the Talmud preserved in a great measure the pronunciation of the text, but the insufficiency of this traditionary preservation became more and more apparent in proportion to the time since the language had ceased to be spoken. When these seminaries were broken up, and the Jews widely dispersed, they saw the necessity of adding *in writing* to the text, whatever was necessary to the preservation of the definite character which it had maintained under the watchful care of their predecessors. This new measure would certainly have been looked upon in earlier times as a thing forbidden, but the influence of various circumstances obliged them to adopt the expedient of marking by *written signs* the pronunciation of single words. What is attributed to tradition in the Talmud was superadded to the text itself in the form of *signs* and *points*, by which the tradition was limited and fixed. The Masorettes did not depart from the ancient tradition, but they abided by it, and endeavoured to note it down even in its minutest parts. They did not proceed arbitrarily in their labours upon the text of the Old Testament, but they followed with great strictness the prevailing opinion regarding the pronunciation, which had been handed down to them, endeavouring to present to the eye its nicer shades by means of

external signs. Hence *these marks for reading* are intimately connected with the marginal glosses or *masora*. The ancient text or *cetib* was for a long time continued without any additions for assisting the reading, and even after a more extended vowel-system became current, there were no written signs, though there were some variations between the Rabbins in their mode of pronouncing and interpreting many words. When signs were resorted to for the purpose of marking the minuter distinctions of sounds, they were accommodated and appended to the marginal reading. The points must have been constantly pronounced with the marginal reading. Thus a written vowel-system could not have been invented before *the Keri*, or that which was to be read instead of the text. *These additions to the text* or *signs for reading* were introduced only into MSS. for private use, because they were a modern appendage which did not originally belong to the text. Into the rolls of the synagogue, as being sacred and designed for the public reading of the church, they could not be introduced, because the pattern, after which the rolls was to be written, was already laid down in the Talmud with unalterable precision. The most probable origin of the written vowel-system is to be traced to the Syrians and Arabians, with whom the Jews came into contact in the current of external circumstances to which they were exposed. Among these people a similar system prevailed, which was farther developed and applied with greater regularity by the Hebrew punctuators. It is historically ascertained, that the Syrians and Arabians were possessed of a vowel-system in the seventh century. At that time the schools of Babylon were distinguished by a number of learned Rabbins, and especially at Tiberias, a place where the Hebrew language was best pronounced, their studies were directed under Syrian influence to the grammar and to the text of the Old Testament. If these observations have any truth, the vowel-system of the Hebrews cannot possibly be regarded as the work of one man or of one century. External circumstances gave to it origin and impulse, but its development must be attributed to the labours of the Masoretes themselves. Comparison with kindred languages possessed of a similar vocalisation shows, that they exerted an influence on its formation.

To distinguish, by signs, the finest shades of pronunciation, and to mark them with the severest accuracy, was a task exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. Such a field, when once opened

up to observation, presented a boundless subject to the Jews, and continued to be cultivated by them in successive centuries, until there arose a cumbrous system of marks and points, adapted to the great variety of tones and sounds in the pronunciation. The testimony of Jewish grammarians proves the *gradual* formation of the present system, for they are accustomed to trace back all the vowels to three fundamental ones, viz the three Arabic vowels, â, ô, î. In the Jewish book Cosri they have even the Arabic names, viz. *futha*, *dhamma*, *kesre*, shewing the external origin of the system. The time when the present vocalisation was *completed* cannot be definitely fixed. All known MSS. have it, but none of them is older than the eleventh century. Among them we observe some furnished with fewer of the marks than others; but this is no proof that they were written before the system was developed in its present fulness. The circumstance is rather to be attributed to the copyists, who, weary of the immense number of little signs, endeavoured to lighten their task by omitting many of the least necessary. The various readings of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, in the eleventh century, exclusively regard the vowels and accents, shewing that they had existed for some time previous. It is, therefore, most probable that we ought to fix the development of the present vowel-system in the centuries between the *seventh* and *tenth*. We regard it as a gradual work, begun and completed under the care of the Masoretes. The absence of historical data prevents us from ascertaining, with greater accuracy, the time when it began to be *written*, and when, in consequence of its supposed completeness, it ceased to receive farther additions or corrections.

With regard to the system of accents, it is closely connected with the present state of the vowel-points. It is merely an enlargement of the vowel system in so far as it regulates the tone and pronunciation of a word. In the public reading of their Scriptures, the Jews, guided by the accents, have been accustomed to cautilate them. In this respect, also, the Rabbins appear to have imitated the Syrian grammarians; but they carried the system to an extreme degree of minuteness, and fixed it with the utmost precision as it was delivered to them by tradition.

From this brief account of the Jewish punctuation, its value may be easily estimated. Although nothing more than the representation and expansion of a tradition, yet we ought to re-

collect the antiquity of that tradition. It shews us what were the opinions entertained by the Jews at a very early period respecting the text. It serves as a commentary, pointing out the sense in which dark and difficult passages were understood by those from whose hands we have received the Old Testament. In this respect alone the vowel-points are of great utility. They have transmitted to us, with fidelity, the meaning early attached by the Jews to the words of Scripture. Thus they are a help to us in our interpretation of the divine oracles. The pronunciation exhibited by them is likewise infinitely preferable to any other that has been proposed, for it is founded on the ancient mode of pronunciation used by the Jews. It is, in fact, its enlargement. Though not cœval with the composition of the Hebrew Scriptures, nor yet infallible, we look upon it as a system that cannot be rejected without great and manifest disadvantages,—disadvantages not to be compensated by any other scheme, however ingenious, that may be substituted in its place. We are not, indeed to follow it implicitly where there is good reason for its abandonment; neither are we to look upon it with the same reverence as the Jews have uniformly done. We are well aware that it is complicated and cumbrous, still inadequate to mark all the delicate distinctions of a living pronunciation. But this cannot possibly be attained in a dead language; and, in the present instance, we must be satisfied with that approximation which Masoretic skill has effected.

Of the name HEBREW, in connection with the language.—The appellation *Hebrew*, according to some, was first given to Abraham by the people of Canaan, among whom he dwelt. It is supposed to have been applied to him because he came from *beyond* the Euphrates, עֵבֶר (ēbēr) meaning *over* or *beyond*, so that עֵבֶר־יִשְׂרָאֵל signifies one who came *from beyond* the river. Hence the Seventy in Genesis xiv. 13, render הַיְעֵבֶרִי (hāibri) ὁ πατριάρχης.

This derivation principally rests on the fact that the first names of nations as well as individuals were *appellatives*. But the appellation is differently traced by others, who regard it as a patronymic derived from the name of Heber the great-grandson of Shem. According to the latter view, the first mention of the word *Hebrew* or *Hebrews* is found in Genesis x. 21, where it is written, “Unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, even to him

were children born." According to this passage, Shem is pointed out as the progenitor of a race which was continued through Eber. The intermediate links are recorded in the same chapter of Genesis, 24th verse, Shem, Arphaxad, Selah, Eber, which genealogy is afterwards resumed and brought down to Abraham. The reason why Eber is selected as an important person in the line of descent, is found in the circumstance mentioned in Genesis x. 25, viz. that in the days of his son Peleg, the earth was divided. Eber accordingly was the last of the patriarchs descended from Shem, until the dividing of the people, as also the commencement of a particular race which was selected and continued a distinct people among the multitudinous branches into which the general mass of mankind was divided. When, therefore, we thus regard Eber as standing between the patriarchs descended from Shem, and the particular family from which God's peculiar people lineally sprung, and to which, at the time when the ancient inhabitants of the earth were dispersed far and wide the sacred history is restricted, we are not surprised that he was thought to be a person of so much importance as to give a name to his whole posterity. For this reason, Abraham is called a descendant of Eber in Gen. xiv. 13, "Abram the Hebrew." The posterity of Abram called themselves Hebrews, (Gen. xl. 15), and were so denominated by others. Gen. xxxix. 14, 17: xli. 12.

When the people were divided into twelve tribes, they were naturally named after Jacob or Israel, which is to be regarded as the *theocratic appellation*, or that closely connected with their religion. It is the *covenant designation* of the people, whilst the other is the political and ethnographical. This distinction between the two names is strictly observed in the Pentateuch, and in the oldest historical books. The derivation which refers the origin of the appellation to Abraham, must be rejected, though sanctioned by the Seventy and Aquila, together with many of the Fathers and Rabbins in ancient times, and by such eminent scholars as Walton, Gesenius, De Wette, and Winer, in modern days. It does not well suit the passage Gen. xiv. 13, to take the word in the sense of Abram the *passer over* or the *stranger*, (*advena*), because there is a contrast between *Abram the Hebrew* and *Mamre the Amorite*, which would be lost on the supposition that העבר is not a patronymic. The passage in Numbers xxiv.

24, is also adverse to this view. "They shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever." The Assyrians are here called Asshur, from Asbur their progenitor; and the Hebrews, Eber, from Eber their progenitor. Walton in advocating the other derivation, affirms that the translation of Gen. x. 21, ought rather to be, that "Shem was the father of all that dwelt beyond the river," but it is very doubtful whether a parallel to this mode of translation could be found in the whole of the Scriptures. In the inspired language of the Bible the Israelites are called *the sons or children of Israel*, but it is quite unusual to speak of *the sons of the other side of a river*. It has also been asked, why should Abraham, who was the sixth in generation from Heber, take his name from this patriarch rather than from any other of his ancestors? Why not rather from Shem for example, who is styled by Moses, the father of all the children of Heber? To these questions an answer may be found in what we have before advanced. Heber was the last person in whose days the first language was originally spoken. The line of the pious also seems in this age of degeneracy to have been chiefly confined to the family of Eber. Abraham, therefore, might well receive an appellation from him, rather than from any other of the patriarchs, for it is obvious that he was an important personage. The inspired account speaks of a certain family descended from Eber which abode in Chaldea, and constituted there the house of Abraham, whilst the rest of the posterity of Heber were dispersed. Thus was he a notable ancestor of Israel. Other objections might be urged against this opinion, but the subject is scarcely of sufficient moment to demand a minute investigation.

The name *Hebrew*, applied to the language, does not occur in the Old Testament. In one passage it is poetically termed the language of Canaan, Isaiah xix. 18, where Canaan, the holy land, is opposed to Egypt, the profane. The later appellation, the *Jewish language*, properly means the dialect of the kingdom of Judah, but was afterwards employed in a more extended signification to designate that of the entire people. The language was first called Hebrew after the return from the captivity, when the use of the Greek language became prevalent among a certain class of the Jews.

LECTURE XXIV.

LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE reason why the New Testament was written in the Greek language must have been, because it was the language best understood by those to whom the instruction it contains was addressed. At the time of our Lord's appearance in the flesh this dialect was current in Palestine, and diffused through many countries into which Christianity was introduced by the Apostles. It was, therefore, chosen by the Deity as the fittest medium of communicating a knowledge of his will, because of its prevalent use. The sacred writers composed their inspired records in a language widely extended, and more readily apprehended than any other.

In considering the nature of the New Testament diction, it will be obvious at once to every student, that it is different from the pure and classic language of Greece, as exhibited in its best writers. It presents a marked contrast to the flowing style of the celebrated Grecian authors, in the days of the prosperity and freedom of their native land. We must, therefore, examine with minuteness its characteristic features, that we may be prepared to enter upon its study with pleasure and advantage. Its constituent parts may be regarded as three. 1st. The dialect or language called the *κοινή* or 'Ελληνική, i. e. the *common* or *Hellenic*, especially as spoken by the people, including some peculiarities of the Macedonic-Alexandrian dialect as commonly spoken. The 2d constituent is the *Jewish element*, arising from the vernacular tongue of the writers. 3d. The *Christian* or *ecclesiastical* element, owing to the subjects to which the Greek language was necessarily applied by the New Testament writers. Of these several elements we must speak in order. 1st. Of the *κοινή* or *common language*. The Greek language had its various dialects, all of

which have been traced back to two principal ones, the *Doric* and the *Ionic*. The former prevailed in the whole interior of Greece, in Lower Italy, and in Sicily. It was somewhat harsh, and abounded in the use of long *a*. The *Æolic* was a branch of it cultivated in the *Æolic* colonies of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands. The *Ionic* was originally spoken in Attica. But the colonies sent out thence to the coasts of Asia Minor, soon took the lead of the mother tribe in improvement; and afterwards the name of *Ionic* came to be exclusively applied to their dialect. It is the softest of all, in consequence of its numerous vowels. The *Attic* was cultivated by such of the Ionians as remained in Attica after the colonies emigrated to Asia Minor. This last soon surpassed all the other dialects in refinement, holding a middle place between the harshness of the *Doric* and the softness of the *Ionic*. Until freedom departed from Greece by the influence of Philip of Macedon, each writer employed the dialect in which he had been educated, or for which he entertained a predilection. But, about the time of Alexander the Great, the *Attic* became more general, attaining a completeness and comprehensiveness far beyond those of other dialects. Among the dialects of the different tribes it took the lead of all others. It began, indeed, to be exclusively employed. When different writers thus adopted the *Attic*, they mingled with it much that was derived from the dialect of their own country. Hence it was changed and modified. The departures from *Attic* purity thus introduced into the language by tribes hitherto using distinct dialects, contributed to its gradual decay. As now modified and altered it was called *κοινή* the *common*, or 'Ελληνική the *Hellenic*; and the writers of this latter period were denominated *οἱ κοινοὶ* or *οἱ Ἕλληνες* in opposition to the genuine *Attics*. Still it continued to be substantially the *Attic*; for notwithstanding the various modifications introduced into it, its principal characteristics remained. This *κοινή διάλεκτος* is the usual standard of grammars and lexicons; all departures from it being specified under the name of particular dialects.

When Greece was deprived of its liberty by the Macedonians, it was an unavoidable consequence that those tribes who were before distinct in manners, and independent, in some measure, of one another, should thus come to use one uniform language under the dominion of a foreign people. The loss of their freedom

was the great cause of the intermingling of their dialects, and of their consequent corruption. The amalgamation, indeed, had commenced by previous intercourse among the several republics of Greece; but under the reigns of Philip and Alexander it was greatly promoted, so that the dialectic and distinct peculiarities of the language no longer appeared. In this confusion of dialects, that of Macedonia came to have a certain predominance, from its being spoken by those who had obtained the sovereignty. The language of the conquerors being diffused among the subject tribes, prevailed to a considerable extent. Thus after the Macedonian dominion there was an intermingling of dialects throughout all the Grecian provinces. In the colonies also, established by Alexander and his successors, when the Greek inhabitants, collected from every people, had lost their own dialects, the same *common language* obtained. In Egypt especially, where the successors of Alexander cultivated literature with much zeal, the influence of the Macedonian conquests was felt. At Alexandria, the chief seat of such influence, the *common language* was developed and modified by the circumstances of the inhabitants, and the places from which many of them had come together. From this brief account it may be seen that the *common* or *Hellenic* language employed after the times of Alexander, had the Attic dialect for its basis. Still the purity and elegance of the Attic were in a great measure lost. It had begun to degenerate even before the subjugation of Greece, when different authors conformed to it, because it was reckoned the most polished. Others were thus absorbed into it; for each tribe, in adopting it, naturally introduced many of its own idioms. Still the Attic elements were predominant. Hence the *common language* may be called substantially *Attic*, with a sprinkling of various dialects. And when we consider the conquests of the Macedonians, it is natural to suppose that their language would have a great influence in modifying the later diction which had arisen from the confluence of tribes and the amalgamation of their dialects. This predominance was most observable at Alexandria.

The second constituent of the New Testament diction is the *Jewish element*. The writers were Jews, familiar with the Hebrew Scriptures, and with the idioms of the language in which they were written. They were accustomed to speak the *Aramaean* or *Syro-Chaldaic*, which was current among them in Pales-

tine. Hence words, phrases, and constructions, were borrowed from their vernacular tongue, when they came to write a language which they had learned from intercourse, and partly perhaps from books. When a foreigner, for instance a Hebrew, learns another language, he is apt to think in his own, so that his conceptions are still Jewish, though clothed in the costume of the language he has acquired. Now the dress of such thoughts is necessarily influenced by their peculiar nature. The forms, as well as the proper construction and connection of words, are considerably modified. The diction thus partakes of a Hebrew colouring, arising from the fact, that the writers were Hebrews, accustomed to speak the Hebrew language, or rather the later Aramaean, and familiar also with the ancient language of the Scriptures. The vernacular tongue influenced their mode of exhibiting their conceptions, as is the case with every foreigner who has acquired a strange language, and undertakes to give expression to his sentiments in it.

3d. The *Christian, or Ecclesiastical element*, is next to be considered. This lies in the subjects to which the Greek language was necessarily applied. We must remember, that the vocabulary of that tongue had no terms to express many ideas which the sacred writers were led to communicate. No native Greek had ever written on Christianity. They were the first individuals authorised to make known to mankind a revelation of mercy and of peace. The doctrines of the Christian religion had not yet been divulged in their full import. When, therefore, native Hebrews were directed to write of Christianity in the Greek tongue, they had many ideas for which it afforded no appropriate terms. The subjects were new—they had never before been opened up in their vast and varied compass. It was therefore necessary, either to employ words already existing in new senses, or to make entirely new terms. Accordingly we find, that both expedients were resorted to by the Jewish teachers of the new religion. Thus the *Christian element* of the New Testament diction arose from the subjects on which that diction was employed, and the ideas that were to be expressed. We need not therefore be surprised that the Greek language received many turns and modifications from the exigency of the case. New subjects were to be discussed, in treating of which, they were obliged to apply existing terms in new meanings, or to coin new ones. The theological element, therefore, is to be

taken, in connection with the vernacular tongue of the writers, and their foreign modes of thought, as materially influencing the later Greek, which had then become current in so many countries.

Such are the three causes which moulded the style of the New Testament, and tended to exhibit a diction differing from that of the purer ages of the Greek language, and even from the *common*, as it appears in the writings of those Greek authors who lived at the commencement of the Christian era. They constitute the essential features by which it is characterised, and to which the student must attend, that he may be thoroughly prepared for the interpretation of the New Testament. If the representation given be correct, it will be seen that there are various sources whence an accurate knowledge of the New Testament diction may be derived. First, there are the writers called the *ἱστοριογράφοι*, among whom are Aristotle, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and others. Much advantage, however, is not to be gained from the consultation of the style of these writers for illustrating the character of the Jewish Greek in the New Testament.

In regard to the second element of this idiom, it is necessary to consult the *Alexandrine version*, and the Apocryphal books of the Old and New Testaments. The former was written under many of the circumstances, to the influence of which the writers of the New Testament were exposed. The Jews at Alexandria had to acquire the Greek language, current in that city. Into this they translated the Scriptures of the Old Testament; and thus their version exhibits an imperfect knowledge of a foreign language, pervaded by a Hebrew influence. Accustomed to the Hebrew Scriptures, and having the Aramaean for their vernacular tongue, the words and phrases of the Greek, which they had chiefly learned from conversation, exhibited, in a high degree, Jewish idioms and peculiarities. The translators were often reduced to the necessity of either coining new words, or of using those already existing in new significations, because the subjects of which the Old Testament treats were, in a great measure, unknown to the Greeks. Many ideas required corresponding and appropriate terms for their expression, which the compass of the Greek tongue did not furnish. Thus, the Septuagint exhibits the same idioms as the New Testament. The only difference seems to be this, that, in the former, the Hebraisms are more strongly marked, because the translation was made from a Hebrew original. The Jewish, or as it is also called the

Hellenistic Greek, is employed in both ; for the writers were, in both instances, Jews, whose vernacular dialect was Aramaean. The Apocryphal writings of the Old and New Testaments also afford illustrations of the New Testament diction. The former were written by Jews on Jewish affairs ; the latter were frequently imitations of the canonical books. In regard to the works of Josephus and Philo, they afford less illustration of the idiom employed in the New Testament and Septuagint ; because, though nearly contemporary with the Apostles, they were able to overcome the influence of their vernacular tongue, and to write in a style nearer that of the later Greek than is exhibited in the Septuagint or New Testament. Their language is much more remote from the colloquial dialect of the common people than that of the New Testament, for the latter appears to be unquestionably adapted to the diction of ordinary intercourse, rather than to that of books. Still the Hebrew idiom is apparent in these two authors, though in a far less degree than is exhibited by the sacred writers.

We must now speak of the name of the New Testament diction. It has been called the *Hellenistic*, the *Jewish-Greek*, or *Hebrew-Greek*. But its appellation is of little importance, provided its genius be properly ascertained. The first name was given to it by the younger Scaliger, because the Jews who spoke Greek are called in the New Testament *Hellenists*, (Acts vi. 1. ix. 29), but it is inappropriate. The designation *Hebrew-Greek* or *Jewish-Greek*, *i. e.* Greek with a strong colouring of Hebrew, is much more suitable ; and it is applicable both to the Septuagint and New Testament, exhibiting substantially the same diction. As to the appellation *Alexandrine dialect*, it is to be entirely rejected, not only as applied to the New Testament, but also to the Seventy, because it seems merely to denote the peculiarities of the Greek language at Alexandria. At all events, the term *dialect*, in its usual sense, is not appropriate, because it ought to refer to the idioms of a language exhibited in a particular place as distinguished from those of the *same language, spoken by the same race*. Hence, individuals of Jewish origin, adopting the Greek language, and transfusing into it Aramaean idioms, cannot be said to have made for themselves a dialect from the *common or later Greek*.

We are now prepared to enter upon other points connected with the Hebrew-Greek style of the New Testament.

We are prepared, in the first place, to look for the occurrence of words belonging to all the dialects, from the circumstance that the κοινή, or later Greek, was amalgamated from all the dialects of Greece. Thus, to the *Doric dialect* belong, in orthography, πιάζω for πίζω, *to take*, John vii. 30; καμμύω for καταμύω, *to close*, Matthew xiii. 15; κλίβανος for κρίβανος, *an oven*, Matthew vi. 30. In the flexion of verbs, ἀφίωνται for ἀφείνται, *are forgiven*, Matthew ix. 5; 1 John ii. 12, which some, however, refer to the Attic. ἦτω for ἴσω, *let it be*, 1 Cor. xvi. 22. In regard to gender ἡ λιμὸς, *famine*, Luke xv. 14; Acts xi. 28, for which the other Greeks used ἰ λιμὸς. New forms of words, belonging to this dialect, are ἡ ἰκοδομή, *a building*, Matthew xxiv. 1; Romans xiv. 19, for which, according to Phrynichus, the older Attic writers employed ἰκοδομία and ἰκοδόμημα. To the *Ionic* are referred, in orthography, βαθμός, *a step of dignity*, 1 Timothy iii. 13, for βασμός; ἐπιφαύω, *to enlighten*, Ephes. v. 14, for ἐπιφάω. In regard to gender τοὺς δεσμούς, instead of τὰ δεσμὰ of the Attics, *bonds*, Philippians i. 13. New forms of words also appear in the same dialect, such as ξυράω for ξυρέω, *to shave*, Acts xxi. 24; 1 Cor. xi. 5. ῥήσσω, *to break*, for ῥήγνυμι, Mark ii. 22. *Atticisms*, as might be expected, are frequent, *ex. gr.* in orthography, ὕαλος, *chrysal*, Rev. xxi. 18; φιάλη, Rev. v. 8, *phial*, for ὕελος, φιέλη. ἀετὸς, *an eagle*, Matthew xxiv. 28, for αἰετὸς. In the flexion of nouns, we find τοῦ Ἀπολλῶ, *of Apollon*, 1 Cor. i. 12, from the nominative Ἀπολλῶς. In the flexion of verbs, according to Attic usage, the sacred writers give a double augment to βούλομαι, δύναμαι, μέλλω. In respect of *gender*, the use of ὁ σκότος, in the masculine, was peculiar to the same dialect. To the *Macedonic dialect* we assign κόρασιον, *maiden*, Matthew ix. 24; κολλυβιστής, *a money-changer*, Matthew xxi. 12; παρεμβολή, *camp*, Acts xxi. 34, and εἶμη, *street*, Matthew vi. 2. Thus we have found vestiges of all the ancient dialects in the Greek Testament except the *Æolic*, because the *later Greek*, then current, arose from the intermingling of all the peculiarities of the dialects. The *Æolic* had probably fallen into disuse before any of the others, as the language of ordinary life.

We come now to speak of *new forms of words* belonging to the common language, which cannot be traced up to any of the ancient dialects, but must be considered as of later origin. They are, in general, *prolonged* or *lengthened*, rather than *abbreviated*. Thus, in *nouns*, we find καύχσις *boasting*, frequently used by St.

