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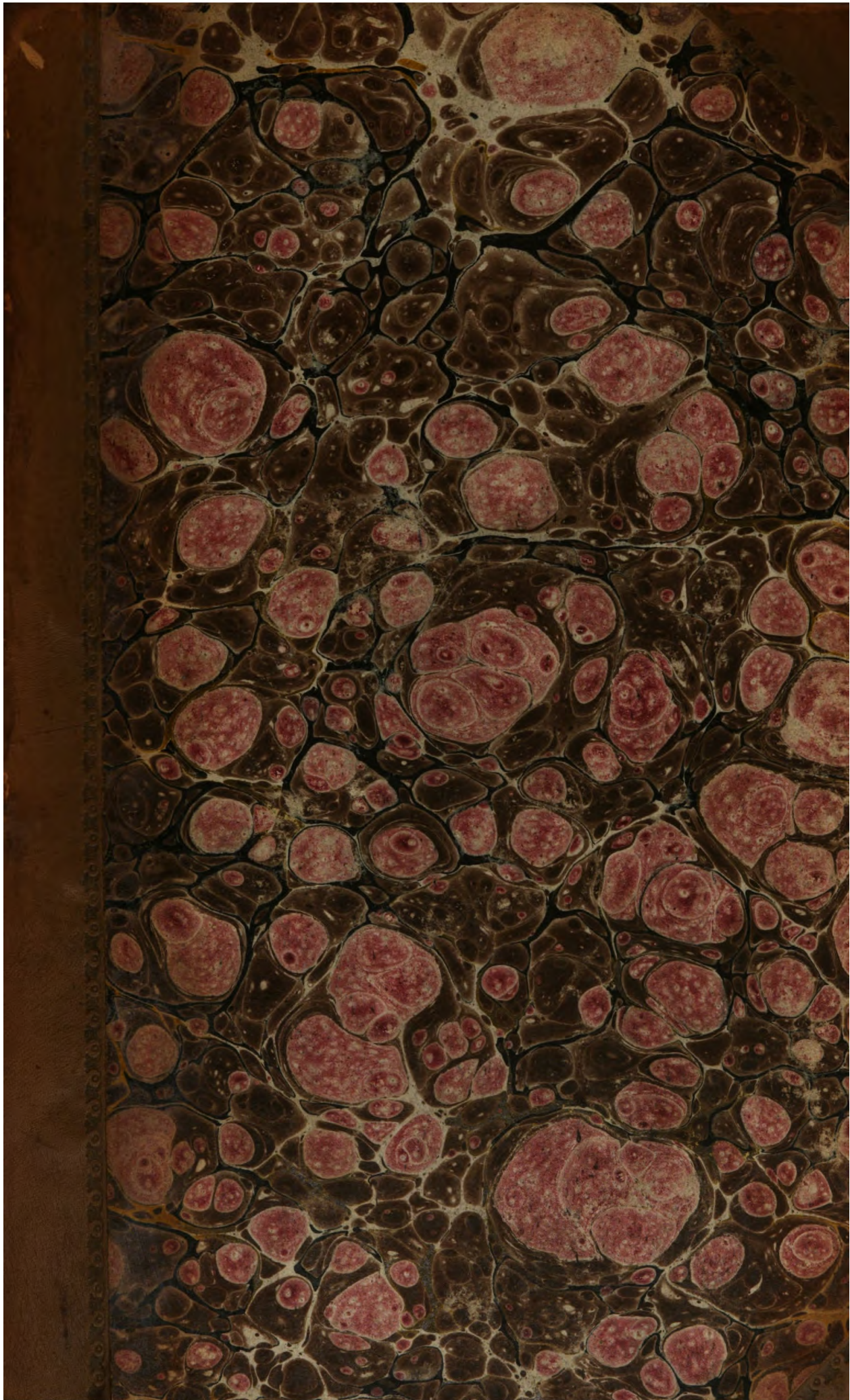
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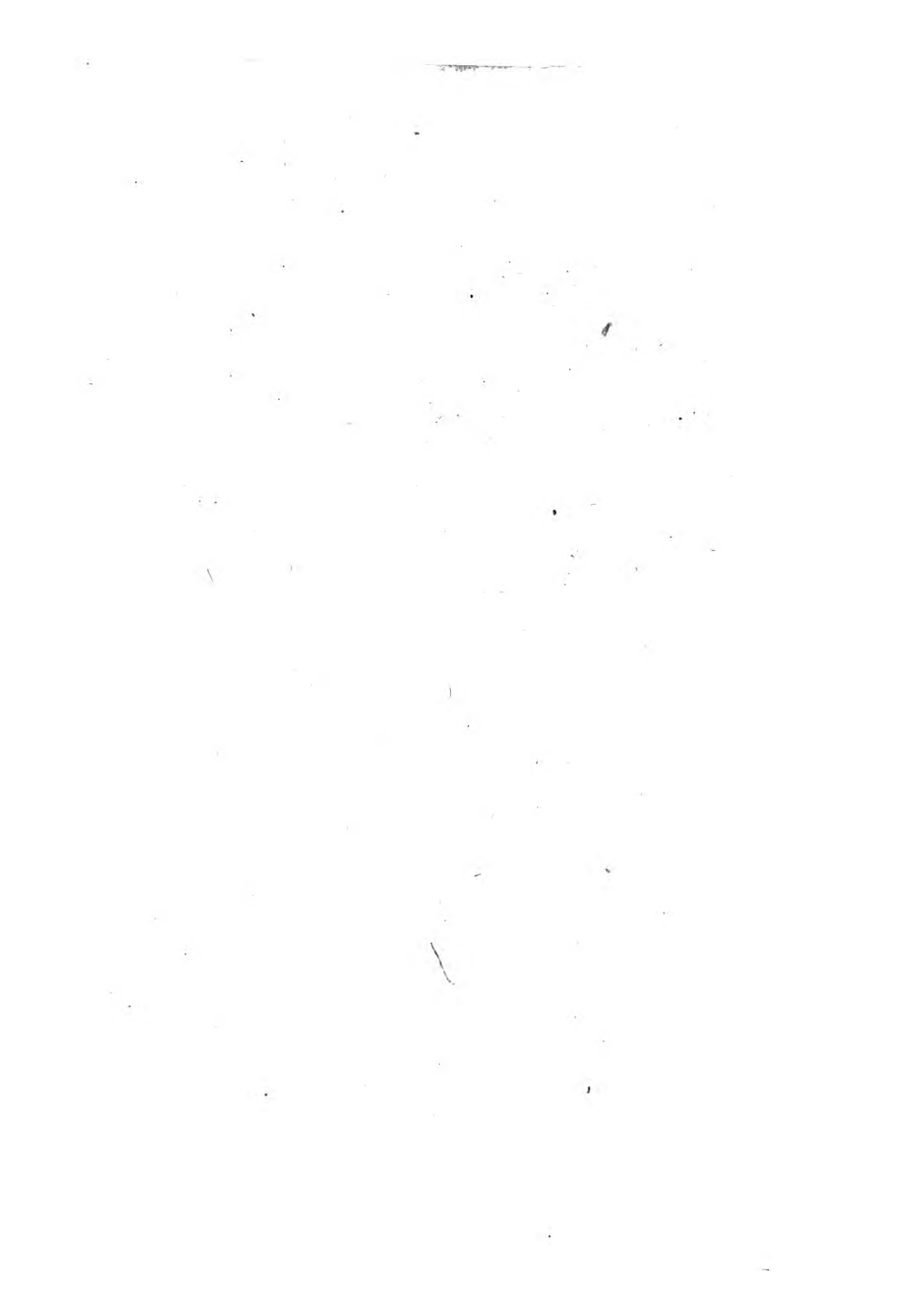


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8^o B. J. 228.

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AN
EXAMINATION,
&c.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY R. GILBERT,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

AN EXAMINATION
OF THE
HYPOTHESIS
ADVANCED IN A RECENT PUBLICATION,
ENTITLED
“**PALÆOROMAICA.**”

MAINTAINING, IN OPPOSITION THERETO,
THAT
THE TEXT OF THE ELZEVIR GREEK TESTAMENT IS
NOT A TRANSLATION FROM THE LATIN :

AND
VINDICATING THE ORIGINALITY OF THAT TEXT WHICH IS PRESERVED IN THE
GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE APOSTOLICAL WRITINGS, AND IN
THE WORKS OF THE GREEK FATHERS COLLECTIVELY.

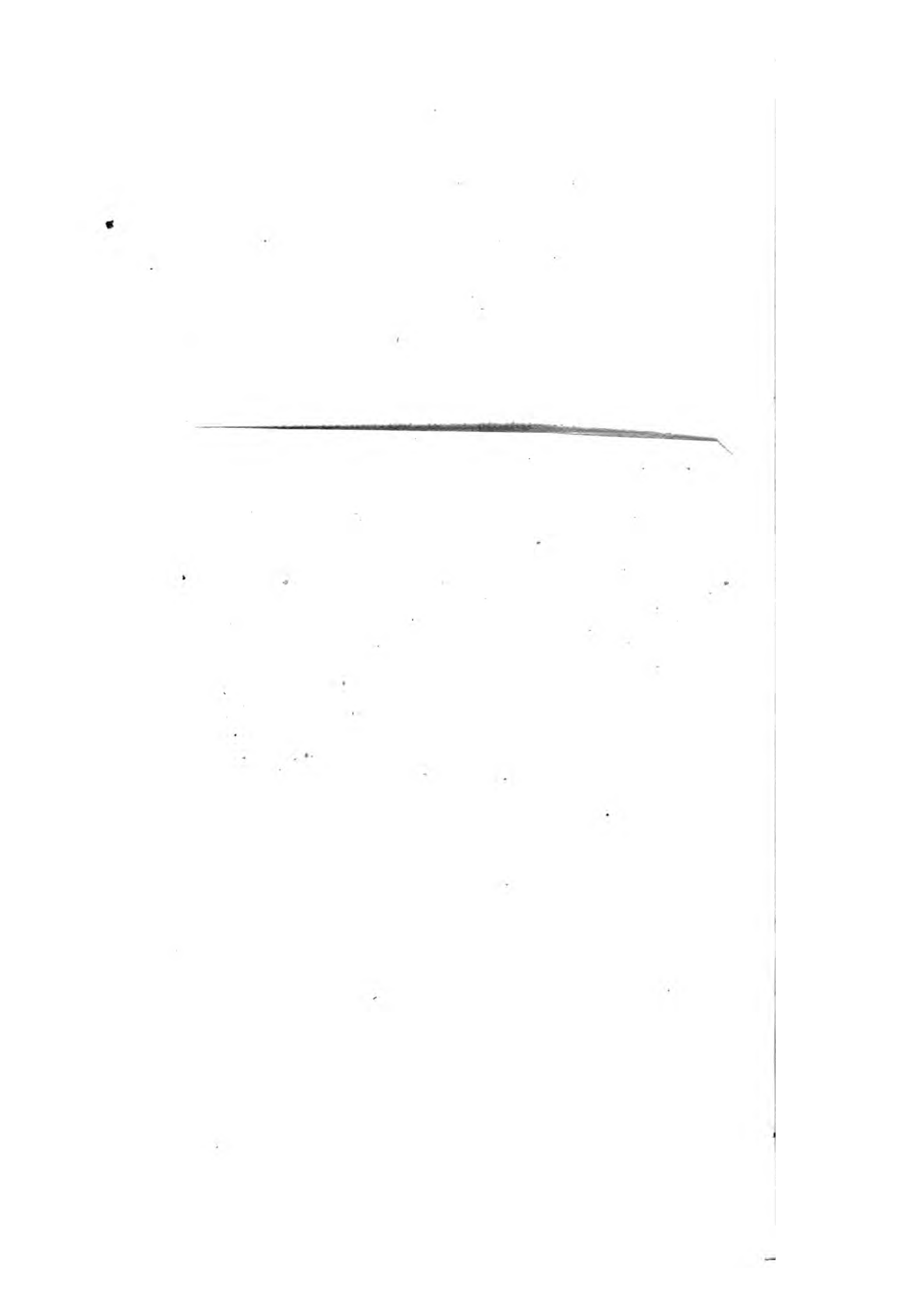
WITH OBSERVATIONS,
ILLUSTRATIVE OF MANY WORDS, IN LESS FREQUENT USE,
EMPLOYED BY THE APOSTLES,
AS WELL AS OF THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THEIR STYLE.

BY THE
REV. WILLIAM GRANT BROUGHTON, M.A.
CURATE OF HARTLEY WESPALL, IN HAMPSHIRE.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR C. AND J. RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,
AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.

1823.





TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND
SIR GEORGE PRETYMAN TOMLINE, BART.
LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,
AND
PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

MY LORD,

To desire that the sanction of your name should be bestowed upon any work not devoted to the service of religion, would in me be a mark of great and unbecoming presumption. But the distance between the highest and the lowest stations in the Church, is diminished by the consideration, that the occupiers of them are labourers together in the service of one common Master; under the same engagements to contend with ear-

ness against all opinions, which, by diminishing their veneration for the written Word of God, may injuriously affect the eternal interests of mankind. In this view of the nature and duties of our sacred function, I trust that a work, professedly directed against an attempt which has been made to detract from the authority of the New Testament, may without impropriety be offered to the notice of a Prelate, whose theological labours have so materially contributed to establish the Inspiration of the Scriptures, and to furnish a correct representation of their doctrines.

It is not, I am sure, in the spirit of any order of the Clergy, in the present day, to desire that any restraint should be imposed on a fair discussion of the claims of Christianity to acceptance and belief; or on the most strict and critical examination of its historical records. But it is evident that, in proportion to the extension of this licence,

our vigilance must be exerted to preserve the unwary from the contagion of scepticism. Our attention must be especially directed against those who sow their seed while men are, as it were, asleep : and who are thus enabled not unfrequently to effect their purposed mischief before any alarm of danger is excited. From solid argument and legitimate reasoning the Christian religion has nothing to fear ; but there is a species of sophistry which seeks indirectly to attain its end : not by avowedly attacking the belief of any man, but by covertly instilling principles in connection with which a firm faith cannot long subsist ; principles which, though they have apparently no immediate bearing upon the truth or falsehood of religion, yet generate a sceptical habit of thinking, and thus undermine impressions which would have stood firm against every open and direct assault. Against these I have written ; conceiving that to detect and expose such

fallacies, as often as they present themselves, is a duty which every Clergyman owes to his own station, and to the welfare of that community which he is specially ordained to admonish and instruct.

I have the honour to remain,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient

And very humble Servant,

W. G. BROUGHTON.

HARTLEY WESPALL,
October 22, 1823.

PREFACE.

BEFORE the attention of the reader is directed to the following pages, I am anxious to explain to him that the reasonings which they contain are founded on no such assumption, as that the writings of the Apostles are above all scrutiny, and that every opinion which appears to intrench upon their authority must therefore *a priori* be necessarily false. That it may be *proved* to be so I have not the smallest doubt; and therefore feel less hesitation in admitting that these writings may be subjected to every scrutiny, with respect to their origin and internal structure, which can be reasonably instituted concerning any other compositions not professing to be of divine authority. This only I venture to claim on their behalf; that every discussion respecting

them shall be conducted temperately, and with the reverence which is due to the subject whereof they treat.

In what language the Books of the New Testament were originally composed, is therefore admitted to be a fair object of critical examination; and if the author of *Palæoromaica* had been contented to give an impartial statement of the prevailing opinion, and of the grounds on which it rests, with a candid recital of the objections to which he conceives it liable, the enquiry, thus excited, might have been conducted and terminated without any injury to the cause of religion.

But his scheme of argumentation, instead of confining itself to this single and definite object, branches forth into two great divisions. In the first of these he states, and endeavours to confute, an argument which is represented by him as being very generally adduced to prove that the Apostles would probably write in Greek. But, in reality, the prevalence of the Greek

language in the Apostolic age (for that is the argument of which I speak) has never been asserted, by accurate reasoners, to prove that the Apostles probably *would* write in Greek, but to shew that, in the condition of the world and in the circumstances of its inhabitants at the time, there is nothing to invalidate the evidence which we possess, that they actually *did* employ that language in their writings. It is a question of *fact*, not of *inference*; and it is, therefore, to be the more lamented that the author of Palæoromæica has omitted to give any statement of the grounds on which the generally-received opinion rests: thus leaving it to be inferred, by all who cannot examine such questions for themselves, that they have been hitherto deceived by the persons, to whom, upon such subjects, they look for instruction, and that no valid evidence can be offered in support of an opinion which they have adopted on the authority of those who are regarded as the best and properest judges in enquiries of this nature. In the second division of the work is introduced the celebrated *Hypothesis*, that a Latin text, now no longer existing, was the basis of that Greek text which has gene-

rally borne the character of being the original of the Apostolic writings.

These propositions, although it be scarcely possible, in treating of them, to preserve them entirely distinct, are yet, it is evident, not mutually dependent. If the received opinion, as to the originality of the Vulgate Greek text, be well-founded, the Palæoromaican hypothesis, which denies that originality, must be false; but it does not conversely follow that, if the last mentioned theory be disproved, the justice of the prevailing opinion will thereupon be necessarily established. The two Propositions, above referred to, are therefore not mutually dependent; nor, as I conceive, are they equally important. With respect to the main hypothesis of Palæoromaica and the suppositions upon which it is founded, there is little difficulty in shewing that

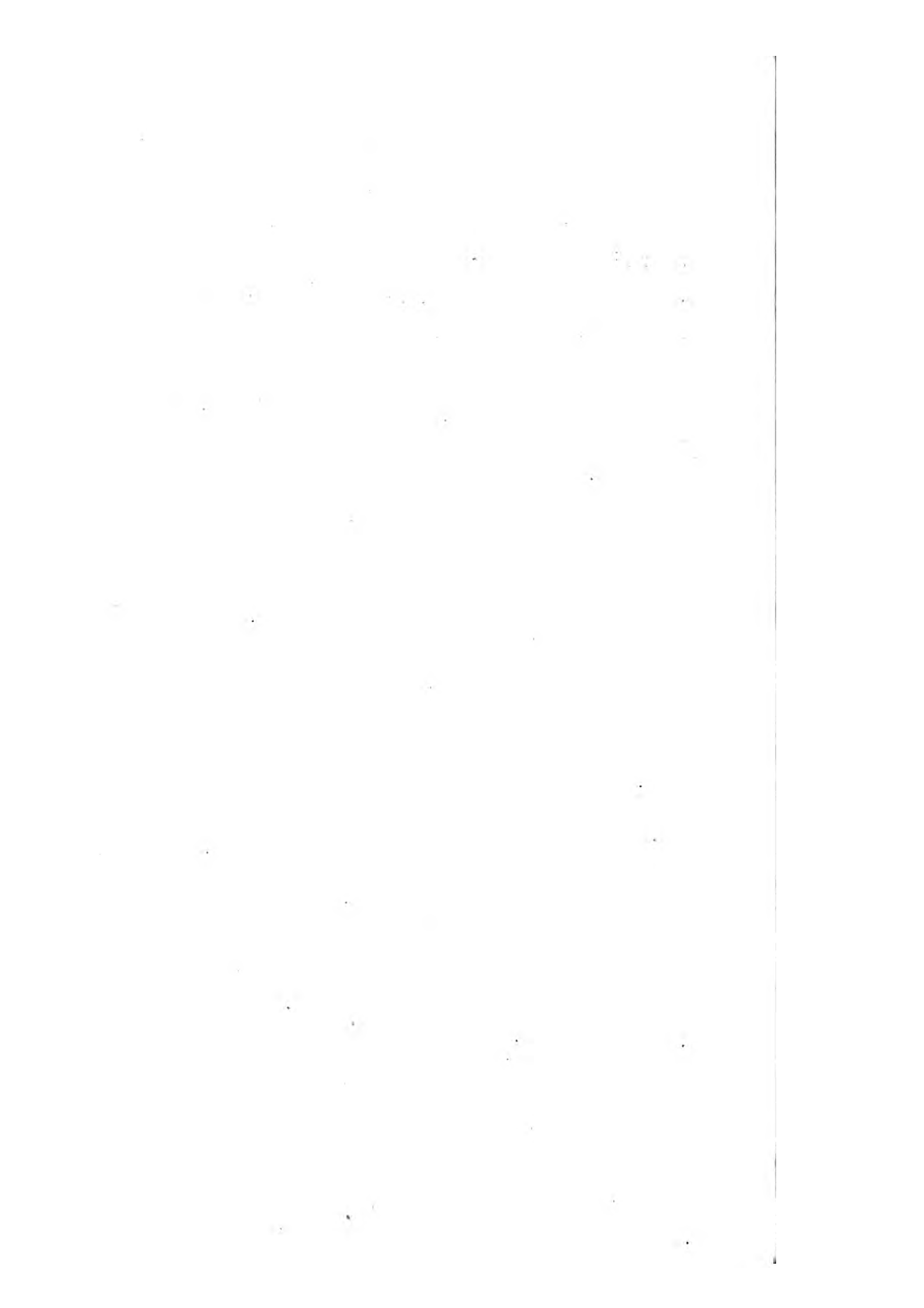
“ — these are false, or little else but dreams,
Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm ;”

and, if the hypothesis had been the whole of the question, it might have been safely left to work

its own confutation. But there is another, and more important, branch of the argument; that in which no effort is omitted to prove that we have insufficient grounds for thinking that the original writings of the Apostles still survive, and have been preserved in the Greek New Testament. Upon this behalf I must observe that the writer who is the subject of this "Examination," appears to belong to a class of writers whose object is to produce *doubt* rather than *conviction*; not to fix, but to unsettle, opinions, by insinuating that the most general and the longest established persuasions of men may be false, rather than by shewing that their own are true. This purpose they strive to effect by assuming an air of superior candour; by starting doubts which they make no effort to satisfy; by affectedly suspending their opinion, even upon points where their own reasonings, if so forcible as they profess to think them, ought to have produced a settled conviction; and by seeking covertly to instil a belief that all who oppose their views have some interested motive for repressing enquiry, and for discountenancing the pursuit and discovery of truth. The work

Palæoromaica itself is one of the most *artful* of its class; nor do I remember to have met with any in which more real dogmatism is concealed under the mask of so much apparent diffidence. Its necessary tendency, if it be not its concealed purpose, is to excite an apprehension that, since so much may be said against an opinion, esteemed to be almost self-evident, there can be no persuasion whatever founded in certainty; none in support of which, if it be vigorously attacked, convincing evidence can be adduced. Thus, it is plain, a way is opened for the admission of universal doubt; and it requires no sagacity to foresee that a mind, which can be led to think that the originality of the Greek text may justly be called in question, is trained and equipped for the highest flights in the regions of scepticism. For this reason I have been less anxious to shew that the Palæoromaican hypothesis is false, than to prove that the common opinion is correct; and to make it appear that this new theory fails, not so much from want of skill in the proposer, as from the certainty with which the Greek original of the New Testament may be deduced from historical evidence. And, lest any who

hold this persuasion should yet be distracted by an undefined apprehension that it may not be true, I have endeavoured to give a clear and popular view of the positive arguments on which it is founded, and a reasonable solution of the objections to which it has lately been considered liable.



AN
EXAMINATION,

&c.

THE hypothesis of which it is proposed, in the following pages, to undertake the examination, is so extraordinary in its nature, and, if it be well founded, so immediately affects the character of those writings which compose the New Testament, that no apology can be necessary for an attempt to ascertain the degree of credit to which it is entitled. “There is a toy,” says Lord Bacon, “which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part), that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers *comes about again*; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat and the like; and they call it *The Prime*.” The instance of Palæoromaica would almost seem to countenance a belief, that there is a Prime in

* “Essay on the Vicissitude of Things.”

opinions as well as in the seasons ; that is, a perpetual renovation and disappearance of the same, at stated intervals, in a certain regular cycle. After having, as was imagined, seen finally disposed of and laid at rest for ever the visionary conjecture of Hardouin, that the Romish Vulgate is the original writing of the Apostles, and the Greek Text of the New Testament a mere translation from it, it is somewhat startling to find it rising up again attended by this additional paradox : that, although the Received Greek Text be nothing more than a translation from the Latin, it is a translation from a text which is *not* preserved in the Vulgate, nor in any existing copy of the New Testament. The mere statement of this opinion may suffice to shew that, even if its establishment would excite no uneasiness as to the evidences of Christianity, it must at least render necessary a complete change in the manner in which those evidences are now stated, upon the supposition that the writings which collectively form the New Testament are the actual productions of the Apostles. For this reason, and because the author's hypothesis is advanced with the appearance, at least, of learning and candour, his statements require and deserve examination ; and, I think it may be added that, as far as his leading and peculiar opinions extend, they admit of a very satisfactory reply.