Paul, Romans iii. 27 ; xv. 17, &c. and once by James iv. 16, for *καίχημα* ; *ἀποστασία* *apostacy* for *ἀπίστασις*, Acts ii. 21 ; *μετοικεσία* *migration*, Matthew i. 11, for *μετοίσεις* (Plato) or *μετοίκια* (Æschylus) ; *βιβλαρίδιον* a *small roll* or *volume* for *βιβλάριον* or *βιβλίδιον*. Especial attention is due to a class of nouns ending in *μα*, which frequently occur in the New Testament, instead of which, forms with feminine terminations were used in the ancient language in the same signification. So *ἀναπόδομα* *retribution*, both in a good and bad sense. In the former, it occurs in Luke xv. 2 ; in the latter, Romans xi. 9 ; *ἄτημα* a *request*, Luke xxiii. 24, Philippians iv. 6 ; *ἄτλημα* a *bucket*, John iv. 11 ; *κατάλυμα*, an *inn*, Luke ii. 7 ; *βάπτισμα*, *baptism*, Matthew iii. 7, &c. &c. New forms of adjectives were also made ending in *ιος*, Such as *καθημερινός*, *daily*, Acts vi. 1 ; *εὐθρινός*, *of the morning*, Rev. xxii. 16. Other forms arose by composition, as *ἀκατάπαυστος* *unceasing*, 2 Peter ii. 14, for *ἄπαυστος* (Thucydides) ; *ἀρτιγέννητος* newly born, 1 Peter ii. 2, for *ἀρτιγενής*. Verbs in *ω*, to which the Greeks of the later age seem to have had a particular propensity, and which have been explained by the influence of the Macedonian dialect, also occur ; as *ἀνακαινίω* to *renew*, 2 Cor. iv. 16 ; *ἀφουπνίω* to *fall into a deep* or *prolonged sleep*, Luke viii. 23 ; *δεκατῶ* Heb. vii. 6, 9, to *receive* or *pay tithe* ; *ἰξουδενίω* to *despise*, Mark ix. 12. The termination *ίζω* was also employed in verbs, as *ἐκμυκτηρίζω* to *scoff at*, Luke xvi. 14 ; *δειγματίζω* to *make an example of*, Coloss. ii. 15 ; *εὐθριζέω* to *rise early in the morning*, Luke xxi. 38. New forms of adverbs also appear, as *ἰξάπινα* *suddenly*, Mark ix. 8, for *ἰξαπίνης* ; *πάντοτε* *always*, Matthew xxvi. 11, for *ἐκάστοτε* ; *πανοικί* *with all the household*, Acts xvi. 34, instead of *πανόικια* or *πανοικησία* ; *καθῶς* *as*, for *καθὰ*, Matthew xxi. 6, &c. Many words entirely new were used in the later language, so *ἄλλοτριουπίσκοπος* a *busy-body*, 1 Peter iv. 15 ; *ἀνθρωπάρεσκος* a *man-pleaser*, Ephes. vi. 6 ; *ἀρχισυναγωγός* *ruler of the synagogue*, Luke viii. 41 ; *ἀρχιτελώνης* *chief of the publicans*, Luke xix. 2, and many others formed by composition, which it is unnecessary to enumerate. Of these new terms, some do not occur in any profane Greek writer, and are therefore with probability to be assigned to the *language of common life*, as distinguished from *that of books*.

Other peculiarities of the later Greek are, the want of the dual number, *δύο* in the genitive indeclinable, *νοί* instead of *νῶ*, &c. ; abbreviations such as *Ἀρετιμᾶς* from *Ἀρετιμιδαρός*, *Δημᾶς* from *Δημητήριος* or *Δήμαρχος*. So also the interchange of the termina-

tions of the first aorist with those of the second, such as *ιδαν*, *εδραν*, *ηλθατε*, *επεισα*, *ανιευραν*. We find also *ιγνωκαν* for *ιγνωκασι*, *ιδολιουσαν* for *ιδολιου*, *καυχασαι* for *καυχῆ*, *δωη* for *δοιη*, *ημεθα* for *ημεν*. Several tenses of verbs, never found in the ancient writers, were used in the *common language*, and in the New Testament. Thus *ακουσω*, Matthew xii. 14, 15, for *ακουσομαι* in the Attic writers. *γαλασω*, Luke vi. 31, for *γαλασομαι*.—*επαινισω*, 1 Cor. xi. 23, for *επαινισομαι*.—*σπουδασω*, 2 Peter i. 15, for *σπουδασομαι*.—*αμαρτησω*, Matthew xviii. 21, for *αμαρτησομαι*.—*κλαυσω*, Luke vi. 55, for *κλαυσομαι*.—*κλειψω*, Matthew xix. 18, for *κλειψομαι*.—*ξευσω*, John vii. 38, for *ξευσομαι*.—*καλειςω*, Luke i. 13, for *καλῆμαι*.—*κερθησω*, 1 Cor. ix. 19, for *κερθανῶ*.

New and different meanings are given to words, as *παφακαλιθ* to *ask* or *beseech*, Romans xii. 1. Pure writers use it in the sense of *exhorting*. *παιδευσιν* to *punish*, Hebrews xii. 6, instead of *to educate*. *ξυλον* the *living tree*, Luke xxiii. 31. *νεκρωσις* in a passive signification, *death*, 2 Cor. iv. 10. The rare use of the optative mood, the construction of *ινα* with the present, the use of *ινα* in the formulas *θελω ινα*, &c. (instead of the infinitive), and prepositions combined with adverbs, are peculiarities of the later Greek observable in the New Testament. Such are the chief characteristics of the later Greek found in the New Testament, to which it is necessary to attend in order to discern the peculiar character of the Jewish-Greek. Most of them also occur in the Alexandrine version, as might be expected from the time at which it was made, and the circumstances of the place where it appeared.

The syntax of the New Testament diction is substantially the same with that of the earlier and purer Greek. In the amalgamation of dialects, and the corruption of the genuine character of the language, its syntactical principles were not altered. The *κοινή διάλεκτος* retained the same laws of syntax as the earlier Greek; and the New Testament naturally exhibits none other. It is not therefore in the syntax that the later Greek differed from the earlier. It was rather in the *forms* of words, and the *use of peculiar tenses*. We have noticed, however, several peculiarities in the syntax of the New Testament diction remote from the genius of the Attic. Some of them have been already mentioned, to which it is unnecessary to add others.

We are also prepared in the second place to look for Hebrew modifications in the Greek of the New Testament, because the Hebrew language, or more properly the Aramaean, was the ver-

nacular tongue of the writers. Professor Winer divides *Hebraisms* into two classes, *perfect* and *imperfect*. The former include such words, phrases, and constructions, as have no parallel in the Greek language, and are therefore derived from the Hebrew. The latter consist of words, phrases, and constructions, that have some parallel in Greek, but appear to belong rather to the Hebrew or Aramean. Examples of *perfect Hebraism* are, the words, *σπλαγχνίζομαι* to have compassion, from *σπλάγγνα* bowels, related in the same way as *רַחֵם* and *רַחֲמִים*. Greek words are also used in significations belonging to their correspondent Hebrew terms, as *εὐχρη* prosperity or happiness like the Hebrew *שְׁלוֹם*; *ἔθμα* a thing, like *דָּבָר*. The phrases *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν* to accept one's person, i. e. to show favour or partiality, is a translation of the Hebrew *נָשָׂא פָּנִים*; *τὸ πρόσωπον στηρίζειν* to set the face steadfastly, like *שׂוּם פָּנִים*; *ζητεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν*, to seek after the life; Hebrew *שָׁלַח אַחֲרָיִךְ*; *ἔρχεσθαι ὀπίσω* to follow after; Hebrew *הָלַךְ אַחֲרָיִךְ*, *ἀμαρτάνειν ἐνώπιον* to sin before; Hebrew *חָטָא לְפָנַי*. So also *ἄφιλήματα ἀφιέναι* to forgive sins; *ὁμολογεῖν ἐν τινί* to acknowledge a person; a noun with the preposition *ἐν* before it, after the substantive verb, instead of the nominative case after the substantive verb; *ὁυ πᾶς* for *οὐδείς*. *Imperfect Hebraisms* are, the use of *ἄς* one for *πρῶτος* first; *ἅγια ἁγίων* holy of holies for the superlative most holy; *στέμα* offspring, from the Hebrew *זָרַע*; *ἀνάγκη* trouble, from *צָר*; *ἐς ἀπάντησιν* to meet, Hebrew *לְקַרְתָּא*; *πέρατα τῆς γῆς* the extremities of the earth, Hebrew *אַפְסֵי אֲרָץ*; *χεῖλος* shore, Hebrew *שֹׁפָה*. Though these expressions have probably parallels in Greek, yet they appear rather to be derived from the Hebrew, since they occur but seldom in the former language.

The contest once carried on respecting the character of the New Testament diction, is now regarded with astonishment. Many writers laboured to prove that it possessed all the purity of the Attic language of Greece. These were called *Purists*, who strove with ill-judged zeal to shew, that no Hebraisms were to be found in the New Testament, but that it exhibits the genuine Attic idiom in its unadulterated state. Conceiving that all departures from this standard were blemishes or imperfections in the sacred text, they endeavoured to banish Hebrew idioms and

phrases entirely from the New Testament, as if the language would be disfigured and barbarised by them. Pfochen was the first who undertook to shew that all the expressions found in the New Testament, occur likewise in classic Greek authors; and he was followed by a number of authors on the same side of the question. On the other hand, many undertook to prove that the diction, so far from exhibiting the purity of the Attic language of Greece, *every where abounded in Hebraisms*. This party ultimately triumphed, though they pushed their opinion too far, denominating many idioms and expressions Hebraisms, which were not so in reality. The truth lies between the two parties. It is now universally acknowledged that the *thoughts* are Hebrew, whilst the *costume* is Greek. The *conceptions* are such as Jews under the peculiar influence of the Spirit would employ; whilst the *dress* in which they are clothed, is the Greek language current in Palestine at the time of the Apostles. There is thus a Hebrew colouring that cannot be mistaken, though Hebraisms are not so abundant as the *Hellenists*, in their controversies with the *Purists*, frequently supposed.

We are prepared by the third element of the Jewish-Greek, to find words already existing in the vocabulary of the Greeks employed in a new sense, or new words framed to express ideas for which no corresponding terms existed in the Greek language. Thus *πίστις*, *ἔργα*, *δικαιοῦσθαι*, *ἐκλίγεσθαι*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *προσωποληψία*, *partiality*, *ἀντίλυτρον*, *ransom*, *δοκοδομεῖν*, *to edify*. Since the Greek language had not been employed on many subjects to which the New Testament writers applied it, especially religious topics, it is quite natural to assume that they were reduced to the necessity of applying those already existing in a sense foreign to their classic usage, or of making ones entirely new.

When we consider for a moment the state of Judea at the time in which our Saviour sojourned on earth, we are not surprised to find Latin words and phrases in the Greek language then spoken. The Jews were subject to the Romans; and the language of the conquerors had an influence on that of the conquered. Hence we meet with the words *κεντυρίων* (*centurio*), *κολωνία* (*colonia*), *κουστωδία* (*custodia*), *κοδράντης* (*quadrans*), *κῆσος* (*census*;) and the Latin phrases, *τὸ ἰκανὸν λαμβάνειν*, *ἰκανὸν ποιῆσαι*, *συμβούλιον λαβεῖν*, *ἔχει με παρητημένον*.

According to Jerome, (*ad Algasiam*), there are also *Cilicisms* in Paul's epistles, that is, peculiarities belonging to the language

of Cilicia, which was the Apostle's birth-place. So ἀπὸ ἀνδρωπίνης ἡμέρας, 1 Cor. iv. 3, *by man's judgment*; ἀνδρώπινον λέγω, Romans vi. 19, *I speak after manner of men*; ὁ κατινάγκησα ὑμᾶς, 2 Cor. xii. 13, *I was not burdensome to you*; μηδὲς ὑμᾶς καταβραβεύτω, Colossians ii. 18, *let no one defraud you*. It is questionable whether these expressions are to be regarded as idioms transferred from the Cilician dialect, notwithstanding the affirmation of Jerome. They are rather terms and phrases of unusual occurrence belonging to the later Greek.

Such is the nature of the Greek Testament diction, into which I do not design to enter more fully. It is sufficient for me to bring before you its general features, but the minutæ must be left to yourselves. Of late it has been systematised and arranged. Several grammars of it have appeared; and lexicons designed to illustrate it have multiplied. I refer you particularly to the excellent grammars of Winer and Stuart, and the invaluable Lexicon of Robinson, edited by Negris and Duncan. If these books were put into the hands of our youth at school, along with classic authors—if they were taught to observe the variations of style in the Greek Testament, and the native writers of Greece, they would come to this, and similar places of the higher education, prepared to read the New Testament with pleasure, and to attend to those nice distinctions of language, which are not merely useful in themselves, but which sharpen the mind in prosecuting the varied studies to which it is directed.

In concluding the present account of the general characteristics of the New Testament diction, I may just allude to an argument derived from it in favour of the authenticity of the books. The style is such as is quite natural in the circumstances under which it was written. The writers were Hebrews, having the Aramaean for their vernacular tongue; and therefore we find *Hebraisms*. Having learned the Greek language by intercourse with foreigners, they gave it many turns and modifications peculiar to their native dialect. Hence the costume of their thoughts partook of a Hebrew colouring. If, therefore, the *Purists* had succeeded in proving that the style is pure Attic, they would have deprived the friends of Christianity of a most convincing argument derived from the nature of the diction. The Hebrew idioms are just such as we would have expected from persons situated as the sacred writers, and exposed to similar influences.

LECTURE XXV.

THE GREEK ARTICLE.

By way of appendix to our account of the language of the New Testament, it may not be amiss to allude at some length to the Greek article, although in so doing we must principally refer to it as connected with *interpretation*. Several interesting and useful inquiries have been instituted concerning it, which it is highly desirable to know, else you will be unacquainted with all the modern researches in which criticism has been advantageously employed. This part of speech has assumed such importance as to deserve a separate discussion. In late times particularly, it has called forth the most extensive efforts of learning. Books of considerable size, and of immense erudition, have been written concerning it, and the most metaphysical speculations as to its nature have been ingeniously devised. It has claimed, in fact, so important a rank in the criticism of the Greek Testament, that it has been made the hinge of controversies affecting the essential doctrines of religion. New arguments for the deity of Christ have been derived from its use and peculiar allocation; the opponents of orthodoxy have been successfully plied with it, for they have felt the force of the principles generally supposed to be established respecting it. It is necessary, therefore, that every student of theology should be well acquainted with the use of the Greek article, with the mode of employing it for the defence of truth, and with the substance of all that has been advanced concerning it by learned inquirers. Such vast labour has been expended on it, that we may naturally expect results in some degree proportionate. Where so many have entered into the same investigation, it is reasonable to look for abundant fruit rewarding their researches. The light of learning has been brought to bear on it with concentrated beams; it has attracted to itself the converging intellects of the greatest masters in Grecian literature; and it is not strange that others should look towards the illuminated spot, expecting no obscurity there. In this, however, some disappointment will be experienced. Sur-

veying Professor Stuart's recent essay entitled "Hints and Cautions respecting the Greek Article," we must exclaim, "Grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est." Something had been done before the late Bishop Middleton undertook the arduous task of a new and extended investigation, in which he displayed all the powers of an original and subtle mind. Dr. Royaards, a German professor, had discovered one very important canon of the article, which Mr. Sharp endeavoured more fully to develop and illustrate. The Reverend Dr. Wordsworth subsequently produced a supplementary book on the same subject. These, however, were merely contributions to the separate materials existing for a comprehensive and full elucidation of the entire subject, rather than treatises complete and satisfactory in themselves, as embracing the whole doctrine of the article. They helped to prepare the way for a thorough and masterly development of the principles that regulate the usage and influence the collocation of this part of speech. Bishop Middleton succeeded them, shewing such learning and skill in the discussion of the subject, that he proved himself in the general estimation of English scholarship to be eminently fitted for the task. The magnitude of the research which he had necessarily to undergo, he cheerfully took upon him, that he might produce a work worthy of the cause in which he was engaged. And he did execute what he had projected. His investigations pre-eminently surpassed all that preceded. They claimed for him, from succeeding scholars, the merit of having rendered essential service to philology in general, and especially to that department of it which is concerned with the Greek Testament. He produced a specimen of philosophical criticism, which has been admired by all who are capable of appreciating precision in language, or closeness in reasoning. That some of his positions are more ingenious than solid, may well be admitted,—that he has sometimes theorised, is assuredly true; but the body and substance of his positions have not been overthrown; nor has he yet been dislodged from the massy fortification within which he entrenched himself. His reasoning and doctrines have, indeed, been *suspected* of unsoundness; and doubts have been repeatedly suggested in conversation respecting them by several scholars; but none, with the exception of an anonymous writer in the *Monthly Review* for 1810, and of Mr. Stuart, has ventured to come forth openly, and to attack the main strength of the fundamental principles

which, in our opinion, he has laid down with caution and built upon with success. The Letters of *Gregory Blunt, Esq.*, published in 1803, and Winstanley's *Vindication of certain Passages of the Common Version, &c.* 1807, were not directed against Bishop Middleton, for his book was not then published, but chiefly against Mr. Sharp. In reference to the essay lately published by the eminent scholar of America just mentioned, we think that it is entitled to attention from the reputation he has acquired, not only in his own country but also in this. He has endeavoured to resolve the use of the article in a considerable degree, into the arbitrary pleasure of the writer. He does not, indeed, profess to enter into a full examination of the subject. But he has done as much as possible to destroy the force of this part of speech in theological controversies,—to shew that undue stress has been laid upon it, and that it scarcely deserves the amount of learned efforts that have been made to understand its nature and use. He has raised objections to the opinions of preceding writers, and criticised them with strictness, sometimes with undue severity. He has tried to pull down the fabric which cost so many years, and so much erudition in rearing; but he has not proposed to build a new one in its stead. It is an easy matter in this way to find fault with some positions and statements that preceding writers may have advanced; it is easy to suggest doubts and vague conjectures as to the soundness of a principle, or the truth of an observation; but it is a totally diverse employment to construct a better and more durable edifice than that which we have been at pains to demolish—to advance a sounder argument than that to which we object—or to propound a theory less liable to assault than those we have invaded. The latter requires genius; a mind inventive and original; able to trace out for itself a new and untried path; while, for the former purpose, little more than industry is needful. Whilst we are ready to assign a high place in sacred literature to Mr. Stuart, we are sometimes inclined to think that he has read too much. This may appear a strange remark; but it may not, withal, be destitute of truth. The immense research which some make, frequently inhabituates their minds to independent modes of thought. So do we judge of him. The extensiveness of his erudition appears in every page of his writings; his familiarity with the German theologians is great; but these are the very causes why his mind is somewhat cramped and fettered, though we are

sure that he is quite unconscious of being led by such an influence. Like David in the armour of Saul, he moves unwieldy and awkward; whereas, had he put off such cumbrous habiliments, he would doubtless have produced works in some respects superior to what he has published. He is not deficient in sound sense, in powers of discrimination, and in comprehension of mind; but, despite his very wish to be impartial, he has occasionally cast himself into the trammels of the continental theology, unwisely refusing the light and aid of our English divines. From the veil of uncertainty he has thrown over the subject, and the manner in which he speaks of the observations of his predecessors, especially of the labours of Middleton, his essay is entitled to examination. We confess that we read his remarks with some regret, because, if true, they would take out of the hands of the orthodox a powerful weapon, which they had wielded with skill and success for the overthrow of their opponents. If what he states be correct—if his positions be well-founded—they will change some arguments derived from the Greek Testament in support of the divinity of our Saviour into nonentities, and doubtless contribute to the strengthening of the Unitarian in his peculiar creed. He will rejoice to find the unsoundness of one principle on which much had been built for the destroying of his faith; and he will almost shake hands with the man who, in his estimation, has given a blow to the very party with which he is associated. Truth, however, depends not on such minute points. Admitting the correctness of all that Mr. Stuart has written, the cause of those who believe in the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity stands firm and sure. It is not based on a single word. It is derived from the whole tenor and scope of the Bible—it is interwoven with its texture, and inlaid with its precious materials, to which it gives at once consistency, harmony, and value. Even, therefore, should some of the passages adduced in support of the Deity of Christ from the peculiar position of the article contained in them, be deprived of part of their evidence for this cardinal doctrine, the context will sufficiently shew that it is still inherent in the *sentiments* advanced.

In consequence of the appearance of Stuart's Essay a new impetus will be given to inquiry, and the grounds which had been thought securely established, will be reinvestigated with care. It would require much more space than we can possibly spare at

present, and perhaps a greater apparatus than is in our power, to explore this difficult subject in all its intricacies. It is our intention principally to examine the Essay of Mr. Stuart, to shew the mode in which he attempts to demolish the learned labours of his predecessors, and the incorrectness of the statements he has reiterated. The field is too wide and extensive for us to range over at present. It is not our duty to dig down into the recesses of this mine, which appear to many to lie deeper, and to recede farther from the view, the more they are examined by the penetrating eye of the sagacious inquirer. With the opinions recently advanced by Professor Stuart we have now to do; and to coincide with them or not, according as they are entitled to our assent or disapproval. The evidence adduced in their support, and the conclusiveness with which they are proved, are the points to which we wish to direct your attention. And here we ought rather to rejoice at the appearance of this essay. Amid the number of conflicting statements; the truth will be eventually elicited. Every inquiry will contribute something to the progress of the whole investigation, till it be clearly proved whether the Greek article has been employed according to fixed determinate rules, or whether its collocation was made to depend in a great measure on the taste, the fancy, or the feelings of the writer. It will be finally discovered, whether it be so unsettled and illimitable, as to be under no guidance but the evanescent conceptions and the figurative ideas of him who employed it. Those wedded to particular sentiments, and attached to a different theory, may feel a passing and transitory regret should a part be subtracted from that stock of knowledge which they possessed; but if they discover it to be commingled with error, they will be glad at the removal of the unsound portion.

Mr. Stuart begins with giving us the reason of his prefixing the title "Hints and Cautions" to his essay. He tells us that his design is not to write a formal treatise on the article; and that if he intended to do so, it would scarcely repay the labour. He is of opinion that the doctrine of the Greek article has been made too much of—that too great stress has been laid on it in certain controversies affecting the fundamentals of Christianity. It is evident from his remarks on this point, that his object is to lessen the strength of the materials built on this foundation, and to shew the nugatoriness of deciding on the meaning of the terms of a proposition, from the presence or absence of the vocable in ques-

tion. It may be true, that some injudicious theologians have proceeded too far in their application of the leading canons of the article—that in the heat of controversy, they have forgotten the caution necessary to be observed on so nice a subject: but Mr. Stuart should beware, lest in his zeal to correct mistaken views, he may go to the opposite extreme. Nothing is more common than this reaction in theological systems and opinions, this sudden rebound from one extreme to its opposite, arising from excessive fear of an imagined error. And we hesitate not to affirm that this is exemplified in the case of Mr. Stuart, for which we hope soon to shew good reasons. After some introductory observations, he proceeds to canvass the various rules that have been propounded respecting the usage of the article, for the purpose of shewing that the exceptions to them are almost, if not altogether as numerous, as the examples belonging to the rules themselves—and that consequently it was generally inserted or omitted “*pro lubitu scriptoris.*” We shall not attempt to follow him through the whole of these canons, but merely select for animadversion those portions of his essay which, if true, would materially affect the commonly received interpretation of many passages in the New Testament. We proceed, therefore, to his remarks on the rule which lays it down *that the subject of a proposition is generally found with the article, and the predicate without it.* Thus John i. 1, Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος. It is well known that some theologians have inferred from the absence of the article before θεός, that it is used in a subordinate sense; and hence they have translated it *a God*. But in whatever sense θεός, is to be taken, it properly rejects the article, because it is the predicate of the proposition. The article is omitted by the writer, not because he wished to shew that Θεός is to be understood in an inferior sense, but because of this common rule of Greek syntax, viz., that the predicate of a proposition commonly wants the article. In connexion with this important canon may be mentioned those propositions whose predicate has the article as well as the subject. Such are generally called *convertible* or *reciprocating*. The article is prefixed to both terms alike, so that neither is the subject more than the other. Whatever is predicated of the one term of the proposition, can also be predicated of the other. An instance of a convertible proposition occurs in the first epistle of John iii. 4, ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία, *sin is the transgression of the law*, or, as it might with equal propriety be translated, *the transgression of the*

law is sin. Either of the nouns may be taken as the subject. Whatever is predicated of the one, may be equally predicated of the other. Whatever is asserted or denied respecting ἀμαρτία, may be also affirmed or denied of ἀνομία. There is no sin that is not a transgression of the law of God; and there is no transgression of his law that is not sin. Hence the proposition is denominated *convertible* or *reciprocating*. Let us apply this to the words of John i. 1. We have seen that some suppose Θεός to be used here in an inferior sense, because it wants the article. But, if the reading were ὁ Θεός, the proposition would assume the convertible form, and the meaning would be, that whatever may be affirmed or denied of God the Father, may also be affirmed or denied of the Logos. This would ill accord with the Arian or Socinian hypothesis, while it would be equally opposed to the sentiments of all Trinitarians. It is therefore wrong to infer, that the word Θεός is here used in a subordinate sense. The writer could not have said ὁ Θεός without error. The absence of the article does not indicate an inferior or qualified meaning. In many passages in which Θεός is indisputably applied to the Supreme Being, the article is not used, as in Matt. xix. 26. Luke xvi. 13. John i. 18. John ix. 33. John xvi. 30. Romans viii. 8. 1 Cor. i. 3. Gal. i. 1. Ephes. ii. 8. Hebrews ix. 14. In all these places Θεός, without the article, denotes the *Supreme Being*, and, therefore, the mere presence or absence of the article does not distinguish God the Father, from others to whom the same title is applied in the Scriptures.

It is usual to refer to Origen's commentary on this verse, in which, according to Mr. Stuart, he asserts, that the sacred writer did not say ὁ Θεός, because this would designate the Supreme God. Middleton states, that "it is not easy to perceive what Origen could mean when he commends the *caution* of the evangelist in omitting the article before Θεός, as applied to the Logos." Many theologians have mistaken the meaning and purport of Origen's remark on this passage. Among these we must reckon both Middleton and Stuart, as well as the entire host of Unitarian critics. We are persuaded that he never intended to say that ὁ Θεός designates the supreme God, while Θεός denotes a δευτερος Θεός, or *inferior deity*. He was too good a Greek scholar to fall into such an error. *As far as the article is concerned*, we agree with Origen that ὁ Θεός might have been written without any absurdity. The laws of Greek syntax did not *necessarily*

require the article to be absent from the predicate, any more than they require that *wherever* it is present, the proposition be convertible. But although the article might thus have been found in the predicate of the proposition, without doing violence to the propriety of the Greek sentence, yet the *meaning* of the Evangelist precluded its insertion. The theological sentiments which John entertained, and the views of the Divine Being he meant to convey to his readers, constituted the sole cause of the absence of the article. Had he written ὁ Θεός, the term would of necessity have been restricted to the same signification as is attached to τὸν Θεόν immediately preceding. The Logos was πρὸς τὸν Θεόν *with God*, i. e. *the Father*; and yet the Logos was not God the Father, as would have been intimated by ὁ Θεός; but the Logos was Θεός *simply*, i. e. *possessed of a divine nature*, or *divine*. When Origen mentions with approbation the caution of the Evangelist in not writing ὁ Θεός because this would designate the *Supreme Being*, he merely commends him for not falling into an error in doctrine. By the *Supreme God*, Origen meant *God the Father*, and he was doubtless right in affirming that if ὁ Θεός had been written, it would have designated God the Father, *because of the position it necessarily occupied*. Closely following πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, the undisputed meaning of which is *the Father*, ὁ Θεός must have been an appellation of exactly the same signification. The situation of ὁ Θεός would have confined it to this very idea. Origen did not mean to assert that Θεός and ὁ Θεός were distinguished, the one from the other, by denoting *an inferior being*, and *the supreme one* respectively; he only wished it to be understood, that in *this passage* ὁ Θεός *from its position*, would have meant *the Father*. We have said that *as far as the article is concerned*, ὁ Θεός might have stood in the predicate. This in reality amounts to the statement, that ὁ Θεός *could not have been written in the sentence before us*. The omission or insertion of the article must have depended on the meaning intended to be conveyed by the author. *His language* must have been regulated and dictated by his *theological sentiments*.

Let us now attend to what Mr. Stuart says respecting this canon. He affirms, that "the insertion or omission of the article in the subject, depends not at all on the mere fact, that a noun is the subject or predicate as such, but on the simple fact, whether the writer means to specify or not, in either case. Consequently, we may expect, that if in any instance he wishes to make a

specific predicate, he attaches the article to it." It is doubtless true that the predicate of a proposition often takes the article as well as the subject, but there must be a specific reason for this. It is not done arbitrarily, according to the mere caprice of the writer, but he is guided by some definite principle. This circumstance, therefore, does not at all militate against the existence of the rule given above. We know that the predicate has the article as well as the subject in many cases, but, when this occurs, the proposition is a different one from that in which the predicate has no article. The insertion of the article can be satisfactorily accounted for. Besides, Professor Stuart is in error when he says, that it is laid down in most treatises on the article as a rule, that the subject of a proposition *must* have the article, and the predicate omit it. None, as far as we know, had enunciated the rule in this form. The subject has *generally* the article. No one ever contended for the universality of the article in the subject. This is a fiction of his own invention. "The reverse, is sometimes true in a certain sense." This is readily granted to Mr. Stuart, but we affirm, that wherever the rule is violated, there is a reason for departing from it. We can explain why the article is occasionally added to the predicate. Does this fact throw any uncertainty on its usage? We think not. It shows, on the contrary, that it was not inserted or omitted merely *ad libitum scriptoris*. It establishes the fact, that the writers of the New Testament, as well as those of classic Greek, were able to write with grammatical propriety and correctness; that they did not employ the article improperly, or insert it gratuitously; but that they were familiar with the ordinary construction of the language they wrote, and free from the irregular license of poetry. It appears strange to us that Mr. Stuart could imagine, that his remarks on this rule contribute ought to the support of the object with which he commenced, and which he endeavours to promote generally throughout the essay. Had he tried to shew that it was a matter of indifference in the writer's estimation, whether he attached the article to the subject or predicate of a proposition, then he would have been on the ground he wished to occupy; but by leaving this ground, and betaking himself to another position, he so far gives up the point which, from his own statement, he was anxious to establish and defend. In contending for the fact that the "insertion or omission of the article depends on the

wish of the writer to specify or not in either case," he lends his aid to the establishment of the received doctrine respecting this part of speech. He admits that it is not added or omitted without a particular reason, but he affirms that when the predicate is intended to be specific, the article is annexed to it. This is exactly Winer's statement, that the predicate also has the article, *when it is thought of as something definite*. In adducing examples against the universality of the canon, Mr. Stuart following Winer, has fallen into great confusion. He puts together as similar, propositions totally different. To show that the predicate also has the article—a thing which none ever dreamt of denying—he quotes Mark vi. 3, οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ τέκτων, where the article indicates a *well-known person*. This is the usage of it κατ' ἐξοχήν, that is, when it refers to some object of which there are many; but none of them is so familiar to the mind of the hearer or reader as that which is made the predicate of the article. So ὁ ποιητής, meaning Homer, ὁ πόλεμος in Thucydides the Peloponnesian war, ἡ νόσος, the well-known plague. On this principle the article is inserted before the predicate τέκτων. The next example which he gives of the article in the predicate is Mark vii. 15, ἐκεῖνά ἐστι τὰ κοινοῦντα. This is an instance of its *hypothetical* use. In such a case the article is "the representative of something of which, whether known or unknown, an assumption is to be made." To take Middleton's example, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεί (Demosthenes de Corona), *a calumniator is always a bad thing*. Here ὁ συκοφάντης must mean every person of whom συκοφάντης can be predicated. Had συκοφάντης been recently mentioned, we would immediately infer that ὁ συκοφάντης was the renewed mention of the same person; but the context shews that this cannot be. Hence the article denotes the whole genus. The definite article, in English, is sometimes taken in a similar sense, thus, *the calumniator* is a nuisance to society, meaning, as in Greek, *every calumniator*.

Let us apply these observations to the example before us, ἐκεῖνά ἐστι τὰ κοινοῦντα. The *basis* of this proposition is, as Mr. Rose says, *that there are things which defile a man*, and the *object* of it is, *to identify them with certain things under consideration*. The next passage quoted by Prof. Stuart is 1 Corinthians x. 4, ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός. Here the *first* article arises from *renewed mention*, as is manifest from the context; while the *second* denotes *the Christ, by way of eminence*,—the Christ predicted in the Old Testament, and symbolically set forth by the rock

whence water flowed to the Israelites. It is surely unnecessary to examine, in detail, all the passages which he has adduced. They may be found in Winer's Grammar of the New Testament diction, who seems not to have had clear ideas on the subject of the article. You will probably have seen, by this time, that the canon is not subject to such vagueness as Mr. Stuart supposes. What he ought to have proved for the support of his main argument is, that it is a matter of indifference, whether the predicate have the article or not. He ought to have demonstrated that those propositions whose predicate is accompanied with the article, *are exactly the same in meaning* with those whose predicate wants it. This, however, he has not attempted to do, unless the following remark be regarded as an exception. "In some instances the very same construction, in respect to definiteness, exhibits and omits the article, *e. g.* John viii. 44, ὅτι [ὁ διάβολος] ψεύστης ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ." Surely when Mr. Stuart wrote this, he was not aware of the difficulty of the construction, and of the extreme improbability of the mode in which it is taken in the received version. The following appears to me to be the right construction. "When he (*i. e.* any of you) speaks falsehood, he speaks after the manner of his kindred, for his father also is a liar." In this way the force of Mr. Stuart's observation completely vanishes. The learned Professor has told us what we knew before, that the rule is not universal—that it is liable to many exceptions. But, in every instance in which they are found, they can be satisfactorily accounted for. They afford, therefore, no ground for supposing, that the article was used *ad libitum scriptoris*. On the contrary, it was omitted or inserted according to fixed laws. He himself gives a reason for its being found in the predicate, *viz.* that the predicate is intended to be *specific*. But this reason will not always apply, yea it is a most vague and indefinite reason, signifying nothing. One caution may be here given to those who are not sufficiently versed in the subject, that they beware of concluding that a proposition is convertible, merely because its predicate has the article. This is by no means the case. In truth, the occurrence of such propositions is rare, as we might have been led *a priori* to expect. Great care and more discrimination are therefore required, to know the various causes that operate in particular instances in retaining the article in the predicate; while convertible propositions, from their nature, can scarcely be mistaken by the least

discerning. If our reasoning be correct, the evidence which the article furnishes on behalf of the meaning of a proposition, may be admitted; and especially in connection with other testimonies and aids, it may be truly convincing to every honest inquirer.

And here we may allude to the disingenuous mode of argumentation, sometimes pursued by Unitarian polemics, in reference to the point before us, who, when the above rule is quoted and applied to the Greek Testament, argue strongly in reply, that the term occurring in the predicate of a proposition may have the article as well as the subject. But their opponents deny not that the article is found in the predicate. The orthodox equally with the Unitarians are ready to allow, that in the predicate the article often occurs. But they affirm, that there is always a reason for its insertion there. They can tell where it ought, and where it ought not to be inserted in the predicate; and they hold, that in those instances which Unitarians needlessly bring forward to impugn the general rule, the article *is required* in the predicate. The Unitarians, therefore, fight with a shadow. They oppose what none denies, and then think that they have completely demolished the system of their adversaries. When, therefore, they bring forward against us such examples as this, 1 John v. 20, *ὁὗτος ἴστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, *this is the true God and eternal life*, we say, that *ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς* is an example of a common rule, that "in concord, (where the attribute is assumed of the substance) supposing one article only to be employed, it must be placed immediately before the adjective." With respect to *ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, there is a variety of readings. Some manuscripts omit *ἡ*; others insert a second article before *αἰώνιος*. Bishop Middleton says, that one of these emendations is necessary. Which of them ought to be preferred, must depend on the respective evidence by which each is supported. Mr. Stuart affirms, that if the Apostle John had written in the beginning of his gospel *ὁ Θεός*, and "if *ὁ λόγος* were to be taken as the subject, then the assertion would be, that the *Logos is THE God*; an assertion which the writer did not mean to make, for this would exclude the Father and the Spirit from being truly Divine, or else make them one and the same in all respects with the *Logos*." From this exegesis we may gather somewhat of his meaning in saying, that the predicate has the article when the writer intends to *specify*. Let us apply the same mode of reasoning to the example before us. *This i. e. the Son, is THE*

true God, which excludes the Father and the Spirit from being both truly divine, or else makes them one and the same in all respects with the Son. To such Unitarian argumentation are we reduced on Mr. Stuart's principles. The true rule, agreeably to which the article is here inserted, we have already given, and it is unnecessary to repeat it.

Another canon usually laid down respecting the use of the article requires minute consideration. *When two or more personal nouns, of the same gender, number, and case, are connected by the conjunction AND : if the first has the article, and the rest have it not, they all relate to the same person.* This is perhaps the most important rule concerning this part of speech that has been established, because it has been most extensively applied to the support of Christ's deity. We shall give some examples. Ephesians v. 5, *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ*. Here are two personal nouns connected by a copulative conjunction, before the first only of which the article is inserted; it is, therefore, inferred that they relate to the same person. If the rule be true, this text furnishes decisive proof that the same person is called in Scripture Christ and God. Our English translation is not happy when it renders these words "in the kingdom of God and of Christ." The second *of* should unquestionably be omitted. The second instance in which we would apply the canon is found in Titus ii. 13, *τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Here it is impossible, according to the principle laid down, to understand Θεοῦ and σωτῆρος otherwise than of one person. Mr. Sharp translates it, "of our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ," which rendering expresses the sense more accurately than the received version. The next passage to which we refer is 2 Peter i. 1, *τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. This is almost the same with Titus ii. 13, already considered. The only difference is, that ἡμῶν is here placed after the *first* noun, not after the *second*. The position of the pronoun, however, does not affect the sense. In such cases, strictly speaking, the pronoun ought to be repeated after every noun. If it be only once inserted, it is of no importance whether it be after the first or last noun; if it be inserted after the first, it is understood after the remaining nouns; if it be not inserted till after the last, it throws back its influence on those that go before. The passage affords an undubitable testimony to the truth, that Jesus Christ is our God and Saviour; and it ought to be translated as in the margin of the English

Bible, through the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ." The only other example which we shall give is from Jude 4th verse, τὸν μόνον δεσπότην Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. There is some dispute respecting the right reading of this place, but at present we take it for granted that the common reading is the true one. It is plain that δεσπότης, Θεός, and Κύριος relate to one person Jesus Christ, according to the rule we have laid down. Had two persons been meant, we should have read, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν. The literal translation is, "denying our only master, God and Lord, Jesus Christ." The rule of which we have now given several examples, has, we conceive, been fully established by a copious induction of passages. We are aware that some have adduced as instances of its application 2 Thessal. i. 13, and 1 Tim. v. 21; but Middleton doubted of their propriety, and objected to them as proofs for the doctrine of Christ's Godhead, as far as the article is concerned. The reason of this opinion is, that the appellation Κύριος is a sort of proper name, and may therefore dispense with the article, as actual usage compels us to admit. Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός again, is a complex title, applied to the Saviour, and its component parts ought not to be separated by disjoining the first from the other two. They are commonly taken together, and constitute a proper name. The late Mr. Granville Sharp was the first person who called public attention in these countries to this canon, and hence it has been emphatically styled *Sharp's rule*. Dr. Wordsworth, with the view of discovering in what sense the fathers understood the passage translated by Mr. Sharp in accordance with his rule, instituted a laborious examination into their writings, and the result was completely corroborative of the sense he attached to such places. Mr. Hugh Stuart Boyd has made a few additional remarks, and collected a number of additional examples out of profane as well as sacred writers, which may be found in Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament, at the end of the Epistle to the Ephesians. We may say, therefore, with truth, that it has been formed from observation of the uniform usage of the best Greek writers, besides those of the New Testament. All seem to have been familiar with the principle; for it is utterly incredible that their writings would have exhibited an invariable adherence to it, on the supposition that the insertion or omission of the article was arbitrary.

Let us now advert to Mr. Stuart's observations on this canon.

In them we think we perceive an apparent want of candour which we could hardly have expected. We cannot charge him with ignorance, for he must have read and consulted most treatises on the subject, but we are obliged to say that there is unfairness in his mode of attack. He enunciates the rule in the following terms: "Several nouns connected by a conjunction, and being in the same case and of the same gender, usually omit the article after it has been once inserted, viz. before the first noun." He then gives a multitude of examples where the first noun has the article, and the second wants it. After this, he goes on to say that the number of cases where the article is inserted before the second noun, is almost equally great, and he adduces numerous examples of this. After having thus given a host of instances both on behalf of the rule as expressed by himself, and in opposition to the rule also, he states the general principle that seems to predominate through such cases, viz. "where the several things enumerated belong to one and the same class or genus, the article *may be omitted* after the first noun; but if they are distinctly or separately represented, the article is inserted or omitted (as the case may be) before them all." Now he should have expressed the rule *at first*, so as to shew that the article was inserted before the first noun, and omitted before the remaining ones only when the nouns were assumed of the same person or thing. This would have been exemplified by his first set of examples. When different persons and things are intended, the article is repeated before every noun. His second series of examples would have shewn this. The turning point of the canon is, whether the attributives are assumed of the same or of different things, and when this is omitted, it is easy to perceive that the examples will be very dissimilar. We believe, therefore, that this effort to disarrange and unsettle the canon is a total failure. It is true, as Stuart says, that the article is often inserted before the second noun, as well as the first, but there is always a reason for this. It is not arbitrarily done. It takes place according to a fixed law, which has not yet been overturned. Mr. Stuart himself admits that a general principle predominates in these diverse cases; and that, too, the very principle in substance for which his predecessors had contended; but while he is compelled to bow in some measure to established opinions, he forthwith states that this principle "is often, very often neglected." And here we deem him guilty of some disingenuity in not alluding to the limi-

tations so cautiously laid down by Middleton regarding this canon. Had the bishop imperiously announced it as of universal application—had he never hinted at any exception, then would Mr. Stuart have been justified in maintaining a total silence regarding counter instances. But he should have remembered that Middleton had not merely pointed out the cases in which the rule received limitations, but that he had also philosophically accounted for them, in conformity with his theory of the nature of the article. Assuredly none should undertake either to write on this point, or to dispute with an opponent, who is not fully acquainted with each and every adjunct regarding it, else he will be both puzzled and confounded when his unguarded statements are assailed. The objects of the rule are styled “assumible attributives,” that is, attributives containing an assumption. By attributives are meant adjectives, participles, and all such nouns as are significant of character, relation or dignity. All nouns are excluded from the operation of the rule, except *those significant of character*. Let none, therefore, suppose, that the canon is imperious in its applicability to all cases that can be imagined, or discovered. Neither on the contrary let it be taken for granted, that the converse is equally true, viz. that if these personal nouns are connected by a copulative and all that have the article, they relate to different persons. Mr. Valpy, indeed, has said so in the analysis of Middleton’s work, prefixed to his Greek Testament; but a more rash assertion he could not have hazarded. Thus, John xx. 28, ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου. Here Jesus is styled both Lord and God, and as there is *no assumption made*, the rule does not necessarily hold good. Mr. Stuart adduces an instance from Mark xv. 1, μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γραμματέων, where there are two nouns in the same case and gender, connected by the copulative conjunction, and yet the second has no article, though they relate to different persons. This he does, without once hinting at the distinct inquiry instituted by Middleton, regarding the applicability of the rule to plurals. Mr. Sharp had formerly said, that to such it was not always applicable; the reason is given by the Bishop. Again, it is obvious that, when the attributives are in their nature *absolutely incompatible*, the rule cannot come into operation. Thus, in Matthew v. 20, τῶν γραμματέων καὶ φαρισαίων, every one immediately sees, that the Scribes and Pharisees were the appellations of two sects or offices distinct from one another. It was not necessary, there-

fore, to prefix the article to the second noun, though placed before the first. The example given by Mr. Stuart, from Colossians ii. 8, and Philippians ii. 17, are instances of the strict application of the rule; and, in Luke xi. 39, the nouns are of different genders! In short, we deem Mr. Stuart's observations most vague and unsatisfactory. In one place he seems inclined to persuade us, that the article was inserted, or omitted altogether, *ad arbitrium scriptoris*; in another, he cautions us against supposing that it is in all cases a matter of indifference whether it was so inserted or omitted. He has not, however, informed us, in what cases it matters little, whether it be inserted or not; neither has he attempted to prove that it is subject to no rule whatever. He has asserted that no rule hitherto given is free from exception, but of this we were as fully aware before his essay appeared. And we cannot but deprecate the seemingly reckless spirit in which he sets about his task; and the almost contemptuous tone with which he speaks of Middleton's researches. Had he studied his work more minutely, and mastered his canons, he would have refrained from bringing forward a number of exceptions to his rules, for the purpose of destroying our faith in their truth; when that most acute and philosophically-minded prelate had expressly guarded his positions, hedging them round with such cautions and limitations as cannot readily be mistaken by an impartial reader. We are well convinced, that there exists in the minds of many a strong prejudice against the fact of making doctrines depend on forms of speech or rules of syntax. And, were it true that any great doctrine were supported by such proofs *alone*—were we able to present the arguments by which a cardinal point in theology, such as the divinity of Christ, is established, *only to the learned*, to the person acquainted with the structure and forms of the Greek language, then would the prejudice against such a mode of supporting our faith be well-founded. But this is far from the truth. Whilst we can intelligibly bring before the most simple-minded and unlearned reader of the Bible the grounds of the truths it contains; whilst, in the general scope and tenor of the words revealed for our instruction, there is a clear and certain light to guide the feet of the inquirer along the path of righteousness; the *scholar* discovers a farther confirmation of his faith in the language of inspiration itself. We ask how doctrines are learned, unless by the terms in which they are set forth? If these be dark and

obscure, our minds will be proportionately unable to attain precise and definite ideas of their nature; on the other hand, if they be propounded in terms perspicuous and proper, the greater will be our facility in comprehending them. Now, words arranged, and put in a particular way, constitute a proposition. It is necessary that they be marshalled in a certain order, else they will either convey the meaning of the sentence ambiguously, or no meaning at all. This must be true of all languages. We may not be adequate to trace out the laws which the best writers imposed on themselves; or the acknowledged forms of the dialect they spoke or wrote, in the case of dead languages; but, from an extended knowledge of their works, we may become at least acquainted with the general principles of the language they employed. And if we be allowed to judge from the analogy of our own tongue, while we grant that some parts of speech might be employed in different positions, according to the taste of different authors, yet we imagine that this cannot be admitted with respect to the insertion or omission of the article. However various may be the opinions regarding its nature, all are agreed that it was employed in some way to limit, specify, or define. Thus designed to limit or specify some idea which an author wished to communicate, it could not be altogether a matter of taste, whether he would employ the article or not. While he possessed no other part of speech *precisely identical* in signification, he could not but add or omit this vocable according to the modification of meaning he intended to convey. It is true—and analogy is entirely in favour of the fact—that all writers were not alike masters of their own language; that the laws of syntax, and the niceties of diction were not equally known to all that chose to become authors. On this account we may find deviations from the established forms and rules used by the best writers, in others of less ability. Hence we need not be surprised to see in Homer and Hesiod a usage of the article somewhat diverse from that of Plato or Thucydides. The dialect of the former has a considerable dissimilarity to that of the latter; and we therefore expect the rules of syntax in some degree to vary. But when we find general rules observed by the majority of the best Greek writers in the insertion or omission of the article, when the same are visible in every page of the New Testament; when, from a copious induction of particulars, we ascend in the true Baconian method of philosophising to general

principles, it is surely egregious folly to censure such inductive philologists as though they were the discoverers of canons and the searchers of rules that were never thought of by the Greek writers themselves. What though there be exceptions—this fact does not invalidate the truth of the principles themselves, especially since we can describe the cases in which such seeming irregularities occur; and when we are even able to predict where they will be found. Exceptions of such a character cease to be irregularities, and do themselves partake of all the marks and tokens that attach to fixed rules. We esteem it no small proof of the divine origin of Christianity, that it was at first promulgated in a language precisely such as that of the New Testament. Some of the writers were illiterate and humble men when called by our Lord from their occupations to become his disciples. And when they were prompted and inspired to write so much of his will as it pleased him to reveal for the instruction of mankind, that their language should partake of the established rules of syntax and the minuter forms of speech observable in the purest Greek writers, is altogether remarkable. Perhaps from their regular and strict usage of the Greek article in conformity with the practice of such writers as Xenophon and Demosthenes, we may derive an evidence of *verbal inspiration* as strong and convincing as any that has yet been adduced. We would call the attention of such of you as may be occupied with the investigation of this very difficult subject to the remark now made, entreating you to weigh it with that care to which we deem it entitled.