His work is evidently the fruit of lengthened

labour and meditation; the attention of his mind to the establishment of his hypothesis has never been relaxed; and, whatever may have been his line of reading, he has found, or fancied he has found, something directly or remotely bearing on the subject of his meditations. Of himself he affirms that, "He has collected facts with unwearied industry; stated them with as much fairness as he can; and exerted his best powers in judging of them," (p. viii.) It is unnecessary for me to observe that, whatever may be the industry of a collector thus circumstanced, and however clear may be his natural powers of discernment, those powers are most liable to perversion when directed to the promotion of a long-cherished and favourite hypothesis. The judgment has no longer fair play; the very extent and variety of the illustrations by which the hypothesis is surrounded, may hide, from the framer of it, its inherent and radical weakness; and a far inferior degree of scholarship may enable another to point out those defects in the offspring which to the parent are imperceptible. At any rate, the author of *Palæoromaica* professes himself so warm a friend to free and universal enquiry, that to him no apology is necessary for entering, with whatever qualifications, upon the examination of his statements.

I cannot but think that he is requiring more than will be conceded to him, when he expresses

a desire that his work should be considered “ philological rather than theological,” (p. viii.) If the word *theological* be used in the sense which it ordinarily bears, when referred to the controversies carried on between different sects of Christians, the work may possibly escape that character which the author so greatly deprecates ; for it can hardly be pretended that the establishment of his hypothesis would give to any particular system of theology an advantage over those which differ from it^b. But in reality, their present relative situation, whatever it may be, would be secured to the various existing modes of belief, not because none of them would be affected, but because all would be equally affected : because the blow is aimed not at any particular body, but

^b I speak here only of the abstract hypothesis itself ; but the *application* of it to particular texts is sometimes made to favour the views of those who deny the Divinity of our Blessed Lord ; Thus, John iii. 43. ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ ἔρανω. “ It appears to me that ἐν τῷ ἔρανω, in the above passage of our *Elzevir* text,” (as if the passage were found in no other text) “ is a bad translation of *Cælestis*,” (p. 188.) And again, “ I believe the import of this passage (πιστευετε εἰς τὸν Θεον, πιστευετε καὶ εἰς ἐμε) John xiv. 1, to be, *Trust or confide in God, trust also in me*,” (p. 263.) Here then we find advantage taken of the hypothesis to explain away the sense of two very important texts. What a presage do these observations afford, of the purposes to which such a system may be applied ! and of the uncertainty which the admission of one false supposition may introduce into the entire Word of God.

En quantis unus portentis pullulat error !

at the system itself. The work is only not theological, because its tendency is to destroy the very science of theology; to make the question henceforth not so much why men are Arians or Arminians, Catholics or Protestants, as why they are Christians. Philosophy, it is notorious, that of nature as well as that of metaphysics, has furnished arms to infidelity; and is infidelity so fastidious in the choice of its weapons that philology may not do the same? To me it cannot for a moment be a matter of doubt, whether or no the abettors of infidelity would think their cause advanced by the establishment of the hypothesis proposed in this work; let theology or philology be the class under which it must be ranked. May not some lurking apprehension of this nature, in the mind of its author, be the reason why the object of the work is not more immediately and explicitly exhibited in its full extent? It is allowed to open upon us only by degrees; and, when we have finished the perusal, we find that we have been carried much farther than the writer's original statement of his design gave us reason to expect. Thus the title page proposes as an object of enquiry, "whether the many new words in the Elzevir Greek Testament are not formed from the Latin?" Herein there is apparently nothing to alarm the most sensitive apprehension: most readers are prepared to admit the postulate, here proposed in the form of a

question, not only with respect to the Elzevir, but with respect to every edition of the Greek Testament which ever yet appeared. If it be true concerning one edition, it will be true concerning all: our only question will be, are there more new words in the Elzevir than in any other? and, if not, why should the enquiry be thus limited to that edition? This limitation may hereafter appear not to have been without an object: but to proceed.

The next enquiry is stated to be, “whether the hypothesis that the Greek text of many MSS. is a translation from the Latin, does not seem to elucidate many passages, &c.?” This question has its limits somewhat extended at the opening of the Preface, (p. iii.) where it is stated, that “the main object of its author is humbly to enquire of persons skilled in the Greek language, whether the Greek text of some MSS., and printed copies of the New Testament, does not bear very strong marks of being a translation from the Latin?” The imputation is here extended from the single edition of the Elzevirs to *some* MSS. and printed copies; but the charge, being yet somewhat indefinite, is pointed with more direct aim and extensive range, (p. ix.) “Whatever was the primitive language in which the books of the New Testament were originally composed, and admitting that it was Greek, it is shewn by numerous phenomena, that

at least our Elzevir text or its basis, and indeed that of several other copies of the Greek Testament in the author's possession, (none of them, however, so old as our received English version) bear strong marks of being a version from the Latin. It is submitted, that it seems not improbable that a translated, or re-translated, text may (as in St. Matthew's Gospel, and various other remarkable instances which are exhibited,) have supplanted the original." From this passage, then, we are enabled to collect the following propositions as exhibiting the hypothesis which, by collation with existing phenomena, the author desires to establish. The Greek text of the Elzevir edition, and of some other copies is not the original language of the apostles, but is a version from the Latin. The Latin text, here spoken of as forming the basis of our present text, may not itself be the original, but may be a translation, or re-translation, from some other language. The original writings of the apostles, in whatever language composed, exist no longer, having been supplanted by the Greek version which is now in our possession. In all the statements here quoted there is an ostensible limitation of the charge to the Elzevir edition; or, at the utmost, it extends to some other copies of no very great antiquity. In all this I must contend there is something like unfairness; the appearance of a design to entrap the unwary into

the admission of an hypothesis, without a full perception of the consequences which it entails, or necessarily involves. Of these consequences a glimpse, but a very imperfect one, is afforded in a note at p. 20; where, after a statement of the author's reasons for fixing on the Elzevir text, it is added, "of course, however, the arguments apply to all other MSS. and editions which concur with the Elzevir copies." Nothing can be farther from my intention than to maintain, that the *consequences* to be deduced from any opinion furnish a reason for its rejection, or afford any criterion of its truth. This hypothesis, like every other, must be judged independently, by its own merits, and not by its consequences. But at the same time those consequences ought to be fully understood; above all, there should be no unfair or partial statement of them. An author who professes to state "not corollaries but problems," (p. viii.) should have either confined himself to the establishment of his proposition limited to the Elzevir text, leaving others to make their own deductions, or else have stated fully and fairly what his argument really embraced. If the charge were to be at all extended beyond its original limits, we ought to have been informed that it involved, by implication, not only all other MSS. and copies which agree with the Elzevir, but all other MSS. and copies that are, or ever have been, known to

the world. Let us refer to any edition whatever, from the Complutensian down to the latest of Griesbach, and will it be pretended that such a disparity between the texts of any two of them can be discovered as to warrant a conclusion, that they were derived from sources essentially distinct? If the existence in the Elzevir text of words "formed from the Latin," furnish "a very strong mark of *that text* being derived from the Latin," the existence of the same words in every other edition must furnish an equally strong proof, that they are *all* versions from the Latin. Neither, it is manifest, can the imputation terminate with the printed copies; it must mount upward, and affect the sources, that is the MSS. from which the editions are derived. This indeed, it is admitted, must be the ultimate effect, if it be not the immediate design, of this novel hypothesis. "The author trusts," he says, "that he will not be supposed to mean, that the Greek text of the Elzevir edition, 1624, was translated from the Latin by the editor of that edition, or by any other person in the seventeenth century. Let the Elzevirs be supposed, if the reader pleases, to have printed from a MS. of the third century, this will not in the slightest degree affect the conclusions in the subsequent work," (p. ix.) Assume then, that the text of this edition affords a perfect exemplar of this supposed MS., that is of a MS. older by three

centuries than any which we are now acquainted with, and what will be the result of comparing it with the text of any other edition, or with any other MS. now extant? Discrepancies we shall meet with, unquestionably many in number; but estimate them collectively, and to what do they amount? Like the sum of an infinite series of evanescent fractions, to little more than nothing. Take then any two MSS., or any two editions of the Greek Testament, lay them before any man of competent understanding, and say to him, one of these contains a version from a certain original, the other is not a version. Upon the slightest investigation he must pronounce this to be impossible. The variations, though numerous, are so unimportant, separately or collectively considered, while the concordances are so prevalent and so striking, that you would never be able to persuade the most cursory inquirer, that the texts of these two MSS., or editions, were in their origin completely different: the one a version; the other not a version. By way of contrast to this, let us refer to the author's favourite instance of Simplicius; an instance which he continually adduces in confirmation of his opinion with respect to the possible loss of the original apostolic writings. Here we have, in the Aldine edition, a re-translation from the Latin version of Moërbeka; while the Turin MS. contains the original text of Simplicius himself. Do

we then in this case discover a series of phenomena analogous to those which any two copies of the Greek Testament present? On the contrary we learn, that Peyron “on collation found that the Turin MS., and the Venetian edition, though agreeing *in sense*, and *often* accompanying each other literally *for several words*, had a *different text*.” (p. 80.) But, in the case of the Greek MSS. of the New Testament, we find not only a constant agreement in sense, but, incalculably oftener than not, an agreement in the very words through entire verses and chapters. The variations are in no instance greater than may have arisen from the errors of transcribers, or the attempts of critics to amend the Sacred Text, by the introduction of their own conjectures and supposed improvements. In fact, although different MSS. exhibit, critically speaking, different recensions, yet is the text in all so similar, not to say identical, as to prove that the same original character must belong to all; that as one *is* a version, or *not* a version from the Latin, so are all the rest; or, to speak with more correctness, so is the Greek text of the New Testament itself without any reference to particular editions, to this or that recension, or to any class of MSS. whatever.

I am not, of course, to be understood as offering these remarks by way of proof that the Greek Text of the New Testament, as possessed by us,

is *not* a version from the Latin ; but in order to shew what is the true and necessary extent of the principle laid down in Palæoromaica ; and that, if it can be established in the instance of the Elzevir edition, or of any edition or MS. whatever, the imputation must extend to all the rest. We can then have no certainty that we possess so much as a single word of the apostolical writings ; on the other hand it will rather be certainly established, that those writings have been totally lost to the world during a period of more than seventeen hundred years !

To enter however upon a question which, if it do not form the immediate subject of discussion, is very closely connected with it, namely, the original language of the Apostolical writings ; it is unnecessary to dispute the correctness of this author's opinion, that " Our Saviour preached in a dialect of the Hebrew language," (p. 1.) It is still more indisputable, that we possess no record of his discourses in that, their original, language ; to borrow an expression from Palæoromaica " of Him who spake as never man spake, not more than twelve words remain in the original," (p. 62.) If upon this, however, it be intended to raise a question whether or no we possess any authentic record of his ministry upon earth, I must maintain that that question resolves itself into another ; Were the writers who have left us an account of his words and actions

inspired? and did that inspiration enable them to compose a narrative which should represent the exact substance of what he did and taught, though in the words of another language? So long as we admit in the writers of the New Testament an inspiration of suggestion and superintendance, sufficient to secure this fidelity of representation, and we have an assurance that the writings which bear their names were the immediate productions of the apostles themselves, we have sufficient and satisfactory grounds for a reasonable faith; and our religious persuasions will rest on a foundation not the less solid because the original expressions of our Lord have not been preserved. The apostles themselves, supposing us to possess their own words, form an unobjectionable medium of communication between our Lord and the Christian Church, because *they* were authorized and appointed by him to record his sayings; and because this delegation affords a sufficient assurance that all which *they* delivered possessed the sanction of God Himself, and may be received as necessarily free from error. But, if these original and authorized writings have perished, and we possess nothing more than translations at first or second hand, executed by men who were not thus sanctioned and inspired, and who therefore did not possess that immunity from error with which the Apostles were invested, we can have no certainty

that the Scripture in our possession is really Scripture, or the genuine Word of God. I will not positively affirm that there may not, even in this case of the loss of the Apostolical originals, be grounds for faith in Christ; but the steadfastness of our conviction must be diminished with the diminished authority of the instrument on which it rests: and it would be difficult, to say the least, to reply satisfactorily to objections which might be raised, if the Greek Text of the New Testament were proved not to be the original writing of the immediate followers of Christ.

Its claim however to such originality I cannot admit to be in the slightest degree impugned by an inference which is attempted to be drawn from the dialect in which the discourses of our Lord were delivered. "One should have supposed," it is maintained, (p. 1.) "that the most authentic documents" (it should be the *only* authentic documents) "concerning our Lord, would be found in his own language and that of his Apostles." But the probability, whatever it may amount to, arising from this circumstance, is more than counterbalanced by a probability of an opposite nature arising from the genius of the Hebrew language itself. That language is not formed for wide diffusion; it possesses none of those qualities of fluency or precision which could recommend it to foreign nations as a medium of general intercourse; and, except to those who reverence

the Sacred Writings, it is, in point of literary attraction, inferior, perhaps, to any tongue that ever was spoken. An erroneous view of this subject appears to have been taken by many pious and learned men; who, conceiving it to be impossible that the language of the Word of God should not be free from defect, have been greatly pained by the accusation of sterility which has been alleged against the Hebrew; and have undertaken, more zealously than wisely, its defence against all such imputations. The truth, however, may be, that those very qualities, which are usually characterized as the *defects* of the Hebrew, adapted it to the purposes of Providence so long as it was designed to confine the light of revelation to the narrow limits of a single territory. But, when the partition wall between Jew and Gentile was to be broken down, the characteristic peculiarities of that language would confine and retard, rather than promote, the general circulation of documents composed in Hebrew; and it is therefore not reasonable to conclude that any dialect of that language would be employed in the records of the New Covenant. I write under a constant sense of the justness of the remarks, made by the author of *Palæoromaica*, on the inutility, as well as impropriety, of any attempt to determine, *a priori*, what Providence would or would not do in any particular case; and I perfectly agree with him in thinking that arguments from presumption

and probability carry very little weight. Yet, since it is admitted that the Canonical writings of the New Testament have been preserved to the world in the Greek language only, when we are called upon to prove the originality of these existing Greek records, it is surely very pertinent to the point at issue to shew that there is nothing in the character or circumstances of the Greek language which can militate against the supposition that it was employed by the Apostles : but that from its general diffusion, it was at least as well suited as any other for the composition of writings which were designed to be universally diffused and understood. The author of *Palæoromaica* evidently betrays his sense of the reasonableness of this presumption by his anxiety to shew^c that the Greek language was not so universally received and spoken in the age of the Apostles, as is generally supposed.

The disquisition, in which he attempts to demonstrate this opinion, exhibits a considerable extent of reading, although much of the reasoning is vague and inconclusive; and most of the critical inferences, as I hope to prove, cannot be maintained. I must however offer one preliminary remark; that the entire Disquisition might have been spared, as it forms no integral part, nor even a necessary adjunct of the author's hy-

^c " Disquisition I."

pothesis. The true enquiry, he often affirms, is, or ought to be, not concerning the original language of the Apostolical writings, but whether the present Greek Vulgate be not a translation, or re-translation, from the Latin. "Our argument," he says, "is not, or, at least, need not be that the Apostles wrote originally in Greek, Syriac, or Latin," (p. 209.) Wherefore, then, since the consideration of the original language is not necessary, are all these pains bestowed to prove that it was not Greek? The hypothesis will still stand upon its own merits; the confirmation, if any there be, derivable from internal structure and peculiarities of style, will be just as valid, upon the supposition that all the Canonical books of the New Testament were (as is granted concerning the Epistle to Philemon) originally written in Greek; and that our *present* Greek text is a version of a Latin translation derived, through an indefinite number of intermediate versions, from the *original* Greek which no longer exists. But, though the hypothesis might thus hold together, the author of it has too much acuteness not to be sensible that, in proportion as it shall be rendered probable that the original was Greek, his theory will be pressed by an increasing weight of improbability. For to suppose that a collection of Greek records should be composed by inspired men only to disappear, and to have its place occupied, not supplied, by a trans-

lation of a translation, also in Greek, and executed by men not inspired, this would not only seem to be unaccountable on the principles of human action, but even to bespeak an inconsistency in the operations of God, who does nothing in vain. The theory maintained in this work would, upon this supposition, have to encounter an argument (insurmountable except by direct and positive testimony to the fact) derived from *the extreme improbability of the supposition*; and therefore, although the establishment of some other than a Greek original do not necessarily form an integral part of this hypothesis, it is necessary as a buttress to a weak part. It will therefore be desirable to examine more minutely the arguments by which it is attempted to shew that "the position of the universality of Greek in the time of the Apostles is not so incontrovertible as is usually supposed."

Entering upon an examination of the facts stated by Mr. Falconer, in his Bampton Lectures, as confirmatory of the position last mentioned, the author of *Palæoromaica* says, "I cannot help observing that if the gift of tongues were permanent, as is generally supposed, it should seem there was little occasion for such a gift; since no more than a knowledge of Greek would have been necessary," (p. 4.) Not having any farther acquaintance with Mr. Falconer's work than that which is derived from the passages

quoted in the work before me, I cannot exactly ascertain what limit he observes in his argument; but I can hardly suppose that he applies the term *universal*, to the diffusion of the Greek language, in its most extensive or proper sense; or that he designs to affirm more than that, at this period, a knowledge of Greek was *very general* in *most* parts of the world. This latter opinion, I think rests upon solid grounds; but cannot admit that it leads to any inference against the necessity and utility of even a permanent gift of tongues. That gift served not only as a medium of communication between the Apostles and the people of the countries which they visited in the course of their ministry, but also as a mark of their inspiration and authority. It afforded a manifest assurance that God spake by them, and was beyond almost all other signs calculated to secure the attention of their hearers. Now a knowledge of Greek alone would not have done this; not to mention that the fact of Greek being very generally spoken is not inconsistent with the opinion that there might be *some* countries which the Apostles visited, in which it would not be understood. In *every* country indeed there must have been many who comprehended no other than their native language. The gift of tongues therefore was necessary, in order that the Apostles might be enabled to explain the nature of their errand to every congregation in

every country (for which Greek alone, unless it were literally *universal*, would not suffice) and, at the same time, by the mere multiplicity of the languages in which they conversed, it excited, in all who heard them, attention to their declarations. The sensation thus excited would be similar to that which is described as having occurred at the first effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost^d. From the account of this transaction, delivered in the passage here referred to, the author of *Palæoromaica* deduces an inference which proves that he misconceives the entire tendency of the history. “ We are told,” he says, (p. 69.) “ that on the day of Pentecost, there were at Jerusalem *strangers from Rome, Jews and proselytes*, who wondered at the Apostles speaking in their tongue; and that this was not Greek but Latin is evident from the enumeration of others whose language was Greek.” That *Latin* was the native language of these strangers from *Rome*, no one, I suppose, can have any inclination to dispute; but to infer from this that many, or even the greater number of these, could not speak and understand the language of Greece, is just as reasonable as it would be to argue that, because German is the language of Vienna, the French language cannot be spoken by the inhabitants of that city. A still greater

^d Acts ii. 6.

degree of incorrectness appears to pervade his remarks on the question addressed by the chief captain to St. Paul^e; and far from arriving at the same conclusion with this author, I deduce from it one of a directly opposite nature. The words of St. Luke are—as Paul was to be led into the castle, he said unto the chief captain, May I speak unto thee? who said (ελληνισι γινωσκεις;) Canst thou speak Greek? Ουκ αρα συ ει ο Αιγυπτιος ουτος, ο προ τουτων των ημερων ανασατωσας και εξαγαγων εις την ερημον τες τετρακιςχιλιους ανδρας των σικαριων; The author of Palæoromaica, adopting the sense of these words contained in our public version, “ Art not thou that Egyptian which before these days madest an uproar, &c.?” conceives the chief captain to intimate that, having in the first instance supposed St. Paul to be that Egyptian, he was now convinced of his error on hearing him speak Greek; an accomplishment which few of the Egyptians possessed. To me however it seems that an alteration in the version of the above passage is necessary; an alteration which, although apparently unimportant, as extending to only one single word, and that of a trivial kind, gives a totally different force to the whole passage.

The chief captain had entertained *no previous*

^e Acts xxxi. 37.

suspicion that St. Paul and the Egyptian were one and the same person; but, as soon as the former addresses him in Greek, and in consequence solely of that circumstance, he begins to suspect that it may be so, and accordingly puts to him the above questions, which I would thus render into English—"Canst thou speak Greek? Art thou not *then* (*αρα*) that Egyptian which before these days madest an uproar?" &c. The well-known power of *αρα*^f is to deduce a consequence from something which preceded; and its usage in this sense is strongly marked in many passages in the New Testament. The chief captain then, I say, hearing St. Paul speak Greek, has by that circumstance a suspicion excited in his mind that he may be an Egyptian; possibly that

^f Satis perspicua erit primaria hujus Particulæ et ubique dominans potestas, si ipsius thema statuimus *αρα*. Nam ut hoc notat, membris sive particulis cujuslibet rei apte inter se compositis, *orno, apto, stabilio, firmo, compingo*—si hinc translata intelligitur similitudo ad argumentationis genus quem Logici syllogismum dicunt, in quo tria pronunciata ordine ac legitime posita quam firmissimum argumentum formant, perspicuum est Particulæ hujus in consequentiis syllogismorum officium. (*Hoo-geven. Doctr. Partic. Vol. I. p. 107.*) The syllogistical argument, by which the chief captain arrived at his conclusion, is very perspicuous, although part of it only is expressed, and the remainder passes in his own mind. *Thou canst speak Greek. But most of the Egyptians can speak Greek. Therefore art not thou the Egyptian which, &c.*

very Egyptian who had excited such tumult and terror at Jerusalem : and this conclusion he would hardly have formed so rapidly unless the qualification of speaking Greek had been very common, I forbear to say universal, in Egypt. The eagerness with which the officer catches at the most distant chance of his proving to be the Egyptian, was very natural in his situation. This demagogue, as we learn from Josephus, whose testimony Eusebius confirms, had assumed the character most dangerous in a rebel in Judea—that of a prophet ; and had carried his audacity to an extreme height. The wish of the Roman government would be proportionably strong to obtain possession of his person, and their munificence, to those who should apprehend him, answerable to the importance of the service. The Roman officer, therefore, eagerly makes the enquiry ; but it is not a favourable omen to the author of Palæoromaica, that the only mark of nationality on which he fixes, as characteristic of an *Egyptian*, is his *speaking Greek*.