But we must return to Mr. Stuart. We are sincerely sorry to find him, now that he is in the decline of life, eager to throw aside as many of the opinions and sentiments which he formerly entertained, as he reckons incompatible, in opposition to the united testimony of almost all orthodox men with a sound and scriptural creed. In his essay respecting the Greek article, we are not aware that he has advanced any new position, or proved any important principle. He has followed Winer too closely. He has paid too much homage to the sentiments of the German grammarians, who are totally unacquainted with the philosophical principles established by English divines in regard to this important part of speech. The former have, no doubt, with great industry, collected a multitude of examples shewing the varied positions in which the article is added or omitted; without think-

ing, however, of deducing general rules, and thus pointing out an acknowledged usage regarding it. They have furnished copious materials for the philosophical grammarian to prepare and generalise; but the goodly structure they have not themselves reared, and its symmetry they have not perceived. Had Bishop Middleton lived to the present time, their labours might have spared him much toil and trouble in gathering together single instances out of a multitude of Greek writers; but he could have derived from them no other assistance. He might thus have given more exemplifications of his rules than he has done; but we are persuaded that he would not have altered the canons themselves. It is to us matter of regret, that Mr. Stuart should allow his veneration for the Germans to carry him away so far, as to throw uncertainty over the whole doctrine of the article. A stranger compound of truth and error, of vague assertions and judicious remarks than his essay it has seldom been our lot to peruse. He is *too* liberal when he would surrender such an argument as that derivable from the Greek article, in support of the main pillar of our faith. It is true that the context of the passages adduced by the orthodox, would lead the candid inquirer to entertain right sentiments; but it does not hence follow that he should renounce every additional mode of ascertaining and defending the same interpretation. We hold that there must have been invariable rules of Greek syntax; and on this supposition every grammarian proceeds to discover and to elucidate them. Why then should we deny that the article was subject to rule—that it was fixed, settled, and definitely employed? Or why should we affirm that one writer may have availed himself of it to express the *very same thing*, in a different manner from some other author equally noted for the purity of his diction and the propriety of his language? All analogy contradicts such a supposition; and however inadequate we of the present day may be to apprehend the idioms and peculiarities of the Greek language, and fully to explore the minutiae of its structure, yet the united labours of the learned have not been ineffectual in the development of its more striking and palpable characteristics; and we hesitate not to affirm that the systematic mode in which the prepositive article is employed is one of these characteristics. We will not, therefore, omit any arguments derived from the Greek article at the bidding of Mr. Stuart, however highly we admire his scholarship. If, as he imagines, the subject be unsettled,

he could not have more effectually laboured to keep it in the same state. Whether he has written in too great haste, or whether he has set out with preconceived opinions, or whether both causes may have operated, we presume not to affirm, but of his production itself we have not an exceedingly high opinion. Probably he would charge us with being guided by *theological* rather than *philological* reasons in forming this opinion; and, as he has accused the Greek fathers generally of being so biassed, we need not hope to be exempt from suspicion. Rather would we be numbered with those who will not surrender one jot or tittle of the truth through a spurious liberality, and who are reluctant to yield a single point of their faith as long as it admits of a legitimate defence, than with the orthodox men that boast of their independence of mind, and liberality of heart, while they are contented to resign questions in debate into the hands of the enemies of evangelical religion.

LECTURE XXVI.

ON THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE GOSPEL BY MATTHEW.

CONNECTED with the diction of the New Testament is the question respecting the language in which the Gospel according to Matthew was originally written. Whilst some contend that it was published in Greek, others as strenuously maintain that it was written in Hebrew. It is unnecessary to furnish you with a long list of names on both sides of the question. It would minister no profit but rather savour of the parade of learning. Passing over, therefore, the numerous individuals who have espoused opposite sentiments, we proceed at once to the discussion of the subject itself. Did it not naturally belong to the topic which we have been considering, I would scarcely reckon it of sufficient importance to be here discussed, because it is in the end the same to us whether Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew or Greek, provided we abide by its inspiration and its integrity. Interesting, therefore, though it may be to consider the subject; we do not regard it as of essential importance. Whatever opinion be adopted, there is no good reason for accusing those who hold the opposite of entertaining false and heretical sentiments. Both may be safely maintained without impugment of the orthodoxy of the disputants.

Such as argue for the Hebrew composition of the Gospel rest chiefly on the weight of ancient testimony by which their opinion is supported. It will be necessary, therefore, to allude, at some length, to the writings of those fathers and ecclesiastical authors that touch upon the point. In the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius we meet with the following notices. *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἡερμῆνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἠδύνατο ἰκαστος.* (iii. 39.) Papias says, “ Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language, which every one interpreted as well as he

could." Papias was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, and flourished about the year of our Lord 116. Only some fragments of his work are preserved in Eusebius. Irenaeus is the next who affirms the same thing. 'Ο μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου. (Adv. Haer. III. 1, Conf. Euseb. h. e. v. 8.) "Matthew published his gospel among the Jews in their own language." These words of Irenaeus recorded in Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, have occasioned some perplexity to Drs. Hales and Bloomfield, the latter of whom would arbitrarily alter them, thinking that they do not yield any tolerable sense. The καὶ before γραφὴν we take to signify *even*, and γραφὴν εὐαγγελίου to mean *the writing of his gospel*, that is, *his written gospel*. "Matthew even published among the Hebrews, in their own dialect, a written gospel." We are averse to the proposed alterations of Dr. Bloomfield, because there is no foundation for them. He need not, surely, expect good or pure Greek at such a time and from such a writer; and, therefore, he ought not to have stumbled at the word γραφὴν. It does not mean *scripture* in its appropriated and ecclesiastical signification, but simply *writing*. We come, in the third place, to Origen. ὡς ἐν παραδόσει μαθῶν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων, ἃ καὶ μόνᾳ ἀναντιρρήτᾳ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτε τελέων, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματθαῖον, ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύουσι, γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον. (Eusebius h. e. vi. 25). "He (Origen) learned by tradition, respecting the four gospels, which are the only canonical ones in the church of God under heaven, that the gospel according to Matthew was written first. He was originally a publican, and afterwards the Apostle of Jesus Christ, and gave it out, composed in Hebrew letters, to those Jews who had embraced Christianity." Eusebius himself testifies the same thing. Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἔμελλε καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἵναί, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ παραδούς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ τούτοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐπέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου. (H. E. iii. 24). "When Matthew had first preached to the Hebrews, and was about to go to others, he delivered his gospel in his native tongue to those whom he was leaving, and thus compensated for his own personal presence among them by his writing." Jerome, also, in his Commentary on Matthew (preface) says "Matthaeus in Judaeâ evangelium hebraeo sermone edidit, ob eorum vel maxime causam, qui in Iesum crediderant ex Judaeis." "Matthew published, in Judea

a gospel in the Hebrew language, chiefly for the sake of those Jews who had believed in Jesus." The same father, in another place (*De viris Illustr.* c. 3,) writes, "Matthaeus primus in Judaea propter eos qui ex circumcissione crediderant, evangelium Christi hebraicis literis, verbisque, composuit, quod quis postea in graecum transtulerit, non satis certum est." "Matthew was the first who composed a history of Christ in Hebrew letters and words, for the use of those of the circumcision in Judaea, who had become believers; and it is not ascertained by whom it was afterwards translated into Greek."

These are apparently satisfactory and unequivocal testimonies in favour of the Hebrew origin of this gospel, by men that lived not long after its composition, and who might have easily learned it from a tradition reaching up by a few steps to the Apostle himself. But there are circumstances that modify and considerably affect the value of the evidence thus presented, to which it is equally necessary to attend. In regard to Papias, Eusebius observes that he was *of very weak understanding*, σφόδρα σμηκρὸς ὦν τὸν νοῦν. It is to be remembered, however, that Eusebius is speaking *only of his millenarianism*, when he applies to him such language, for in another part of his writings he characterises him as, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα λογιώτατος καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰδήμων, "a man in every respect very learned or intelligent, and well acquainted with the Scripture." But, in the present instance, Papias has not named the authorities or grounds on which his testimony is founded, and we are therefore at liberty to question its accuracy. It is also to be observed that there is not a word in Eusebius respecting Papias having seen the Hebrew gospel. He may have got the information from others. According to Irenaeus, a disciple of John and the associate of Polycarp, (not of the Apostle John, but a presbyter of the same name,) he was a great collector of the sayings and sentiments of others. Of Irenaeus we have reason to believe that he borrowed his account from Papias. Indeed he expressly refers to him, and says, "This is recorded by Papias, who was one of John's hearers, a contemporary of Polycarp, one of the ancients, in the fourth book of his ἐξηγησίων λογίων κύριακῶν," "Explanations of the divine sayings." With regard to Origen, Eusebius, through whom came his sentiments on this point, asserts, that Origen came to the knowledge of it *by tradition*. Thus we are not to look upon his opinion as the result of critical research. Eusebius himself, though he has said in one place that

the original text of Matthew was Hebrew, appears, in another place, to declare the opposite. In his Commentary on the Psalms he says, "Instead of (φθίγξομαι προβλήματα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς), Matthew, being a Hebrew, used his own translation, ἐρῶξομαι κειρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς. "I will utter things hid from the foundation of the world." Matthew, therefore, deserted the Seventy, and rendered the passage differently. In order to reconcile these two conflicting statements of the same author, it has been observed by Hug, that the former was delivered in his capacity of historian and collector, whilst the latter is his conclusion as a philologist. Jerome, in the passages quoted from his writings, speaks of *the gospel according to Matthew*, which was circulated among the Nazarenes and Ebionites, and was used by them alone. This gospel was also called *εὐαγγέλιον κατ' ἀποστόλους* and *εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίων*, receiving these various appellations, probably, because it was modified and altered among the various sects that used it. The reason why it was generally called the gospel according to Matthew is, because it resembled, in part, the canonical gospel of Matthew. Hence, it was actually given out by many who used it as the authentic copy of Matthew. So Jerome testifies, (on Matt. xii. 13.) *In evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitae, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthaei authenticum.*

This father alone professes to have seen the gospel according to the Hebrews, or the gospel according to Matthew, and even translated it from Hebrew into Greek and Latin. "Evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos, et a me nuper in Graecum Latinumque sermonem translatum est." (De viris illustr. c. 2). "The gospel which is called the *gospel according to the Hebrews*, and which I lately translated into the Greek and Latin languages." Judging by the fragments of it that remain, it must have differed considerably from the genuine gospel of Matthew, and have been full of silly and fabulous stories. It appears, therefore, that the opinion of Matthew's having composed his gospel in Hebrew arose from the circumstance, that the fathers confounded this spurious gospel, used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, and frequently called *τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον*, with the authentic copy of the apostle himself. This might the more easily be done, because they heard of it merely by report. None except Jerome had seen it; and none except he and Origen was acquainted with Hebrew, or could have read it. It has been remarked also, that Jerome speaks somewhat diffe-

rently, at different times, of the dialect in which it was written. He usually speaks of it as having been written *Hebraeo sermone*, but in the year 415, in his treatise against the Pelagians, (iii. 2), he writes: In evangelio juxta Hebraeos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum apostolos, sive, ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthaeum, &c. "In the gospel according to the Hebrews, which was written in the Syriac and Chaldean language, but with Hebrew letters, which gospel the Nazarenes use to the present time, called *the gospel according to the Apostles*, or, as most think, according to *Matthew*," &c. According to this account, it was composed in the Syro-Chaldaic tongue then prevalent in Palestine, although the letters were Hebrew. This we regard as the most accurate, as it is the most minute description of the dialect in which the gospel in question was written. Such is the document which an early current tradition attributed to Matthew, although it was essentially different from the canonical gospel. And, from the one having been confounded with the other, arose the prevalent report, that Matthew's true gospel was composed in the Hebrew tongue. The fathers erroneously ascribed the authorship to Matthew, from the title *τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίου εὐαγγέλιον*. The reason why it was so denominated is not clear. Some suppose that it was the original gospel of Matthew, written, according to them, in the Hebrew dialect, but mutilated and altered to correspond with the peculiar opinions of the sects that used it. Others again imagine, that it was the original Greek gospel of Matthew translated into Hebrew, and either interpolated or abridged; whilst others think, that the apocryphal gospel was written by another author than Matthew, but chiefly in imitation of the canonical one that bears the Apostle's name, and with many extracts from it. It will be obvious, from the nature of the thing, that none of these suppositions can be made certain, but that they are mere conjectures.

We have thus disposed of the ancient tradition, on which so much stress is laid by the supporters of the Hebrew original of this gospel. We might have referred to Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Isidore of Pelusium, Euthymius Zygabenus, Theophylact, Hippolytus, Dorotheus, and the author of *the Synopsis of Sacred Scripture* in Athanasius, as witnesses for the same prevailing tradition. But they are all resolvable into a few of the early testimonies which we have already noticed. The

same view prevailed among the Syrians, as we learn from Assemani. But we have seen that the concurrent testimony of succeeding writers is chiefly, if not wholly, based on the authority of Papias; and we suppose that he was misled by the fact, that the Nazarenes and Ebionites had a gospel sometimes called *the gospel according to Matthew*. I conceive this to be a much more probable mode of accounting for the language of Papias than that of Credner, (Einleit. p. 91), following Schleiermacher, who thinks that Matthew wrote something else relative to our Lord's sayings, to *which*, and not to *his canonical gospel as we now have it*, Papias refers. De Wette's judgment of this interpretation of the words of Papias is, that it is *ingenious*, rather than *probable*.

It has been objected, however, by De Wette and others, that the account of Pantaenus is independent of the testimony of Papias. The passage in which Pantaenus is referred to may be found in Eusebius, (H. E. v. '10),..... *εις Ἰνδοῦς ἰληθεῖν λέγεται (ὁ Πάνταινος). "Ἐθα λόγος εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον, παρά τισιν αὐτῷ τὸν χριστὸν ἐπιγνωκόσιν ὡς Βαρθολομαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἵνα κηρύξαι, αὐτοῖς δὲ Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλεῖψαι γραφὴν, ὡς καὶ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον.*" Pantaenus is said to have gone to India, (*i. e.* according to Credner, *Southern Arabia*), where there is a report that he found the gospel, according to Matthew, among some who had there learned Christ, to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, preached, and left the writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters," &c. In like manner Jerome, (*De viris illustr. c. 36*), Pantaenus *ubi (in India), reperit Bartholomaeum de duodecim Apostolis adventum Domini nostri Iesu Christi juxta Matthaei evangelium praedicasse, quod hebraicis litteris scriptum, reverens Alexandriam secum detulit.* "Where (in India), he found that Bartholomew, one of the twelve Apostles, had preached the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the gospel of Matthew, which, on his return to Alexandria, he brought with him written in Hebrew." It is observable that Eusebius does not give this account of Pantaenus as correct, or on his own authority. He says, *there is a report that Pantaenus did so and so, &c.* We are not, therefore, to suppose that Eusebius himself believed the report; he only gives it as a tradition commonly circulated, but he does not affirm that it is true. On the whole we are left to tradition on the subject of the Hebrew original of Matthew's gospel; and this tradition rests on the testimony of Papias, who was misled by the spurious gospel and its

title. Other arguments, adduced by the advocates of the Hebrew original, are manifestly weak. Thus the exclusive prevalence of the Hebrew or Aramaean dialect in Palestine, has been advanced as an argument. But it has been satisfactorily shewn by Hug, that the Greek language was widely circulated there at the time when Matthew lived. In point of fact, neither the Greek nor the Hebrew language appears to have exclusively prevailed. Both were current; and although the Syro-Chaldaic might be regarded as the national language, yet the Greek had obtained such a footing as to place it nearly on an equality with the Hebrew. Although, therefore, Matthew may be supposed to have written his gospel for the use of Jewish readers only, as many affirm, yet it would not follow that he wrote it in the Aramaean tongue, because the Jewish Christians were well acquainted with the Greek. But it is highly probable that he did not address it exclusively to the Hebrew Christians. Internal evidence warrants this affirmation. Among other particulars, the explanation of Hebrew terms added by him, would seem to be quite unnecessary for Hebrew readers. Thus Matthew i. 23, "They shall call his name Emmanuel, *which being interpreted is, God with us.*" xxvii. 33. "They came to a place called *Golgotha*, that is to say, *a place of a skull.* So also xxvii. 46, *Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani, that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*" What need had a native of Judaea of this explanation? Other examples of the same kind might be given, which certainly go to prove that Matthew did not write *exclusively* for Jewish readers. The advocates of the Hebrew original also contend for the probability of their hypothesis, because Matthew has often departed from the Septuagint, and given a translation of his own in passages peculiar to himself. So ii. 6, xv. 18, iv. 15, viii. 17, ix. 13, xii. 18—21, xiii. 35, xxi. 4, xxvii. 9, 10. But it has been also urged in favour of the Greek original of the gospel, that he has quoted from the Septuagint. So i. 23, xxi. 16, xiii. 14, 15. Here he follows exactly the Greek translation. It appears then that, like the other evangelists, he has sometimes departed from the Septuagint, and sometimes followed it; and therefore no stress can be laid on arguments derived from this source. With regard to the *Hebraisms*, by which the gospel is said to be characterised, nothing can be concluded from them in favour of a Hebrew original, because the dialect of the New Testament abounds in such. The diction of the Jewish Christians is naturally tinged with such idioms; and Matthew's

gospel is not more strongly marked by them than other parts of the Greek Testament. But there are probable considerations that speak in favour of a Greek original. If the gospel were first written in Hebrew, then we have only a version. In one book of the New Testament, we are merely in possession of a translation made from the original Syro-Chaldaic. And who made this version? what is its character for faithfulness? has it been corrupted by unskilful hands? These, and like questions must suggest themselves to the mind; and we are in complete ignorance as to the important points they imply. We know not by whom the version was made, by what authority it was issued, or whether it be faithful to the original. Theophylact indeed says that John rendered it out of the Hebrew into Greek, but little credit is to be given to this assertion, when Jerome and Eusebius profess their ignorance of the translator. Certainly the style differs widely from that of John, both in his gospel and epistles. It resembles Mark's most nearly. The author of the *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae*, in Athanasius' works, says that it was *interpreted* by James, the brother of the Lord, according to the flesh. Anastasius Sinaita affirms that Luke and Paul translated it into Greek. From the discordant nature of these accounts, and the late times in which their authors lived, we are warranted to infer that the translator was wholly unknown, although it is manifest that they wished to assign to the Greek gospel as high and ancient authority as possible. Hence Apostles were selected for its authors. If Jerome, in the fourth century, did not know who the translator was, how could ecclesiastical writers that lived long afterwards, and possessed few facilities for ascertaining the truth, obtain correct information on the point? At one time of his life, this learned father coincided with the current tradition, but afterwards, towards the close of his life, (A.D. 415), he abandoned it. At all events, he speaks of it in a different manner at different times. Who does not perceive that the supposition of our having merely a version of St. Matthew's gospel is derogatory to the supreme authority of Scripture, and dishonouring to the God from whom it proceeded? According to this hypothesis, an inspired gospel has been lost, so that no trace of it can be discovered. Is it not strange that the Almighty would inspire Matthew to write a history of our Lord in the Syro-Chaldaic tongue, and suffer it afterwards to pass into oblivion and to be superseded by a *version*? This is contrary to his mode of acting in reference

to all other parts of His revelation ; and we should therefore pause before we adopt a hypothesis contradicted by all analogy, and favoured by no historical fact. Of the opinion of Guerike (*Beitr. zu hist-krit Einleitung ins. N. T. p. 36, &c.*) Schott, Olshausen, Townson, Whitby, Benson, Hales, Bloomfield, and others, who suppose Matthew to have written two originals, one in Hebrew and the other in Greek, it may be remarked, that its origin is evidently to be attributed to the supposed difficulties on both sides of the question, which it was invented to reconcile. It long ago suggested itself to Schwarz, and after him to Bengelius, who conjectured that Matthew may have written both in Hebrew and in Greek. But it is liable to the objection already urged against the Hebrew original *alone*, for it implies, that something written by inspiration was immediately lost beyond the possibility of discovery. But the superintendence of that Jehovah who has watched over all the parts of his revelation with unceasing care is here forgotten. No portion of *Scripture* can be regarded as now lost, without in some sense attributing to God an unnecessary employment of means. We reject, therefore, this theory, no less than that which attributes a Hebrew original to this gospel. It is an awkward and arbitrary mode of uniting two different opinions, one or other of which must alone be true. It will not suffice thus to evade the difficulties of the arguments on both sides of the question. And it is also uncalled for. We see no insuperable objection to the Greek original of Matthew. It is, in our mind, the only hypothesis that can be admitted. It cannot be believed that we now possess merely a translation of this gospel ; for such a sentiment would lessen its authority and detract from the reverence due to the inspired words of God. Other considerations might be urged against a Hebrew original. Thus we might allege, that in the Christian church the authentic Hebrew copy was never used. If the early Christians really believed that the Greek was a version from the Hebrew, surely they would not have preferred it when they had access to the true original. The fact that the Hebrew fell so soon into oblivion, shews, that the Greek one was reckoned superior to it by the early Christians. Is it probable then that the whole Christian church exalted the Greek copy above the Hebrew, believing at the same time that the former was only a version. We might also adduce the circumstance, that the old Syriac version was made from the Greek, as a proof that it was considered authentic rather than

the Hebrew. And when we consider, that Jerome expressly says, that it was written in the Syro-Chaldaic idiom, and not the Hebrew, we are led to conclude that the Syriac would have been taken from it, as being written in a similar dialect. But the arguments advanced above are sufficient to shew, that the notion of a Hebrew gospel by Matthew originated in a vague report, and that it cannot be supported even by ancient historical testimony.

Since writing the above, the recent work of Mr. Norton on the Gospels has come into my hands, in one of the notes to which he advocates the opinion, that the gospel of Matthew was originally written in Hebrew. Besides referring to the testimony of Christian antiquity which we have already considered, he says, that the Hebrew original of Matthew's gospel was in common use (either in a pure or corrupt form) among Jewish Christians. These Jewish Christians generally were considered, even in the second century, as heretics, and denominated Ebionites. In the fourth century, Epiphanius divides the Hebrew Christians into Ebionites and Nazarenes, both of whom, according to Mr. Norton, had the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew.

There are, as it appears to me, several errors committed by Mr. Norton, which I now proceed to point out.

1st. He believes that the gospel of the Hebrews was the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew himself. This also appears to have been the belief of most of the fathers, who have had occasion to mention such a document. We are to remember, however, that none of them actually said it except Jerome, who, though he shared the prevailing opinion at one time, seems, at a later period, to have distinguished them as different productions. Hence he writes, in the year 415, "evangelium juxta Hebraeos, sive, *ut plerique autumant*, (not, *ut ego autumo*) juxta Matthæum." Now the gospel of the Hebrews, of which Jerome speaks, had been translated out of the Greek into Aramaean. This is proved by the mistake בַּר רִבְהוֹן (filius magistri eorum), *the son of their master*, as a translation of the proper name Βαρεθβᾶς. Jerome, on Matthew xxvii. 16, informs us, that this interpretation was found in the Hebrew gospel. Thus the translator mistook the etymology of the word, not knowing that Βαρεθβᾶς is simply אֲבָא בַר, *son of the father*. A Hebrew, writing his native dialect, could hardly have fallen into such a blunder; it is

therefore, to be attributed to a translator. Whoever wishes for full satisfaction on this point may refer to Credner's *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, vol. i. pp. 345, 405, 455, &c. If, then, it had been the authentic Hebrew gospel of Matthew, why should it have been translated out of its original language into Greek, and then retranslated. On Mr. Norton's supposition this is altogether inexplicable. We are rather led to believe, that the gospel of Matthew in Greek had been made the ground-work of the other, which some person or persons translated, enlarging and mutilating it according to their theological notions. The fact of its having been rendered from the Greek would seem at least to favour this supposition.

2d. It is assumed by Mr. Norton and others, that the quotations given by Epiphanius from the gospel used by the Ebionites, were drawn from the very same document as that mentioned by Jerome under the appellation of *the gospel of the Hebrews*. This would seem to be destitute of a solid foundation. It is true that Epiphanius says, that the Ebionites had a gospel among them which they called *according to Matthew*, or *according to the Hebrews*, from which he professes to give quotations; but its text was Greek, not Aramaean. This is evident from the alteration of ἀκρίδες, *locusts*, into ἰσχυρίδες, which Epiphanius tells us was in the copy of the Ebionites. I will not deny that the production in the hands of the Ebionites may have been originally the same as that so often mentioned by Jerome, but, in that case, it must have been greatly changed. It would rather appear that Epiphanius derived his quotations from some Ebionitish writing, perhaps from some document consisting of a collection of different passages from the gospels. The text of it, so far as we are able to judge from the specimens given, was as nearly allied to Luke's as Matthew's gospel, and it was certainly different from the text of the gospel referred to by Jerome. Compare the two passages that follow, quoted by Jerome and Epiphanius, which we would have expected to coincide, if both had taken them from the same *gospel of the Hebrews*. Jerome on Isaiah xi. 1, quotes these words relating to the baptism of Christ, "Factum est autem, quum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis spiritus sancti, et requievit super eum, et dixit illi: Fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te, ut venires, et requiescerem in te. Tu es enim requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum." "And it came to

pass when the Lord had gone up out of the water, that every fountain of the divine spirit descended and rested upon him, and said to him, my son, in all the prophets I was expecting thee, that thou mightest come, and that I might rest in thee. For thou art my rest, thou art my first begotten son, who reignest for ever." Epiphanius haeres. xxx. § 13, relates that the following words were found in the gospel of the Ebionites. *Και ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἠνοίγησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἅγιον ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς καταβούσης καὶ εἰσβούσης εἰς αὐτόν. Καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσα. σὺ μου εἶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα. Καὶ πάλιν ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκα σε. Καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα. Ὁν ἰδὼν, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγει αὐτῷ σὺ τίς εἶ Κύριε; Καὶ πάλιν φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς, ἐφ' ᾧ εὐδόκησα. Καὶ τότε φησὶν ὁ Ἰωάννης παραπεσὼν αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν· δέομαι σου Κύριε σὺ με βάπτισον. Ὁ δὲ ἐκάλυεν αὐτῷ, λέγων ἄφες, ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶ πρῖπον πληρωθῆναι πάντα.* "And when he came up from the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the holy spirit of God, in the form of a dove, descending and entering into him. And there was a voice from heaven, saying, thou art my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased. And again, this day I have begotten thee: and immediately a great light shone about the place. And when John saw him, he said to him, who art thou Lord? and again a voice came to him from heaven, this is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased. Then John falling down before him, said, I beseech thee, Lord, baptise me. But he forbad him, saying, suffer it, for it is meet that all things should be thus fulfilled." Should it be said by any one that the Ebionites had a Greek translation of the gospel of the Hebrews, and that they added to it or mutilated it, as suited their fancy or their prejudice, he may not, perhaps, be far from the truth.

3d. I must protest against the conclusion of Mr. Norton, viz. that if the true gospel of Matthew and the gospel of the Hebrews coincided with each other in far the greater part of their contents, there is no reason for any other inference than that this gospel was, in its primitive state, the work of Matthew. I see room for another conclusion, quite as probable, if not much more so than that of Mr. Norton. Might not the gospel of the Hebrews have been founded on Matthew's Greek original, and translated from it? The Hebrew Christians mutilated, and corrupted it, but still it bore a considerable resemblance to Matthew's own work. Mr. Norton makes no distinction be-

tween the mode in which Jerome speaks at different times of the gospel of the Hebrews, a point which appears to me of some importance in the argument. It is quite probable, as I have already said, that he agreed at one time with the current report; but, when he actually inspected and examined the gospel, he saw reason to change his opinion, and to employ a different phraseology. It is certain that the gospel of the Hebrews was regarded as spurious (*παραδοξον*) by Origen and Eusebius. See Orig. comm. in Johann. IV. p. 63, ed. La Rue; Euseb. Hist. Ecc. III. 25. Now, if it be true that the greater part of it was in the style of Matthew, as Mr. Norton, affirms, it is questionable whether it would have been rejected as spurious by these two writers. "It is possible," says Mr. Norton, "that other copies, even in the fourth century, approached much nearer to the text of Matthew." If this be correct, how could the gospel have been set aside in this way by any one? If it had only received a few interpolations, it did not deserve to be branded with such an epithet. It was *γνήσιος* with some additions and mutilations.

4thly, Jerome translated the gospel according to the Hebrews into Greek and Latin. So he himself informs us, (*De viris illustr.* ch. 2.) About the same time, most probably in the same year, (392). he writes that the Hebrew original of Matthew's gospel "is still most carefully preserved until this day in the library of Caesarea, which was formed by Pamphilus the martyr, and I obtained leave to transcribe the work, from the Nazarenes of Beroea, in Syria, by whom it is used." In the same passage Jerome expressly affirms "that it was uncertain by whom it was translated into Greek." It had therefore been circulated before in the Greek language, and had been translated by an unknown hand. Jerome undertook to translate it into Greek again, as also into Latin. Was not this a superfluous task in respect to the Greek translation? What could have been his motive for rendering it again into Greek, when he believed that the Hebrew was the authentic copy? Besides, he adhered to the Greek copy which was circulated before his time, for he merely revised the Latin translation of it already existing, which version agrees with our present Greek Matthew. In correcting the *old Italic*, he made no use of the authentic Hebrew, but simply of the Greek. Does not this argue that he preferred the present Greek Matthew to the gospel of the Hebrews, which differed considerably in his day? How comes it to pass, too, that Jerome, in his

Commentary on Matthew, never quotes the authentic Hebrew text, as tending to explain ambiguous and difficult places? And not only did Jerome reject the authority of the gospel of the Hebrews, but we might also argue that Origen did not look upon it as Matthew's own. This we infer from his language, as preserved in the old Latin translation. "Scriptum est in evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebraeos, si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud non ad auctoritatem, sed ad manifestationem propositæ quæstionis." The phrase *evangelio quodam*, leads us to believe that he did not look upon it as the true gospel of Matthew. Besides, he does not ask that it should be received as *authoritative*, but as *illustrative of the question proposed*.

The attempt to identify the gospel of the Hebrews with the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew, appears to me to be utterly unsuccessful. If most of the fathers believed it by report, why should we hesitate to reject their opinion when there are good grounds for doing so? They knew little or nothing of the *gospel of the Hebrews*; and they were not able to read it. How then could they disprove the pretensions of the Hebrew Christians who gave it out as the authentic production of Matthew, especially as it resembled in many respects the Greek one in their own hands? I cannot believe that we are only in possession of a version made by an unknown person. It has none of the characteristics of a version, but all the marks of an original. All versions partake of the fallibility of their authors. Unless they are inspired, how then can there be sufficient confidence in them as Scripture? If Matthew did not write in Greek, how do we know that the translator has not fallen into gross mistakes? How shall we disprove the bold assertions of Bolten, Eichhorn, and Bertholdt, respecting the actual errors which the translator committed? How shall we demonstrate the fallacy of the manner in which they have proceeded, when endeavouring to point out, with bold and arbitrary assumptions, the mistakes of the translator?

Dr. Bloomfield, who affirms that a "Hebrew original is demanded by the evidence of antiquity," says, that it "had become obsolete before even the earliest of the versions was formed." It is quite true that all the versions extant, the Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Æthiopic, follow the Greek, not the supposed Hebrew original. But how can Dr. Bloomfield, on the evidence of antiquity, hold the belief of a Hebrew original, and

the fact of its having become obsolete in the first century, at one and the same time, when the evidence of antiquity shows, that the Hebrew original was preserved by the Hebrew Christians? The same historical testimony, which goes to prove, that Matthew wrote a Hebrew gospel, also proves that it was preserved among the Jewish Christians. It is impossible to separate the two parts of the testimony borne by early writers respecting the existence of the Hebrew gospel of Matthew, and its preservation among a certain sect. If we reject that portion of the evidence which testifies that Matthew's gospel was preserved by the Jewish Christians till the fifth century, we ought also to cast away the other portion of the evidence, which affirms that there was an authentic Hebrew gospel of the Apostle. I see no reason whatever for taking asunder the united testimony of antiquity. If I believed that Matthew composed a Hebrew gospel, I would also hold that it was in the hands of the Hebrew Christians, because both rest on the same historical basis. Mr. Norton is quite consistent in believing both. Dr. Bloomfield is not so. But I conceive that the fathers were mistaken or misled in both. They trusted, in a great degree, to mere report, that Matthew had written a Hebrew gospel; and they were deceived by certain heretics, who gave out that they were in possession of the original document of the Apostle. They listened to the Nazarenes, who boasted that they actually had in their hands the authentic gospel, when it is certain that the Nazarenes were not worthy of credit; for, according to Epiphanius, they had the effrontery to substitute apocryphal gospels of James and John in place of their authentic writings, and to give them out as the real productions of the Apostles.

Dr. Bloomfield says, that a Hebrew gospel "is in itself very probable, for a Hebrew gospel must, in the first age of Christianity, (when almost confined to Judaea), have been as requisite as a Greek one was afterwards." Surely Dr. Bloomfield is not ignorant of the fact, that both the Greek and Hebrew languages were current in Palestine at the commencement of Christianity, and that the former was understood by the Jews, having been learned by them from daily intercourse with the Greek-speaking population.

Another part of the New Testament supposed by some to have been originally written in Hebrew, is the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. The majority of the Greek fathers, and some of the

Latins, as Jerome and Augustine, were of this opinion. Hence we find Clement of Alexandria in Eusebius vi. 14, and Eusebius himself, favourable to this hypothesis. According to the former Luke translated it into Greek. It has also been adopted by Michaelis and a few others in modern times. We cannot, however, assent to it, though recommended by the authority of some respectable and learned names. It rests on a foundation that can hardly be supported, viz. that the Hebrews understood the Syro-Chaldaic only; and that the style is unlike that of Paul's acknowledged epistles. We know that Aramaean was the vernacular language of the Palestine Jews; but it is indisputably certain that the Greek language was also current there, and understood by the Jews. From their intercourse with the Greek-speaking population, they must have learned their language by conversation. Although, therefore, the epistle was addressed particularly to the Hebrew Christians in Palestine, yet it would have been intelligible to them in Greek. In relation to style, it might be shewn, that there is no room for believing that the epistle did not proceed from Paul. Different subjects require to be treated in a different style; and there is no greater discrepancy between the style of this epistle and that of others universally attributed to him, than between his *pastoral* and other epistles. (See Stuart's Notes on Hug). We believe, then, that there was no exception made in this case with regard to the language of the New Testament. Like all other parts of it, this epistle was originally written in the Greek language, at that time the best known, and the most widely diffused. There are, moreover, strong internal proofs for the Greek original of the epistle, which we need not adduce in this place. There are, 1st. The purity of the language, which instead of having the air of a translation, has the flowing character of an original. 2d. The Septuagint is quoted rather than the Hebrew, even where it deviates from the original, as in x. 5, and many other places. It would appear, indeed, that with the exception of x. 30, all the citations in the epistle correspond much more nearly with the Septuagint than the Hebrew. 3d. There are paronomasias which could not have been accidental, such as v. 8; ix. 10; xi. 37, &c. Other arguments which go to establish the same thing might be mentioned, but I do not design to discuss the question at length. It has been very ably handled by Professor Stuart in his Commentary on the Epistle, to which I would refer all that

wish to enter into its literary history. With this they ought to unite the work of Bleek (*Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in den Briefe*. Berlin 1828,) "A complete introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews attempted by F. Bleek," and the part of Credner's Introduction to the New Testament relating to the subject, § 188, &c. Nor should the recent work of Mr. Forster, entitled "The Apostolical authority of the epistle to the Hebrews, &c.," London 1838, be overlooked, where both the external and internal proofs of the Pauline origin are adduced with great minuteness and triumphant success. There appears then to have been no translator, such as Luke, or Barnabas, or Clement of Rome. We may also remark, that some have put forth a hypothesis relative to this epistle, similar to that proposed regarding the original language of Matthew's gospel, viz. that it was written by the author both in Greek and Hebrew. This is the view of Dr. Bloomfield, (*Greek Testament*, second edition) who thinks also that the Greek preceded the Hebrew, both, however, being originals. I deem it superfluous to quote his words, as I presume that his valuable edition of the Greek Testament is in the hands of every student. But I would simply observe, that there are no data to support his conjecture. He makes a gratuitous assumption for the sake of removing difficulties of imaginary magnitude. An arbitrary hypothesis has been resorted to for the purpose of reconciling conflicting testimony. But the ancient historical testimony in favour of a Hebrew original is scarcely entitled to any weight. Clement of Alexandria seems first to have hazarded the *conjecture*, that it *may have been* originally written in Hebrew, and translated into the Greek by a friend of the Apostle, perhaps by Luke. In this he was followed without examination by Eusebius, Theodoret, Euthalius, and other distinguished men of the Greek church, until it became the prevailing *opinion* of that church. The speculative Origen considered, that the *thoughts* proceeded from the apostle, while the *words* or *diction* belonged to some other person, to Luke or Clement of Rome. In our view this is highly improbable. The same objections lie against it as those already mentioned against Matthew's gospel with two supposed originals. It would therefore be superfluous to repeat them here.

SUPPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS.

THE perusal of *Mr. Norton's* book on the Gospels, (which arrived after the greater part of the MS. was in the hands of the printer), has induced me to offer a few additional remarks, suggested by, or in answer to his statements. I shall also take the present opportunity to refer to one or two other writers, and thus amplify my discussion of some points which, in the opinion of some, may have been too hastily dismissed.

JOHN VII. 53.—VIII. 11.

I do not think it proper to omit what has been adduced by *Dr Credner* as internal evidence against this portion, and therefore I give the following from his Introduction, (page 230). vii. 59, *επορεύθη*: the Apostle's expression is *ἀπῆλθεν*. The latter is found in many MSS. *τόν οικον*. John, *τὰ ἴδια*. So codex 69. Chapter viii. 1, *δέ*. compare verses 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11. This frequent use of the particle is not in the style of John. *επορεύθη εἰς τὸ ὄρος*; John *ἀνῆλθεν* or *ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος*. vi. 3, 15. *ὄρος τῶν ἰλαιῶν*, is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*. viii. 2, *ἔσθρου*. *ἀ. λ.* John *πρωτὶ* or *πρωτὰς γενομένης*. xviii. 28; xx. 1; xxi. 4. *παρεγένετο*. *ἀ. λ.* John *ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*, vii. 14, or *ἔρχεσθαι εἰς*, iv. 5, 45, 46; vi. 24. *πᾶς ὁ λαός*, John *ὁ ὄχλος ἤρχετο*, John *ἦλθεν*. *καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς*. Neither the first nor the last of these three words is usual in John. Compare vii. 14, 28; viii. 20; xviii. 20. viii. 3, *οἱ γραμματεῖς*. *ἀ. λ.* *μοιχείᾳ*, *ἀ. λ.* *κατακλημμένη* is used in a signification foreign to the Apostle's manner. See i. 5; xii. 35; viii. 4, *ἐν μίση*. John *εἰς τὸ μίσην*. xx. 19, 26. *αὐτοφώρῃ*, *ἀ. λ.* *μοιχευομένη*. *ἀ. λ.* viii. 5, *ἐνετίλατο*, John *γίγγραπται*, *ἔγραψεν*, *γεγραμμένον ἐστί*. *ἡμῖν ἐνετίλατο*; John puts the the pronoun in such a case as this after the verb. vi. 32; vii. 19; xiv. 31; xv. 17,

&c. ληθοβολιῦσθαι; John ληθάζειν, as is here also in many MSS. viii. 6, ἔγραψεν, compare ii. 8, 9. This use of the imperfect is strange to John. viii. 7, ἐπέμεινον ἰρωτῶντες, ἁ. λ. ἀναμάρτητος, ἁ. λ. viii. 9, συνείδησις, ἁ. λ. ἀρξάμενοι, pleonastically, no where else in John. Compare xiii. 15. ἰσχύων does not form a proper antithesis to πρεσβυτέρων. κατελίφθη ἁ. λ. John ἀφίσταται. ἐν μίση ἰστώσα or οὔσα; for this John would have said μίση ἰστ. or οὔσα, compare i. 26; xix. 18. πλὴν, ἁ. λ. John εἰ μή. κατέκρινεν, John uses only κρίνειν.

Into the examination of these words and modes of expression I do not think it necessary to enter with minuteness. Let it be observed that they are not impeached as bad Greek, but as foreign to the diction and idiom of the Apostle. What good reason can be assigned for confining the inspired writer to the same routine of words? Did the Holy Spirit thus trammel his mind? He did not. Even under the guidance of the Spirit, the author was at liberty to employ a variety of expressions. I request the reader to consult the remarks made on the conclusion of Mark's gospel, which Credner treats in the same way as this portion, and he will find that the first, second, and third observations apply with equal force in this case. They need not, therefore, be twice written.

ON THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

I am truly grieved, though not astonished, to see that these chapters are rejected by Norton. I had hoped better things of this writer, notwithstanding his Unitarianism. It is partly, I conceive, owing to his theological creed, and partly to his belief in the Hebrew original of Matthew, that he has stigmatised this portion of the Greek gospel. And yet, to me at least, his reasons are most unsatisfactory. Most of them are not novel, though put forward in a new and plausible connexion of argumentation. In the 26th lecture, I have endeavoured to prove, that the gospel of Matthew was not written originally in Hebrew, but in Greek; and if this be correct, Mr. Norton's argument must at once be abandoned, for he allows that *the first two chapters have always made a part of our Greek translation*, as he calls it. If, therefore, the Greek was the original and not a version, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the chapters in

question are genuine. Mr. Norton affirms that "a portion of the copies of Matthew's gospel, used by the Hebrew Christians, did not contain the chapters in question. This is affirmed by Epiphanius, and the truth of his statement is established by the testimony of preceding writers of higher authority, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Origen, and Eusebius, according to whom one part of the Jewish Christians did not believe the miraculous conception." I have already stated my belief that the Hebrew Christians did not possess the genuine gospel of Matthew, but an apocryphal one. I am glad to find that Mr. Norton does not contend, as some of his Unitarian brethren in England have done, that the copy in the hands of the Nazarenes wanted the two chapters. It is pretty certain that the Nazarene copy contained the substance at least of these chapters, and that this sect believed in the miraculous conception of Christ. Bishop Marsh, in his Notes to Michaelis' Introduction, and Archbishop Laurence, in his Strictures on the Improved Version, have clearly shewn this; and Mr. Bevan repeated, with additions, the sum of their arguments. The Ebionites, to whom alone Mr. Norton refers, took away the genealogy from Matthew, and, accordingly, began their gospel with these words, *It came to pass in the days of Herod King of Judea, &c.* So testifies Epiphanius. But it is evident from what this father says in another place, that he did not regard this Jewish sect as possessing the original gospel of Matthew, for he writes, "In that gospel which they (the Ebionites) have called the gospel according to St. Matthew, which is not *entire* and *perfect*, but *corrupted* and *curtailed*, and which they call *the Hebrew Gospel*, it is written, &c." Thus Epiphanius affirms that it was an imperfect, spurious, and mutilated copy which the Ebionites had. Besides, in order to be consistent, if we reject the first two chapters, because the Ebionites did not receive them, as being contrary to their disbelief of the miraculous conception, we ought also to reject the prophetic writings, and almost the whole of the Old Testament, for the same father asserts, that they expunged from the canon of the Old Testament the greater part of the books. Is Mr. Norton prepared for this? We do not believe that he is.

Mr. Norton then compares the genealogy as given by Matthew with that given by Luke, in order to show that they are irreconcilable with one another. There is certainly great difficulty in proving that both are completely harmonious. The

various attempts that have been made are of doubtful character. Even Dr. Barret's mode is liable to serious objections. But it is impossible to believe that a genealogy could have been forged and received by so many as true and accurate; for the enemies of the Messiah would not have failed to expose the spuriousness of pretended genealogies. The accuracy of the two genealogical tables was always admitted by the church from the earliest period; and although it was found no easy matter to reconcile them, yet their truth was never questioned except by a few heretics who cared little for the authority of Scripture. Mr. Norton rejects the genealogy given by Matthew, because in his opinion it is irreconcilable with that of Luke; but surely the difficulty of harmonising two portions of Scripture should not be considered as a sufficient warrant to reject one or other of them. Ought our ignorance to be thus presuming? Should we not hesitate and distrust our judgment? Should we not pray for farther knowledge, and patiently wait till light be shed on the subject? Not so, according to Mr. Norton. Because no explanation hitherto proposed appears to him satisfactory, he concludes that the two portions are irreconcilable, and that one of them is spurious. As to the original source of the account of Luke of which he speaks, we must say that he is extremely unhappy in his conjecture. He traces it to the *mother* and family of Jesus. Considering Christ to have been a mere man this is natural; but we trace it at once and directly to the Divine Spirit. We believe in inspiration; Mr. Norton, as far as we can judge, does not. Alas that Socinianism should so pervert the mind, as to lead it to reject the inspired statements of Scripture with the same facility as the narratives of ordinary men. It is not necessary to follow this writer in his argumentations, if such they may be called, when he attempts to show the discrepance between the account of the nativity, as contained in the two chapters under review, and the account given by Luke. He simply makes out, that in the two narratives, as compared with one another, *various circumstances not found in both* are related. Mark gives some particulars not found in Luke, whilst the latter details several things not mentioned by Matthew. Here there is no contradiction. Expositors are not agreed whether the visit of the Magi took place before the infant was presented before the Lord in Jerusalem, or after that event; some, as Storr, maintaining the former, others, as Kuinoel, the latter, but this does not show that

the two narratives of Matthew and Luke are irreconcilable. I will not quote Mr. Norton's observations respecting the visit of the Magi. They are quite offensive to piety. To describe the story as a strange mixture of astrology and miracle, is sufficiently adventurous. It is worse than useless to attempt to convince of his error an individual who thus pronounces upon a part of the sacred narrative. It is folly to reason with pure neologianism. Compare the observations of Mr. Norton on this point, with what Fritzsche advances on his Commentary on Matthew, and you will see a great similarity. Fritzsche, be it observed, is a thorough neologist. "Unto their assembly mine honour be not thou united."

But "if we reject the two chapters," continues our author, "a difficulty arises; as the original Hebrew gospel could not have commenced with the first words of the third chapter; 'But in those days.' The difficulty, however, is removed by considering that these words may have been added as a form of transition to a new subject, when the two chapters were blended with the gospel, and that the gospel may originally have begun with the words that follow: 'John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness of Judea;' that is, in a manner corresponding to the commencement of Mark's gospel. Or, the first words may originally have been: 'In the days of Herod, meaning Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, which supposition is countenanced by a story of Epiphanius, that the gospel of the Ebionites began, — 'In the days of Herod, *king of Judea*,'—the addition of which last words, *king of Judea*, seems to have been a blunder of his own." Such are the straits to which he is reduced, and such the conjectures to which he resorts, to support a hypothesis resting on sand.

"But the commencement of the third chapter,—'In those days,'—presents a more serious difficulty upon the supposition, that what precedes was written by Matthew. The last events mentioned at the close of the second chapter are the accession of Archelaus as ruler of Judea, and Joseph's going to reside at Nazareth. But it was not in the time of those events, it was not 'in those days,' on the contrary, it was about thirty years afterward, that John the Baptist was preaching in the wilderness of Judea."

In this I perceive no "serious difficulty." The expression referred to means, *that time* generally, not restricted to any li-

mited or short period. *About that time*, would express the same idea as the phrase in question. The childhood and youth of the Saviour are passed over; and the narrative proceeds to describe his entrance on his public ministry. The term *ἡμέραι* frequently means *time* in the New Testament. See particularly Mark xiii. 24, where the same phrase occurs. "In those days," means *about that period of time*, without necessarily implying that there was only the interval of a few days between the event last mentioned and the transaction ushered in by the phraseology in question. I may add, that it is the manner of Matthew not to mark time precisely, but to employ vague designations, such as *τότε* and the present phrase. This is a peculiarity of his diction which no accurate reader can fail to notice. Credner has specified it with his wonted minuteness, (Einleit. p. 96.) but he makes such a use of it as is highly objectionable.

I have thus glanced at the objections urged by Norton against the commencing chapters of Matthew. When writing the Lecture relating to them, I did not think it at all probable that so large a portion of the New Testament would be again stigmatised in England, or attacked in America. The castigations administered to the editors of the Improved Version, together with Evanson and Pope, by Laurence, Nares, Magee, Bevan, and others, had induced me to believe, that such a course would be left to the speculatists of Germany. But it has not so happened. Mr. Norton has deteriorated his otherwise excellent book on the Gospels by several unsatisfactory notes, to one of which we have been adverting. Henceforward let no critic, Unitarian, Neologian, or Orthodox, venture to impugn these chapters. Let them remain undisturbed in the rightful possession of the place they have so long occupied, and which we believe them to have received from the Divine Spirit. Let no irreverent scholar rudely attempt to expunge them from their sacred position, lest haply he be found to fight against God.

MARK XVI. VERSES 9—20.

Mr. Norton has lately endeavoured to disprove the authenticity of this passage; and it may be worth while to refer briefly to his arguments, in connection with those of Credner on the same side of the question. The true state of the evidence, which is

rather cursorily and imperfectly developed in the 17th Lecture, is, that the verses are wanting in B, and that in L, after the eighth verse, it is said, *the following also is extant*, which words precede a short conclusion undoubtedly spurious. Then follow the words, *this also is extant*; after which come the twelve verses in question. In more than forty other MSS. they are accompanied by various remarks, some of which are favourable to their genuineness, others not so. Two codices have them noted with an asterisk. In all others they are contained without any remark.

2d. In addition to the Armenian version, in the MSS. of which they are wanting, they are also absent from the copy of an Arabic version preserved in the Vatican library.

3d. The most important witnesses against the portion under review are Eusebius, according to whom almost all the copies of Mark's gospel, *including the most accurate*, ended with what is now the eighth verse; Gregory of Nyssa, and Jerome. The testimonies of Victor of Antioch, (5th century), Severus of Antioch, (6th century), and Euthymius Zigabenus, (12th century), are dependent on those just quoted, and, with the greatest probability, may be resolved into them. These writers simply repeat what Eusebius said, without implying their own belief in the spuriousness of the place. On the contrary, Victor expresses his belief in its genuineness, saying, that it was found *in the greater number of accurate copies*.