The circumstances, indeed, which attended the conquest and colonization of Egypt, by Alexander, could hardly fail of perpetuating, in the chief city at least, the language of the conquering nation. The successions of the Austrian and French dynasties to the throne of Spain, and of the house of Hanover to that of

Great Britain, are alluded to by the author of *Palæoromaica*, (p. 5.) But these cases are not analogous to that of the settlement of the Grecians in Alexandria. The modern princes did not enter their dominions in the character of conquerors ; nor transplant with them entire hordes of their own countrymen, to be placed, as colonists, in cities of which they were themselves the founders. The case of Alexandria, deriving its existence from the edict of a single monarch, affords no parallel to the cases of London and Madrid ; cities established for centuries, and in which revolution changed little more than the person of the monarch. But I would ask the author of *Palæoromaica*, whether the conquest of England by the *Normans* did not introduce a foreign language into the country ; and whether the effects of that introduction, and strong traces of the Norman language, be not visible, in our own tongue, even to the present day. In the capital of Egypt circumstances combined still more forcibly to introduce, and render permanent, the use of the language of the conqueror. In a city which had newly risen into existence, when the contest, in its mixed population, was between the languages of Macedonia and Judea, it was not difficult to foresee that the advantage must rest with the former, even independently of its being the lan-

guage of the preponderating party. If there be any justice in the remark of the author of *Palæoromaica*, that the Latin language must have prevailed in Corinth because it was a Roman colony, the same conclusion must obtain as to the prevalence of the Grecian dialect in Alexandria, which was founded and inhabited by Macedonians. The authority of Theocritus may alone suffice for the confirmation of this argument; for since, through his residence in Alexandria, and the patronage he enjoyed from its ruler, he must have had abundant opportunities of forming an acquaintance with the manners of its inhabitants, no testimony upon this question can carry greater weight than his. Now in the seventeenth Idyll, celebrating the Ptolemies, Lagus and Philadelphus, he seeks in Greece exclusively the materials of his eulogium; he compliments them on their connection with the Grecian Hercules, and with Alexander the Great; and the birth and parentage of the younger Ptolemy are illustrated by reference to those of Diomedes and Achilles. The imagery and sentiments of the poem are, with the exception of a very few allusions, entirely Grecian; they must be admitted to prove that the predilections of the Egyptian court, and the literature of the country, were at that period strongly turned towards the Grecian model; and a necessary consequence of this

feeling was a very considerable prevalence of the Grecian language in Egypt. It may be alleged, that this has reference only to the court of Alexandria, and not to the mass of the population. We possess, then, in the *Adoniazusæ* of the same poet, a representation to which no such objection can apply. In this most characteristic poem we find the most natural picture of the manners of the populace in that busy metropolis: and the notices hence acquired, concerning the language of the people at large, are not less valuable or correct because they are incidental. The poem in question, it is well known, describes the setting out of two Syracusan women of humble condition, in company with their female slaves, to witness a representation, which is spoken of as attracting from their homes the entire population of Alexandria. (v. 44.) That the language spoken by these women was Greek, is evidently established as well by the country from which they emigrated as by their own avowal. (v. 91, 92.) In this language they are represented as entering into conversation with every stranger whom they incidentally fall in with; nay, such critics of propriety are the common people of Alexandria, that one of them calls these Sicilian Greeks to account for their broad Doric pronunciation. (v. 87, 88.) In addition to this, the nature of the shew itself may be adduced as leading to the same conclusion; it is

entirely Grecian; a lamentation for the fate of the youthful Adonis. The choice of this *subject* for a popular entertainment might not alone prove any thing concerning the language of the people, any more than the annual representation of "Tamerlane," on the night when King William landed, which was formerly customary in England, proves that our ancestors spoke the language of Turkey or Hindoostan. But it is not probable that the dramatic monologue, which accompanied a representation designed for the general amusement of the Alexandrians, would be recited in any language but one which was ordinarily spoken and understood by them. Now it is evident that the language which Theocritus represents as employed by the singer, in the dirge or lament of Adonis, was Greek; because the Syracusan women are described as understanding the words of the song. And since it would be absurd to imagine that those words were intended for the amusement of these, and other foreigners who might happen to be present, rather than of the natives of the city, it is in a manner certain that the mass of the population there must have understood Greek^s.

^s Before we quit this most diverting poem, the Adoniasusæ of Theocritus, I could wish to propose an emendation of a passage in it which is undoubtedly corrupt, and, as it now stands, unintelligible. The example of the author of Palæoromaica, and of his shameful failure in a proposed emendation of the first two

Proceeding, in the next place, to the other continent, we find three circumstances stated as evidently shewing, in this writer's opinion, that

lines of the Hecuba, ought perhaps to deter me from any such attempt. His conjecture respecting the true reading of these lines is not only totally uncalled for, but has the singular merit of being the very worst critical emendation of an ancient writer that was ever yet proposed. (See *Pal.* p. 398.) It would have provoked in the matchless editor of the Hecuba, had he been yet living, a fit of laughter, or a fit of spleen. My own emendation, however, is I trust so far excusable, as it relates to a passage which has been given up as *desperate* by all the critics. The ninety-fourth and ninety-fifth verses are read as follows in the editions :

* Μη φυη, Μελιτωδες, ος αμων καρτερος ειη
Πλαν ενος· εκ αλεγω, μη μοι κενεαν απομαξης.

It is unnecessary to enumerate the many unsuccessful attempts which have been made by all the editors of Theocritus, to deduce some meaning from these lines as they stand, or to supply, from conjecture, a better reading. The most considerable of these may be seen in Briggs's late edition of the *Greek Bucolic* poets from the Cambridge University press ; or in Valckenaer's edition of *Theocritus*, p. 387. The result of the enquiry is summed up by the latter scholar in these words : " His animadversis Lector incertior hinc abibit quam venerat." By a slight correction however a clear and appropriate meaning is restored to the lines, which I propose to read thus :

Μη φυη, Μελιτωδες, ος αμων καρτερος ειη
Πλαν ενος· ουκ αλοχη μα ειικε, νεαν, αποταξαι.

Praxinoe, in reply to the rebuke of the stranger, contemptuously exclaims, O Proserpine, let there not be who may have the rule over us except one (i. e. her husband) ; *it's a becoming thing,*

the Greek language was but slightly prevalent in Judea. The first of these is the inscription affixed by Pilate to the cross of Christ, written, as the Evangelist informs us, “in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.” “If,” he says, (p. 13.) “the common Jews could not have understood an inscription of a few words, unless it had been written in their own language, we may judge of their ability to understand a whole Gospel.” Is

forsooth, young man, to lay your commands on one who is not your wife! This expression is very characteristic of the speaker, and suitable to the occasion: and every part of the emendation, I believe, may be supported. Notandum est hoc adverbium (εκ) non tantum nominibus adjectivis, verbis, particulis, et aliis adverbiiis, verum etiam *substantivis* præmitti. *Thucyd.* lib. iii. cap. 95. Ὡς ε προσεδέξαντο δια της Λευκαδος την ΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΤΕΙΧΙΣΙΝ. Addatur Lucian in libro, qui *Verarum Historiarum* mentitur titulum, primo. Vide *Clariss. Duker: ad Thuc.* lib. i. cap. 37. *Viger. de Id.* p. 160. § 13. cap. 7. Similarly St. Paul, Rom. x. 19, εγω παραζηλωσω υμας επ' εκ εθνει. I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people.—*Μα ισοδυναμει τη βαβαι* ut hic quidam putant jurijurando et affirmationi servire, et idem valere ac integram lectionem Doricam *μα γα* i. e. *ματερ γα.* *Æschyl. Suppl.* v. 897 et 906, *μα γα.* *Æmil. Portus.* in *Lex. Dor.* v. *Mattairii.* *Dial. Sturz.* p. 324—*νεαν.* See *Sturzius de Dial. Maced. et Alex.* (p. cxcii. ed Valpy) v. *Μεγιστανες* Huc etiam refero quæ Apollonius Dyscolus in grammatica sua scripsit (v. *Vossii ex ea excerpta ad calcem libri Mattairiani de Gr. dial.* p. 571.) *εσιν ονν τρισμεγιστος, και παρα τουτο μεγαταν, ξυνοσ τε και ξυναν* εφαιμεν δε εν ετεροις και παρα το νεοσ *νεαν.* et Phavorinus in v. *νεανιασ, παρα το νεοσ γινεται νεαν.* This seems indeed to have been a word peculiarly Alexandrian; and Salmasius conjectures that its termination was copied by the Egyptians from the Persian.

it necessary to repeat my disavowal of an opinion, so pertinaciously imputed by this author to those whom he opposes ; that the Greek language was universally spoken in any country whatever, except in Greece Proper, and in the Grecian colonies ? The utmost which I desire to maintain is, that in Judea there was, at this period, a very prevalent acquaintance with Greek ; and I am very much mistaken if this inscription of Pilate do not prove the fact. The state of the country, in a few words, was this : the Romans governing ; the Jews in subjection. The latter forming the bulk of the inhabitants ; but having a great intermixture of the former nation ; especially in Jerusalem. To each of these component portions of the population it was natural that every proclamation should be addressed in their own language ; because, whatever might be the case with the greater number of individuals, there must have been still many who were acquainted with no other than their native language. This then accounts for the use of Latin and Hebrew in the inscription ; just as at this time, in a city somewhat similarly circumstanced, the city of Calcutta, we should expect to find proclamations, designed for general circulation, drawn up in English and Hindoostanee. But the inscription was affixed also *in Greek* : and why should Greek be used ? That was not the native language of either the conquerors or the conquered.

It is, indeed, a circumstance not to be accounted for, unless we suppose that there was yet another component part of the population consisting of those to whom the Greek language was more familiar than any other ; and that this class consisted not of a few individuals only, but was so numerous as, in affairs of public interest, to demand *equal* attention with those who spoke Hebrew and Latin. If, to resume a former illustration, we were to meet with a proclamation drawn up in English, Hindoostanee, and Portuguese, should we not without hesitation conclude, even if we were not informed whence it originated, that it must be designed for circulation and publicity in some East Indian settlement, now under the government of England, but in which (and there are such instances) the language of its former possessor, Portugal, was still *very generally prevalent* ? And is not this a case precisely analogous to the Latin, Hebrew, and *Greek* inscription, exhibited by a Roman governor in the country of the Jews ? The practice thus adopted in the instance of our Lord leads indeed to a still more extensive inference. This happened in Judea ; but we are not informed, nor have we any reason to believe, that the Romans here departed from the usual practice of their government : or that, in the circumstances of Jerusalem, there was any thing so peculiar as to introduce there a different rule from

that, which, in similar cases, prevailed in other foreign cities under their jurisdiction.

If Pilate, then, in this instance acted according to the general practice of his government, it would seem that their ordinary custom, in *all* the conquered countries, was to make proclamations, intended for general information, in the language of the country itself, in Latin, and in Greek. The first two, being the languages of the governed and the governors, are, as was observed, naturally accounted for ; but I see not what grounds can be assigned for the general adoption of Greek, unless Greek were very generally spoken and understood in all the great cities within the compass of the Roman empire. In the case of Jerusalem it is no sufficient answer to say, that at the time of the Passover great multitudes of Greeks were attracted thither by the ceremonial of religion, or for the purposes of trade ; and that, for the information of these, recourse was had by Pilate to their own language. Was there not, at the same period, also a concourse of “ Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and of dwellers in Mesopotamia,” and from every nation under heaven? Yet we find not that any of these were held in such consideration as to have an inscription in *their* tongue appropriated for their information. Neither is it possible to account for such a provision having been made for the Greeks, and for such as spoke their language, except by suppos-

ing that these together formed so great and assignable a part of the whole population as to entitle them to this notice: and in this, I must repeat, there is no reason to suppose that there was any thing *peculiar to Jerusalem*; any thing in which the other great cities of the empire did not all and equally participate.

Concerning this inscription Doctor Paley remarks^k, “That it was also usual, about this time, to set up advertisements in Jerusalem in *different* languages, is gathered from the account which Josephus gives of an expostulatory message from Titus to the Jews, when the city was almost in his hands; in which he says, Did ye not erect pillars with inscriptions on them *in the Greek* and in our language, ‘Let no one pass these bounds?’” The remark of the author of *Palæoromaica* on this passage is, “To what purpose an inscription in any language but Greek if Greek, *as is assumed*, was *universally* known?” Again, disclaiming any such assumption, let me observe that, under any circumstances, common sense would dictate the employment of the Latin tongue in an address to a Roman army; because it was *certain* that this would be understood by every native Roman in its ranks; while, with respect to any other language, (Greek for example) it could not be *certain*, but only *very probable*, at the utmost, that it

^k *Ev. Par.* ii. c. vi. § 24.

would be intelligible to any considerable number. That the Jews might very safely have trusted to Greek alone, and that the purport of an advertisement in that language would have been very generally understood by the Roman soldiers, is exceedingly probable; but it cannot be denied that, as far as the native Romans were concerned, this end was more *certainly* answered by the addition of a Latin inscription. But it is well known that a Roman army consisted, neither wholly nor in the greater part, of native citizens; many thousands of mercenaries, proceeding from every country of Europe, Asia, and Africa, bordering on the Mediterranean, were found under the command of every general, and therefore of Titus. Since then the Jews, not having the power to address themselves to this mixed multitude in each of their several languages, would select in addressing them, *that* language which they believed to possess the quality of being intelligible to the greatest number, it will surely be granted, from their employment of Greek, that this language was considered, at that period, as *more universally diffused than any other*: and this is all for which I think it necessary to contend.

I must yet beg leave to extend to one other instance, this practice of deducing from the same passage a conclusion directly the reverse of that which the author of *Palæoromaica* endeavours to establish. From Hamilton's *Strictures on*

Knowles's Primitive Christianity, he copies a quotation from Josephus ¹, " Now Simon and John, and they that were with them, desire a conference with Titus, which he granted. He placed himself on the western side of the inner court of the temple, and there was a bridge that parted them. There were great numbers of the Jews waiting with these two tyrants, and there were also Romans on the side of Titus. He ordered his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and appointed an *Interpreter* ^m." This passage is adduced by Mr. Hamilton, to prove that the Greek language was "*totally unknown*" among the Jews. " For what occasion," he observes, " for an *Interpreter* if the leaders of the Jews were acquainted with the Greek language, of which Titus cannot be supposed to have been ignorant, it being a necessary part of the education of the Roman youth of distinction?" Whether the leaders of the Jews understood Greek or not is here nothing to the purpose; the utmost which this passage can be admitted to prove is, that they were unacquainted with Latin: for that language, it is certain, and not Greek, would be employed by Titus in this conference. Has the author of *Palæoromaica* so soon forgotten the passage quoted by himself (p. 29) from Valerius Maximus? (l. ii. c. 2) where speaking of the

¹ *Book* I. vii. c. 6. § 2.

^m *Pal.* p. 14.

Roman policy, that writer says, “ Inter cætera obtinendæ gravitatis indicia, illud quoque magna cum perseverantia custodiebant ; ne Græcis quidem nisi *Latine* responsa darent. Quinetiam, ipsa linguæ volubilitate, qua plurimum valent, excussâ, per *interpretem* loqui cogebant, non in urbe tantum nostra, sed etiam in Græcia et Asiâ.” If this were their systematic treatment of the Greeks, whom, as a nation, they professed to reverenceⁿ and did reverence, if they forced

ⁿ “ Quapropter incumbere toto animo et studio omni in eam rationem, qua adhuc usus es, ut eos, quos tuæ fidei potestati que senatus populus que Romanus commisit et credidit, diligas et omni ratione tueare ; ut esse quam beatissimos velis. Quod si te sors Afris, aut Gallis præfecisset, immanibus ac barbaris nationibus, tamen esset humanitatis tuæ consulere eorum commodis, et utilitati saluti que servire. Cum vero ei generi hominum præsimus, non modo in quo ipsa sit, sed etiam a quo ad alios pervenisse putatur humanitas, certe iis eam potissimum tribuere debemus, a quibus accepimus. Non enim me hoc jam dicere pudebit— nos, ea quæ consecuti sumus, his studiis et artibus esse adeptos, quæ sint nobis *Græciæ* monumentis disciplinis que tradita. Quare præter communem fidem, quæ omnibus debetur, præterea nos isti hominum generi præcipue debere videmur, ut quorum præceptis sumus eruditi, apud eos ipsos, quod ab iis didicerimus velimus expromere,” *Cicer. ad Q. Fr. Lib. i. 9.* It is unnecessary to quote passages to prove the degree of aversion and contempt with which the Jews were regarded by the Romans. It was impossible that this national feeling should be more forcibly expressed than by the refusal of Vespasian, when he triumphed for his successes in Syria, to accept the title of *Judaicus* ; considering it as a mark of opprobrium rather than of honour, *Dio. in Vespas.* In these feelings it is more than probable that his son, the leader of the above-named conference, fully participated.

them, even in their own country, to employ an interpreter in their intercourse with the Romans, it is far from probable that, towards the Jews, the latter would assume a more condescending deportment. It was not towards those whom they regarded as the basest and most contemptible of mankind, that they would relax any of the "obtinendæ gravitatis indicia," or swerve, in negotiating with them, from their customary employment of the Roman language. To this we may add, that the obstinacy of the Jews was at least equal to the haughtiness of their besiegers; and that this feeling might induce Simon and John to insist on an adherence to their national dialect also, and to speak only in Hebrew. Here then were two reasons for the intervention of an interpreter, however perfectly we may suppose both parties in this conference to have been versed in Greek.

On the Roman side we must conclude that this was no uncommon acquirement, since we find that Josephus, having composed a history of the Jewish war in the Chaldaic tongue, for the use of the Parthians, Babylonians, Arabians, and other Eastern nations, translated it afterwards not into Latin but into Greek: "in order," to use his own words, "that some of the Romans, who were not in the wars, might not be ignorant of these things^o." For the purpose

^o *Bel. Jud. in Proœmio.*

of investigating the extent to which the literature and language of Greece were diffused in Rome, at the beginning of the Christian era, it is surely unnecessary to go back to a period antecedent to this by nearly five hundred years; when the laws which were afterwards arranged in the twelve tables, were imported from Greece. How slight, in every respect, is the resemblance between the Romans of this early period, and their descendants under Augustus and Vespasian! All that we can conclude from this narration^p is, that, from the very dawn of their history, the attention of the Romans was turned towards Greece as the source of every valuable institution: as at a later period they regarded that favoured clime as the mother of the noblest arts, and of every elegant refinement. There cannot be a more forcible proof of the very general and familiar manner in which the Grecian language was employed at Rome in the age of Nero, than is derived from a circumstance mentioned by Suetonius. Towards the conclusion of the reign of that emperor, the citizens began to exhibit strong demonstrations of impatience at continuing so long subject to his odious dominion. Various were the devices employed to excite the popular indignation; and among the rest, says that historian, “ Statuæ ejus a vertice currus

^p *Pal.* p. 21.

appositus est cum INSCRIPTIONE GRÆCA, *Nunc demum agona esse, et Traheret tandem*⁹." If it be necessary that any production whatever should be drawn up in language generally intelligible, it must be one which, being designed to excite a popular commotion, is addressed to the lowest of the populace. Such was the intention of the device and inscription mentioned by Suetonius; and the anonymous contriver of it, by employing the Greek language, must have defeated his own intention, unless the lowest classes had been so familiar with it as to be capable of understanding this summons to insurrection.

Looking then at the evidence adduced by the author of *Palæoromaica* in support of his opinion, we find that it leads, in general, to a directly contrary conclusion; namely, that a knowledge of the Greek language was *very prevalent*, in most countries, in the age in which the Gospels were written^r. All which I think it necessary to

⁹ *Suet. Nero. lib. vi. 45.* As Casaubon conjectures, *Νυν γαρ ες' αγων, νυν δει ελαυνειν.*

^r We have an incidental confirmation of the same truth furnished by Dio. Chrys. (*Or. ix. p. 138.*) who relates that Diogenes, the Cynic, being at Corinth at the time of the celebration of the Isthmian games, went down to the Isthmus; and that there came around him as auditors, not the Corinthians only, the Ionians, Italians, and Sicilians, but some of those who were from Africa, of those who came out of Thessaly, and from the Borysthenes. It is scarcely conceivable that those persons

maintain is that some, a considerable number, in almost every country, understood Greek ; but, that the knowledge of it was in any proper sense universal, is an assertion which, although it may suit our author's purpose to attribute it to his opponents, he must allow me, again and finally, to disclaim any intention of supporting. The purposes of God, as far as is permitted us to judge of them, did not require the employment of an universal language ; because it does not appear to have been designed that the claims and statements of the Gospel should be instantly submitted to universal examination. It was enough if, in every country, there should be found men capable of understanding the original documents, and of testifying to their authenticity ; as a foundation for the faith of their own and after-ages. This point being secured, and prophets and interpreters ordained in every church, there was sufficient certainty obtainable, wherever the Gospel was preached, to satisfy the mind of every humble and devout enquirer after truth ; and the contents of the Sacred Writings of the New Testament became readily known, even by those who were unacquainted with the language of the original. We shall but mislead ourselves, in seeking what cannot be

would have hastened down with curiosity to listen to a Greek philosopher, unless they had understood the language in which his harangue was delivered.

found, if we undertake the search after a language through the medium of which the records of the Apostles might become directly and universally accessible in every nation. There is not, there never has been, such a language ; nor, as has been observed, did the purposes of God require it. The doctrine of Christ was not designed to burst with a sudden and resistless flood of light upon mankind at large ; but, from the smallest beginnings, and through many obstacles, gradually to win its way to universal acceptance ; and, step by step, to accomplish the evangelism of the world. We must remember the emblems under which it is represented : the leaven, hid and overwhelmed for a time in the midst of a mass, through every particle of which it is destined eventually to penetrate ; the grain of mustard-seed, from its original minuteness overlooked by careless observers, rising by degrees to the form and dimensions of the cedar of the forest. The very principle of such a system renders a partial developement necessary at first. The miracles of our Lord, on which his claim to a divine character was founded, were performed before such crowds as casually came together, and without any care being taken to assemble the greatest possible number of spectators. Even the last great miracle of his resurrection was avouched to the senses of only a few chosen witnesses. The only provision for the making

of which, great care seems to have been taken, was this ; that there should be sufficient moral proofs of the certainty of these events, to serve as the foundation of a reasonable faith in those, who were not, and could not be, eye and ear-witnesses of them. The case of the composition and publication of the Gospel records is precisely analogous to this. They were composed in a language which some, which a great many, in almost every country, could understand. They were therefore sufficiently open to instant examination and remark, to prevent the possibility of an untrue or spurious narrative obtaining currency in the world. Suppose the Apostles not to have written in Greek, but in Latin, or in any other language that you please ; still, *more* than this could not have been done, and I humbly profess to think that more was not intended.

It seems therefore to be an useless undertaking to engage in a lengthened disquisition concerning the absolute extent to which a knowledge of the Greek tongue prevailed in the apostolic age. There is, I conceive, an end of the argument, if it can be shewn that there existed in the world a knowledge of Greek sufficient to enable a writing in that language to effect the purposes which God had in view. Now it is no longer matter of conjecture whether a Greek writing *can* effect those purposes, namely, the making known and preserving the facts and doc-

trines of the Gospel, because it is matter of record and of observation that a Greek writing *has* done this. The writings of the Apostles, historical and epistolary, have, it is well known, come down to us only in the Greek language. From the days of Clemens, and Ignatius, downwards, from the time when our religion was in its cradle, the world has had no other ultimate appeal than to a Greek original : and if any writing antecedent to this ever existed, whether a Syriac, a Latin, or a Greek text different from that which is now in our hands, it perished too soon to exercise any influence on the faith even of those who came nearest to the age of the Apostles. Whatever religion the world had then, or possesses now, has been derived directly from a Greek New Testament. It is therefore, I repeat, needless to enquire within what limits that tongue was familiarly spoken ; because were we even to admit that it was never understood beyond the bounds of Attica and the Peloponnesus, it would yet remain an indisputable fact that it has effected, in the service of religion, all which could have been required of a language, if such there were, the diffusion of which was as unlimited as that of the light of heaven. The Greek language was sufficient to accomplish, because, under the loss of the supposed originals, it *has* accomplished the purposes of God ; and this is a sufficient reply to the enquiry why it

was employed. Other languages, it is possible, might have equally accomplished the end proposed; but this is a question which it is impossible for us to determine; and which we have therefore little right to meddle with*. But is it

* The contest for pre-eminence, with respect to extent of diffusion, lies principally between the Latin and Greek languages; and the enquiry made by some is why Latin was not employed by the Apostles? It is not our province to penetrate into the counsels of Providence, and to determine the principles by which they were directed in any particular case; but I think that a reason may be assigned why the employment of Greek in the Apostolical writings may have been preferably directed; even though the Latin tongue were, in that and after ages, as widely diffused and as well understood. The key to the reason is furnished by the following remark of a writer whose calmness of imagination protected him against the danger of setting up imaginary causes. "Immediately after speaking these great things to St. Peter, (thou art Peter, and upon this rock, &c.) our Lord, as it were with a particular view, that it might be left upon record as a guard against the extravagant opinion which he foreknew future ages, for the purposes of tyranny and worldly dominion, would entertain of St. Peter's personal authority, our Lord, I say, takes occasion in his very *next* discourse to rebuke him with a sharper severity than he ever used towards the rest of his disciples.—Of the same kind seems to be our Saviour's affecting, as it were, to speak always with very small respect of the blessed Virgin, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' " &c. *Dr. Clarke's Works*, fol. vol. ii. p. 458. Tenth Occas. Serm. A similar reason, I think, may have prohibited the employment of the Latin language by the writers of the New Testament; namely, that the arrogance of the Romish Church, and its suppression of the Scriptures, might not pass

unreasonable to say that a language which, by the event, is *proved* to possess the qualifications confessedly desirable, if not indispensable, under the given circumstances, has a stronger claim to be considered as the language selected by the Almighty, than other languages which, not having been subjected to such a test, may or may not possess the properties necessary to qualify them for so important a trust ?

In coming to the more immediate consideration of the question, whether the Vulgate Greek Text of the New Testament be a translation, or re-translation, from the Latin, it cannot escape observation that, if any man shall choose to maintain such an opinion, it is impossible, strictly speaking, to prove a negative. The facts of the case are these. We have before us a Greek text which all the world (Father Hardouin always excepted) has hitherto agreed in regarding as the original ; and from which all the translations now extant have been, mediately or immediately, derived. No such anterior text, as that which is contemplated as the basis of the Greek, is now

beyond all bounds. Compelled as that Church is to use a *translation* of the New Testament in its own service, we still see how obstinately it attempts to shackle the consciences of men, by denying their right to search the Scriptures, and by confining salvation within its own pale. What then would its pretensions not have been if it could have appealed to the Apostolical writings delivered to it originally *in its own language*.

in existence ; not a fragment of any such, as far as we are aware, has come down to us ; neither was its existence ever spoken of, nor the cause of its disappearance attempted to be accounted for, until the author of *Palæoromaica* *assumed* the first of these points, but unfortunately neglected to furnish any explanation of the latter. Such then being the facts of the case, it can scarcely be deemed unreasonable to say that, against the presumption hence arising in favour of the originality of the Greek text, nothing but the most positive evidence, the most express and irrefragable proofs to the contrary, can be admitted to prevail. Still, I must repeat, if any man will seriously maintain the position, that our present Greek text is nothing more than a translation from a Latin text which has perished, it is impossible to prove a direct negative : the case does not admit of it. Not that I would be thought to argue as if my opinion were that any such burden could fairly be thrown upon those who stand opposed to the hypothesis of *Palæoromaica* ; the obligation lies upon the proposer of that hypothesis to shew, by reasonable arguments, that the world has hitherto entertained a false persuasion ; that the theory which he promulgates grows naturally out of certain previously established propositions ; and, when applied to the facts of the case, appears to be consistent with itself, and to furnish a solution of difficulties,

otherwise insurmountable, without introducing other and greater difficulties in their stead.

We shall discover in the sequel how far the theory of Palæoromaica complies with these requisitions. In the mean time the arguments, by which it is defended, may be classed under two heads : the first external, derived from the greater probability, which this writer maintains to exist, that Latin rather than Greek would be the language employed in many at least of the Apostolic writings ; the second internal, derived from an examination of the writings themselves. With respect to the first of these classes I shall here only observe, that an inspection of the state of the world, in the Apostolic age, exhibits a very general acquaintance with the Greek language ; an acquaintance which must be deemed sufficient to account for its adoption by the inspired writers. What is still more to the purpose, a Greek text, professing to be of their production, has come down to us, and has, beyond dispute, effected the important purposes of maintaining and extending a knowledge of Christianity in the world. We have a right to say, that this extension is as wide as the original itself, whose existence is assumed, could have produced, and as complete as God designed it should be. For otherwise, he would surely have interposed for the preservation of this supposed antecedent text, by the agency of which

alone his purposes could be completely effected. This, to say the least, affords a very strong presumption that the text, which has thus carried the Gospel to its appointed limits, is the original word of God. The second class of arguments, namely those which are derived from an analysis of the Greek text itself, require a more extended examination.

If, on inspection of any work, we find it to be written in a style perfectly different from any which we have good grounds for believing the reputed authors would have employed, or in a style which is ascertained not to have prevailed until some ages after that in which the work claims to have been produced, it is certainly incumbent on those, who maintain it to be the composition of such an author and of such a period, to *account*, by probable reasons, for the appearances here noticed; and any failure on their part to do this, would render the correctness of their opinion very problematical. Let us refer to the celebrated instance of *Phalaris*. I do not speak of the anachronisms, the mistakes in geography, and as to plain matters of fact, which the great detector of this forgery adduced as conclusive evidence, that the Epistles were not written by their reputed author, or in the age and country to which they professed to belong. It is not pretended that any analogous errors are discoverable in the writings of the New Testament; nor could

such an objection indeed be urged by one, who admits that the prototypes of these writings were the actual production of the Apostles. His argument reaches only to the unsuitableness of the *style* and *language* of the Greek Testament to the reputed era and circumstances of its authors. A precisely similar objection is urged in the case of Phalaris. “Had all other ways failed us of detecting this impostor, yet his very speech had betrayed him: for his language is Attic;—but he had forgotten that the scene of these Epistles was not Athens but Sicily, where the Doric tongue was generally spoken and written;—How comes it to pass then that our tyrant transacts every thing in Attic’?” These questions bore closely upon the point at issue; and they were fatal to the advocates of Phalaris, who were unable satisfactorily to reply to them. It was not the mere detection of this peculiarity in the writings attributed to the Sicilian prince, but it was the impossibility of accounting for it, consistently with what is known with certainty respecting his history, which led directly to the conclusion, that he could not be the author of the Epistles bearing his name. Taking a similar objection in the case of the Apostles, the author of *Palæoromaica* urges, that the style of the books attributed to them is unclassical; filled with barbarous and hybrid phrases;

† *Bentley's Diss. on Phal.* § xii. p. 310—323. ed. 1817.

abounding in foreign idioms and unauthorized forms of speech; exhibiting some Hebraisms, although the greater number of what go under the name of Hebraisms are in reality Latinisms; and that so many traces of a Latin original are every where visible as to afford reasonable ground for thinking that the entire substratum of the present Greek text was composed of that material. Now it is evidently here assumed, that the Apostles must have written with greater elegance and correctness than are visible in the received text of the Greek New Testament; that if we had the originals themselves they would display none of the peculiarities of style and phraseology here enumerated. The entire question, therefore, as in the previous case of Phalaris, is, Can we *account* for such appearances, and are they consistent with the belief that the writings, in which they are found, came from the hands to which they are attributed?

With respect to the first charge, that the style of the Greek New Testament is *unclassical*, although some well-meaning persons have attempted its refutation, representing it as an imputation on the credit of the Gospel itself, we may surely on more reasonable principles maintain, that it would have been strange had it been otherwise. Would it not have been a circumstance justly productive of suspicion, if the Apostles, representing themselves as mean and illiterate persons,

not even natives of any part of Greece, had yet delivered to us their compositions in a highly polished style, adorned with those graces and refinements of expression which are usually acquired only by a long familiarity with the best models of literature? It might then have been asked, in the words of Bentley, How come our Galilean fisherman to transact every thing in Attic? nor do I very well see what reply could have been made to such an objection. But, unquestionably, the language which they do employ lays the authenticity of their writings open to no such suspicion; for their style is such, in point of refinement and purity, as might be expected from the inhabitants of a rude and remote province, whose occupations had been, of all others, the least likely to render them familiar with any dialect superior to that, which persons of their own rank employed in the common intercourse of life. The author of *Pa-læoromaica*, who, while he professes to reverence the Christian faith, exhibits too often a very unbecoming sympathy with its infidel opposers, quotes, and apparently approves (p. 473,) the flippant attack of the superficial Shaftesbury on the inspiration of the writers of the New Testament: where the whole force of the sneer, for reasoning it cannot be called, is made to rest on the imperfection of their style. But with what justice is purity or impurity of language made

the test of inspiration " ? or what ground is there for assuming that the Spirit of Truth would bestow on the Apostles any skill, in the arts of composition, beyond what they previously possessed ? It is very manifest that, whether we consider our Greek Text as the original, or look beyond it to some preceding text, there cannot have been

" " I must differ widely from Dr. Campbell when he refers, (as he does in p. 20, vol. i.) to the Bishop of Gloucester's (Dr. Warburton's) *Doctrine of Grace*, for the *best* refutation of the objections against the inspiration of the Scriptures derived from the want of classic purity in its language. I would on the contrary direct the reader's attention to the *Dissertation on the Principles of Human Eloquence*, in which the bold paradoxes of the Bishop are set aside, and the argument placed on a sound and legitimate basis by the learned Dr. Thomas Leland, formerly a fellow of this (Dublin) University.

" The Bishop, it is well known, had held that the *want of purity* in the writings of the New Testament supplies in itself a *proof of their divine original*; and had defended this position upon reasons nearly subversive of every just notion of the nature of human eloquence. Dr. Leland, on the contrary, with a due regard to the principles of elegance and taste, and of common sense, and in the direct maintenance of them all against the attacks of this very formidable assailant, more discreetly and successfully contended for the truth of this proposition, that 'whatever rudeness of style may be discoverable in the writings of the New Testament, it can afford neither proof nor presumption that the authors were *not* divinely inspired.' See p. 97, or rather indeed the whole of the judicious discussion from p. 88 to p. 118 of the *Dissertation.*" *Magee, Disc. and Dissert. on the Script. Doctrines of Atonement*, vol. i. p. 236, 7.

any suggestion of the very words to be employed. The Apostles, then, being left to depend upon their own faculties in the choice of their expressions, it is rather surprising, considering their previous opportunities of acquiring knowledge, that they should have written so well as they have done, than that their writings, in a critical point of view, should exhibit many defects. This objection of Palæoromaica cannot certainly boast of novelty; it has been urged over and over, from the very beginnings of Christianity, by the members of that sect, the Minute Philosophers—of which there should seem never to have been a more ardent disciple than the writer now under examination. Hear the microscopic and disputatious Alciphron declaiming on this very topic. “Be the tradition ever so well attested, and the books ever so genuine, yet I cannot suppose them wrote by persons divinely inspired, so long as I see in them certain characters inconsistent with such a supposition. Surely the purest language, the most perfect style, the exactest method, and in a word all the excellencies of good writing might be expected in a piece composed or dictated by the Spirit of God: but books wherein we find the reverse of all this, it were impious not to reject but to attribute to the Divinity^z.” It is just and necessary, I am aware, to make a

^z Berkeley's *Min. Phil.* Dial. vi. 6.

distinction here. The design of Alciphron and his associates was to attack directly the *inspiration* of the *Apostles* ; that of Palæoromaica is only to impugn that of *the writings which now pass under their names*. While he agrees with the Minute Philosophers in thinking these writings to be, in point of style, unworthy of, and incapable of having proceeded from, inspired writers, he yet avoids the necessity of directly questioning the divine commission of the Apostles. This he does by means of the supposition of an original, now lost, in which that *purity of language*, and those *excellencies of writing*, above spoken of, were actually found. As far however as his objection extends, as far as it proceeds to question, on the above grounds, the originality of the present Greek Text, it agrees in substance with that of Alciphron ; and cannot be better replied to than in the temperate and reasonable language of the great writer already quoted.—“ O Alciphron, if I durst follow my own judgment, I should be apt to think there are noble beauties in the style of the Holy Scripture : in the narrative parts a strain so simple and unaffected ; in the devotional and prophetic so animated and sublime ; and in the doctrinal parts such an air of authority, as seems to speak their original divine. But I shall not enter into a dispute about taste ; much less set up my judgment on so nice a point against that of the wits, and men of genius

with which your sect abounds. And I have no temptation to do so, inasmuch as it seems to me that the Oracles of God *are not less so*, for being delivered in a plain dress rather than in *the enticing words of man's wisdom*.* The final end, why the delivery of those oracles was entrusted to these despised and ignoble instruments, to men whose style of expression is suitable to their want of education, and low estimation in the world, is sufficiently evident to vindicate abundantly the wisdom of God in making this selection. His purpose, apparently, was to afford no ground for the pretence, that the beauties of their style, and not the importance of the doctrines they revealed, had led to the general acceptance of the Apostolical writings; and thus, had those writings been different from what they are, the cross of Christ might have been made of none effect. "I never thought nor expected," continues the judicious Berkeley, "that the Holy Scripture should shew itself divine, by a circumstantial accuracy of narration, by exactness of method, by strictly observing the rules of rhetoric, grammar, and criticism, in harmonious periods, in elegant and choice expressions, or in technical definitions and partitions. These things would look too like a human composition. Methinks there is in that simple, unaffected, artless,

* *Min. Phil.* vi. 6.

unequal, bold, figurative style of the Holy Scriptures, a character singularly great and majestic, and that looks more like Divine inspiration than any other composition I know²." With respect, therefore, to any objection founded on the employment of an incorrect and inelegant style by the Apostles in general, that is of a style likely to be used by persons of their condition and acquirements, it appears, as has been often shewn before, that there is very little in it.

But the case of St. Paul, it may be said, differs greatly from that of his brethren; and, as upon this the greatest stress is laid by the author of *Palæoromaica*, it may be proper to examine the question somewhat more at large. "If," he says, "the style of the other books of the New Testament be such as might be expected from the fishermen of the lake of Genesareth, the style of Paul ought perhaps to be such as we might expect from a man of talent and education, who was a native of the learned and polished city of Tarsus." (p. 145.) Again, "How shall we account, upon the common hypothesis that the Apostles were themselves the authors of our Vulgate Greek Text, how shall we account for the circumstance that the Greek style of a native of Tarsus, and of a man too of learning and exalted genius, should be less pure

² *Min. Phil.* vi. 7.

than that of Peter a fisherman of Galilee?" (p. 152.) To determine this question let us first of all hear St. Paul's own account of himself. "I," he says, "am a man which am a Jew of Tarsus, a city of Cilicia; a citizen of no mean city^a." So again^b, "I verily am a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, yet brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect manner of the law of our fathers^c." What assertion can be plainer than that, although he was *born* in Cilicia, he was *brought up* and *educated* in Jerusalem; and what ground is hereby furnished for the surmise, that "Paul spent his youth at Tarsus;" and that "his instructions from Gamaliel were *subsequent to the crucifixion of our Lord*?" (p. 153.) At this time, as nearly as can be ascertained, St. Paul was twenty-nine or thirty years of age. Is this then the period at which education usually be-

^a Acts xxi. 39,

^b Acts xxii. 3,

^c I must think that it would be a more grammatical and therefore a preferable mode of dividing this verse, to place a greater pause after *εν τη πολει ταυτη*, and thus to render the following clause more directly explanatory of that which goes before. Thus: *εγω μεν ειμι ανηρ Ιουδαιος, γεγεννημενος εν Ταρσω της Κιλικιας, ανατεθραμμενος δε εν τη πολει*ταυτη* παρα τους ποδας Γαμαλιηλ πεπαιδευμενος κατα ακριβειαν του πατρωου νομου.* "I verily am a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, but brought up in this city: having been taught, at the feet of Gamaliel, according to the perfect manner of the law of our fathers."

gins? If it did so, in the case of St. Paul, we need hardly to seek any farther for an explanation of the defects and improprieties of his style. But it is manifest that St. Paul could not design to render any such account of himself; for, if he had come to Jerusalem only at that comparatively advanced period of his life, could he with any truth or propriety have affirmed, as he does, that he was “bred up (*ανατεθραμμενος*) in that city?” How also could such a supposition be reconciled with his assertion before Agrippa? “My manner of life *from my youth up*, which was *at the first* (*απ’ αρχης* from the very beginning) at Jerusalem, know all the Jews; which knew me from the beginning if they would testify^d,” &c. But “his instructions from Gamaliel,” we are required to believe, “were subsequent to the crucifixion of our Lord; for had he been at Jerusalem during the ministry of Jesus he could hardly have avoided seeing him, which however he had never done till the time of his vision near Damascus.” To this it is surely sufficient to reply, that there is no inconsistency in supposing that St. Paul might be educated at Jerusalem, and yet be absent from that city during the continuance of our Lord’s public ministry; before the commencement of which his education must have been long completed. In the next place,

^d Acts xxvi. 4.

however, it does not appear, from St. Luke's or St. Paul's own account of this transaction, that he had never seen our Lord until his appearance to him on the road to Damascus. Even though he had previously known the person of Jesus, yet, having up to that very instant entertained a firm persuasion that he was an impostor, and had not risen from the dead, when he beheld him thus suddenly in a state of glory, he might still enquire, in the first moments of astonishment, hardly knowing what he said, "Who art thou, Lord?" In the last place, it is by no means certainly declared in the sacred history, that when St. Paul asked this question he had seen the face of the vision, or that he beheld Christ personally, until afterwards when he obeyed the command, "Rise and stand upon thy feet." This reasoning is however purely conjectural; and, as such, although different minds may arrive at different conclusions concerning it, can never weigh in opposition to a plainly recorded fact: that Paul was brought up in Jerusalem, and spent his youth among his own nation in that city. Most groundless therefore is the assertion, (p. 153.) that "St. Paul had all the advantages of birth and education to become eloquent in Greek; or at least to write the language with purity." It was hardly possible indeed that he could have been placed in a situation less likely to endow him with these qualities. The instruc-

tions of Gamaliel were principally (St. Paul affirms *κατ' ακριβειαν*) conversant about the law and religion of the Jews; the explanation of the Scriptures; and the traditional comments of the Rabbinical school: and the only chance, which the future Apostle possessed, of maintaining an acquaintance with Greek was in the way of ordinary conversation in a place, where, from the nature of things, nothing like purity of dialect could be expected to prevail. What kind of style he would be likely thus to acquire it is easy to conjecture; we should even *a priori* expect it to be such as prevails in his writings; the mixed style of a city, the inhabitants of which were not Greeks; abounding in foreign idioms, common words taken in uncommon senses, and forms of expression unauthorised by the usage of the pure native writers of Attica and Asia Minor.

St. Paul, it is undeniable, quotes the Grecian poets; but so briefly that it cannot thence be concluded with certainty, that he possessed any extensive acquaintance with their writings. Two of the passages introduced by him, those from Epimenides and Menander are *proverbial* expressions, such as in most countries float on the stream of general conversation, and are familiarly applied, from hearsay, by many who have little farther acquaintance with the writings in which such passages are found. The quotation from Aratus is

so very brief, that it enables us to conclude nothing with certainty. It might easily be applied by one who had been no very diligent reader of poetry. In the same manner Mr. Falconer, and after him the author of *Palæoromaica*, argues that St. Paul's acquaintance with the writings of the Greek philosophers must be presumed, because "he would not deserve attention if he had spoken of the wisdom of this world without being acquainted with its nature and teachers," (p. 154.) St. Paul, it may be replied, judged of the nature of the Greek philosophy by its fruits; the lives of its professors, more than ~~the~~ writings of its teachers, shewed what it was capable of effecting; and the Apostle, knowing that it could not preach "Christ crucified," or give to mankind an assurance of a life to come, understood enough to be justified in describing such a religious system, particularly when set in comparison with the Gospel, as false in principle, deficient in authority, and ineffectual in operation. My persuasion therefore is, that St. Paul had not extensively studied either the Greek poets or the Greek philosophers; neither indeed does it follow that, even if he had done so, he would have necessarily acquired the faculty of writing their language with purity and correctness: that is with greater purity and correctness than the Vulgate text of his Epistles displays. How many of our own countrymen have extended their reading

through the whole course of French and Italian literature, and even passed great part of their lives among the people of those nations, who could not write three pages in the languages without committing solecisms? thus giving evident proof, that to compose in a foreign language, with the ease and correctness of a native, is an acquisition rare indeed; and which no compass of mere reading can bestow. To take an instance, quoted in *Palæoromaica* (p. 148.) from Dr. Campbell—the instance of Voltaire: “Hardly any foreigner,” he says, “of the last century, has been more conversant with English men and English books than Voltaire. Yet his knowledge of our language, on which, I have been told, he prided himself not a little, has not secured him from blundering when he attempted to write it.” The only particular in which it can be said that these cases are not analogous is, that Voltaire was not an Englishman, whereas St. Paul was a native of a city in which the Greek tongue was very much used. But, if all the circumstances be fairly weighed, this will not appear to have been a very important advantage. The expressions of St. Paul himself intimate a very early removal to Jerusalem; nor indeed would a longer continuance in Tarsus have been likely to communicate to him the faculty of writing very pure Greek. The Son of a *Jew*, of a *Roman* citizen, residing in a *Greek* city, it

seems probable that, in domestic life, even from his infancy, he must have been placed within hearing of a mixed and motley dialect, similar to that which Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, attributes to the Romans ; *στ' ακραν βαρβαρον, σδ' απηρισμενωσ ελλαδα*. Tarsus, it is true, receives a high character from Strabo, for the addiction of its inhabitants to philosophy and polite literature ; insomuch that they are said to have surpassed, in this respect, the people of Athens and Alexandria. Admitting that this description is as accurate as those of Strabo in general confessedly are, and that the study of philosophy prevailed to a great extent in the birth-place of St. Paul, it will yet remain to be considered whether this necessarily implies peculiar purity of language in the great body of the people. The mention of Alexandria is somewhat unfavourable to the Palæoromaican hypothesis, since, in that city, we know that, while philosophy and literature flourished, the general dialect of the people was vitiated by almost every departure from the standard of correctness of which language is capable. This was the state of things in Alexandria ; and the same may have happened, and probably did happen, in Tarsus. That the people of Asia Minor did not in general speak the Grecian language in its purity is very evident from the epithets *βαρβαροι*, and *βαρβαροφωνοι*, applied by the Greeks to all its inhabi-

tants, except the Ionians and Æolians. To the latter two nations the name of *barbarians* could not have been applied, because *they* spoke Greek with purity, and Greek alone. This was their native language, marking their genuine descent from a Pelasgic stock, and drawing a broad line of distinction between them and the inhabitants of the other provinces. The greater number, if not all of these, also spoke Greek ; but it was in conjunction with their own national languages, and with all those vices of inflexion and pronunciation which marked them out to the native Greeks as foreigners, or barbarians ; as the same thing was differently and more opprobriously expressed. We possess indeed the most positive evidence that each separate province had its peculiar native language ; however that of Greece might be in common use among them all. “ How hear we every man in the tongue wherein we were born ? ” said the crowds assembled at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, “ Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and *Cappadocia*, in *Pontus* and *Asia* (i. e. Proconsular Asia or *Lydia*) *Phrygia* and *Pamphylia*.” From Acts xiv. 11. we learn that the inhabitants of *Lycaonia*, though they *understood* the Apostles, speaking Greek, yet cried out in their own peculiar dialect. Philippus, the ancient historian of *Caria*, relates that the people of that province intermingled

many Greek words with their own native language. Strabo relates, that the Cibyratæ spoke three languages ; one of which, the *Lydian*, was that of their own country. The *Galatians*, we learn from Pausanias and Jerome, continued to employ the language of the Treviri conjointly with that of Greece*. After this enumeration it is reasonable to conclude, that the inhabitants of *Cilicia* formed no exception to the case of the surrounding provinces ; but that they also had a peculiar language of their own. This, it is affirmed by Jerome and other writers, they had ; and, speaking Greek in conjunction with that, they could not have spoken it with such purity as, in the opinion of the native Greeks, to exempt them from the stigma of barbarism. This province indeed, by geographical position the farthest of all removed from Europe, and placed in the immediate neighbourhood of Syria and the eastern nations, was perhaps the least likely of all to acquire and maintain an unobjectionable idiom. Even a continued residence in his native place would therefore not have *necessarily* bestowed on St. Paul the faculty of writing better Greek than appears in the received text of his Epistles ; because, although in Tarsus language of a better character may have prevailed

* On this subject see P. E. Jablonsky's *Disq. de Lingua Lycaonica*, §§ 4, 5, 6 ; and the authorities there quoted.

than was current in the province in general, there must have been, even there, a very wide departure from Attic purity ; many words adopted from the native Cilician tongue, and many, truly Greek, employed in senses unacknowledged by the standard writers. The example of Strabo himself shows, and even without that it would be obvious, that a native of Asia Minor *might* write very good Greek ; that is, provided he took pains to avoid the contagion of those improprieties which prevailed among his neighbours. But St. Paul was derived from a race which was not disposed to make such exertions ; for the Jews, we learn from Origen^f, were not curious in Greek learning ; so that, whatever might be the proficiency of the inhabitants in general, the sect and family of Saul of Tarsus had probably little participation in it.

Nor must it be forgotten that the original rank and occupation of St. Paul, although superior to those of his brother Apostles, were not so greatly exalted as to give us reason to expect from him a display of much erudition, or of any very striking beauties of style. His occupation was in itself respectable, but the exercise of a manual craft (beyond which it does not appear that he had any means of subsistence) could allow him few opportunities of exercising his knowledge of

^f See *Pal.* p. 15.