Credner and Norton account for the insertion of the passage, in almost all our MSS., by the following remark of Eusebius, "Others, not daring to reject anything whatever that is extant, through any circumstance, in the manuscripts of the gospels, say that there is here a double reading, as in many other places, and that both are to be received, because the faithful and pious will not undertake to decide in favour of one rather than the other." *Quaestiones ad Marinum*.

This does not go to the root of the matter. It does not explain why the passage was at first added to the gospel. It leaves the point untouched, how it came to pass that so long a portion should be joined to the genuine gospel, even as early as the time of Irenaeus. The remark may partly explain its retention in many codices after having been introduced; but it will not account for its original insertion in some. Why was a passage of such length at first added? When Mr. Norton argues that the apparent discrepance between the 9th verse, and Matt.

xxviii. 1, is very trifling and of no consideration whatever, he argues against the plain testimony of Jerome, who affirms that many could not reconcile these two verses. Mr. Norton, it is true, thinks rightly that there is no contradiction, and that it is a very easy matter to perceive their harmony; but he should not transfer his own subjective views to the minds of the early transcribers. *They* may not have been so clear-sighted as he is—indeed, Jerome virtually says that they were not so. Because Mr. Norton perceives, at a single glance, the mode with which the two verses are harmonised, it does not follow that all ancient copyists found no difficulty. It is true that they may have left in the gospels other passages much more difficult to be harmonised, but are we to look for consistency in their conduct, or to suppose that they always saw with our eyes? I trow not.

The following peculiarities are enumerated by Credner, with the design of shewing that this passage proceeded from another author than Mark. *πρώτη σαββάτου* or *σαββάτων*. 'Αφ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἱπτά δαιμόνια, he looks upon as taken from Luke viii. 2. In verses 10, 11, 13, and 20, occurs *ἐκείνη* or *ἐκεῖνοι*, instead of the article, or no word at all, compare Mark viii. 21, 33. In verses 10 and 12, occurs *πορεύεσθαι*, and in 11, 14, *θεῖσθαι*, both of which are not found elsewhere in Mark. 'Απιστεῖν, in verse 11; *μετα ταῦτά, δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν, φανεροῦσθαι, ἴτερος*, in verse 12; *ἐγγηγεμένον*, the perfect tense, compare Mark ii. 12; vi. 14, 16; xiv. 28; xvi. 6, are peculiar expressions foreign to the Evangelist. In verse 15, *κόσμον ἅπαντα*, compare viii. 86; xiv. 9; *κηρύξατε*, compare iii. 14; *πᾶσα κτίσις*, found only in Paul. In verses 17 and 18 he specifies *παρακολουθεῖν. γλώσσαις καίναις λαλεῖν. ὄφεις ἄρειν. θανάσιμον πίνειν. καλῶς ἔχειν*, as *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, or words and phrases occurring but once. 'Εν τῷ ὄνοματι is different from Mark's usage of *ἐπὶ τῷ ὄνοματι*; *χεῖρας ἐπιδεῖναι ἐπὶ τινι* also varies from Mark's phraseology; compare Mark v. 23; vi. 5; vii. 32; viii. 23. In verses 19 and 20 we are referred to *ὁ μὲν οὖν κύριος*, and requested to compare with it Mark vii. 28; ix. 24; *πανταχοῦ. συνεργεῖν. βεβαιοῦν. ἐπακολουθεῖν* are *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*. To some persons the above catalogue of peculiar expressions, foreign, as it is said, to the diction and style of Mark, may appear a formidable internal argument against the genuineness of the passage in which they are found. But, although Credner and others may think them of great weight and altogether conclusive, yet we do not conceive that they should be allowed to overturn the powerful external testimony which is in favour of the section.

Without going into minutiae, I may remark, 1st, that it is impossible to account for the particular expressions of an author, which may have been selected with care, or varied to avoid tautology. It is quite unreasonable to suppose, that a writer must not employ different words to express the same idea, or that he should confine himself to the use of the identical expressions which he may have already appropriated. We would feel it very unjust to tie down an author to the same modes of expression in communicating the same ideas, and would naturally conclude that his style would be monotonous, exhibiting a dull and uninteresting sameness. And, shall we refuse to the inspired writers the same just and reasonable privilege? Shall we affirm that they ought to have cramped themselves by the employment of the same words and phrases in different parts of their writings? Did the Holy Spirit so direct and influence their minds as to chain them down to the very terms they had before used, without deviation? If so, there would have been no agreeable variety in their style. It would have presented an uninteresting monotony. But we know that this is not the fact. There is a diversity in the diction of the inspired writers. They use the same liberty as uninspired authors. They vary their phraseology so as not to be chargeable with unmeaning tautologies. They have not one circle of phrases which they never change. But, according to the reasoning of Credner, this portion of Mark's gospel is to be repudiated because it contains terms and phrases that occur in no other part of his acknowledged work.

2d. The use of a number of the expressions above adduced can be accounted for on the principle that there is something peculiar in the subject of the passage. Several things are enumerated which are not even hinted at elsewhere in the same gospel; and it is quite natural, that a phraseology different from that before employed should be exhibited in speaking of these new points. This observation reduces the number of the words and modes of expression mentioned as peculiarities.

3d. The *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* of this portion are brought forward as witnesses against its genuineness. Words occurring nowhere else in the undisputed part of the gospel, are mentioned as proofs of the spurious character of the place in which they are found. Let the same test be applied to other parts of the gospel. Mark's gospel presents not a few *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, such as *προπεριμῶν* xiii. 11, *προσπορεύεσθαι* x. 35, *στίλβειν*, ix. 3, *στοιβάς*, xi. 8, &c. These

are instances of words found but once in the gospel. Why, then, should not the portions in which they occur be discarded? Why should the verses where they are found be retained as belonging to Mark, when they present quite unusual words. To be consistent, Credner and others should reject the clauses or verses where these ἀπαξ λεγόμενα appear. This, however, they do not. Why then apply a test to the passage under review different from that used in other places of the same gospel?

4th. I observe farther, that although several modes of expression specified above be not found elsewhere in Mark, yet several of them are not foreign to the New Testament. They are employed by other writers. This is a sufficient proof, even in the judgment of Credner, that they are not erroneous or inappropriate. The head and front of their offending is, that they are strange in Mark—that they are foreign to his idiom. But I have already remarked that it is quite unreasonable to deny that every author, whether writing by inspiration or not, is at full liberty to vary his phraseology. Even in a book of considerable length a term may occur but once, and that term altogether unknown to the characteristic mode of the writer.

These general observations may serve to shew that the internal argument against the genuineness of the passage founded on the peculiar expressions industriously enumerated by Credner is not conclusive. Mr. Norton also gives a list of words and modes of expression with the same view as that of the German critic; but it is more select and judicious. It is not so numerous as Credner's, though entirely coinciding with it as far as it goes, except in these additional peculiarities, v. 19. ὁ κύριος, and v. 20, τοῦ κυρίου. "Mark in his own person nowhere else applies this title to Christ." βλάπτω, v. 18, is new in Mark.

See Credner's *Einleitung*, p. 106; Norton on the Gospels, p. 75, (Notes.) Schott's *Isagoge*, § 30, may be also consulted, and Fritzsche on Mark, p. 715, both of whom reason against the authenticity of the portion. It is remarkable too, that Griesbach in his *Commentarius Criticus*, vol. ii. p. 197, &c., seems to argue against the verses, though in his Greek Testament he has given us to understand that his opinion was different.

Eichhorn and Paulus, two critics most unceremonious in rejecting parts of inspired Scripture as spurious, have defended this place as genuine, and to their view in the present instance I readily assent.

LUKE XXII. 23, 24. (ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS.)

It would have been more accurate to say that Hilary testifies, "In very many Greek and Latin MSS. (in Graecis et in Latinis codicibus complurimis), nothing is to be found concerning the coming of the angel or the bloody sweat." De Trinitate, Lib. x. See Norton on the Gospels, (p. 79, Additional Notes).

I take this opportunity of protesting against the observations of Mr. Norton on the present passage, which he rejects as un-genuine. His objections to its intrinsic character are drawn from his religious creed. They presuppose and arise from his rejection of inspiration in the New Testament writers, his belief that the sufferings of Christ were not *penal*, and his ignorance of the physiology of the human body. He has in this instance, as in others, suffered his Socinian prepossessions to influence his treatment of a question purely critical. This ought not to be. Criticism establishes a genuine text, independently of theological creeds.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON JOHN V. 3, 4.

Mr. Norton, who argues against the genuineness of this place, says, that "the following words occur, not elsewhere used by John:—*ἐνδέχομαι*, *δήποτε*, *κατέχω*, and *νόημα*; beside *κίνησις* and *κατὰ καιρὸν*, the use of which, in this passage alone, may be accounted for by the nature of its subject." But *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* are found in other parts of the same gospel. Thus *φωτίζω* i. 9; *οδηγεῖν*, xvi. 13; *στόνος* iii. 19; *περιπατεῖν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, xi. 9, &c. On Mr. Norton's principle, the verses containing these unusual expressions should also be pronounced spurious, so far as internal evidence is concerned; and it is sufficiently apparent that he would not be disinclined to set aside a passage on the strength of internal evidence alone, without any regard to the external. See his arbitrary treatment of Matthew's gospel, chapter xxvii. verses 3-10. Mr. Norton farther states, that "for its omission, or the marks of doubt with which it is inserted, no satisfactory account can be given, supposing it to have been originally written by St. John." On this I remark, that although we could give no probable reason for its omission, we are not therefore to go against the evidence fur-

nished in its favour. At this distance of time our ignorance of the causes which may have induced some copyists to omit it, ought not to be put in the balance as influencing our judgment. If it were so, I imagine that we might bring Mr. Norton into great embarrassment by taking him on his own ground. As far as I am aware, no ancient writer has given any historical notice explanatory of the marks of doubt sometimes attached to the passage, and I am not disposed to tax my ingenuity in order to devise some plausible solution. I am quite contented to abide by the preponderating evidence as the safest and surest position.

APPENDIX.

To assist the inquiring student in his researches, I shall now give a list of books belonging to the different subjects embraced by Biblical criticism. It does not include *all* that have been published relating to the science, but merely a few of the best. It is matter of regret that there are not more written in the English language to which I can refer. Most of them are in other languages not so accessible to the general student. And here I would urge upon every one who aspires to eminence in Biblical criticism, or who would become acquainted with the whole range of theological literature, to avail himself of the favourable opportunities which are now happily abundant, of acquiring a knowledge of the German language. It is the most important of all the European tongues. It introduces the student to a vast and varied collection of works in every department of knowledge and of sacred learning. In works relating to theology especially, the Germans are profuse. In illustrating the natural history, geography, antiquities, literature, &c. of the Bible, they are at the head of all other nations. In ecclesiastical history and Bible-criticism, they stand pre-eminent. But they have miserably perverted the current of pure theology; and sad have been the fruits of their unbridled and daring speculations. The sceptical sentiments which the leading men among them have, for more than half a century, entertained, and unhesitatingly advanced, are pernicious in the extreme. We are happy, however, to observe that there is a decided return to the good old path; and that the spirit of neologism has received a manifest check. It is now on the decline. May the Lord hasten the time when it will be utterly abolished.

I shall first give a catalogue of works which embrace a number of the subjects discussed in the Lectures; and then specify a few of the best pertaining to the topics of each Lecture.

Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. 8th edition, 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1839.

I cannot speak of the last edition of this work; and, in relation to the

preceding, I can merely record the impression that has remained on my mind since its perusal. The author has diligently and laboriously explored many sources of information, and thus produced a useful and valuable work. But it was chiefly in consequence of my dissatisfaction with several parts of it that I formed the design of drawing up a text-book for the use of students in theology. Mr. Horne has, in my opinion, gone over too many subjects, to do them all full justice. He cannot, therefore, be said to have written a well-digested, well-reasoned, ably written book. This could hardly be expected. Hence the numerous quotations which he has given. It may be questioned also, whether Mr. Horne be sufficiently acquainted with the German writers on Biblical criticism. I fear that his volumes are still behind the most recent investigations and improvements. It may be doubted whether he be competently familiar with some of the Oriental languages to produce a masterly treatise on Biblical literature. In fact, the more I read of this work, the greater dissatisfaction I felt, and the more inaccuracies, as they appeared to me, did I meet with. Such were the sentiments which I formerly entertained respecting Mr. Horne's Introduction; and, as I did not lately look into it, or at all consult it in the composition of the preceding Lectures, I cannot say how far the last edition may be improved. I speak candidly of the work, which is, after all, a valuable and important one to the student, in directing him to books treating of every subject in theology. If it does not give satisfaction itself, it points to the sources from which it may probably be derived. The opinions of the author, which, indeed, are chiefly taken from others, from Reviews, Magazines, &c. are by no means to be relied on. In purchasing books on the faith of the recommendations he attaches to them, I have been frequently and totally disappointed. However much, therefore, this Introduction has been held up to the public as "complete," "invaluable," "unrivalled," &c. &c., it will be unsatisfactory to the patient inquirer. Thorough and searching examinations will soon discover the meagre views of the author, and the little reliance to be put in the statements which he takes from others, I believe in most cases, without due deliberation. I hope the learned and pious author will not imagine that this is written in disparagement of his book. He has my best thanks for what he has done; and I am quite sure that many are indebted to him for a large acquaintance with interesting topics pertaining to the Bible. I have only registered the impression which the perusal of some parts of his work formerly made upon my mind. To me it was not satisfactory. I found it behind the state of theological learning. Having access to the latest investigations of German authors, I discovered his total silence respecting them. Inaccuracies which old writers fell into were not corrected; and many errors in discussing subjects were committed.

It may be worth while to refer to the opinions of one or two German writers of Mr. Horne's book. De Wette, in his *Einleitung*, (Introduction), writes, "The English have also begun to do something in this way," page 6. Hävernick, in his *Manual* (Lehrbuch), speaks in the following terms:—"Horne's Introduction is rather a compilation than an independent scientific work." p. 16. Credner, in his *Einleitung* writes, "that Horne's Introduction is the most approved work of this kind in England; but to German theologians it is of no consequence." p. 48.

Lectures on Criticism and Interpretation. By H. Marsh, D.D., Bishop of Peterborough, &c. &c. 1 vol. 8vo. London, 1838. Last edition.

Bishop Marsh's Lectures on the subject of criticism are *classical*. They discover an intimate acquaintance with the topics discussed; and exhibit the clear views taken by the writer of the various things that come before him. His name is deservedly placed among the very first biblical critics of England, and on the Continent it is well known. The work is occupied for the most part with the history of criticism, which it details with admirable accuracy and precision. It hardly reaches, however, to the present time. It cannot be said to extend farther than to the year 1828, at which time the celebrated author took his leave of the world as a writer. A few weeks ago, (May 1839), he died, aged 82, leaving a name behind which will not soon perish from the annals of Biblical literature.

Institutes of Biblical Criticism. By Alexander Gerard, D.D., of Aberdeen. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1808. Second Edition.

This book contains a system which is now considerably antiquated. There is a considerable number of errors which would require to be rectified. At the time the treatise was published, it must have been an excellent compend, and even still it deserves to be consulted by all who are conversant with Biblical criticism. Its meagreness arises from its merely giving the heads of Lectures read in King's College, Aberdeen.

The book embraces interpretation, as well as criticism properly so called.

Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta, by Brian Walton, D.D., Bishop of Chester. London, 1657.

This preface to the London Polyglott is an extensive storehouse of information concerning the languages and versions presented to us in that great work. Bishop Walton possessed immense learning, as is

evident to all that know any thing of his Polyglott. The prolegomena have been published separately from the expensive and voluminous production to which they form a most suitable and able introduction. They were reprinted at Leipsic, 1777, in one volume octavo, with a brief but valuable preface by Professor Dathe. They have been again published under the editorial care of Archdeacon Wrangham, in 2 vols. 8vo. Cambridge, 1828. Ancient as these prolegomena are, they will always be valued and consulted. Though a great part of them is superseded by Dr. Lee's prolegomena, yet the learned world will always have some desire to see and to know the opinions of such a man as the editor of the London Polyglott.

*Prolegomena in Biblia sacra Polyglotta auctore Samuele Lee,
S. T. B. &c. 4to. 1831, London.*

Professor Lee is one of the few English scholars who has obtained immortal honour from his great learning. As a linguist, he is at the head of all his countrymen,—as a philologist, he has proved himself able and excellent,—and, as a Hebrew scholar, he is profound. The prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott, consisting of 75 quarto pages, contain discussions relating chiefly to the versions presented in that work. They are a rich treasure, from which we may collect much that is excellent and valuable. The learned author appears to me to be a little inclined to entertain novel opinions and strange theories.

The Biblical Companion, or an Introduction to the Reading and Study of the Holy Scriptures, by Wm. Carpenter. 8vo. London, 1836.

This work was published, I believe, as a companion to Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary. Not having read it, I can give no opinion of its merits. From his Popular Lectures on Biblical Criticism, I would infer that it is very far from being masterly or able.

The Biblical Cabinet; or Hermeneutical, Exegetical, and Philological Library. Edinburgh, 18mo. 23 volumes are now published.

It is now a considerable time since this publication was commenced, with the laudable intention of elucidating the Scriptures. The idea of the work was good, and its design excellent. To those who wish to avail themselves of the labours of the men who have searched deep into particular portions of the Scriptures,—to those whose anxiety to know the will of God goes beyond a mere translation, and who aspire to eminence in sacred studies, the series is calculated to be highly useful. The greater number of the volumes consist of translations from ortho-

dox German divines, which are generally accompanied with notes by the editors. The whole series is worthy the attention of all biblical students. They may find in it much valuable knowledge connected with the sacred Scriptures,—many topics illustrated with learning and ability,—and, above all, a habit of analytical investigation exemplified in practice, which they would do well to imitate.

Passing over the different publications of Richard Simon, which had a considerable influence on sacred literature when published, I come to speak of *Carpzov*.

J. G. Carpzovii Introductio ad libros canonicos Veteris Testamenti. Leipsic. 3d edition, 1741. 4to.

————— *Critica Sacra Veteris Testamenti. Leipsic, 1728. 4to.*

Carpzov was a learned, judicious, and solid writer; and his works will amply benefit the reader. He discusses the various subjects he proposes in the spirit of a true theologian. His works deserve more attention than what they have received in Germany.

Glassii Philologia sacra. his temporibus accommodata. a Dathe et Bauer. Leipsic, 1776, &c. 3 vols. 8vo.

This work long held a distinguished place among treatises on sacred literature. Nor was it overrated. Its value was certainly great, though it is now almost superseded by better and more learned works pertaining to the same department. The first volume, edited by Dathe, is occupied with Grammar and sacred rhetoric. The second volume is almost wholly by Professor G. L. Bauer, containing the criticism of the Old Testament, mostly abridged from Eichhorn's Introduction. The third volume contains "Sacred Hermeneutics" by the same. The principles laid down, and the interpretations advanced, are in the very worst style of the Neologian school. Whoever reads it, therefore, should carefully refrain from adopting its rules.

Introduction to the New Testament, by John David Michaelis, translated from the fourth edition of the German, with notes by Herbert Marsh, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. 8vo. 6 vols. Cambridge, 1793, and following years.

This was the first introduction to the New Testament on an extended scale that was published in Germany; and, like other works of the same author, indicates great research, industry, learning, and judgment. The author's theological opinions were lax and unsound, though he did much

to advance the state of sacred learning in Germany. His work on the New Testament found a competent translator in Dr. Marsh, who enriched it with most valuable notes. Without these annotations, indeed, it would not have been half so useful or so much read. It is to be regretted that the translator's additions did not extend through the whole. This introduction is now fast wearing out of repute, not because it is useless, but because it has been well nigh superseded by later works of the same kind, suited to the increasing wants of Biblical scholars.

Einleitung in die göttlichen Bücher des alten Bundes, by Dr. J. Jahn.
6 parts 8vo. Vienna, 1802-4.

Introduction to the Old Testament, translated from the Latin and German works of John Jahn, &c. by S. H. Turner, D.D., and the Rev. William R. Whittingham. 8vo. New York, 1827.

The late Professor Jahn of Vienna, is well known in this country by some of his other works which have been translated into English.

The larger introduction, in the German language, is a very able treatise on the numerous subjects that belong to such a work. It is characterised by sound judgment, sobriety, and moderation. It is now, however, beginning to be antiquated, though it still deserves to be read, as being remarkably free from the lax opinions of the neologian school.

The smaller work is an abridgment of the larger, with some valuable notes by the translators; but even the English translation is scarcely adapted to the present state of the science.

Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in die sämtlichen Kanonischen und Apocryphischen Schriften des Alten und Neuen Testaments, by L. Bertholdt. 6 vols. 8vo. Erlangen, 1812-19.

Bertholdt was rather a collector than an original investigator. His book contained a systematic view of all that had been done with respect to the literature of the Bible at the time when it was published. It is characterised by perspicuity, but by very liberal and lax sentiments in theology. It is now in a great measure superseded.

Handbuch der Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, by D. H. K. Hänlein. Second edition, 3 parts, 8vo. Erlangen, 1801-9.

Haenlein was a disciple of Griesbach, and gave the results of the researches which had been made in the Griesbachian school of criticism with perspicuity and concinnity. His work was never in much repute.

Bibel. Besonderer abdruck aller auf dieses Wort in der Allgemeinen Encyclopædie der Wissenschaften und Künste von Ersch und Gruber Bezug habenden Artikel. 8vo. Leipzig, 1823.—“A reprint of all the articles in Ersch and Gruber's *Universal Encyclopædia*, that relate to the word BIBLE.”

This little volume contains several articles by De Wette and Gesenius respecting sacred philology and criticism. It deserves to be consulted by all students as a brief elementary treatise connected with the literature of the Scriptures. I have read it with considerable advantage, though it is now behind the progress of the science.

Einleitung in das Alte Testament von J. G. Eichhorn. 5 vols. 8vo. Göttingen, 1823.

Einleitung in das Neue Testament, by the same. 5 vols. 8vo. Leipsic, 1820-27.

This celebrated critic was Professor of Theology at Göttingen, where he lectured with great reputation. As a writer, he is well known to have been deeply tinged with the rationalist opinions, which he advocated with profound erudition, and adorned with all the taste and rhetorical ornament which he was capable of throwing around the literature of the Bible. His writings did immense harm in his own country, for he was looked up to by many with the highest admiration, inspired by his splendid abilities. He was the *coryphaeus* of neology in his day. The strictly *critical* parts of his introductions to the Old and New Testaments are very valuable, but the *exegetical* portions are highly objectionable.

Einleitung in die Schriften des Neue Testament, by J. L. Hug. 3d edition, 2 vols. 8vo, 1826. Tübingen.

Hug belongs to the Roman Catholic church, and is Professor of Theology at Freyburgh. His Introduction to the New Testament may be pronounced as on the whole the best that has appeared in Germany. Gesenius says of him, that “he excels all his predecessors in deep and fundamental investigations.” (See Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædia*.) His work has been twice translated, first in England, and then in America. The British translation by Dr. Wait, in 2 vols. 8vo, 1827, cannot be commended, because the translator evidently shews that he is not acquainted with the German language. The American translation by D. Fœdick, jun., 8vo, Andover, 1836, is well executed, and is, moreover, enriched with valuable notes by Professor Stuart. The annotations of this learned divine correct Hug's errors, and give other views of many subjects.

Isagoge historico-critica in libros novi foederis sacros. Scripsit D. Henr. Aug. Schott. Ienae, 1830, 8vo.

Professor Schott of Jena is an able writer. His present work is a very valuable manual of New Testament criticism, but especially of New Testament interpretation. The author exhibits good judgment, and no small share of erudition, together with some freedom from the licentiousness of the German school, though he himself is an adherent of the rationalist party. No advanced theological student should be without this admirable compend. It ought to be studied by all as a manual of opinions relating to the Greek Testament. The reader need not subscribe to all the decisions of the author, or to all his interpretations, for he will see that not a few of them are untenable. But he will learn from the book the state of criticism and interpretation relative to the New Testament at the time when it was published.

Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Bibel alten und neuen Testaments von Dr. W. M. L. De Wette. 8vo, 4th edition. Berlin, 1833-34.

De Wette is one of the most eminent scholars in Germany, and a man whose history has been somewhat remarkable. He was removed or rather banished from Berlin by the King of Prussia, and retired to Basel, where he has drawn together numbers of students. His introduction is rather a brief summary of the results that have been obtained, than a formal discussion of the various topics. It has always been popular in Germany, from its perspicuity, solidity, and portableness. The last edition is much improved, and carefully adapted to the latest investigations. De Wette's opinions are neological. He has been, in fact, one of the leaders of the rationalists, and his numerous productions have done much mischief to the cause of true religion in Germany. He is said to possess a finer taste than any of the great continental scholars, as is manifest, indeed, from his Commentary on the Psalms.