Greek, except in conversation with those by whom that language was spoken in Jerusalem ; and a dialect thus acquired and preserved was not very likely to be the same with that which is in use among classical authors. After he became a Christian, if it were not too late in life for him then to amend habits so long fixed, he had a weightier employment at heart, than that of balancing sentences and segregating pure from barbarous forms of speech. He seems to have disregarded, as a thing of little consequence, if he did not even studiously avoid, the imitation of a better model ; and to have gloried solely in the success of his Lord and Master's doctrine without being set off by the adventitious recommendation of a regular or embellished style. But it is urged that, after his conversion, " his time was spent at Tarsus, in Ephesus, and in Antioch ; cities which were greatly distinguished for Grecian literature." (p. 155.) If indeed St. Paul had visited these places at an earlier age, and in the character of a student, possessing the means of introduction to the refined and learned part of their society, their literature might possibly have given a tinge to his ordinary mode of expressing himself in Greek, and have taught him to avoid the use of many words which, on the authority of the grammarians, we know, were not considered as of the purest standard. But when we recollect, that on his first visit to

Antioch, in company with Barnabas^e, he must have been on the verge of forty years of age, (a time of life at which most men's style of expression is too firmly fixed to be easily changed for the better) when we consider too that the year which he abode in that city was devoted to the instruction of "great multitudes," (v. 26.) and that, here, as in other places, the connexions of St. Paul were chiefly with the humbler classes^h, who in that age had little acquaintance with literature, and made few pretensions to it, we cannot regard this as the period of the Apostle's life during which he was likely to surmount that tendency to barbarism and impurity of speech which was the fault of his early education. St. Paul, in fact, claims not for himself any superiority over his brethren as to power or propriety of expression. As Peter and John were discovered from their discourse to be "illiterate and of a low stationⁱ," (*αγραμματοι και ιδιωται*^k) so

^e Acts xi. 25.

^h "The first Christians, as we formerly remarked, were, in general, not persons of rank to whom Greek was familiar as French among ourselves, but poor and uneducated persons; as the Apostle himself tells the Corinthians." (1 Cor. i. 26.) *Palæoromaica*, p. 169.

ⁱ Acts iv. 13.

^k "Unlearned and ignorant men," in our Established Version, besides being somewhat tautological, is not a very literal translation of the words here quoted. *ιδιωτης* is a private soldier, as distinguished from one of superior rank; a subject as opposed

concerning himself he professes that he is *ιδιωτης τῷ λογῷ* : i. e. rude in speech ; in this respect resembling those of the humbler rank¹. We are therefore not yet reduced, as the author of *Palæoromaica* too hastily, and with an air of premature triumph, maintains, to the dilemma of supposing either that the epistles attributed to St. Paul were not written by him, or that the imperfections of their style are attributable to an unknown and uninspired translator. It may suit the

to a governor : and generally, it denotes the person who occupies any inferior station. See *Schleusner Lex. N. T.* in v. It comes, by a metonymy, to signify *ignorant*, because those of the inferior class usually are so : but this is not its original and proper meaning. “ Interdum, unus e vulgo ; plebeius ;—per *ιδιωτας* sæpe intelligitur Vulgus indoctum, quomodo et a Demosthene accipitur.” *Steph. Thesaur.* p. 4403—1641.

¹Quales ipsi (sc. Apostoli) fuere, tale et loquendi genus habuerunt. Non fuere autem rhetores, non poetæ, non aulici, non philosophi, nec sophistæ nec historici, nec omnino docti homines, vel ex eorum genere quopiam qui in excolendo et expoliendo sermone versari solent. Idiotæ plane sermone fuere sed non scientia, ut ipse de se fateatur Paulus. Ergo stylus eorum idioticus ; ut poetarum poeticus, rhetorum rhetoricus, sophistarum sophisticus, aulicorum aulicus, historiæ scriptorum historicus. Patres omnes Græci Latinique *ιδιωτας*, *αγροϊκες*, *αμαθεις*, *αγραμματες*, sermone imperitos rudes, illiteratos eos appellant ; qui tamen dicendo confutarint *τες φιλοσοφες τες ρητορας*, *τες δεινες ειπειν*——*Ιδιωτικος* sermo idem cum *κοινῷ* et vulgari. Nam *ιδιωται* proprie dicuntur homines de plebe, indocti, et solo sermone utentes quo vulgus utitur in conversatione communi, quem que pueri a nutricibus suis imbiberunt. *Salmas. de Hellenist.* p. 261.

purposes of a writer, who would reduce us to this extremity, to represent the Apostle as “ an adept in Greek : ” (p. 171.) it is, in fact, upon this one point that the whole force of his argument hinges. I do however most firmly deny the cogency of it ; and maintain, on the contrary, that there was nothing in St. Paul’s birth, early condition, or education, nothing in his subsequent visits to Tarsus, Ephesus, and Antioch, in his occupation, or in the rank of his associates, which gives us reasonable grounds to expect that he would exhibit a purer, a more unembarrassed, or, upon the whole, a better style of writing Greek than the Epistles attributed to him display. Of the sentiments and arguments of those writings I do not here speak ; they were the dictates of God’s Holy Spirit. My only concern is with the manner of expression ; and this, as exhibited in the text of our present Greek Testament, is of exactly such a character as, from all previous arguments, we should judge most likely to appear in the writings of St. Paul. Let me not from this be supposed to acquiesce in the justice of all the strictures of Palæoromaica, or to argue as if I thought that the written compositions of the Apostle presented only a continued series of barbarisms and violations of the ordinary forms of speech. Far from it ; there are frequent passages of unequalled beauty, to which, even in a philological and grammatical point of view, nothing

can be objected : and it is not one of the least difficulties attending the hypothesis of Palæoromaica that it requires us to believe that these, in many respects inimitable, passages proceeded from the hand, not of St. Paul, but of a translator at other times so ignorant as to confuse *παρεκτος* with *peractus*, and to suppose that *ὀμειρομενοι* was the Greek for *amaremur*.

The mention of these expressions however warns me to draw somewhat nearer to the main question, by entering into a distinct examination of these and other alleged instances, which lead, we are told, to a conclusion, “ that the genius of St. Paul has had injustice done to it by an imperfect translation,” (p. 152.) The first examples which occur are those of *κενω*^m, of *ὀμειρομενοι*ⁿ, and of *εἰρηδεια*^o, which, as Gregory of Nyssa originally remarked, are used, in the passages referred to, in new and unprecedented senses. To maintain, as is done in Palæoromaica, that these words did not proceed from St. Paul himself, but that the chime or echo of Latin words, somewhat similar in sound, suggested them, without any regard to their meaning, to an ignorant translator by whom the present Greek text of the Epistles was put together, this is to cut the knot in a way which can be satisfactory to no one capable of a

^m Phil. ii. 7. 1 Cor. i. 17, and ix. 15. ⁿ 1 Thess. ii. 8.

^o Rom. ii. 8. Gal. v. 20.

moment's just reflection. If I must be persuaded that κενωω is nothing more than the Latin word *exinanio*, ὀμειρομενοι, than *amaremur* in disguise, and ἐπιθεια than a mistranslation of *laniatio*, I cannot help saying that it is high time to search narrowly in every quarter where they may possibly be found, for the *original* Scriptures of the New Testament: for, if the writings which now pass under that title be thus unfaithful in such manifold instances, what assurance do we, or can we, possess that in any other places they furnish a correct representation of the genuine Word of God? I am willing however to persuade myself that we are yet in no danger of being reduced to any such extremity.

The adjective κενος, to resume the subject under discussion, in its primitive sense signifies *empty* or *void*; as in the material universe το κενον and το πληρες stand mutually opposed. Hence, in a literal sense, κενωω is to *make* or to *leave void*; to *empty* any recipient of that which it contains. In this direct sense the word is not used by St. Paul; but metaphorically, to intimate that the thing or person, which is the object of the verb, has abstracted from it some quality or attribute which belonged to it; and which, without much violence to language, it might be said to *contain*. It is not perfectly true that κενωω is never used by profane authors in this sense; since Theophrastus, 300 years before St. Paul, by the words

δενδρα κεκενωμενα describes trees, which by bearing fruit were *exhausted*, or deprived of the vigour which was *in* them; with which, he adds, they require αντιπληρωθηναι to be *replenished*. C. Pl. ii. 1. From this the transition is short and easy to the sense in which the same verb is used by St. Paul, when ^p he argues, that if men could become heirs of God “through *the Law*,” then “*faith*,” κεκενωται, is *left void* of the efficacy and importance which are its inherent qualities so long as it is considered as the sole appointed means by which “the just shall live.” In the same manner, he says, καλον γαρ μοι μαλλον αποθανειν η το καυχημα μς ινα τις κενωση^q. “It were better for me to die than that any one should render this of mine an *empty* boast.” There is, however, one passage ^r in which this word is used in so awful and mysterious a sense, that it would be miraculous indeed if our limited faculties could rise to a perfect apprehension of its meaning. “Being in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God; nevertheless” εκενωσεν εαυτον—here I am obliged to acknowledge the difficulty of proceeding; for, even while I admit, with Zanchius, that “*magnam habet emphasin, se evacuavit omni gloria et æqualitate cum Patre*,” I am utterly at a loss for a word which shall describe the manner of *HIS* humiliation, in Whom, before He vo-

^p Rom. iv. 14.^q 1 Cor. ix. 15.^r Phil. ii. 7.

luntarily divested himself of it, “ dwelt all the *fulness* of the Godhead bodily.” Ordinary language sinks beneath such a subject; and it is surely a most unreasonable requisition to bid us produce, from some other writer, an instance of this verb used in the sense, which in this passage is attributed to it by the Apostle. No other writer ever was employed in expressing verbally so superhuman a conception as that of the Incarnation of the Son of God; and therefore not all other writers united can be expected in every instance to furnish corresponding forms of expression. Considering the subject of St. Paul’s writings, it is scarcely to be expected that he should at all times be able to avoid employing ordinary words in enlarged, and, strictly speaking, improper senses. To maintain therefore that, because the writings of the New Testament contain some few examples of this kind, they cannot be the genuine productions of the Apostles, is a mode of argument which neither does nor ought to carry any weight whatever*.

* We learn from Cicero that, from certain hyper-critics of a former age, the orators of Athens themselves experienced no gentler treatment, on the score of employing unauthorized words, than the great Apostle incurs in the pages of Palæoromaica. “ *Æschini ne Demosthenes quidem videtur Attice dicere,*” and he adds a remark which they, who employ themselves in the minute philosophy of cavilling and word-catching, would do well to inscribe on the walls of their study, “ *Facile est verbum aliquod*

Proceeding then in our investigation, we find the next objection raised against the word ὀμειρομενοι †, which is supposed to be nothing more than a corrupt derivative (*sound* not *sense* being regarded) from the Latin *amaremur*, in the text from which it is attempted to shew that the Greek was translated, (p. 157). It is certainly a strong presumption, and with every Christian will be a conclusive argument, against the correctness of this supposition, that a Latin text, reading in conformity with it, cannot be admitted without converting the entire passage into sheer absurdity and unmeaning impertinence. Whether it be reasonable or becoming to impute this to the Apostle upon no better ground, than that he cannot possibly have used an *omicron* where he ought to have employed an *iota*, let others judge. His words, according to the Vulgate Greek, are these, “not seeking glory from men, neither from you, nor from others; although we might be in authority as Apostles of Christ; but we were indulgent in the midst of you. As a *nurse* “cherisheth her own children, so we, being affec-

ardens (ut ita dicam) notare, id que, restinctis jam animorum incendiis, irridere.” *Orator*. § viii.

† 1 Thess. ii. 8.

“Chandler observes that τροφος here denotes a *mother* who *nurses* her own children. If νηπιοι (see *Griesbach*) be preferred in this passage to ηπιοι it will by no means entail a necessity of interpreting, as in *Palæoromaica*, (p. 157). “*We became babes among you.*” For if νηπιοι be genuine (as *Theodoret*, *Origen*,

tionately desirous (ὁμειρομενοι) of you, are pleased to divide amongst you not only the Gospel of God, but even our own lives; seeing that you are beloved by us." The image in this passage, and as it stands it is very faithfully and tenderly expressive, exhibits the Apostles, as indulgent nursing mothers, engaged in making provision for the wants of a beloved family: desiring nothing from them in return, but surrendering all, even their own lives, for the welfare of their charge. Yet all this the author of *Palæoromaica* seeks to destroy by his spiritless conjecture; by inverting the picture he would rob it of all harmony and proportion. For if, as he proposes, we are to take the following as the sense of the passage, "We were as babes among you; even as a nurse cherisheth her children, so ought we to *have been beloved* by you," there is nothing in the relative situations of the Apostles and their converts at all corresponding with this representation. It would indeed be scarcely possible to describe those situations by a less suitable image. And if, to humour the conceit of a Latin original, we place a stop after *amaremur*, what sense can be deduced from the subsequent words. "We,"

Œcumenius, and *Theophylact* read) the passage would be thus translated. "But we, O children, were among you, as, &c." *Whitby in loc.* The same parental image is again applied, v. 11. "We exhorted and comforted, and charged every one of you, as a father doth his children."

the children, “ are pleased to divide among you,” the nurses, &c. Is this then the ordinary relation which individuals of these classes bear to each other? Is it the usual practice for the nurse to receive attention and sustenance from the offspring? Nothing can be more opposite to the dictates of nature and experience than the Apostle’s words, when thus interpreted, become. And the impropriety is rendered more perceptible from the force of contrast; for nothing can be more just or pleasing than the picture, presented by the Greek text, of the Apostle’s parental anxiety for the sustenance and well being of these his spiritual children.

But it is said, what can be made of Ὀμειρομενοι? a word, as would appear, unknown to the Greek writers; and how can it have been used by St. Paul? The genuine word employed by Homer, Herodotus, and the Attic writers was Ἰμειρομενοι, and this was no less certainly the word which the Apostle *intended* to use^v. To account for his improper, or, as we may call it, *provincial* enunciation of the first syllable (ὀ for ἰ), we must recall to mind in what manner St. Paul acquired his knowledge of Greek. Not, as we have before seen, as the

^v Ἰμειρομαι has sometimes, in both these writers, an infinitive mood following. *Hom. Il. ξ. 163.* and *Herodot. Polyhymn. 44.* But it is also employed by them, both as to signification and regimen, in a manner exactly corresponding to St Paul’s: as *τι κακων ἰμειρετε τειτων. Od. κ. 431.* and *ἰμειρατο χρηματων μεγαλως. Thalia. 123,*

native of any part of Greece Proper or of its colonies; not as a foreigner learning a language under proper instructors, and having his attention confined to the best and purest models; but as the native of a province in which Greek was *spoken* although the inhabitants were *not Greeks*. To say the utmost that can be admitted in their favour, the Cilicians among whom he was born, and the Jews among whom he was educated, were βαρβαροφωνοι and βαρβαρογλωσσοι: and one of the principal faults objected to these is a *vicious pronunciation*^x. We know that in every country, at a distance from the seat of a correct and standard pronunciation, letters and syllables are interchanged with a capriciousness perfectly unaccountable. As dialects of this kind, in the ordinary course of things, seldom find their way into books, the fact of their prevalence in certain districts does not very often admit of any other than incidental proof; and as no writer expressly alludes to the case of Jerusalem, we have no evidence to prove that a provincial and incorrect pronunciation of Greek prevailed there, except that such was the case with respect to other great cities similarly circumstanced. Thus in *Alexandria* there was a frequent substitution

^x Βαρβαρος δε ἡ φωνη εἶναι καὶ ἀπηχεῖ το φθεγμα. *Diogen. in Lucian.* B. II. (t. i. p. 550.) τες βαρβαρες χελιδοσι απεικαζεσι δια την ασυνθετον λαλιαν. *Hesych.* v. χελιδων.

of one Greek letter for another: as of A for H: of O for Ω; of AI for E and H: and of O for E, OI and Ω. In the Septuagint we find *καθεριζειν* for *καθαριζειν*^y; *οικετων* for *ικετων*^z; *γυνηται* for *γινεται*^a; and an endless variety of similar improprieties^b. Similarly Philelphus, quoted by Gibbon, describing the state of the Greek language in *Constantinople*, says, “The vulgar speech has been depraved by the people, and infected by the multitude of strangers who every day flock to the city, and mingle with its inhabitants. But the persons who by their birth and offices are attached to the Byzantine court, are those who maintain with the least alloy, the ancient standard of elegance and purity^c.” Now as Jerusalem was a city exposed perhaps more than any other, by the institutions of the prevalent religion, to a continual influx of strangers, who “mingled with the inhabitants,” it cannot be doubted but that a corresponding depravation of language ensued, and was very prevalent there. If under these circumstances a man, not preserved from the infection of a provincial and vicious pronunciation by any intercourse or connexion with persons of rank, (the *aulici*, as

^y Lev. ix. 15.

^z Sirach xxxvi. 17.

^a 2 Kings xii. 7.

^b See *Sturz. de Dial. Alex.* p. 178—183.

^c *Decline and Fall*, vol. viii. p. 157.

they are termed by Philelphus), ran into the error of substituting one vowel for another, and wrote Ὀμειρομενοι, when Ἰμειρομενοι ought to have been the form, is it better than laborious trifling to seek, on no firmer grounds than these, support for a rickety hypothesis, and to bring into play all the cumbrous machinery by which it is attempted to derive ὀμειρομενοι from *amaremur*?

Is it necessary to proceed with other instances? The next shall be that of ἐριθεια, on which we are informed, that “above all, the remark which Gregory makes is curious and worthy of consideration. He observes, that this (word) was employed by the Greeks to signify not *contention* and *tearing* one another^d, but *working among wool*,” (p. 157.) With this, for the purpose of examination, we may unite the word κεφαλαιωσαν, used by St. Mark^e, improperly in the sense of “to wound in the head.” We have here then instances of two words which, in the writings attributed to St. Paul and St. Mark, have attached to them significations which they cannot properly support. How shall we account for this?

^d This, let it be observed, is not a correct representation of what is said by Gregory, who, as appears from the Latin version of his strictures, quoted in *Palæoromaica*, (p. 156.) says not a word about *tearing* one another, but represents ἐριθεια, in St. Paul's writings to mean, “studium *contentionis* et *ulciscendi cupiditas*.”

^e Mark viii. 4.

Shall we, with the author of *Palæoromaica*, conclude that the text, in which these words are thus employed, has been erroneously attributed to the Apostles? or shall we admit that, in these cases, they made use of words without knowing the meaning they would convey to persons *perfectly* acquainted with the Greek language? The latter supposition seems not improbable; since it assumes only that by those with whom the Apostles lived and conversed these words were used in the senses attributed to them in the Sacred Writings. The source of the confusion is evidently laid in *erroneous etymology*. First, with respect to *επιθεια*: it is very certain that wherever this word is used by St. Paul, he takes it to signify *provocation*. Thus ^f he has the phrase *τοις δε εξ επιθειας*, “but to those who *provoke* him;” as by a similar construction ^g he uses *τον εκ πιστως Ιησους*, for “him who *believes* in Jesus.” Again ^h he affirms, that “some” *εξ επιθειας* “out of provocation to him” (and, as he afterwards says, with a design to add affliction to his bonds) “preach Christ not of sincerity.” To the members of the same church he enjoins, that they do nothing *κατα επιθειαν η κενοδοξιαν*, “by way of provocation” to others, or from a vain glorious reliance on themselves: and where ⁱ *επιθεια* is used

^f Rom. ii. 8.

^g Rom. iii. 26.

^h Phil. i. 16. ii. 3.

ⁱ 2 Cor. xii. 20.—Gal. v. 20.

conjunctively with ἐπις, it is plain that these words were not designed to be synonymous; but that he forbids not only all actual *strife*, (ἐρις) but all *provocations* or *irritations*, (ἐπιθειας) from which it might possibly arise. Therefore in all these cases St. Paul used the word in question not as if it were derived from ἐπιον, *wool*, but from ἐπειθω or ἐπειθίζω, to *provoke*. This error I think it very probable may neither have originated with, nor have been confined to St. Paul; because in the above etymology there is exactly such an *appearance* of correctness as would be sufficient to make the word in its improper sense pass current among foreigners. These, it is true, are nothing more than conjectures; but in cases like the present, where better evidence is wanting, conjecture must be our only guide. The difficulty however, whatever it may amount to, must remain just what it was before; for it is *perfectly certain*, that the solution proposed in Palæoromaica *cannot* be correct; that it is, in reality, no solution at all. If it were true that ἐπιθεια is nothing more than a mistranslation of *laniatio*, then the substitution of the latter word in the Latin text, which is supposed to have been the parent of our Greek, ought at all events to produce a clear, unembarrassed and unexceptionable meaning. According to the admission of this author, "that must have been *plain* in Latin which became strange and a solecism in Greek," (p. 157.)

Let us then try his present restitution of the original by this test : τοις δε εξ εριθειας, according to his rule, must have been derived from "Iis autem qui sunt e *laniatione*;" which, if it have any meaning at all, must signify, "But to those who *cut* and *maim*." Let any one look at the context and determine whether this is "plain in Latin," or whether any conjecture so palpably bearing with it its own refutation was ever brought to the notice of the world. I do not go through all the other passages, (although an application of the same test leads in them to a similar result) because it is painful and revolting to our feelings of due respect for the word of God, to allude, even hypothetically, to the violations of sense and propriety which the Palæo-romaican hypothesis introduces into the language of the Apostles. Let the odium rest on him whose visionary system, in its application, gives rise to such a profanation of things sacred.

In the case of the next word, κεφαλαιωσαν, his conjecture is so far more reasonable than the foregoing, that the substitution of *expulerunt* does not deprive the passage of all meaning. But when I am required to believe that this interchange of κεφαλαιωσαν with *expulerunt*, was occasioned *solely by similarity of sound*, it is impossible not to remark that he must have quick ears by whom this similarity is perceptible. It must, to all appearance, have cost the supposed trans-

lator, and, if he will speak frankly, the author of Palæoromaica himself, infinitely more trouble to detect the resemblance than to translate *εκεφαλαιωσαν*, *correctly*, twenty times over. Commenting on the passage, *κακεινον εκεφαλαιωσαν*^k, and adventuring upon criticism, which is not his province, he observes, “ Now certainly we do not hear that the *former* servant, had^l, *as the Greek seems to imply*, been wounded in the head,” (p. 99.) But I must take leave to tell him, that the Greek implies no such thing; and if he will ever condescend to read two verses consecutively, he will find in that which follows that yet a *third* servant was sent; *κακεινον απεκτειναν*, from which no one has ever yet inferred that either of the preceding messengers was also put to death. Omitting this point, however, to consider the word *κεφαλαιωω*, we must admit that its real meaning, in other Greek authors, is not to *wound in the head*, but to *collect under one head*. And since the latter is evidently not the sense in which it can be taken in this passage, we are under the necessity of supposing that the Evangelist has used the word in a sense which no native Greek would have recognised. But I recal to mind, that St. Mark was not a Greek by birth; that among his countrymen *many* such words must have crept into ordinary use; that

^k Mark xii. 4.

^l Mark xii. 3.

his writings bear evident marks of being composed in the style prevalent in conversation rather than in books ; and that, among persons in his class of life, words would be taken in senses not only different from those acknowledged by the Greeks themselves, but deviating even from the usage of the better instructed ranks of his own countrymen ^m.

^m “ Aliis uti solet vulgus aliis honestioris ordinis viri, aliis etiam ordo doctiorum—certum est *Romæ* aliter vulgum locutum fuisse, aliter scripsisse disertos.” *Salm. de Hell.* p. 96. Of the accuracy of this last remark there can be no doubt if we write *Hierosolymis* instead of *Romæ* ; and, if it be equally certain that the Apostles in writing sided with the vulgar rather than with the learned, there appears to be no other account necessary of their employment of some words in unusual and improper significations. That they did employ many such words is evident from the collection made by the same great critic—“ *Ευχαρισειν* pro *gratias agere* *αττικιζων* auctor et exacte *ελληνιζων* nunquam dixisset, sed *χαριν ειδεναι*. Phrynicus. *αποτασσεισθαι τιμι* pro *valedicere* barbarum est. Idem Phrynicus *αποτασσομαι σοι εκφυλον πανν* *χηρη* γαρ *λεγειν* *ασπαζομαι σε*.—*στηρηνιαν* pro *τρυφαν* et *καταστηρηνιαν* in deliciis et luxu vivere *plebeium vocabulum* quo et Paulus usus est. *τητη* *εχρησαντο* *οι την νεας κωμωδιας ποιηται*, *ψι εκ αν μη μανεις τις χρησαιτο*, *παρον λεγειν τρυφαν*.” *De Hellen.* p. 99. In the word *ευσχημων* we are also furnished, on the same authority, with an instance of the *manner* in which words were gradually deflected from their original and native significations. “ Antiquiores et meliores Græci *ευσχημονα* de honesto *α*c moderato viro dixere—melius apud Matthæum pro divite accipietur. Nam et Marcus in eadem historia narranda *πλεσιον βελευτην* appellavit ; ergo *ευσχημων* idem quod *πλεσιος*. Cujus notionis hæc ratio est. *σχημα* in idiotismo *vestem* denotat.

Under these circumstances, obeying, I hope, the Apostle's precept to judge "without partiality and without hypocrisy," I profess my inability to discover any ground for wondering at such an occurrence; for reflecting in consequence upon the Evangelist's authority; or for questioning the authenticity of the Greek text in which this appearance presents itself. In English we could not be greatly surprised at a foreigner who should confuse in like manner two of the meanings of the word *head*; as it signifies the *seat of the brain*, or the *section of a discourse*. And it must be added that if, in despite of this error, the foreigner's general accuracy were unimpeachable, if his evidence were confirmed by every internal as well as external assurance, by its consistency with itself, and by its agreement with the relations of others, no candid reasoner would lay the slightest stress on so trivial a peculiarity. Unhappily the writers of the Gospel have not always candid reasoners to deal withⁿ.

Unde et *schema* Plauto pro *veste*, et *servilis schema*. Hinc *ευσχημων* pro *bene vestito* et *cui bonum schema*. Tales, ut plurimum, *ditiore*s, qui ex veste bona dignoscuntur. Sed et *επατριδαι* et *nobiles* plerumque etiam splendidius ornati. Quâ ratione et *ευσχημων* *nobilem* potest denotare," p. 100.

ⁿ Although my professed and firm persuasion is, that in the Greek MSS. and the writings of the Greek Fathers collectively the entire writings of the Apostles are preserved, and that consequently if *κεφαλαιωσαν* be found in *all* of these, it must be the genuine reading, I should feel considerably less difficulty in

We are next led to the consideration of two words, not indeed precisely similarly situated with the last, because it is possible to produce authority sufficient to warrant the use of them; at all events to shew that their appearance in our Vulgate Greek can furnish no presumption against that text being the original composition of the Apostles. These are *περπερευομαι* °, and *μετεωριζομαι* P. With respect to the first of these words, the decision of Schleusner that its derivation is from the Latin *perperam*, and that this sense best consorts with the scope of the passage, seems not to be formed with his usual judgment. It is not necessary however to interrupt the enquiry by any discussion of this point, since even

even resorting to conjecture in this single instance, and thus admitting it to form an *exception* to the correctness of my general position, than in persuading myself that the solution proposed in *Palæoromaica* can possibly be correct. It would be preferable, failing every other resource, to suppose that St. Mark wrote *κακεινον εξεφανλισαν και απεσειλαν ητιμωμενον*. And him *they set at nought*, and sent away dishonoured; and that *εξεφανλισαν*, through an accidental transposition of some of the letters, gave birth to *εκεφαλαιωσαν*. *λιθοβολησαντες* is omitted by the best MSS. and was probably at first a marginal annotation from the parallel passage in St. Matthew. Without the authority of MSS. or of some other description, I admit, no stress can be laid on this conjecture; nor does it appear to be necessary; since the solution in the text seems reasonable and sufficient. This imaginary reading is noticed only as being preferable to the random guess in *Palæoromaica*.

° 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

P Luke xii. 29.

its decision in favour of Schleusner would add no force to the argument of Palæoromaica. The word may have been formed from the Latin, and yet it will not follow that the text of the Epistle to the Corinthians is nothing but a translation from the Latin. This will not follow, because the same word, bearing a sense perfectly suitable to that which the scope of St. Paul's observations requires, is so used by other writers, anterior and subsequent, as to render it perfectly possible that it may have been employed by the Apostle himself. I do not profess to have searched for other authorities than those which are furnished by Schleusner and Parkhurst; but from these it appears that *περπερευομαι*, or its compound, was known to M. Antoninus, Arrian, and Cicero. In the latter writer Ernesti explains it to signify "reduci Pompeio, novo auditori, me omni modo jactavi et venditavi, nullo genere præcipuo ornamentorum neglecto, quæ nunquam ita se mihi obtulerunt ac nunc;" and Suicer, perhaps more appropriately, "Me *ostentavi*, et quasi *juveniliter jactavi*; omnibus adhibitis fucis et ornamentis orationi meæ, quasi exultavi et placere illi studui." Thus, in conformity with the remark of Casaubon (cited by Parkhurst) *he made too great an ostentation of those excellencies he really had*; and it appears hardly possible for St. Paul to have found a word more appropriate to his design of forbidding any boastful exhibition of the faculties

out of pride of heart or from motives of self-interest. We are under no necessity of supposing that St. Paul had read the works of Cicero and copied from him; for, even admitting that the word was newly formed when the great orator made use of it, there was sufficient time for it to obtain general circulation between the date of the Epistle to Atticus, and that of the First to the Corinthians. But it is far more probable that the word was already in common use; since, if Cicero, writing familiarly to his most intimate friend, had recourse to a Greek word to express that which no word in their own language was capable of expressing, it seems inconsistent with reason to suppose that he would employ a word which was not in common usage, and perfectly intelligible to his correspondent. That it did preserve its currency is manifest from its appearance in the writings of Arrian and Antoninus; neither of whom can be suspected of having borrowed it from St. Paul^a.

The same remarks are in a great measure applicable to the verb *μετεωρίζομαι*, which in St. Luke's Greek text signifies "to be in a state of anxiety" or "of doubtful mind;" The adjective

^a Speaking of the interpretation of *περπερευομαι* here adopted, Schleusner objects "quam explicationem vero vox sequens *φυσισται* admittere mihi non videtur." But the distinction meant by St. Paul seems to have been, that *περπερευομαι* should denote the *outward display*, and *φυσισομαι* the *inward feeling* of too great self-complacency: both of which *charity* avoids.

μετεωρος in a sense precisely similar is employed by Josephus ^r, εἴθε δὲ μετεωρος ἢ τε Συρία πᾶσα καὶ τὸ Ἰσδαϊκὸν ἦν, ἐκδεχόμενον τὸ τέλος τῆς δραματός. “Then was all Syria and Judea *in a state of anxious doubt*, awaiting the catastrophe of this drama.” And again referring to Cicero, Non ero tam μετεωρος quam in Apuleio fui, (ad Att. v. 11.) His libris scriptis me ad συνταξεις dedi; quæ quidem vereor ne miniata cærule tua pluribus locis notandæ sint: ita sum μετεωρος et magnis cogitationibus impeditus. (xv. 14.) And again Bruto, Cum sæpe injecissem de ὁμοπλαίᾳ non perinde atque ego putaram arripere visus est. Existimabam μετεωροτερον esse, et hercule erat; et maxime de ludis, (xvi. 5.) These passages leave no doubt as to the meaning of the adjective; that of the *verb* seems to be no less satisfactorily ascertained by the following extract which has been pointed out to me by a learned friend. “Expensis variis multorum, quos inter præclaram, in illustrando hoc loco, operam posuit *Dresigius*, cum in peculiari Commentatione Lips. a. 1734 edita, tum in Commentario de Verb. Med. N. F. I. 87, sententiis, non tamen ita diversis ut non conciliari possint, *unice veram esse fateor eam qua verbo μετεωρίζεσθαι significatio ea tribuitur ut denotet fluctuanti, jactato, inquieto, verbo, sollicito animo esse. Μετεωρίζεσθαι in altum ferri, quo sensu apud eundem (Philonem) dicitur, lib. 2. Vit. Mos. p. 661. E, de fluctibus*

^r *Bell. Jud. I. §. 3.*

marinis; πελαγη αρθεντα, και ποταμοι ΜΕΤΕΩΡΙΣΘΕΝΤΕΣ: *maria tumentia elati que fluvii.*—Sic de Monarch. p. 817. Α γνωδι δε σεαυτον, και μη συμπεριφερσαι υπερ δυναμιν ορμαις και επιθυμιας, μηδε σε των ανεφικτων ερωσ αιρετω και ΜΕΤΕΩΡΙΖΕΤΩ. των γαρ σδενοσ αμοισησεισ. *Nosce teipsum, nec sinas te cupidine rerum quibus impar sis abripi, nec te eorum, ad quæ pervenire negatum sit, amor efferat et suspendat: Potieris enim omnibus ad quæ pervenire datum sit.* Observetur in his verba μετεωριζεσθαι et συμπεριφερεσθαι promiscuè poni; ut verè cum eruditis asserere videamur, verbum hoc, petita de navibus quæ ventis et fluctibus in alto jactantur metaphora, denotare *anxium suspensum sollicitum esse.* Igitur *Nolite* ait Servator, sollicitudinibus *curis que jactari; Nolite* (ut Reinesii Ep. ad Daum. p. 226. verbis utar) *animo vagari, ριπιζεσθαι και ρεμβεσθαι, rebus terrenis animum intentum habere modo hoc modo illud expetentem: cui contrarium est in Deo defixas cogitationes habere, de que ejus cura et providentia securum esse, quod fieri nequit, nisi in potestate habeantur cupiditates, et in promptu sit illud, naturam paucis contentam esse. Quid quæris? exprimitur id quod Horatius, Epist. I. 18. 110, sentit et precatur *Ne FLUITEM dubiæ spe pendulus horæ.*” Chr. Frid. Loesneri *Observatt. ad Novum Testam: e Philone Alexandrino* Lips. 1777. p. 115—117.*

But it is time that our attention should be turned to a class of words, on the occurrence of

which in the writings of the Apostles the author of Palæoromaica principally rests his hypothesis, That our present Greek Vulgate New Testament is derived, by translation, from the Latin. These are “ Latin words in Greek characters, or slightly changed, and retaining their primitive signification,” (p. 218.) This objection is not now raised for the first time : Evanson in his Dissonance declares that “ this single circumstance”—the mixture of Latin words—induces him “ to suspect every passage and writing wherein it is found to be either an interpolation, or fiction of no earlier date than the middle of the second century^s.” To do justice to the author of Palæoromaica he has no design of promulgating any such principles as lead *directly* to an agreement with Evanson, or to the subversion of the Christian faith. He admits that the Apostles did compose in *some* language, he knows not and cares not what it was, Four Gospels, and as many Epistles as are now canonically received. He is only concerned to prove that our present Greek Vulgate is a translation from the Latin, and not the original text of the Sacred Writers themselves. But since the supposed Latin original of our present Greek text hath utterly perished, whether that were itself the original, or only a translation, ascending through an indefinite number

^s *Pal.* p. 4.

of translations to the primary text of all, the genuine writings of the Apostles no longer exist. We are therefore precluded from any appeal to the original document for the purpose of ascertaining its conformity with the only substitute for it which remains in our possession. When with this we connect the other part of the hypothesis, namely that the derived text, which we are thus unable to verify, is of uncertain date, and the production of persons unknown, whose skill and authority are alike questionable, it requires more ingenuity than I possess to shew that we are not coming to the same point with Evanson himself^t.

With respect to the words in question, namely Latin words in Greek characters, if it be asked whence did they originate, the reply is in the prevalence of Roman influence and Roman customs in Judea in the age of the Apostles. The mere occurrence of some such words, let it be observed, is not the ground of suspicion; since it is admitted "that Roman *names* and *titles* should be found in the New Testament was to be expected," (p. 220.) But it is said "the *greater number* of these words might have been expressed in Greek; and it seems inconceivable,

^t To the author of *Palæoromaica* a disciple of Evanson might say in the words of Cyrus, ου δε εις μεν το αυτο ημιν σπευδεις, πολλες δε τινας ελιγμους ανω και κατω πλανωμενος μολις αφικνει οπω ημεις παλαι ηκομεν.

or at least difficult to conceive, that *in the time of the Apostles* the language of the ruling nation could have had *so much* influence in corrupting the Greek tongue." (*ib.*) The whole question therefore is reduced to one of *time*, and one of *degree*; whether it be credible that, *in the age of the Apostles*, the Greek tongue was already *so much* corrupted by an admixture of Latinisms as the frequent occurrence of them in the New Testament would seem to imply. These questions necessarily direct us to a short review of the state of Judea at this period of its history.

From the date of the victory of Acilius over Antiochus, king of Syria, (B. C. 190,) which led to the expedition of Lucius Scipio into Asia in the following year^u, to the victory at Sardes, and to the surrender of all the provinces on this side of Taurus to the Romans^x, the influence of the republic became very considerable in the regions which lie to the westward of the river Halys, and the promontory of Sarpedon: and must have laid the foundation of many changes in the manners and language of that quarter of the world. Such an extension of dominion could not take place without occasioning the introduc-

^u Liv. xxxvii. 7.

^x "Europâ abstinete, Asiâ que omni, quæ cis Taurum montem est, discedite," are the words which Livy puts into the mouth of Africanus, who, as the lieutenant of his brother, undertook to reply to the proposals of Antiochus.

tion of great numbers of Romans in civil and military capacities; and the consequent prevalence of their language even beyond the limit of their own dominion. Their policy, which ordained that all the proceedings of government should be carried on in the Latin language, must indeed have rendered an acquaintance with it very general in every country which was theirs by right of conquest. Nor could the influence of such a state of things be confined to the actual territories of Rome; but must to a certain extent have affected the neighbouring provinces and kingdoms of Syria; each of which, as the tide of conquest rolled onward under the successors of Scipio, must have contemplated its progress in trembling expectation of becoming the next victim of republican ambition. We have, however, no evidence to establish the certainty of any direct communication of importance between the Romans and the Jews, until about thirty years after the defeat of Antiochus, and the conquest of his dominions, when the celebrated alliance was formed between Judas Maccabeus and the Roman senate, (B. C. 161.)

From this period the connexion with Rome was uniformly maintained, and an acquaintance with the discipline, the manners, and the language of the Latins became, in the natural course of things, every day more prevalent in Judea. At length, in the age of Pompey, sixty years

before the birth of Christ, and at least a hundred before the earliest of the Gospels was written, happened the final subjugation of the Jews by the Roman arms, the taking of Jerusalem by storm, and the reduction of Judea to the form and condition of a Roman province^y. During the greater part then of the century which preceded the birth of Christ, Roman soldiers occupied the provinces, and garrisoned the capital and other towns of the Holy Land; all cases, civil and criminal, of any difficulty and importance, were decided by a Roman governor before a Roman tribunal; the proceedings of which were regulated by the laws of Roman jurisprudence, and carried on in the Roman language; while the collection of the revenue was superintended by officers acting under authority from Rome. It is impossible to conceive that any country could be thus circumstanced, during so long a course of years, without becoming very familiar with the language of its conquerors, and adopting many of their terms and idioms into its ordinary discourse. Even the Attic dialect, in the metropolis of its native province, was exposed to changes and corruptions, arising from sources very similar to those which, in Judea, gradually altered the very genius of the Greek language. “The causes of the changes in the

^y *Plut. in Pomp.*

Attic language are not so secret and abstruse but that a man of less sagacity than Mr. B(oyle) might have found them out ; for, if we consider the great conflux of strangers to that city, the vast number of slaves from all nations, and of foreigners that settled there, the frequent wars twice they had abroad, and the hired troops that they often maintained at home—we shall rather admire that the alterations in their dialect were so few, than affirm with Mr. B. that there were none at all².”

In the same manner the constant succession of “strangers from Rome” arriving in Jerusalem, the number of slaves, familiar with the language and customs of the imperial city, who constantly attended the civil and military functionaries of the province, the presence of “the Italian band” as a body guard to the prætor, and the enlistment of many Jews in the Roman legions, must, in the course of a hundred years, have made innumerable words connected with the arts, the arms, the discipline, the finances, the dress, and the amusements, of the governing nation, no less familiar in Jerusalem than they were in Rome. This formation of a mixed language is the unavoidable effect of a constant admixture of the people of any two nations. The purity of the Hebrew language, it is plain, suffered greatly

² *Dissert. on Phalar.* p. 402.—290. Lond. ed. 1817.

from the preponderance of the Roman ; and many Latin words, which the common engagements of life required to be in frequent use, are found expressed in Hebrew characters also ; “ slightly changed and retaining their primitive signification.” The usual good sense and unrivalled penetration of Bentley, are displayed in his remark, that “ the long continuance both of Hebrew and Syriac, was because the nations continued *unmixed*, and *separate from strangers* : and the preservation of the Greek language, though not in the same degree of purity and duration with the two other, is wholly owing to the same cause : for, till the time of Alexander, the wars and the business of the Greeks were, for the most part, among one another, and not with foreign nations ; so that, though the particular dialects were perpetually changed and diversified, by their mutual conquests and commerce, yet the same language for the main continued still. But when the *Roman* government was established among them, *immediately* the Latin names of *offices*, and terms of *law*, &c. over-ran the old Greek language, so that we have dictionaries of barbarous words of Greece almost as voluminous as those of the true ones^a.” It is indeed impossible, and forbidden by the laws of nature itself, that any two

^a *Dissert. on Phalar.* p. 405.—292.

dialects should be in a state of perpetual collision without each acquiring some of the other's peculiar terms. The extent, to which this operation of the Latin tongue on the genius of the Greek was ultimately carried, is manifested by the circumstance which Dr. Bentley mentions, that "the lexicons of barbarous Greek words became almost as voluminous as those of the true ones." Is it not reasonable then to conclude that, as far as the decay of the Greek purity was owing to the civil and military preponderance of the Romans, the *effect* began to be visible as soon as the *cause* began to operate? and when that cause had been exerting itself in Judea during an entire century, traces of the admixture of Latinisms, both with the Greek and Hebrew, could not but be growing very manifest.

To refer again to the great authority of which so much use has been made, "when the Roman government," observes Dr. Bentley, "was established among them, *immediately* the Latin names of offices and terms of law, &c. over-ran the Greek language." But what does this &c. mean? There were, we know, in the reign of Charles the First, certain persons who very reasonably objected to subscribe to an oath in which this abbreviation was employed; because it was impossible for them to tell what was meant to be comprehended under it. But Dr. Bentley's &c. is hardly open to any such objection. I trust to

have even the author of *Palæoromaica* so far on my side as to admit, that among the *et cæteras* here alluded to, must be reckoned the Roman names of *money, weights and measures, clothing, public buildings*, and, in general, of all *military, judicial and financial offices and employments*. If this evolution of the Master's abbreviation be admitted as correct, and the above specification of Latin terms, which probably *would* prevail in Greek, be compared with the class (No. I.) of "Latin words in Greek characters," (p. 218.) which actually *are* employed in the Vulgate Greek Text, it will go far to account for the frequent use of them in the New Testament; and, I hope to allay any unpleasant apprehensions which may have been excited, in the minds of unlearned readers, by the too confident assertions of the paradoxical writer to whom I am replying.

The phenomena noticed in the Gospels are neither peculiar to the Greek of the Evangelists, nor to the Greek language in general. Every language, even in its purest state, is gradually interweaving a thread of foreign idioms^b; and

^b "Nulla unquam dialectus fuit quæ suis solis ac nativis vocabulis res omnes expresserit, nisi si forte in eâ gente ac populo qui intra insulam aliquam conclusus cum nemine commercium agitavit. Alioquin omnes florentissimæ linguæ et gentium præpotentium, quæ latissimas tenuere ditiones, multis que imperarunt populis ἑτερογλωσσοις, et cum multis rem habuere com-

of the manner in which particular terms are suggested, as well as of the process which leads to their adoption, a very clear illustration is presented in the instance of the factitious Latin word *cataplus*.

This word, it is well known, was used as *the name* of that Alexandrian fleet which annually imported provisions and other merchandize of Egypt into Italy^c. But according to Casaubon, “καταπλους proprie non est classis ipsa sed classis appulsus ad portum, ac præsertim mercatorum. —Sed cum Puteolis et Neapoli, ubi maximus linguæ Græcæ fuit usus, plurimum in ore hominum esset ea vox, velut cum dicerent Expectari καταπλους classis Alexandrinæ, et Tardare καταπλους, alia que id genus, tandem cæpit *cataplus* pro ipsa classe accipi. Simile postea accidit in voce εμβολη, quæ, cum significet φορτον navis et quicquid mercium illi imponitur, postea de hac ipsa classe usurpata est a Latinis^d.” If then from the constant habit of hearing καταπλους and εμβολη spoken of, the Romans adopted these words into their language, writing them only in Latin characters, can it be deemed surprising if

merciorum gratia, plurimum de alieno mutuatae sunt. Victores quinetiam, victi que, sæpe in unum coalescentes, miscuere linguas, aut altera alteram perdidit et cum sua confudit.” *Salm. de Hellenist.* p. 91.

^c “Cum tibi Niliacus portet crystallæ *cataplus*

Accipe de circo pocula flaminio.” MARTIAL.

^d *Causaub. Sueton. Aug.* p. 97. ed. 1611.

vice versâ the same thing were done by the Greeks, in many instances, and from a similar cause? Were not the inhabitants of Jerusalem in as constant habit of hearing *Assarium* and *Denarius*, and *Centurio*, and *Census* used, with *Forum*, and *Sudarium*, and most of the other words enumerated, (pp. 218—20.) as the people of Naples and Puteoli were of hearing of the *καταπλους* and the *εμβολη* of the Alexandrian fleet? Can it be supposed that those words, necessarily of daily occurrence in Judea, had not become familiar there when the Roman government had been above a hundred years established? Athenæus, who lived at a comparatively early period after the publication of the evangelical writings, bears testimony, in many passages, to the extent which the depravation of Greek, by the admixture of foreign words in Greek characters, had reached in his time, and to the systematic manner in which it was carried on. Cynulcus, being reprovèd for the barbarism of calling for a glass of *δικοκτα*, (which is the Latin *decocta*, in Greek characters,) replies in defence

• “*Ex quo Græcismus in Syria per Macedones propagatus est, Judæi, qui a teneris utramque linguam addiscebant, vernaculam Syriacam, et Græcam, alteram altera corrumpabant, et phrases Syriacas verbis Græcis in loquendo enuntiabant, et verba Græca ad formam Hebraicorum plerumque fingebant. Quod et hodie facere Judæos Germanos compertum est.—Sub Romanis cæpere esse τριγλωττοι, et Romanam duabus illis prædictis adjunxere linguam; sic nullam puram usurpabant.*” *Salmas. l. c.*

of himself, “ Ἐν Ῥωμῇ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ διατριβῶν
 τα νυν, ὡ λῦσε, ἐπιχωριῶ κεχρημαὶ κατὰ τὴν συνη-
 θειαν φωνῇ· καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς, καὶ
 συγγραφεύσι τοῖς σφοδρὰ ἑλληνίζουσιν, ἐσὶν ἔνθειν καὶ
 Περσικὰ ὀνόματα κειμένα, ὡς——τοὺς παρασαγγας,
 καὶ τοὺς ἀγγαροὺς, καὶ τὴν σχοῖνον ἢ τὸν σχοῖνον[†].”

We see from this on what trivial occasions, and with how much caprice, the license of clothing Latin words in a Greek dress was resorted to. *Decocta* might certainly have been expressed in legitimate Greek, as well as *spiculator*, *custodia*, and the rest; but the defence set up by Cynulcus shews how forcible is the effect of habit in leading to the adoption of foreign terms of frequent occurrence, even when equivalent terms are supplied by the language into which the factitious words are introduced. If we examine the list of Roman words in the New Testament, we shall find that the employment of all, or of nearly all, must have been dictated by convenience if not by necessity, under the existing circumstances of the two nations which at this time occupied Judea. To take the first example in the list, that of *money*; admitting that the accurate proportion of value was adjusted between the *assarium* and *denarius*, and the corresponding Jewish or Grecian coins, was the balance of exchange to be computed and settled

[†] Lib. iii. p. 121.

in every instance of the daily and hourly bargaining, the petty payments and receipts, by which the intercourse of cities is carried on? In the great operations of commerce between nations, each of which adheres to its own denomination of currency, this process may be submitted to ; since none but traders and merchants, inured to habits of calculation, are required to engage in these complicated adjustments of value. But is it credible that, during an entire century, after the time when Judea became a Roman province, its inhabitants should have submitted to this perplexing process every time that a Roman soldier desired to spend his daily pay, or a Jew was called to pay the tribute-money to the collectors? Is it not rather certain that, for the mutual accommodation of either party, the names of the Roman coins would speedily be naturalised in the Greek language, and be continually mentioned in ordinary discourse? And if, as appearances intimate, the Apostles wrote Greek just as they heard it spoken around them, can it be deemed marvellous that St. Matthew should term the tribute-money *Δηνάριος*, and St. Luke affirm that five sparrows are sold for two *Ασσαρια*? Considerations of the same kind will explain the introduction of many other terms. As the Roman inhabitants of Puteoli, hearing the *καταπλους* of the Alexandrian fleet incessantly alluded to, adopted

that word into their language, so the dwellers in Jerusalem could scarcely fail of enriching their vocabulary with those terms which were daily and hourly uttered familiarly in their streets. Such are the names of *centurio*, *census*, *colonia*, *forum*, *legio*, *macellum*, *prætorium*, *sudarium*, *flagellum*, and the like.