Handbuch der Historisch-Kritischen Einleitung in das alte Testament von H. A. Ch. Hävernick. 8vo. Erlangen, 1836 and 7. 1st part in two divisions.

This work proceeds from an orthodox and able man. It is altogether a very valuable production, containing the results of much study and of great research. The author has been hasty, perhaps, in some of his conclusions, and has started back from the positions of the Neological school with sudden rebound; but he is manifestly well versed in the subjects he has undertaken to discuss. The tone in which he occasion-

ally speaks of Gesenius is not the most respectful, but his opinions are nevertheless entitled to much attention. I have derived great benefit from this work. Though I must differ from the learned author in some things, yet justice requires me to state that he has certainly added to the excellent helps already published for the understanding of the Old Testament. The author was favourably known, before its publication, by a commentary on Daniel. In the present publication, he has, as yet gone no farther than the Pentateuch.

Einleitung in das Neue Testament von Dr. Karl. August. Credner. 8vo. Halle, 1836.

This theologian belongs to Giessen. Before the publication of the present volume, he had sent forth to the world *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, Halle, 1832, discussing the state of the New Testament text in the second and third centuries, and containing many new, striking, original, and rash views, but pervaded by great learning. The spurious gospels and writings that were current in the early times of Christianity, he has investigated with amazing industry. The present work is *exegetical* rather than *critical*. The writer shews that he is fitted for original investigations and that he has read extensively. He belongs, however, to the Neological school.

LECTURE II.

Eichhorn's Introduction to the Old Testament, vol. 2d, § 342, gives a masterly account of the MSS. of the Old Testament, which is abridged by Bauer in his *Critica Sacra*. See also Kennicott's "*Dissertatio Generalis*," in his Hebrew Bible, where there is a particular account of individual MSS. *Walton's prolegomena*. *Tychsen's tentamen de var. cod.*, &c. *J. Bern. de Rossi's* work entitled, *Variae lectiones veteris Testamenti ex immensa MSS. editorumque codd. congerie haustae, et ad Sam. textum, ad vetustissimas versiones, ad accuratiores sacrae criticae fontes ac leges examinatae*. Parm. 1784-88, 4 vols. 4to. See also his *Scholia critica in V. T. libros, sive supplementa ad varias sacri textus lectiones*. Parma. 1798. 4to.

A description of all the codices of the New Testament is given by *Michaelis* in his *Introduction* with *Marsh's Notes*, in *Weistein's prolegomena*, in the preface to *Griesbach's Greek Testament*, but especially in the *prolegomena* to *Scholz's* edition.

LECTURE III.

For the history, use, and nature of versions, the best introductions to the Old and New Testaments are to be consulted. It is better, however, to consult separate treatises on individual versions, where such have been published; as they generally enter more minutely and elaborately into their merits.

On the Septuagint see *Walton's prolegomena* IX. *Hody de Bibliorum textibus originalibus*, Oxford, folio, 1705. This latter treatise has been the chief source from which all subsequent accounts of the origin of the Septuagint were derived. The learned author had the merit of first pointing out the forgery of Aristaeas. In connexion with *Hody* should be read *Valckenaer's Diatribe de Aristobulo Judaeo*. 8vo. Lugd. 1806, in which some of the conclusions of *Hody* are combated with much ability and success. *Owen's Inquiry into the present state of the Septuagint version*. Oxford, 1769. *Lee's prolegomena to Baxter's Polyglott*. *Amersfoord's dissertatio de variis lectionibus Holmesianis*. Lugduni Batavorum, 1815, 4to. *Gesenius' Commentary on Isaiah* entitled, *der Prophet Iesaia, übersetzt und mit einem vollständigen philologisch-Kritischen und historischen Commentar begleitet*, 3 vols. 8vo. Leizig 1821—29, p. 60, &c. *Gesenius' geschichte der Hebraischen sprache und schrift*. 8vo. Leipsic, 1815. *J. L. Hug de Pentateuchi versione Alexandrinâ*. 4to. Freyburg, 1819. *T. E. Toepler de Pentateuchi interpretationis Alexandrinae indole, criticâ et hermeneuticâ*. 8vo. Halle, 1830. *Holmes' preface to his edition of the Seventy*. For *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, and *Origen's* critical works, the same are to be consulted. See also *Eichhorn's Einleitung* and *Hävernick's do*.

Tychsen's tentamen de variis codicum Hebraicorum, V. T. MSS. generibus. Rostock, 1772. 8vo.

LECTURE IV.

Peshito. *Wiseman's horæ Syriacæ*, vol. 1, 8vo. Vienna, 1827.

This learned work should by all means be consulted by such as wish to investigate the Syriac versions of the Scriptures. It first threw light on several dark parts, and was gladly welcomed by Biblical scholars. *Lee's prolegomena*. *Hirzel de Pentateuchi versionis Syriacæ quam vocant Peshito indole*. 8vo. Leipsic, 1825. *Credner de prophetarum minorum versionis Syriacæ quam Peshito vocant indole*. 8vo, 1827. Göttingen. *Gesenius' commentary on Isaiah*, vol. 1. p. 81, &c. *C. Von Lengerke de Ephraemi Syri arte hermeneuticâ commentatio critica*, 8vo, Koenigsberg, 1831. Of the Introductions, *De Wette* and

Hüavernick are most to be relied on for the account they give of this version.

On the Hærclean and Philoxenian versions see especially *Bernstein's commentatio de Charklensi novi Testamenti translatione Syriacâ*, 4to, Vratislaviae, 1837. *Glocester Ridley's dissertatio de syriacarum versionum indole et usu*, &c., Oxford, 1761. *Adler's biblische Kritische Reise*. (Biblical and Critical Travels.) Respecting the Syriac translation of Jerusalem, see Adler's "*Novi Testamenti versiones Syriacæ simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosol. denuo examinatae*, &c. &c. Hafniae, (Copenhagen), 4to, 1789.

LECTURE V.

For the Græco-Veneta, see *C. F. Ammon's nova versio Graeca Pentateuchi*, &c. Erlangen, 1790-91, 8vo. *Bauer's Critica Sacra*, p. 286. *Gesenius' geschichte*, p. 103. *Pfannkuche in Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek*, vol. vii. p. 193. For το Σαμαριτικον, see *Eichhorn's and Hüavernick's Introductions*. On the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, see *Winer de versionis Pentateuchi Samaritani indole*, 8vo. Leipsic, 1817. *Gesenii commentatio de Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, indole et auctoritate*, 4to, 1815. Halle.

For the Arabic versions of the Scriptures, consult the Introductions, as also *Æ. Roediger de origine et indole arabicæ librorum Veteris Testamenti historicorum interpretationis, libri duo*. 4to. 1829. Halle.

On No. 1., p. 69, see *Gesenius' geschichte*, p. 96, and his *commentary on Isaiah*, vol. 1, p. 90. *Hitzig's commentary on the same book*.—*Carpzov's Critica Sacra*, p. 646.

No. 2. *Roediger de origine*, &c., *Maurer's commentar über das Buch Josua*, 8vo, Stuttgart, 1831.

3. See the preface of *Erpenius* to his edition. *Hottinger's thesaurus philologicus*, p. 271, &c.

4. *Wolfii bibliotheca Hebraea*, 4 vols 4to ; Vol. III., p. 863.

5. *Eichhorn's Einleitung*, vol. 2. *De Sacy in Eichhorn's Bibliothek*, Vol. X., p. 16. *Gesenius on the Samaritan Pentateuch*.

For the Arabic of *Erpenius* on the gospels, see *Hug's Introduction and De Wette's*. No. 2, p. 72, the same. For the Persian version

of the Pentateuch, see *Rosenmüller de Pentateuchi versione Persica*, 4to, Leipzig, 1813. *Lorsbach in the Jena Allgemeine Litteratur Zeitung*, 1816, No. 58. *Walton's prolegomena*.

LECTURE VI.

See *Hody on the original texts*, *Jahn and Hug's Introductions*, the latter of which gives a very good account of the Vulgate, so far as it relates to the New Testament. *Leander Van Ess' pragmatische Kritische Geschichte der Vulgata*, Tübingen, 1824, 8vo. *Havernick's Einleitung and De Wette's ditto*, *Eichhorn's Einleitung*, vol. ii. § 319, &c.

LECTURE VII.

Hug's Introduction. De Wette's ditto. Quatremere's recherches critiques historiques sur la langue et la littérature de l'Égypte. 8vo. Paris, 1808. *Fragmenta Basmurico-coptica Vet. et Novi Testamenti*, by *W. F. Engelbreth*. 4to, Copenhagen, 1811. *Specimen versionum Danielis copticarum*, by *F. Münter*. 8vo, Rome, 1786. *Catalogus codicum copticorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, auctore *Georgio Zoëga*, fol. Rome, 1810.

On the Georgian version, see *Alter über georgianische Literatur*. 8vo, Vienna, 1798. *Eichhorn's Einleitung. Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek*, I. p. 153, &c.

On the Slavonic consult *Eichhorn's Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Vol. II. *Henderson's Biblical researches and Travels in Russia*. 8vo, London, 1826. *Dobrowsky in Michaelis' "Neuer Oriental exegetischer Bibliothek"*. Tom. VII. p. 158, &c.

For the Æthiopic, see *Walton's Prolegomena XV. Ludolf's commentary on the history of Æthiopia. Bruce's Travels. Hug's Introduction*.

For the Gothic, see *Michaelis' and Hug's Introductions*, but especially *Zahn's edition of the Gospels* according to the *Codex argenteus*, (Weissenfels, 1808. 4to.) which contains a historico-critical introduction to Ulphilas' version.

For the Armenian, see *Eichhorn's Einleitung in das A. T., Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek*, vol. IV. p. 630, where *Bredenkamp* has

written on the Armenian translation of the Old Testament. *Michaelis' introduction to the New Testament.* *Holmes' preface to his edition of the Septuagint.*

On the Targums generally, see *Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testaments*, *Walton's Prolegomena* XI., *Carpzov's Critica Sacra*, *Jahn's Introduction*, but especially *Zunz's "die gottesdienstliche Vortrage der Juden,"* together with *Havernick's* and *de Wette's Introductions.*

LECTURE VIII.

On Onkelos, see *Winer's dissertatio de Onkeloso ejusque paraphrasi chaldaica.* 4to, Leipsic, 1820. *Gesenius' commentary on Isaiah*, I. p. 66, &c. *Philoxenus, sive de Onkelosi Chaldaica Pentateuchi versione dissertatio hermeneutica critica*, &c. &c., by *Sam. Dav. Luzzato.* 8vo, 1830, Vienna.

2. *Gesenius on Isaiah*, p. 69, &c. *Havernick's Einleitung.* *Bauer's Critica Sacra.*

3. *Winer de Jonathanis in Pentateuchum paraphrasi chaldaica*, spec. I. 4to, Erlangen, 1823. *J. H. Petermann de duabus Pentateuchi paraphrasibus Chaldaicis.* P. I. *de indole paraphraseos, quae Jonathanis esse dicitur.* 8vo, Berlin, 1829.

4. *Zunz's "die gottesdienstliche Vortrage der Juden."*

5. *Carpzov's Critica Sacra.* *Walton's prolegomena.* *Bauer's Critica Sacra.*

6. *Do.*

7, 8, and 9. *Carpzov's Critica Sacra.* *Bauer's do.*

10. *Do.*

11. See *Eichhorn's Einleitung*, vol. 2. § 236. b. where the fragment is given.

For the Hebrew translation of the Chaldee portions of Daniel and Ezra, see *Eichhorn's Einleitung.* It is right to state that, in the account given of the versions, I have been obliged in part to follow the

statements of preceding scholars. The Targums, the Greek and Latin translations, as also the Syriac and Arabic, are known to me by personal inspection and perusal; but I am unable to read the versions in other languages, and have therefore depended on the statements of persons competent to judge of matters lying beyond the reach of ordinary acquirements.

LECTURE IX.

The best dissertation on the Samaritan Pentateuch is that of *Gesenius*, entitled, "*De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, indole, et auctoritate commentatio philologico-critica*." 4to. 1815, Halle. See also the able review of it by *Professor Stuart* in the *North American Review* for 1826, and in the *Andover Biblical Repository*, vol. 2. *Lee* in his *prolegomena* has also given a good account of it, chiefly abridged from *Gesenius*.

LECTURE X.

Winer de versionibus Novi Testamenti usu critico caute instituendo. Erlangen, 1823. *Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism*. *Michaelis' Introduction* by *Marsh*. *Scholz's Prolegomena* to his *Greek Testament*.

LECTURE XI.

Scholz's prolegomena. *Michaelis' Introduction* by *Marsh*. *Griesbach's Opuscula Academica*, edidit *J. P. Gabler*. 2 vols. 8vo. Jena. 1824. Among these there is a dissertation concerning the MSS. of Origen and their readings. *Griesbach's Commentarius Criticus in textum Graecum Novi Testamenti*. 2 vols. 8vo. Jena. 1811. *Norton on the Genuineness of the Gospels*. Vol. 1. 8vo, Boston 1837. *Kennicott's General Dissertation*. *Eichhorn's Einleitung ins alte Testament*. *Cappelli Critica Sacra*. 3 vols. 8vo. 1775—86, Halle. *Scharfenberg's* edition. *Buztorfii Anticritica seu vindiciae veritatis Ebraicae adversus Ludovici Capelli criticam quam vocat sacram, &c.* 4to, 1623. Basil.

LECTURE XII.

Michaelis' Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Marsh. Marsh's Lectures. Almost all the German writers are unsound on this point, because they advocate the propriety and necessity of conjecture.

LECTURE XIII.

Numerous treatises and dissertations have appeared on this disputed portion of the New Testament. The ablest against its authenticity are *Porson's Letters to Archdeacon Travis*. 8vo, 1790. *Bishop Marsh's Letters to the same, Leipzig*. 8vo, 1795, "works," says Dr. Pye Smith, "which, independently of the particular argument, are eminently worthy of being read for the other information which they contain, for their brilliancy of talent, and for their being specimens of the most masterly processes in criticism." On the same side is the *Vindication of Porson*, by *Crito Cantabrigiensis*, (Dean Turton of Cambridge). 8vo, Cambridge, 1827.

On the other side may be read various pamphlets and tracts by the late *Bishop Burgess*. *Nolan's Integrity of the Greek Vulgate*, London, 1815. 8vo. *Travis' Letters to Gibbon*, 8vo, 1794, London. *Hales' Faith in the Holy Trinity*. 8vo, 2 vols. London, 1818.

For the whole controversy see the *Congregational Magazine* for 1829, where there are a number of valuable articles, written by the *Rev. W. Orme*, late of Camberwell.

LECTURE XIV.

Dr. Henderson's treatise is by far the ablest defence of the received reading. It is entitled "*The great mystery of Godliness incontrovertible. A critical examination of the various readings in 1 Tim. iii. 16.*" 8vo. London, 1830." It was reprinted in the *Andover Biblical Repository* for 1832, with supplemental observations by *Prof. Stuart*. These should be read along with the able disquisition of *Henderson*. *Sir Isaac Newton*, on the opposite side, may be consulted in his works, 5th vol. as edited by *Bishop Horsley*. See also *Griesbach's note*, and his *Symbolae criticae*.

Scholz reads *θεός*; see his Greek Testament. The student should likewise read what is written on this passage by *Dr. J. P. Smith*, in his "*Scripture Testimony*." 3d edition, 1837, vol. 3, pp. 323 and 354, &c.

LECTURE XV.

Kuinöl's Commentary on the historical books of the New Testament. Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz's editions of the Greek Testament. Norton on the Gospels. Penn's Annotations to the book of the New Covenant. Credner's Einleitung. Schott's Isagoge. Tholuck's Commentary on John's Gospel.

LECTURE XVI.

Acts. xx. 28. See *Scholz's Greek Testament. Griesbach's do. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah. Burton's Testimonies of the Ante-nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ. Penn's Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant.*

For the doxology, consult the large critical editions of the Greek Testament, together with *Tholuck's Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount* translated in the *Biblical Cabinet*, and *Bengelii Apparatus Criticus*.

LECTURE XVII.

On the commencement of Matthew and Luke's gospels, see *Smith's Scripture Testimony*, vol. 2d, at the commencement. *A Vindication of the Authenticity of the Narratives contained in the first two chapters of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. By a Layman.* 8vo, London, 1822. *Laurence's Critical Reflections upon some important misrepresentations contained in the Unitarian version of the New Testament.* 8vo, Oxford, 1811. *Griesbach's Commentarius Criticus in Textum Græcum N. T.*, vol. 2d. *Mr. Norton* in his "*Genuineness of the Gospels*" has lately assailed the beginning of *Matthew's Gospel*, but he is refuted by *Prof. Stuart*, in the *American Biblical Repository*.

On the conclusion of Mark's gospel, see *Hug's Introduction*, in addition to the large critical editions of the Greek Testament. *Penn's Annotations. Norton's Genuineness of the Gospels. Credner's Einlei-*

tung. *Schott's Isagoge, &c.* Luke xxii. 43, 44. *Griesbach's Greek Testament.* *Scholz's do.* *Kuinoel's Commentarius Criticus in Libros Historicos N. T.* 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1828. *Norton on the Gospels.* *Penn's Annotations.*

John v. 3, 4. *Kuinoel's Commentarius Criticus*, in addition to the critical editions of the Greek Testament by *Griesbach* and *Scholz.* *Penn's Annotations.* *Norton on the Gospels*, with *Stuart's Review* in the *American Biblical Repository.*

LECTURE XVIII.

On the causes of various readings in the Old Testament, see *Eichhorn's Introduction to the O. T.* where however they are unnecessarily and erroneously multiplied. *Jahn's Introduction* translated by *Turner* and *Whittingham*, but especially *De Wette's Einleitung*, last edition. *Bauer* in his *Critica Sacra* follows *Eichhorn.* *Marsh's Lectures.* For the New Testament see *De Wette's Einleitung.* *Marsh's Lectures.* *Michaelis' Introduction to the New Testament.* *De Wette* in *Ersch* and *Gruber's Encyclopædia.*

LECTURE XIX.

The best and most succinct history of the Old Testament text unprinted and printed is given in *Ersch* and *Gruber's Encyclopædia* by *De Wette.* The same is more fully and better exhibited by him in his *Manual of Historico-critical Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments.* *Kennicott* in his second *Dissertation*, Oxford, 1759, 8vo, gives a history of the Old Testament text, but it is not to be relied on as altogether accurate. Most of the Introductions to the Old Testament will be found to contain such a history, as those of *Jahn*, *Eichhorn*, and especially *Hävernich*, who gives a very valuable account of the state of the Old Testament text to the present time.

A book more accessible to the English student is *Marsh's Lectures*, where there is an admirable view of this subject by the very learned writer.

LECTURE XX.

For the history of the New Testament text consult *De Wette's Introduction*, as also his article in *Ersch* and *Gruber's Encyclopædia.*

Hug's Introduction. Michaelis do. by Marsh, and particularly Marsh's Lectures. Scholz's Prolegomena to the Greek Testament as edited by him. Griesbach's do. Norton on the Gospels. Credner's Beiträge zur Einleitung in die Biblischen Schriften. Lee's Prolegomena. Schulz, in his preface to the third edition of Griesbach. Penn's Annotations to the Book of the New Covenant. Stuart's Notes to Hug. Matthæi's Greek Testament. Griesbach's Commentarius Criticus. Laurence's Remarks on the Classification of MSS. adopted by Griesbach, 8vo. Oxford, 1814.

LECTURE. XXI.

The divisions of the Old Testament are briefly but admirably described by *De Wette* in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia*; or better still, in the last edition of his *Introduction*. See also *Eichhorn's Einleitung. Jahn's do. Havernick's do. Morinus' Exercitationes Biblicae de Hebraei Graecique textus sinceritate, 8vo. 1633*. The purport of this work is to shew that the Hebrew text is in a very imperfect and corrupt state. *Buxtorf's Tiberias. Capelli Critica Sacra, (Vogel's edition). Capelli Arcanum punctuationis revelatum, Leyden, 1624. Carpzov's Critica Sacra.*

For the divisions of the New Testament consult *De Wette's Einleitung, Hug's Introduction by Fosdick, Michaelis by Marsh, with the notes of the translator, Montfaucon's Palæographia Græca, folio. Paris, 1708, a book that deserves to be read by all who desire to trace the progress of the ancient Greek writing, the forms of the letters at different times, the abbreviations employed, and the internal marks of age which different modes of writing present. The author has given numerous specimens illustrative of his remarks.*

LECTURE XXII.

In the body of the Lecture I have already pointed out the different books that treat of the nature of the Hebrew language, so that I need not here repeat what I have advanced in that place. A good book in English on the subject is a desideratum—one which would make a felicitous use of the abundant materials furnished by the Germans, and delineate the characteristic peculiarities of language found in each of the Old Testament writers. The greatest Hebraists in Germany have sadly erred in their estimate of the diction employed by the inspired authors;

and, therefore, a judicious and able book, proceeding from a profound Hebrew scholar and an orthodox theologian, would be a very valuable addition to our Old Testament literature.

At present, the best writer on the subject is *Hävernick*, to whom I have been largely indebted.

It may not be amiss here to point out the best Lexicons and grammars of the Hebrew language, for the use of students.

Passing over *Simonis*, as edited by *Eichhorn*, and afterwards much improved by *Winer*, with the remark, that although valuable in several respects, it is superseded by the later labours of Gesenius, I proceed to notice the following :—

Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum, &c. Latine elaboravit Gul. Gesenius, Leipsic, 1833. 8vo, last edition.

The Lexicons of Gesenius have justly superseded all preceding ones. Their value is now too well known to need any thing to be said in their favour. The fourth edition, containing the results of his latest investigations in the department of lexicography, is decidedly superior to the former ones. His great Thesaurus of the Hebrew language is progressing very slowly. The first fasciculus was published in 1829, the second in 1835.

The public are pretty well aware that his sentiments are of the neological cast; and the student will occasionally see a decided leaning to this even in his lexicons. But it does not affect their excellency to any considerable extent. I have sometimes observed that he has entirely missed the philosophical development of the significations of a word, and that he has unnecessarily multiplied meanings. This, however, is a fault from which the very best Lexicons are not free, though they are certainly in this respect immeasurably superior to the older ones. One of the most important words is *בָּרָא* (*bara*), to which Gesenius assigns as its primary signification *to cut, to hew, to form by cutting*, which appears in *piel*, but not in *kal*. The 2d signification which he gives it in *kal* is, *to create or produce*. 3d, *to beget*. 4th, *to eat or fatten one's self*. In the *niphal* it means *to be created*. In *piel*, 1st, *to cut*, 2d, *to form*. In *hiphil*, *to make fat*. In this account of the different senses which this verb assumes, according to its various conjugations, there appears to me to be great perplexity and confusion. There is no tracing here of what has been called the *genealogy* of significations. There is no philosophical linking of one with another. There is no natural connection between the primary original meaning and the others subsequently mentioned. The different significations are loosely thrown together without necessary sequence. We would be led to im-

agine from such an article, that the Hebrew is one of the most unphilosophical of languages. In this case we desiderate the wonted accuracy, and admirable arrangement, which distinguish the Lexicons of this eminent Hebraist above all which preceded.

Verum ubi plura nitent, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.

Horat. de Art. Poet. 350.

There are two kindred verbs which, as it appears to me, are in a great degree confounded in their significations by Gesenius, viz. בָּרָא and בָּרַח. It is admitted by all that the latter signifies to *cut*, from which בְּרִית, (berith) a *covenant*, is derived. From this its original meaning it signifies to *eat*, like many Arabic verbs which, with the primary signification, of *cutting* or *dividing*, came to be employed in the sense of to *eat*. In the Hebrew Scriptures it also signifies to *choose*, implying division and separation. A concordance will furnish instances where the verb is used in these significations. Such is the verb *barah* with *He final*; and I may remark that it corresponds exactly with the Arabic verb بَرَأ defective, in which waw the last radical quiesces in Elif. Now it appears to me that this word is quite distinct from בָּרָא (bara), although Gesenius gives to both the same radical signification. The primary meaning of this latter verb I take to be *create* and not to *cut* or *hew* as Gesenius says. I look upon him to be in error when he compares this verb with the Arabic verb بَرَأ to *cut*, but he is right in noticing the exact similarity between this Arabic word and the Hebrew בָּרַח, to *cut*. He has not produced any example of בָּרָא, in kal, signifying to *cut*. He refers, however, to the pihel conjugation, in which it does occur in this sense, and in his Lehrgebäude he says, that the literal sense often appears in pihel and a secondary one in kal. We pass now to the consideration of pihel, which may be thought to present an insuperable obstacle to our view. It is unquestionably true that there are several passages in which בָּרַח in pihel means to *cut down* as with a sword, Ezekiel xxiii. 47, with an axe, Joshua xvii. 15. How then are we to dispose of these instances, on the supposition that the original and primary signification is to *create*. To those acquainted with the minutiae of Hebrew grammar, it is well known that there is a close resemblance between the two classes of verbs *lamed aleph* and

lamed he. Many instances might be given in which the forms of the one class are exchanged for those of the other. The two classes in fact seem to have been tending to coalescence into one form, although they did not arrive at such a state. In the Chaldee and Syriac they unite into one class. If then, verbs ending in *aleph* and in *he* had so near a resemblance in Hebrew, as that the proper forms of the one were often transferred to the other, we need not be surprised that the significations of the one should also, in some instances, be transferred to the other. From identity in form, they came in the hands of some to be identified in signification. To illustrate this more clearly, I shall give two examples. Psalm lx. 4, רָפָא רָפָא where *aleph final* is exchanged for *he*. Again to shew that final *he* is exchanged for *aleph*, see 2 Kings xxv. 29, pihel שִׁנְּא (shinna) *to change*, for שִׁנְּה (shinnah.)