But it is said, that most of these words might have been expressed by equivalent terms purely Greek. I answer, by philosophers and grammarians, if they had the direction of such matters, they might have been ; so might *καταπλους* have been expressed by a good Latin word, and *decocta* by an unobjectionable Greek : but we know that they were not. It is besides not altogether true that, in all cases, a *translation*, even into words synonymous with the original, conveys the designed idea as definitely and precisely as the original itself does. For instance, although it be perfectly certain that *μασιξ* is a correct translation of *flagellum*, and a writer studious of purity would have used the former word, the Evangelists, by retaining the original name of the instrument of torture by which our Saviour suffered, took the most certain method of representing his sufferings in the most lively manner, to those among whom, the “horrible *flagellum*” was regarded as an instrument notoriously productive of the extremity of corporal suffering. Names are so

closely connected with things, that unless in many cases the identical letters and syllables be retained, the corresponding image is very faintly, or not at all, excited in the mind. Independently of this, although a few may be found, in every community, anxious to maintain the purity of their native language, and to consult propriety of translation, the indolence of the multitude is little disposed to submit to the pains which such a discrimination requires. They are rather willing to sacrifice purity to convenience, and to adopt, with the least practicable variation, the foreign terms with which use has made them familiar.

At the period under consideration, there had not been wanting many previous symptoms of the great departure from purity, which had been for some time extending itself over the Grecian language; and which, as far as it consisted in the adoption of Latin terms, was of course principally attributable to the extending influence of Rome. Accordingly it displays itself chiefly in the writings of authors who made that city their residence, or had a strong connexion with it. Polybius, the friend and associate of Scipio, although he wrote in Greek, displays an idiom^e

^e I cannot but express my regret that the author of Palæoromaica, from whom, as a professed believer in the personality of the Holy Spirit, a greater degree of reverence might have been expected, should have noticed the style of Polybius *only* to quote a most unbecoming observation of the German commentator Ammon.

full of Latinisms; incomparably more so than that of any one among the Apostolical writers, with, perhaps, the exception of St. Luke. In the same manner, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, a writer of the Augustan age, scruples not in Greek to use the terms *πληβειοι*, *πατρικιοι*, *δικτατωρ*, and others similar, when he might clearly have avoided it, because he explains that *πληβειοι* are the same with *δημοτικοι* in Greek, and *πατρικιοι* with *επατριδαι*. Wherefore then is it at all more unaccountable that St. Matthew should retain the original word *κουρωδια*, and St. Mark *κεντυριων* and *σπεκλατωρ*?

It is admitted that the authors, who exhibit systematically instances of this nature, are few in number; and that most profane authors of this era, if we except Polybius, have a less admixture of Latinisms with their Greek than the writers of the New Testament display. But it deserves to be considered that, in the case of profane authors, there was a *restraining cause* which did not operate upon the Apostles. No one of the former class ever wrote under exactly the same feelings with those which animated the writers of the New Testament; that is, with a perfect and absolute disregard of their own reputation. At a time when a contest for and against the purity of the Greek language was carried on between the literati and the body of the people, it is not surprising that profane au-

thors in general, siding with the learned class, were more on their guard against innovations which it was known that class would not approve; while the Apostles, greatly intent on the edification of the least considerable of men, and not at all on the advancement of their own reputations, employed without reserve those forms of expression which common use had sanctioned and made familiar among the many.

It is unavailing also to appeal to the example of Josephus, in proof of the possibility of a Hebrew writer avoiding the Hellenistic style. The possibility of effecting this, if it were made an object of exertion, need not be disputed; but the conduct of Josephus, as a writer, affords a contrast rather than a parallel to that of the Apostles. He accounts for the slowness with which his history was composed in Greek by saying, "it is a difficult thing to translate our history into a foreign tongue." Now, as his history had been already drawn up and published in Chaldaic, the facts and the arrangement of them were ready to his hand. The painful attention which he represents as necessary, must therefore have been exclusively bestowed upon his style, and his difficulty could arise only from his earnest care to weed out all Hebraisms and foreign idioms, and to present a finished model of pure Greek composition. It is not surprising that he should, upon the whole,

have succeeded very well in his attempt; for Josephus appears to have been a man of persevering industry, and of sound judgment. But the practice of the Apostles displays little or no correspondency with his. The writings of the Evangelists have all the air of an extemporaneous narrative; those of St. Paul were collected by others from his dictation, and probably not even revised. In short the point to which the attention of Josephus was particularly and exclusively directed, appears to be the only one on which the Apostles never bestowed a thought; and if the character of their writings be in most respects the very reverse of his, there is in this nothing more than their known difference of practice easily accounts for, and even gives us a previous right to expect to find. The same remark may be extended to Philo; whose style differs, even more widely than that of Josephus, from the Hellenistic model. Philo prided himself, and was universally complimented, on the purity and elegance of his phrases; and wrote, as ambassadors in general do, to be read by statesmen and princes. Is it then reasonable to expect coincidence between a writer, whose ambitious imitation of Plato has passed even into a proverb, and the simple-minded fishermen of the lake of Gennesareth, and the humble tent-maker of Tarsus^h?

^h " In Græcis innumera possunt observari quæ ab antiquis criticis, dum purum ab impuro et doctum ab indocto et idiotico

But, previously to quitting this class of Roman words in Greek characters, it may be proper to notice more particularly two expressions which are ranged in it, but which do not appear in all particulars to resemble those words in the company of which they stand. These are *ευροκλυδων* or *ευρακυλων*¹, and *κρυπτη*².

In the passage from the Acts it is not my design to compare opposing authorities, or to determine by their aid whether *ευροκλυδων* or *ευρακυλων* be the true reading. Whichsoever of these may be preferred, the employment of the word by St. Luke may be explained without having recourse to any such hypothesis as that he wrote in Latin, and that his translator retained the original word, only expressed in Greek characters.

sermone segregant, annotata sunt. A Phrynico et Thomâ Magistro talia plurima recensita sunt et notâ censoriâ compuncta, quæ non excerpam cum legentibus obvia sint. Horum vocabulorum frequens usus χυδαιολογιαν facit; in quod vitium plerique inciderunt qui ad scribendum accessere parum doctrina instructi, nec in legendis veterum scriptis, a quibus purior loquendi forma hauriretur, subacti. Tales omnino fuere omnes N. T. auctores, in Græco sermone rudes et imperiti, atque, ut ipsi de se dicunt, ιδιωται.—Nec mirum idiotis annumerari opifices, nautas, piscatores, portitores, quales fuere quorum opera usus est Christus ad verbum suum prædicandum. Non etiam porro mirandum si, Græci sermonis adeo rudes, in idiotismum et χυδαιολογιαν sæpe lapsi sunt, tam verbis quam tota elocutione." Salmas. l. c. pp. 97, 8.

¹ Acts xxvii. 14.

² Luke xi. 33.

If, with the received text, we read *ευροκλυδων*, there can be no pretence for this opinion; for the word, though irregularly formed, is a Greek compound. The objection of Bentley to its being the genuine reading is that very irregularity. "The wind Euroclydon" he says, "was never heard of but here; it's compounded of *ευρος* and *κλυδων* the *wind* and the *waves*." With submission, however, to such authority, it is scarcely justifiable to say it "*never* was heard of but here." That it occurs not in any other writing now extant is admitted; but this affords no proof that such an appellative was never heard of, or that it was not in common use among the Mediterranean seamen in the days of St. Luke. We meet with exceedingly few among the ancients who treat expressly of maritime affairs; and with respect to the winds in particular, Aulus Gellius¹ remarks, that their names were of very unfrequent occurrence. Is then the irregular composition of the word to be admitted in proof that it is a spurious reading? "It's compounded" undoubtedly "of *ευρος* and *κλυδων* the *wind* and the *waves*;" an unlikely combination to occur if philologists and grammarians had been consulted. But if the word, as is most probable, were of far different parentage; if ignorant sailors, wanting a name for a wind which had none specifically attached to it, but of which,

¹ *Noc. Att.* II. 22.

as being often exposed to its fury, they were often obliged to speak, if men of this class were the inventors of the appellation, nothing can be more characteristic than *ευροκλυδων*; for what circumstances would be more likely to attract the attention of mariners than the *quarter* from which the wind blew (*ευρος the East*) and its effect upon the ocean (*κλυδων a deep swell.*)? But the author of *Palæoromaica* strenuously contends, that *ευρακυλων* is the true reading^m; and that this word is the Latin *Euro-Aquilo* in Greek characters. The first of these questions must be settled by the critics; but, supposing their decision to be in favour of *ευρακυλων*, it is our business to shew that there is no inconsistency in the belief that this word, of Latin origin, was used by St. Luke writing in Greek.

Some stress has been laid, by all who have examined this question, on the country to which the sailors must be supposed to belong, who manned the ship of Alexandria in which St. Paul embarked; and different views have been taken of the probability of the case. This it is certain

^m In conformity with the opinion of "Grotius, Bentley, and some others." (p. 499) The Alex. and Vat. MSS. certainly read *ευρακυλων*, though with another reading interlined (See Griesbach in loc.) and they are supported by the Vulgate; and perhaps by the Ethiopic and Armenian translations. The latter has *ευρακυκλων*: most probably through an error of the transcriber or translator.

can never be more than matter of conjecture ; but, from the nature of the voyage and the circumstances of the ship, there is much more reason to conclude that these mariners were a mixture of two or perhaps of many nations ; than with Dr. Bentley to suppose that they were entirely Roman, or, with Mr. Bryant and the author of *Palæoromaica*, that they were exclusively Greeks. “ Let us suppose,” the latter says, “ that the mariners were Greeks, a thing exceedingly probable ; this would only render the present Greek text more inexplicable, unless we suppose it a translation from the Latin. It seems impossible otherwise to account for the use of *Corus* and *Euro-Aquilo*, for the name of *Adriatic* given to the *Ionian* sea, which was much more likely to be done by a Latin than a Greek author in the age of the Apostles, and for several Greek words which seem to be corruptions of Latin ones ⁿ,” (p. 502.)

In this passage every reader must remark that the author falls into the very error of which he accuses Mr. Bryant, and “ begs the question that the Sacred Writer had used” *Euro-Aquilo* (p. 500,) and he appears to be somewhat too confident in assuming that it is impossible to account for the introduction of *ευρακυλων*, “ unless we suppose the Greek text of the Acts to be a trans-

ⁿ *App. Note D.*

lation from the Latin." If it be absolutely necessary to consider the language of St. Luke as influenced by the language of those with whom he sailed, can it be overlooked that, of whatever nation the crew in general might consist, there were, beyond contradiction, many fellow-passengers with the Apostles who used the Latin language? namely, the centurion Julius and his band. That officer had treated the Apostles with great kindness; through which circumstance, as well as because both these parties, as passengers unengaged in the labours of the ship, had leisure for each other's conversation, it is probable that the Apostles would be thrown during the voyage much into company with these Romans. If therefore it be necessary to point out a source from which St. Luke might acquire the term *ερακυλων*, here is one very ready and probable. But this seems to be the proper place for a remark not only upon this word in particular, but upon the style of writing Greek universally, prevalent in the compositions attributed to St. Luke. The birth place of this Evangelist is generally allowed to have been Antioch; but the Greek text of the Gospel and of the Acts (which all the world excepting the author of *Palæoromaica* attributes to his hand) is so full of Latin phrases literally translated, as to shew that the Latin language was very familiar to the writer; and

that he was much accustomed to mix with those who spoke it. It does not appear that this peculiarity can be more naturally accounted for than by supposing (which no part of his known history forbids, and many parts of his writings seem to authorize) that his voyage to Rome in company with St. Paul was not his first visit to that city; but that he might have been previously to this even a temporary inhabitant of Rome. His account of their making the coast of Italy and of their progress to Rome^o, compared with his descriptions of other countries, has the appearance, as the author of *Palæoromaica* justly observes, of being addressed to one who was familiar with those regions; and this affords a very strong confirmation of the correctness of Euty chius' opinion that Theophilus was "a notable and wise man of the Romans." That the Apostle's acquaintance with the latter may have commenced in Rome, and that he had been even a fixed resident there, is rendered still more probable by the *profession* of St. Luke; supposing him to be the same with "Luke the beloved *physician*," mentioned by St. Paul. The practitioners of that art were about this time allured, by peculiar advantages, to fix their residence in Rome. We are told by Suetonius, that Julius Cæsar, "omnes *medicinam*

^o Acts xxviii. 13.

Romæ professos, et liberalium artium doctores, quo libentius et ipsi urbem incolerent et cæteri appeterent, civitate donavit^p.”

That St. Luke, from this or some other cause, should have been in his earlier days an inhabitant of Rome, is by no means improbable. This is not mentioned here however with a view to shew that he would probably write in Latin, but to account for the appearance of so many Latinised terms and phrases among his Greek. Among these we may reckon his “defining the position of the port of Phenice by *Corus*, a Latin word^q;” and “the name of *Adriatic* given to the *Ionian* sea.” But that the latter “was more likely to be done by a Latin than a Greek writer in the age of the Apostles,” is an assertion which proves only its author’s great unacquaintance with the literature of that period: for that very name by which St. Luke describes the Ionian sea is also bestowed upon it by Dionysius^r, a writer of the Augustan age, whose authority sufficiently evinces that the same word may have been used by St. Luke, and by St. Luke writing Greek. “But in the very verse,” it is observed, “in

^p *Suet. Jul. C.* p. 65.

^q *Pal.* p. 501.

^r “Και αποπεμφας εις τον ΑΔΡΙΑΝ ολκαδα δυοιν ταλαντων, οτε μεν απεσειλεν ελεγε προς την μητερα αυτων, οτι των παιδων ο κινδυνος ειη.” *Dion. Hal. De. Lysia. Judic. C.* xxvii.

which Euroclydon occurs, we read ΕΒΑΛΕ (κατ' αὐτης) ἀνεμος τυφωνικος. κ. τ. λ. I suspect that FLO has given occasion to this strange use of βαλλω, as B and V or F were often confounded," (p. 502.) Here he ought to have known that εβαλε κατ' αὐτης is equivalent to ἐπεβαλε. κ. α. and the latter verb is used intransitively, by St. Mark, in a very similar phrase³. With respect to the propriety of the word itself, we have βολη ἀνεμου for a *gust of wind* in Oppian, K. 4. 72.; and the literal translation of the words εβαλε κατ' αὐτης ἀνεμος the wind *darted* against her⁴, forcibly expresses the sudden violence of the storm. It deserves to be remarked that, in cases of this nature, we use in English the like form of a transitive verb in an intransitive sense; as the wind *dashed*, the wind *drove*, the wind *beat*, against her; which last is the marginal reading of our authorized public version. The same form of construction with that employed by the Evangelist occurs in Homer.

" Προει δολιχосκιον εγχος

Και βαλεν Ατρειδαο κατ' ασπιδα παντοτε ισην⁵."

On which H. Steph. remarks, " Videtur autem

³ Mark iv. 37. For examples of βαλλω for ἐπιβαλλω, See *Jacob's Anth.* vi. 59. and xi. 288. and *Animadv.* 312.

⁴ " Ego ita, βαλλω Jacio, *Jaculo* quod posterius existimo primæ et primariæ verbi significationi respondere." H. Steph. *Ep. de Typogr. statu.*

⁵ *Il.* Γ. 347.

illa constructio cum *κατα* similis esse nostrati, cum dicimus, *Il a frappé contre le bouclier.*"

The remaining instance is, if possible, still less conclusive. "I had conjectured," he says, "that as *σημεια* had by metathesis occasioned *hiemes* in the Vercelli MS^x, so *νησειαν* was a metathesis for *autumnus*," (p. 502.) Against this conjecture I shall oppose only the certain fact, that *παρερχομαι*, applied to time, signifies always time *past*. But, though it might well be said that *the fast of the Jews* was past, as it really was, the writer could not mean to make any such assertion respecting the *autumn*; since the autumn, though far advanced, was *not past*; otherwise the mariners could not have hoped, as they did^y, to carry the ship from "the Fair Havens" to Phenice "*to winter there.*" The fast of the Jews, it is urged, has no relation to the subject. But it has a very near and natural relation to it; for this fast took place on the 25th of September; and its being past shewed the lateness of the season, which was the point the Evangelist meant to describe, and the danger shortly to be apprehended from the flows peculiar to the Mediterranean sea at that time of the year. If an English writer were to tell us, in a similar case, that sailing was become dangerous because the *harvest* was now passed, we should understand his

^x Acts xxvii. 9.

^y Ibid. ver. 12.

meaning, and the force of his expression, perfectly well, although that season has no more direct connexion with maritime affairs, than the great fast of the Jews had.

The only other expression in this class which requires to be separately noticed is κρυπτη^a. This word by the author of Palæoromaica is assumed, and by many other writers is admitted, to be nothing more than the Latin *crypta* converted into Greek. But, though St. Luke has Latinisms without number, this is not one of them. Schleusner, who is unwilling to admit that this is a Latinism, meets us with an objection, and proposes to read την κρυπτην: not only without the sanction of any MS., but I must think without necessity. The only reason which he assigns for this innovation, is “recepta lectio (κρυπτην without the article prefixed) *nulloam ellipsin admittit*.” But upon what ground does this opinion rest, when so many instances can be adduced of adjectives occurring without the prepositive article, where yet an *ellipsis* or *quasi ellipsis* is manifest?

In other genders than the feminine this is too obvious to require proof. Thus, in Aristophanes, Mnesilochus exclaims,

“ Πῆ πῶ καθίζοιμ’ ἐν καλῶ, τῶν ρητορῶν
 Ἴν’ ἐξακῶ^b ;”

^a Luke xi. 33.

^a *Lex. N. T. sub. v. κρυπτη.*

^b *Thesmoph. 299.*

and in the New Testament, *εν κρυπτῳ*^c, without the article, is clearly elliptical; as is the expression *εις φανερον ελθῃ*^d employed by St. Luke. In such a case as that of *εις κρυπτην*, the remark of Musgrave^e is deserving of consideration: “Ego nullam hic *ellipsis* esse arbitror, sed tantum *enallagen generis*; posito sc. δι’ ορθης pro δι’ ορθου: nisi verius sit antiquos utroque genere, in hujusmodi phrasibus, sine ullo discrimine usos esse.” If this opinion be well-founded, then *εις κρυπτην* is equivalent to *εις κρυπτον*, which is the common reading: as *ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας*^f is considered by Schæffer to be identical with *ὁ ἐξ ἐναντιου*. But, although grammarians have represented many phrases as elliptical which were not so, there are instances of a feminine adjective without the article, following a preposition, where the subject of the predicate is evidently wanting. “Probè,” says Hermann, “ab hoc genere discernenda sunt ea quæ *vere ellipsis* habent. Quæ sunt ejusmodi, ut verba quæ posita sunt, ipsa natura sua, apertè vel certi vocabuli, vel saltem *certæ notionis*, omissionem arguant. Ut δι’ ορθης, ἐξ θειας, quoniam sunt *fæminino genere*, non possunt nisi ad *nomen fæmininum* referri^g.” Now, if this be true with respect to the expres-

^c John viii. 4. 10.

^d Luke viii. 17.

^e Sophocl. *Antig.* 1006.

^f Tit. ii. 8.

^g *De Ellip.* In Viger. *De Idiot.* p. 874. Lips. 1813.

sions he mentions, *εις κρυπτην* may, I feel assured, be admitted into the same class. There is evidently a part of the idea (*notionis certæ*) not expressed: for the similar passage in the same Evangelist^b, and the parallel in St. Markⁱ, shew that the meaning of *κρυπτη* is not “*a vault*” in particular, but “*a secret, or concealed place;*” as, for instance, “*under a bed.*” In the same manner St. Luke uses *κατ’ ιδιαν*^k, which Schleusner admits to be elliptical though redundant; also *εσαι τα σκολια εις ευθειαν*^l, where, though the article be away, *οδον* must be supplied; and *εις μακρην*^m, where *χωραν*, as in *εις κρυπτην*, is deficient, and *εις* is used for *εν*. The most convincing proof, however, that *κρυπτην* was *not* designed by St. Luke to be taken as a substantive is supplied by the very omission of the article to which Schleusner objects. The words of the passage are, *Ουδεις δε, λυχνον αψας, εις κρυπτην τιθησιν, ουδε υπο τον μοδιον.* Now, as the last word is confessedly the Latin *modium* in Greek letters, and *has the article prefixed*, it is certainly fair to argue that the article would, in like manner, have been prefixed to *κρυπτην* also, if the writer had designed to use that word as the representative of the Latin *cryptam*.

^b Luke viii. 16.

ⁱ Mark iv. 21.

^k Luke ix. 10.

^l Luke iii. 5.

^m Acts ii. 39.

To proceed now to a different class of expressions. There occur, it is well known, in the New Testament, many phrases and single words which have not been discovered elsewhere, excepting in the Alexandrian Version of the Hebrew Scriptures. That Version, by the general acquiescence of those who have written on the subject, has hitherto been regarded as the source from which the Apostles derived those peculiar expressions of which we now proceed to treat. It is impossible to state the grounds of this unanimous persuasion more sensibly or more correctly than has been done by Michaelis ⁿ. “Whenever a book is the subject of our daily lecture, it is natural that its phrases should occur to us in writing, sometimes with a perfect recollection of the places from which they are taken, at other times when the places themselves have totally escaped our memory. Thus the lawyer quotes the maxims of his Corpus Juris, the schoolman the verses of his classics, and the preacher the precepts of his Gospel. It is no wonder therefore if the same has happened to the Writers of the New Testament, who, being daily occupied in the study of the Old Testament, unavoidably adopted its modes of expression, or, to speak more properly, that of the Greek Translation, which they have

ⁿ Vol. I. c. v. § 20, p. 200.

done in numberless instances where it is not perceived by the generality of readers, because they are too little acquainted with the Septuagint." "But this," says the author of *Palæoromaica* "is begging the question;" because "we are totally ignorant who were the Greek translators of the Old Testament, and at what period the versions of the different books were made," (p. 299.) Concerning the names, the number, and the exact quality of those who are commonly called the Seventy, and whence the name itself originated, it must be candidly acknowledged that the world has no certain information. But I can scarcely believe that it is intended to found any serious argument upon this circumstance, since few points are established on less equivocal evidence than that a translation of the Pentateuch was executed at Alexandria during the joint reign of the Ptolemies Lagus and Philadelphus^o.

^o Philo Jud. Lib. II. *de Vit. Mos.* Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* L. viii. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* Si quid hic valeat vetustissimorum testium numerus, ea reliquis suffragiorum copiâ vincit sententia quæ compositam versionem illo tempore perhibet, quo una cum patre suo, Ptolemæo Lagi, regnavit Philadelphus; quod biennio circiter absolvitur, et juxta Usserium (Annal. p. 1169) in Olympiadis CXXIV tiæ primum, juxta Hodium p. 91. in Olymp. CXXIII. tiæ annos 3m. et 4m. hoc est ante æram Christianam vulgarem 286 et 285 incidit.—Carpzov. *de Ver. Gr.* LXX. *Virali* § 2.—Ad librorum numerum quod attinet, eruditi solos libros quinque Mosis a Septuaginta Interpretatos probant. ut in lib.