This latter example is exactly in point. Thus we find that the signification *to cut*, which has been assigned to this verb in pihel, properly belongs to the other verb בָּרַךְ. It matters little whether the final *he* appears or not, since it may be readily omitted in verbs *lamed he*, and especially since the blending together of the two originally distinct forms will well account for the absence of *he final* in the two or three instances in which this conjugation denotes *to cut*. There are not wanting instances in which the pihel means to form or make, such as Ezekiel xxi. 19, where it is erroneously rendered in the English version *to choose*. As to the fourth meaning assigned to the verb בָּרַא in kal by Gesenius, viz. *to eat or to fatten*, he has given no place where it occurs in this sense, neither can any be found in the whole compass of the Hebrew Bible. We are referred, however, to the hiphil conjugation, the causative of kal signifying *to fatten*, which is found in 1 Sam. ii. 29. This conjugation hiphil I refer to the other verb בָּרַךְ *to cut*. The adjective בָּרִיא *fat*, which is said to be a derivative from this meaning assigned to kal, I refer also to the same verb. The adjective, indeed, ends in *aleph*, which circumstance doubtless influenced him to derive it from בָּרַא; but although derivative words usually retain the final original radical of the verbs that now terminate in *lamed he*, yet this is not invariably followed. The *aleph final* in this adjective I regard as paragogic, and I might give similar examples of this letter being added to words where it is merely *orthographic*. (See some in Stuart's Hebrew Grammar, 2d edition, p. 112). What, then, are the significations of the verb בָּרַא, and what are the conjugations in which it is actually found in the Bible? I would arrange the whole article thus:—1st,

Properly to create, to produce out of nothing. Gen. ii. 3, i. 1. 2d, To form out of existing materials. Gen. i. 27, &c. 3d, Figuratively to bring to pass, to effect, to make. Numbers xvi. 30. Jeremiah xxxi. 22. Isaiah lxv. 8. In the niph'al conjugation it means, 1st, To be created. Gen. ii. 4. 2d, To be born, Ezek. xxi. 30. 3d, To come to pass. Exod. xxxiv. 10. In pihel to form, to make, same as יָצַר. Ezek. xxi. 19. Such is in my opinion an accurate and philosophical view of this term. The word בֵּן, a son, is derived from it, as well as others which it is needless for me to mention. With בָּרָה again, we may compare בָּרִיאַת *fat*, which is manifestly derived from it, together with the Greek βρομα, the theme of βιβρωστω, from which comes βρομα *food*, and the Latin voro.

For a masterly review of Gesenius, written by *Prof. Stuart*, the student is referred to the *Biblical Repository* for 1836. Seldom does an author meet with so candid and competent a reviewer. This Manual Lexicon has been translated from the Latin into English, by *Prof. Robinson* of New York, 1836.

The *Thesaurus philologicus criticus lingue Hebrææ*, &c. on which Gesenius has been employed for many years, progresses very slowly. It is published in quarto, in Hebrew and Latin, with the words etymologically arranged. This is the great work on which it is intended that the author's fame as a Hebrew scholar shall principally rest. The first *fasciculus* was issued in 1829; the second in 1835. No more have yet come to hand.

Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Schulwörterbuch über das alte Testament, mit hinweisung auf die Sprachlehren von Gesenius und Ewald. von J. H. R. Biesenthal. Berlin, 1836, 8vo. "A Hebrew and Chaldee School Lexicon to the Old Testament, with references to the grammars of Gesenius and Ewald."

Although this professes to be a school lexicon, yet it will be found worthy the attention of advanced scholars. The author follows the lexical principles of Gesenius, and discovers an intimate acquaintance with the kindred dialects. The work is by far the best dictionary for beginners in the Hebrew language. It details the results of the latest researches in philology, and gives several new views of words that will be found at once philosophical and correct. Hebrew lexicography will be promoted by the production of Biesenthal; for, in some respects, he has even improved upon the labours of Gesenius. It cannot, indeed be

too highly recommended to the young student, as an admirable manual for his instruction, until he have advanced so far as to be able to use, with advantage, the larger works of Gesenius. Its cheapness is remarkable, considering the quantity of matter it contains, and the accuracy with which it is printed. It is ably reviewed by *Dr. Isaac Nordheimer*, in the *American Biblical Repository*, Vol. XI. No. 30.

Of the vast number of Hebrew Grammars that have been published we shall only notice the two best, viz., *Gesenius' Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache mit Vergleichung der verwandten Dialecte*, 8vo. Leipzig. 1817; and *Ewald's Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des alten Testaments*. 2d edition, 1835, Gottingen, translated into English by John Nicholson, A. B. Oxon. published at London in 1836.

The former is by far the fullest and most complete grammar that has appeared. No Hebrew scholar can do well without it, though the substance has been embodied in Stuart's admirable work of the same kind. Ewald's is somewhat obscure, but much more profound and philosophical than the former. It is adapted to the highest class of Hebrew students. The translation by Mr. Nicholson partakes, in some measure, of the unintelligibility of the original. Of those written in the English language, the best are *Stuart's*, *Lee's*, and *Nordheimer's*, the first and last of which are American productions.

LECTURE XXIII.

The great work which cast more light on the Hebrew letters than all others is, *Kopp's Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*, 2 vols. (*The figures and writings of antiquity*.) This is the production which effected an entire change in the opinions of the learned, with respect to the Hebrew letters and the changes they have undergone. See also *Eichhorn's Introduction*, 4th edition, vol. I. Excellent on the same subject are *H. Hupfeld's* observations in his *Exercitationes Æthiopicæ*. 4to, Leipzig, 1825, and in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, II. p. 266, &c. *Ewald's Hebrew Grammar*. *Hävernicks Introduction*. *De Wette's Lehrbuch der hebräisch-jüdischen Archaeologie*, &c. 2d edition, 8vo, Leipzig, 1830. These are likewise to be read and studied on the Hebrew vocalization, especially Hupfeld and after him Hävernicks. Gesenius' opinions respecting the Hebrew letters and punctuation, as given in his *Geschichte der Heb. Sprach. und Schrift*, are now materially changed, so as to coincide with those of Kopp and Hupfeld. This will be seen in the 2d edition of this work, so long announced and expected.

It is to be regretted that Kopp's work is so expensive as to put it be-

yond the reach of many, but whoever can read Hävernick and Hupfeld need not be much disappointed.

The reader will obtain some valuable information respecting the ancient Hebrew letters from Gesenius' *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta edita et inedita*, &c. 2 vols. 4to, Leipsic, 1837, a work which has an important bearing on the Hebrew alphabet, since it unfolds the nature of the Phœnician language as far as it can be ascertained from existing memorials. All, indeed, that is known of the Phœnician is here systematically and accurately delineated. It forms an able supplement to the work of Kopp, and will be found to contain much useful illustration of Shemitish palaeography.

I may be permitted in this place briefly to allude to some of the questions once agitated among Christians respecting the Hebrew vowel points. Such questions are indeed no longer discussed; but it may not be quite without instruction to refer to them, now that they are past. Some maintained that the *written* vowel points were coeval with the consonants, or at least with the time of Ezra. The great advocates of this opinion were the two Buxtorfs. The arguments advanced in its favour are to be found in the elder Buxtorf's *Tiberias*, chapters ix. and x, and in the son's "Tractatus de punctorum vocalium et accentuum in libris Veteris Testamenti Hebraicis origine, antiquitate, et auctoritate," Basil, 1648, 4to. On the same side were Wasmuth, Loescher, Pfeiffer, and Carpzov. A summary of their arguments may be seen in Bauer's *Critica sacra*, § 13, with a brief but satisfactory refutation. The sentiments advocated by these scholars are now justly exploded. Buxtorf was opposed by Cappellus, Professor of Theology and Hebrew, at the French protestant University of Saumur, in his famous work entitled "Arcanum punctationis revelatum." Afraid to publish it in France at that time, he sent it in MS. to Buxtorf for his opinion of it, who returned it with the request that it might not be printed. He then sent it to Erpenius at Leyden, who published it in 1624. This work contains nearly all the arguments against the antiquity of the vowel points that have been advanced since. All succeeding writers have borrowed from it. In answer to this work the younger Buxtorf wrote the treatise already specified. Cappellus maintained that the vowel points and accents were not coeval with the letters, but a later invention of the Masoretes. This opinion he defended against the younger Buxtorf, in his "Vindiciae arcani punctationis revelati." His sentiments so ably advocated in these publications have been held for substance by the greater number of Hebraists, down to the present time. Cappellus and many others believed that the letters *aleph*, *vau*, and *yod*, were anciently used as *vowels* by the Hebrews. Some endeavoured to take a middle path. Not willing to believe in the high antiquity of the present vowel system

in all its compass, and rejecting the idea that the Hebrews had *vowel letters*, they nevertheless admitted that the ancient Jews had *vowel signs*, but that they were neither so numerous as the present, nor the same in form; and that in the oldest MSS. they were appended to doubtful words and passages where they were necessarily required. This was the opinion of Rivetus in his *Isagoge*, of Hottinger in his *Thesaurus Philologicus*, of Marckius, and of Schultens. Taking up this idea, some later scholars endeavoured to describe more minutely this ancient and simple vocalisation. They held that there were *three* original vowel points in imitation of the Arabic. So Michaelis, Trendelenburg, Eichhorn, and Bertholdt. Others thought that a *diacritic point*, or *small line*, served the same purpose as the three original vowels, after the analogy of the Samaritan, and the oldest Syrian writing. This mark was put sometimes above, and sometimes below the letters, to mark the vowel sounds A, O, U, E, I. Such was the opinion of Dupuy and Jahn. In ancient times Morinus, Richard Simon, and others, who held that our present punctuation system originated since the seventh century, came nearest the truth. They correctly looked upon it as an imitation of the Arabic orthography.

It is necessary to notice another modification of the sentiments of Cappellus, adopted by a few of the moderns. Believing that in his account of the vowel system its origin was placed too late, they allowed the existence of written vowel signs in the Talmud, and in Jerome. So O. G. Tyschen in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, Vol. iii. p. 102, &c., and Gesenius in his *Geschichte der Heb. Sprach. und Schrift*, § 51, 52. That there were no written vowel marks so early as these scholars suppose, has been recently demonstrated by Hupfeld in the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1830. Hefte 2—4, with whom agrees Hävernick in his Introduction. I have given substantially the same view in the Lectures. For an account of the controversies that have been carried on respecting the vowel points, see particularly Bauer's *Critica Sacra*, p. 128, &c. and the authors there referred to; Gesenius' *Geschichte der Heb. Sprach.* &c., and Hävernick's *Einleitung*, § 55. Those who wish to study the doctrine of the accents, should read some of the treatises that have been expressly written concerning them, especially "*Doctrina Accentuationis Hebraeae*," by Daniel Weimar, Leipsic, 1729; and Ouseel's *Introductio in accentuationem Hebraeorum prosaicam*," Leyden, 1715. Sufficiently elaborate and more easy of access, are Gesenius' *Lehrgebäude*, Ewald's *Hebrew Grammar*, and Lee's *do*. One of the most concise, perspicuous and accurate accounts in the English language, is given by Professor Stuart, in the appendix to the second edition of his *Hebrew Grammar*, Andover, 1823. Unless students wish to push their researches very far into the subject, the last named treatise will give ample satisfaction.

LECTURE XXIV.

Of the nature of the New Testament diction the reader may find a good account in the introductory part of *Winer's Grammar*. So also in *Stuart's*, which is chiefly taken from *Winer*. *Dr. Robinson* in the preface to his *Lexicon of the Greek Testament* has also briefly described it.

The first writer that unfolded its true characteristics was the younger *Planck*, in his masterly essay entitled, *De verâ naturâ atque indole orationis Graecæ Novi Testamenti Commentatio, Auctore Henrico Planck*. Gotting. 1810, translated in the *Biblical Repository* by Professor Robinson, and reprinted in the *Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet*, vol. 2. *Winer* following up the views of *Planck*, has successfully developed the genius of the New Testament diction. The reader will also find a brief and judicious account of it in *De Wette's Einleitung in das Neue Testament, 3d edition*, Berlin, 1834, at the commencement of the book.

The best *Lexicon of the New Testament* is the following, *A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament by Edward Robinson, D.D. &c. a new and improved edition, revised by Alexander Negris, and by the Rev. J. Duncan, A.M.* Edin. 8vo, 1838.

After the publication of the *Lexicons of Wahl and Bretschneider*, *Dr. Robinson* undertook to compose a *Lexicon*, worthy in some measure to occupy the same rank, with respect to the Greek Testament, as that of *Gesenius* does in relation to the Hebrew Bible. Adopting the scientific principles which that illustrious scholar perceived in their full bearing, and followed out with so much success, he has produced a work which may not be inaptly compared with that of the great German theologian. A long acquaintance with kindred studies had prepared him for entering upon his arduous task, whilst his sound judgment and extensive reading seemed to unite in rendering him peculiarly qualified for the work. Having free access to almost all the libraries in North America that could aid him in its compilation, he spared not himself in labouring with incessant industry for a number of years till he completed the work. It professes to be a concordance as well as a *Lexicon*, for at least seven-eighths of the words, while in all the more difficult terms it serves as a commentary, by giving various interpretations besides that adopted by the author. It is also geographical and historical, supplying to a considerable extent the place of those "sacred geographies" now so common among readers of the Bible. The *Grammars of Winer and Buttmann*, as also the great work of *Passow*, have contributed their share in its formation; nor have the best German commentaries on particular books of the New Testament, as those of *Fritzsche, Kuinoel, and Tholuck* been neglected. He who would

compose a good Lexicon must indeed have recourse to such philological expositions of separate gospels and epistles, where the terms are often so admirably illustrated, although the theology may be most erroneous and even pernicious. The high expectations formed of this long-promised Dictionary have been abundantly realised in his own country, where the reputation of the author has been raised to a high eminence in sacred literature. It soon found its way into Great Britain, and its merits were at once perceived by those best capable of judging. It was accordingly reprinted in London under the superintendence of Dr. Bloomfield, well known as an editor of the Greek Testament, who, in revising it, has made some slight improvements, while he has often *queried* statements made by the author, whose correctness admits of little doubt. The present edition appeared subsequently to the London reprint, and was superintended by two scholars, one in the Greek department, and the other principally in the Hebrew. Minute accuracy is therefore to be expected. Those only who are conversant with such works are aware of the extreme difficulty of attaining verbal correctness, especially where so many passages are quoted. It may, however, be asserted with truth, that there are very few, if any, typographical inaccuracies in the present edition. There are, besides, various improvements, consisting of additions in the way of remark or correction. Some of these are valuable in a theological point of view, especially to such as believe in the doctrines commonly termed orthodox. Several words are given in their *proper Oriental character*, a thing which occurs even in *Schleusner*, and which tends to the completeness of a book containing terms belonging to the Shemitish languages. On the whole, therefore, the present edition may be pronounced as in all respects *the best* of this invaluable Lexicon of the Greek Testament. It is almost unnecessary to recommend it to the attention of all who are interested in the study of the sacred Scriptures. That it is indispensable to the student who would read the New Testament with accuracy and delight, we are fully convinced; and we doubt not that it will have a place in the library of every clergyman who wishes to understand the record which in these latter days God has given of his Son. In point of literary ability it does great honour to the American author; and in regard to beauty of typography and exterior the Edinburgh edition reflects credit on the publisher; while his entrusting the two individuals, mentioned in the title page, with its superintendence, is a sufficient assurance to the public, that no pains have been spared to render it deserving of a wide and extensive circulation. If there be any department in which the present volume admits of any improvement as must necessarily result from the nature of such a work, it is that of the different significations, which in not a few cases we think too numerous. Dr. Robinson has indeed done much in this

province, and much improvement has he made on the works of his predecessors, but he might have still farther reduced the number of significations attached to some words, and thus greatly simplified several of his paragraphs. In general, however, he has well distinguished the *signification* from the *sense* of a word, which had been sadly confounded by Schleusner and others, and which had given rise to a great multiplication of meanings calculated to bewilder the mind. We might also point out several instances in which the significations are not logically arranged. These things, however, may be amended in subsequent editions, should the author's life be spared to revise and extend his previous researches.

The best Grammar of the New Testament diction is, *G. B. Winer's Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms als sichere grundlage der neutestamentlichen Exegese bearbeitet.* 8vo, Leipzig, 1836, 4th edition.

This is altogether the most complete and extensive grammar of the New Testament dialect ever published. The learned author has been gradually improving it until it has reached the 4th edition. Whoever would successfully and critically investigate the Greek Testament cannot dispense with this work. Immense industry, great research, patient investigation, and minute inquiry, characterise the production. It is not, however, so well adapted to English students as the following :

A Grammar of the New Testament dialect by Moses Stuart, Prof. Sac. Lit. Theol. Sem. Andover. 8vo. 1834.

Of this grammar I cannot but speak in the highest terms. It is a work of great merit. The learned author has evidently consulted the best authorities in compiling it. It is invaluable to the student of the Greek Testament. It seems to me occasionally to exhibit a want of philosophical accuracy which it would scarcely be opportune to point out in this place.

It has been twice reprinted in Britain, viz., in the *Edinburghh Biblical Cabinet*, vol. x., and again by *C. J. Stewart.* London, 1838. 12mo. The former is cheaper, and contains besides a dissertation on the Greek Article, by the same author.

LECTURE XXV.

On the Greek article consult *Middleton's doctrine of the Greek article applied to the criticism and illustration of the New Testament.* A new edition, with prefatory observations and notes, by *Hugh James Rose, B.D.*

8vo, Cambridge, 1833. *Sharpe's remarks on the uses of the definitive article in the Greek Text of the New Testament*, 12mo., 3d edition, Durham and London, 1803. *Dean Wordsworth's six letters to Granville Sharp, Esq.* 8vo. London, 1802. *Six more letters to Granville Sharp, Esq., by Gregory Blunt, Esq.* 1803. *Winstanley's Vindication of certain passages of the common version, &c.* 1807, directed against Mr. Sharp's positions. See also a critique on Middleton's treatise in the *Monthly Review* for 1810, New series; and an article in the *Monthly Repository*, for May 1816, written by Dr. Charles Lloyd. *Stuart's* essay, entitled *Hints and cautions respecting the Greek article*, in the Andover Biblical Repository for 1834, and republished in the 10th volume of the *Biblical Cabinet*, along with his *Syntax of the New Testament Greek*. It may be worth while also to read what is said about the article in *Winer's Grammar of the New Testament*, in *Stuart's* do., and in *Gersdorf's Beiträge zur Sprach-characteristik der Schriftsteller des N. T. Th. I., Leipzig*, 8vo, 1816. (*Contributions towards the Characteristics of the style of the writers of the New Testament, by Chr. G. Gersdorf.*) *Mr. Valpy*, in the beginning of his edition of the Greek Testament, gives an abstract of Middleton's doctrine, but owing perhaps to its brevity, it is scarcely relied on as altogether accurate.

LECTURE XXVI.

On the original language of Matthew, much has been written to little purpose. By far the best essay on the subject is contained in the *American Biblical Repository*, vol. xii. No. 31, written by Prof. Stuart. See also *Hug's Introduction*, with Stuart's notes relating to the subject. *Credner's Einleitung; Die Echtheit der vier Canon. Evangelien, aus der geschichte der zwei ersten Jahr. erwiesen*, 8vo. Koenigsberg, 1823. *Von H. Olshausen.*" i. e. the "genuineness of the four canonical gospels proved from the history of the first two centuries, by Dr. H. Olshausen;" *Schott's Isagoge*. *Michaelis*, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, and *Marsh*, in his notes to do., advocate the opinion that Matthew wrote in Hebrew. *Norton on the Gospels* takes the same view. *De Wette* in his *Introduction*, and *Fritzsche* in his *prolegomena to Matthew's Gospel*, contend for a Greek original.

Among writers, since the time of the Reformation, favourable to a Greek original, may be enumerated, in addition to those already mentioned, Erasmus, Cajetan, Oecolampadius, Calvin, Paræus, Flacius, Beza, Gerhard, Walther, Walaëus, Heidegger, Chamier, Lightfoot, Calov, Hottinger, Kortholt, Ittig, Clericus, Cappell, Beausobre, Bas-

nage, Rumpaeus, Schroeder, Mai, Lardner, Fabricius, Leusden, Pringius, Vogel, C. F. Schmid, Hofman, Boerner, Wetstein, Masch, Schubert, Gabler, Paulus, Grawitz, Koecher, Semler, Venema, Noesselt, Jones, Jortin, Hey.

All of these advocated a Greek original. Extracts from their writings, that bear upon the subject might be easily given, but I do not think it at all necessary.

Neither is it worth while to quote passages from the following writers on the opposite side, viz. Baronius, Casaubon, the Jesuit Baile, Natolis Albert de Versé, (Tombeau du Socinianisme, p. 167), Du Pin, Simon, Calmet, Mill, Weber, Elsner, Adler, Vossius, Corrodi, Grotius, Bellarmin, Tillemont, Storr, Hänlein, Schmidt, Walton, Cave, Williams, Harwood, Owen, Campbell, Bolten, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Kuinoel, A. Clarke, &c.

In the Lectures, I have referred to a few writers who have endeavoured, but without success, to unite both hypotheses. And here I may remark, that it is not to be inferred, from its having been brought forward by Schott and Olshausen in modern times, that they are decided advocates of it. It would rather appear that Schott favours the idea that Matthew's Gospel was written in Greek; Olshausen, that it was composed in Hebrew. Both, however, adduce the hypothesis of Schwarz as a thing not improbable. The language of the former is, "Certe, si Matthaeus aramaice scripsisse censeatur, vel ipse Matthaeus, vel vir quidam apostolicus idem evangelium mox graece edidisse existimandus est." *Isagoge*, p. 69. For Olshausen's remarks, consult his *biblischer Commentar uber sammtliche Schr. d. N. T.*, Koenigsberg, 8vo. 1830, p. 11, &c. Here he appears less positive than formerly in 1823, when he published his "*genuineness of the gospels*," in which treatise he shewed himself a strong advocate for the Hebrew original of Matthew. And though he has not renounced his former sentiments, yet he exhibits a spirit of toleration towards those who adhere to the idea of a Greek original, and admits, that there may have been a two-fold original. The conjecture of the learned Orelli, though allied to the opinion of Bengel and others, is no less singular than groundless. "Duo Matthaei discipuli, alter Aramaico sermone, alter Graeco, in usus Christianorum ex Judaeis, traditionem ab illo acceptam literis videntur consignasse." See his *Selecta patrum ecclesiae capita*. Turici, 1821, p. 10.

Of the language of the epistle to the Hebrews. Clement of Alexandria conjectured that the epistle was originally written in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by some friend of the Apostle. This opinion respecting the original language was held by many of the fathers, both

in the Eastern and Western Churches. Eusebius, Theodoret, Euthalius, Cosmas Indicopleustes, Johannes Damascenus, Oecumenius, Theophylact, Nicephorus, and others, adopted it. In the West it was no less prevalent, through the influence of Jerome's name, down to the time of the Reformation. Cajetan, Erasmus, and Calmet, however, declared themselves unfavourable to such a view. Calvin and Flacius, too, oppose the assumption of a Hebrew original; and, since their time, almost all Protestants have adhered to the originality of the *Greek text*. A few, indeed, dissented, as Hyperius, Zanchius, Tossanus, Salmasius, Hallet, Sal. Van Til, and Michaelis, but their authority is of no weight against such names as Semler, Storr, Ziegler, Hänlein, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Schulz, Orelli, De Wette, Böhme, Bleek, Schott, Stuart, Forster, and others, with the Roman Catholic theologians Hug, Feilmoser, (*Einleitung in die Bücher des neuen Bundes, &c.* Von Andreas Benedict Feilmoser, 2d edition, 8vo, Tübingen 1830), and Klee.

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