The persons employed in this work were probably Egyptian Jews: whether seventy two, or only five in number is a point concerning which we have uncertain and contradictory accounts, which it is unnecessary here to attempt to reconcile. But if this Alexandrian Version be the same with that which we now possess, and with that which existed in the days of the Apostles, it appears to be an inevitable conclusion that the Writers of the New Testament borrowed from this Version of the Old many words and phrases which they use in common with it; and which they therein found already consecrated to the service of religion. To what resource then is the author of *Palæoromaica* reduced in order to evade an inference so natural; which, as it accounts for the prevalence of the Hellenistic style in the New Testament scatters to the four winds the hypothesis which attributes its origin to the mistranslation of a Latin text? Aware of the danger which threatens him from this quarter he endeavours to escape under cover of two suppositions in the highest degree extraordinary and

iv. Comment in Ezech. c. 16. affirmat Hieronymus; id que ab Aristeo, et Josepho, et omni schola Judæorum asserti in lib. ii. Comm. ad ejusdem prophetæ c. 5. idem pater adjicit.—Usserii *Syntagm. de LXX. Interpp.* p. 4.—*εδε γαρ πασαν εκεινος εφθη λαβειν την αναγραφην, αλλ' αυτα μονα τα τε Νομω παρεδοσαν οι πεμφθεντες επι την εξηγησιν προς την Αλεξανδρειαν. Josep. Antiq. Jud. in Proœmio.*

improbable, if not preposterous. First, that the Alexandrian Greek version has totally perished ; for “ it has been much doubted whether even the present Greek Pentateuch be older than the reign of Herod. As to the other books of the Greek version we know not when they were translated ; but probably those in our present copies, or the greater proportion of them were not translated before the second century.” (p. 300.) Secondly, “ there is nothing to prevent our supposing that several of the books of what we term the Septuagint, were really a version from the Latin.” (p. 305.) Although it is my desire and endeavour to avoid, as far as possible, the acerbities of controversy, I cannot entirely suppress my indignation at the cold-blooded indifference with which this writer seeks to unsettle all opinions, and to introduce uncertainty and scepticism into every department of sacred criticism upon no better grounds than that such and such things *may* have happened ; although every kind of direct evidence be wanting, and that which is furnished internally by the documents themselves be totally adverse to his hypothesis. Of this we shall presently have proof in considering his hypothesis that the books which compose what we term the Septuagint, may be a version from the Latin. But in adverting to his first assertion that doubts have been entertained whether even

our present Pentateuch be older than the reign of Herod, it is impossible not to censure the *unfair* manner in which the author of *Palæoromaica* seeks to entrap the unwary by quoting the authority of great names as corroborative of his opinions, while in reality their testimony, if fairly stated, is directly adverse to his hypothesis. A memorable instance of this occurs (p. 299,) where, speaking of the version of the Pentateuch “made in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus,” he says, “this version has, by *Usher*, and by some other persons of the most profound learning, been supposed to be lost.” If any opinion, advanced in *Palæoromaica*, have indeed the countenance of such authority, I shall begin to regard it with more attention; for *Usher* was a great and a good man; distinguished by scholarship in an age abounding with scholars; and who, to repeat the eulogium of his friend and fellow-labourer *Brian Walton*, in questions of biblical criticism, “merito primas tenet^p.” But on the testimony thus adduced three observations require to be made: first, that the opinion of *Usher* is not correctly stated; secondly, that this, almost alone of all the recorded opinions of this eminent critic, has failed to recommend itself to general adoption; thirdly, that if the truth of that opinion were

^p *Præf. in Bib. Pol.*

even demonstratively established, it would contribute no support whatever to the opinions of the writer by whom it is now quoted. Instead of attributing the version, which he supposes to have superseded the original Septuagint, to so late a date as the reign of Herod, Usher distinctly calls it the production of a Jew who lived about the era of Ptolemy Philometor^a. Previously indeed to being placed in the Serapeum this version was *revised* by order of Herod, and freed from faults and corruptions which, through frequent transcription, had crept into the copies in common use. But the opinion of Usher respecting the loss of the original Septuagint and the existence of any such substituted version, has

^a Quum Ptolemæi Bibliotheca, tempore Alexandrini Belli a Julio Cæsare gesti, conflagrasset, Hebraicum illud Legis exemplar, simul cum Græca illius Versione a LXX facta periit. Hujus loco, paullo post, Cleopatra regina novam in Serapeo constituit Bibliothecam; quæ prioris *filia* est dicta: Ut in libro de Mens. et Ponder. docet Epiphanius. Ad eam ornandam Herodes Judæorum tum rex, libros sacros Instrumenti Veteris Hebraica lingua conscriptos misit; ac Græcam eorundem, quæ Hellenisticis in Syria et Palæstina tum in usu erat, interpretationem ab aliquibus Hebraice linguæ peritis (ut videtur) recognitam et pluribus in locis emendatam. *Syntagm.* p. 31.—Hanc verò totius Vet. Instrumenti traductionem, ut ante illum Euergetæ 38, ita post Philometoris fratris ipsius 4m annum (in Per. Julianæ ann. 4537 ante æram Christ. 177 incidentem) in lucem esse editam ex historica illa nota ad calcem libri Estheræ in editione vulgata Græca apposita colligimus. p. 22.

been combated by arguments^r, which have approved themselves satisfactory to critics in general, but which need not be here repeated. Admitting even that the original copy of the Greek Pentateuch, which was placed in the Alexandrian library by Philadelphus, perished, as Usher supposes, during the siege of that city by Julius Cæsar, still the destruction of the original copy could not entail the total loss of the version itself. Can it be imagined, that no more than this single copy^s existed of a version designed for general use and circulation; without the assistance of which few individuals, and certainly no entire congregation, could understand the contents of their sacred books? It is unnecessary to protract this discussion; since Usher's hypothesis, admitted in its utmost latitude, can lend no aid to that of Palæoromaica. He maintains, it is true, that the Greek version of Philadelphus no longer exists; but he carries back, as we have seen, the date of the transla-

^r Walton *Proleg.* ix. §. 18. and Valesii *Ep. ad Usser.* in Euseb. H. E. p. 306. "Non refutabo Usserii Armachani opinionem, verius *paradoxon* dixeris," says Father Simon with unnecessary rudeness, and which the Priest of the Oratory would not have displayed towards any but a *Protestant* Prelate.

^s Usher himself indeed admits the probability of the contrary opinion, saying, "Licet in privatorum manibus (post incensam priori bello Alexandrino Philadelphi Bibliothecam) veteris illius Seniorum Versionis adhuc exempla extarent." *Synt.* p. 25.

tion which does exist, and has succeeded to the name and place of the former, as far as the reign of Ptolemy Philometor; that is, to more than 170 years before Christ, or to within little more than a hundred of the date assigned to the primary version which perished in the conflagration of the Alexandrian library. Even this date, therefore, ascends far enough beyond the beginning of the Christian era to admit of the version, to which it is affixed, having been in the hands of the Apostles; and the appeal to Usher to prove that, if his opinion be correct, they could not have borrowed from our Septuagint the peculiar words and phrases which they employ in common with it, is not only very unfair, but is perfectly nugatory and delusive. The cause of Palæoromaica, I repeat, cannot be assisted by any one of the suppositions in which the author of it indulges. Let him assume, if he will, that "the present Greek Pentateuch is not more ancient than the age of Herod," what would this prove but that before the age of Christ, and among the countrymen of the Apostles, a dialect was in use precisely conformable to that which prevails in the New Testament, and which was therefore the most natural for the Apostles themselves to employ?

But though for the sake of argument, and to give our opponent every possible advantage which he can claim, such an opinion may, for a

moment, be contemplated as well founded, the admission on my part is nothing more than hypothetical. So far from conceding, that there is any truth in the comparatively recent date assigned to the existing Greek Pentateuch, I am of opinion that the appearances therein discoverable are reconcileable with the supposition of its being the original Egyptian version, and with no other : and by this internal evidence I am led to conclude, that the Pentateuch now in our possession is virtually the same with that which owed its birth to the age of Philadelphus. That it is of Egyptian origin is manifest from the frequent occurrence of words either wholly Egyptian, or used at least in senses peculiar to Alexandria¹. It may be objected that such a peculiarity might be expected to prevail in every version executed in the same country ; and that, therefore, the use of Egyptian terms, although it may prove that our Pentateuch is of Egyptian origin, does not prove that it cannot be the same with the version, which Usher supposes to have been executed in Egypt in the reign of Philometor, and to have usurped the name of the primary Greek translation. But there is still ano-

¹ See *Sturz. de Dial. Alex. Maced.* v. αληθεια, p. 96. (clxxv. ed. Valpy) ; and *Schleusner's Lex. Vet. Test.* sub eadem v. also on the word ψονθομ φανηχ. Likewise the list of Egyptian words collected by Sturzius, p. 86—100. (clxxiii. clxxv.)

ther peculiarity observable in our Greek version of the Old Testament; that is the marked and constant distinction of style existing between the books of Moses and the other parts of the volume; a distinction, I need scarcely observe, uniformly advantageous to the former^u. If then we have before us the version which is dated only from the age of Philometor, whence did this distinction arise, and how can its existence be accounted for? That version Usher supposes to have been the work of a single individual, of a learned Jew^x: and the production of one man could scarcely exhibit that diversity which evidently and confessedly exists in our Greek Bible; especially between the Pentateuch and the other parts of the volume. But if we possess in all its main points, though not in perfect and absolute integrity, that version which from the beginning has been called the Septuagint, the distinction of style, here noticed, is perfectly natural; and to account for it we need only briefly retrace the circumstances un-

^u “ Josephus qui 70 Interpp. proponit historiam, *quinque tantum ab eis libros Moses* translatos refert; quos nos confitemur plus quam cæteros cum Hebraicis consonare, inquit Hieronymus in Quæst. Hebraic. Geneseos proœmio.” *Usser.* p. 10.

^x “ Post quartum igitur Philometoris Ptolemæi annum, ut Gentium curiositati, Judaica sacra penitus intelligere desiderantium, aliquo modo satisfaceret, a *Judæo aliquo* opus hoc peractum fuisse videtur.” P. 23.

der which the parts of that version were successively completed.

It is, as we have seen, the generally received opinion, that in the reign of Philadelphus the Pentateuch alone was translated into Greek: and that this undertaking originated not in any interposition of the authority of Ptolemy, as the blundering fabulist Aristeas would persuade us, but in the general wants of the Egyptian Jews themselves, is most probable under the known circumstances of their situation. They were, as we learn from Josephus, strict and scrupulous copyists of the religious observances which prevailed among their brethren in Palestine; and if there were any ordinance peculiarly calculated by its utility to recommend itself to their imitation, it must have been the practice of reading, in conjunction with the original law, a translation or paraphrase, for the instruction of the common people who were no longer acquainted with the language of their fathers⁷.

⁷ "Exoleto inter Judæos, post reditum ex Babylone, linguæ Hebraicæ usu, vulgari tum lingua ipsorum doctores scripturas interpretabantur. In scholis ubi Lex docebatur, id Judaicis versionibus seu paraphrasibus, de quibus egimus, occasionem dedit.—Vero simillimum ergo et apud Hellenistarum Synagogas, quemadmodum et alias, Legem Hebraice quoque legi solitam fuisse, sed cum hoc ab reliquis discrimine, quod textui Hebræo Græcam interpretationem addiderint." *Simon. His. Crit. V. T. Lib. II. c. 2. p. 91.*

In this respect the Jews of Egypt were similarly circumstanced with those of Judea; and as a *Chaldee* version became necessary at Jerusalem, to enable the congregation to derive instruction from the public reading of the Law, so, to the same end, a *Greek* version must have been equally necessary to the Jews of Alexandria², to whom the Greek language was at that time most familiar. If therefore the due administration of public worship suggested the advantage and necessity of a Greek translation, it is reasonable to conclude that such a translation would in the first instance embrace the Pentateuch alone; since no other portion of the Old Testament was, in this age, read in public before the congregation³. Let it be granted then that we possess the Books of Moses which were thus translated

² " Ipse Philo, Lib. in Flaccum, confirmat, suo tempore, non minus quam decies centena millia Judæorum in Ægypto habitasse. His itaque avita et Hebræa lingua cum sensim paulatim que obsolesceret, et in desuetudinem abiret, Græco tantum sermone in quotidiano commercio usis, viri pii et prudentes prospectum iverunt, Legem que Mosaicam, cujus præ reliquo Codice Sacro usus erat et religio, in Græcum, omnibus que cognitum, transtulerunt sermonem." *Carpzov. de Vers.* 70. §. II. 6.

³ " Veterum pro hac sententia auctoritates Pseudo-Aristeæ, Josephi, Philonis, Aristobuli, Rabbiorum antiquorum, et Hieronymi, doctissimus Hodus (Lib. II. c. 7. p. 159 seq.) cum cura congressit, vindicavit, nobis que, hac parte, otium fecit. Et res ipsa sic ferebat ut potior Legis cura translatoribus esset.

separately, and with the sanction, if not under the inspection, of the Sanhedrim, and the difference of their style from that of the other Books, which were translated at different subsequent periods, is naturally accounted for: on any other supposition the manifest inferiority of the latter cannot be reasonably explained.

The translation of the prophetic books may with great probability be assigned to the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, when the temple at Heliopolis was founded by Onias, as a rival to that of Jerusalem^b. The Jews of Egypt, while they professed a total independence on their brethren in Judea, were never able to divest themselves of a strong disposition to imitate the religious practices established in that land, to which their tribes, wheresoever dispersed, have continually looked as to their native country. In that country a great and important revolution, as to the affairs of religion in particular, had

Ptolemæorum quippe horum temporibus non nisi Lex Mosaica publice prælegebatur in Synagogis; reliquis librorum sacrorum ordinibus, Prophetis atque Hagiographis, neglectis et intactis." *Ib.* §. III. 2. See also *Simon H. Cr. Vet. T. Lib. II. c. 2.* and *Sturz. de Dial. Alex. Mac. §. I.*

^b "Oniam Sacerdotem, post egregiam Philometori et Cleopatrarum navatam in bellis operam, eorum permissu, in agro Heliopolitano, Templum Hierosolymitani æmulum extruxisse in lib. xiii. *Antiq. c. 6.* idem Josephus narrat: hoc etiam ibidem addito: *ἔνθα δὲ Ονίας καὶ Ἰσθαίως τινὰς ὁμοίως αὐτῶν καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ λειψίτας τῶς ἐκεῖ θρησκουοντάς.* *Usser. l. c.*

recently been effected by Antiochus Epiphanes. The conduct of that conqueror, his rending in pieces the books of the Law, and forbidding them to be read in the public worship of the Jews, are related 1 Macc. i. 56. and the resource, of which the Jews were hereupon obliged to avail themselves, was that of reading portions of the Prophets instead of the Law^c. Now although Antiochus in his several expeditions, previously to the interposition of the Romans, had over-run nearly the whole of Egypt, yet, as he never obtained possession of Alexandria, it is not to be supposed that he had power to prohibit the use of the Pentateuch to the Egyptian as he had done to the Syrian Jews. But the studious imitation by the latter of every religious observance introduced among their brethren is so well established as to render it exceedingly improbable that the introduction of the prophetical books into the public worship at Jerusalem, which was occasioned by the edict of Antiochus, should not be followed by a corresponding change in the conduct of the ser-

^c This order of persecution extending only to the five books of Moses and not to the writings of the Prophets, those who persisted in the Jewish worship, instead of the lessons which had hitherto been, from the time of Ezra, read out of the Law, on every Sabbath did read like portions out of the Prophets; and upon this occasion the public reading of the Prophets was first introduced into their Synagogues; and, it being thus introduced, it continued there ever after. *Prideaux Connect. Part II. B. 3. p. 259. Vol. 3.*

vice of the tabernacle in Egypt. In fact the design of Onias was to detach the Egyptian Jews from their custom of annually celebrating the Passover at Jerusalem, and this he could hope to effect only by rendering Heliopolis so like Jerusalem in its entire religious establishment, as to leave no room for a pretext that, by visiting the latter city, they enjoyed opportunities of instruction of which they were unable to avail themselves at home ^d. This opinion will

^d Onias, having this power and interest with the king, made use of it at this time to obtain from him licence to build a Temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that at Jerusalem, with a grant for him and his descendants to be always High Priests in it. For the obtaining of the King's consent hereto, he set forth to him that the building of such a temple, for the Jews in Egypt, would be for the interest of his crown ; that Jerusalem, being within the territories of the King of Syria, the going of the Egyptian Jews thither annually to worship might give occasion for the seducing of them to the Syrian interest. But his greatest difficulty was to reconcile the Jews to this new invention ; their constant notion having been that Jerusalem only was the place which God had chosen for his worship, and that it was sin to sacrifice to him upon any altar elsewhere. To satisfy them as to this he produced to them the prophecy of Isaiah ; where it is said "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts : One of them shall be called *The City of Destruction*. In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord," xix. 18, 19. And having interpreted this place of the Holy Scripture, which was truly meant only of the future state of the Gospel in that

appear to be still more probable when it is recollected that the mode adopted by Onias to reconcile the Jews to this substitution of a new place of worship, was to put a false gloss on a passage in one of the Prophetical Books; and it is probable that this very opportune mis-translation was introduced by him who had so great a purpose to serve by means of it. To Onias therefore, and to his agency, we may with a very high degree of probability attribute the translation of the Prophetical Books into Greek; because, without such a step as this, it does not appear that he could have assimilated, so completely as his proceedings prove him to have wished, the worship at Heliopolis to that which prevailed at Jerusalem; nor could he, in any other way, have reconciled his countrymen to the desertion of that temple, which, from the earliest ages, had been regarded as "the place where men ought to worship."

The great inequality and inferiority of style observable in these books compared with those of the Law, agree very well with the supposition

country, as if it respected the present times, he prevailed with all of his nation to understand it so too, and thus served his purpose by it. *Prideaux*, l. c. p. 373. The device of Onias was, as the same writer tells us, by the change of a single letter, to convert the Hebrew word which signifies *The City of Destruction*, into one which signifies *The City of the Sun*, or *Heliopolis*; and there his temple was founded. *Vid. Marg. Read. in Author. Vers.*

that the translation of them was executed by a variety of hands, and to supply a sudden emergency, such as must necessarily have arisen on the proscription of the Law by Epiphanes. But if we must suppose that under the name of the Septuagint we possess any other translation than that which is known to have been executed by different persons and at sundry periods, the difference of style in the several books, and the marked superiority of the Pentateuch above the rest, are perfectly inexplicable. If the version of Aquila, of Symmachus, of Theodotion, or of the Jew who according to Usher was the author of the second Egyptian version, were now in our hands, having usurped the place and title of the primitive Septuagint, such a diversity would hardly be perceptible in the work of an individual. If it be pretended that our Greek Version may be compounded of fragments taken from all of the above, it may be asked on what evidence does this assertion rest? how is the fact known? or, if not known, upon what ground is it conjectured? We should still require an explanation whence it arises that the Pentateuch is by its excellence uniformly distinguishable from the rest; and at all events, the supposition that our Greek version is a compilation from an indefinite number of other versions, would be to explain effects by recurring to a cause of uncertain existence, while an adequate solution, grounded on historical evi-

dence and well-established facts, is within our reach ; a mode of proceeding than which none can be more uncritical or unphilosophical. The Book of Daniel, it is true, as it exists in our Septuagint is admitted to be the work not of the original translators but of Theodotion. Instead however of arguing from this that other parts of the version *may* be, unknown to us, the work of later translators, I must maintain that this fact, under the circumstances of our acquiring a knowledge of it, leads to a directly contrary conclusion. We believe that the Book of Daniel has been borrowed from the Greek version of Theodotion because we are on competent authority assured of the fact ; and because, since the publication of Daniel according to the LXX., the attestations of our informants have been abundantly confirmed. Surely then we are justified in concluding that, if any other book or books had been extracted from other translations, the same informants would have given us similar notice of it ; and from their total silence as to any farther substitution we are at liberty to rest quietly in the persuasion that none other has taken place.

The only argument of any validity, which has ever been urged against the identity of our Greek Vulgate with the Philadelphian Version of the Pentateuch, is the slighter accordance with the Hebrew exhibited by the former, in comparison

with that excessive perfection which the Jewish writers declare distinguished the performance of the LXX translators°. But even this objection will appear to be rather specious than solid when we recollect the sources from which our accounts of this marvellous conformity are drawn: namely, the writings of the Hellenistic Jews. By these, it is certain, many fabulous relations, now universally exploded, were invented solely

° “ Nos summo studio, curâ et diligentia LXX Interpp. cum Hebræo contulimus, et tot invenimus addita, dempta, depravata, immutata, et ab Hebraico prorsus aliena, ut mihi persuadere nequeam illam esse LXX Interpretum.” *Sant. Pagnin. in Isagog. c. ix.*

“ LXX. Interpretes dicuntur omnia transtulisse ad verbum, ita proprie ut quicumque sciret utramque linguam statim judicaret fidelissimam esse translationem. Sic enim scribit Philo, lib. 2. de Vita Mosis. Reddita sunt propria propriis nominibus, Græcis ad Chaldaica exacte respondentibus. Id experimentis quotidianis creditur; sive Chaldæus Græcam linguam, sive Græcus Chaldæam didicerit, in utraque Scriptura, tum Chaldaica tum ejus interpretatione, miratur germanitatem, imo rerum verborum que consonantiam adorat. Neque solus Philo, sed etiam Aristeas ante Philonem testatus est admirabilem fuisse rerum et verborum consonantiam &c. At ista Græca versio quam nunc habemus in plurimis locis dissentit ab Hebræo, multa non habet quæ sunt in Hebræo, multa habet quæ non sunt in Hebræo; ut omnes noverunt qui in ea versati sunt. Et qui de hac re ob linguarum imperitiam judicare non possunt, legant Hieronymi præfationem in Pentateuchum, Epistolam ad Sunium et Fretellam, Questiones Hebraicas Commentar. in Prophetas, et Librum de optimo genere interpretandi.” *Cardinal Bellarmin quoted by Usher. p. 6, 7.*

to procure a factitious credit for this translation. The commendations bestowed on its adherence to the original are of the most loose and general description, and therefore probably exaggerated; particularly as it was natural for the Egyptian Jews to extol to the utmost the only document from which they derived any acquaintance with the Law and the Prophets; and in their commendation of which it was impossible that any one who was not a Jew should contradict them. The principal witnesses in the case are obviously incompetent; Aristeas as having been in other instances convicted of the most deliberate falsehood; and Philo, from his ignorance of Hebrew^f, being necessarily obliged to speak from the report of others in the decision he pronounces concerning the fidelity of the LXX translators, could be but a very imperfect judge of the accuracy of his own statements. The truth appears to be that the Philadelphian translators executed their task with sufficient correctness, which Aristeas magnified into an undeviating conformity with the original; and his hyperbolical statements, being adopted, without examination, by Philo, contributed to propagate this persuasion among

^f Quod Philonem et Josephum asseris in lingua Hebraica infantibus plane fuisse, si modo quid omnino Hebraice scivisse dicendi sunt, ut *de Philone*, Hellenista Alexandrino, *libenter id dem*, de Josepho Sacerdote Hierosolymitano concedere non possum. *Jac. Usserii ad Ludov. Cappell. Epist.*

the succeeding Jews, who, in questions of this nature, were sufficiently willing to be deceived. In fact, with respect to this version the Jews have exhibited a very Protean disposition. So long as the supposed credit of their religion required them to magnify the merits of the Septuagint Version, they carried their commendation of it to even an absurd excess; when, after the coming of our Lord, they were called to reply to arguments derived from those Greek Scriptures, it then suited their purpose to discover its defects; and their depreciation of it now became as excessive as their commendations had previously been extravagant^s. To be prepared against such objections, Sophronius, as is stated in Palæoromaica (p. 305) desired Jerome to make an *accurate* version from the Hebrew into Latin which he

^s Origen relates in his Commentary on St. Matthew, that in the manuscripts of the Septuagint, which was become the Bible of the Greek Christians, such alterations had been made, either by design or through the carelessness of transcribers, as to make the MSS. materially differ from each other, and of course, even if no other cause prevailed, from the Hebrew Bible. Of this difference the Jews availed themselves in their controversies with the Christians; as it frequently happened that the passages quoted by the Christians against the Jews, were either not contained at all in the Hebrew or contained there in a different shape, the arguments, which were founded on such quotations, fell immediately to the ground; it was sufficient to reply "the words which you quote are not in the original." *Bp. Marsh's Lectures, Part. I. p. 55, 6.*

afterwards translated into Greek. This retranslation by Sophronius, be it remembered, was specially executed to be employed in questions of controversy against the Jews. When therefore it is asked (p. 306,) “ what is to hinder us from supposing that our present Septuagint version of the Psalter, and of several of the Prophets may be that of Sophronius from the Latin of Jerome ?” the reply is easy ; that our present Septuagint version exhibits not that entire accordance with the original which it was the object of the joint labours of Jerome and Sophronius to produce ; and that they did succeed in producing it, so far as to satisfy their own intentions and to answer the end which they had in view, is evident from the terms in which Jerome speaks of the performance. If therefore our present version, or any part of it, were the work of Sophronius it would necessarily exhibit the particular character which he not only designed to prevail, but certainly succeeded in communicating to it ; namely, an accordance with the Hebrew against which the Jews could object nothing. It is indeed a singular circumstance that the proposer of such an opinion should fail to discover the inconsistency of railing on the one hand at the inaccuracy of the Septuagint, and on the other requiring us to believe that it may be the work of Sophronius ; which, from all that we know of it, was distinguished *from* the Septuagint only by its rigid

adherence to the Hebrew. Surely he ought rather, on his own principles, to infer that our Septuagint is the same version with that to which, previously to his executing a new one for himself, Sophronius was accustomed to refer; namely, the work of the Alexandrian translators: for our version displays exactly that degree and kind of inaccuracy of which the Jews might avail themselves to evade an argument resting upon its authority. It is somewhat singular, and cannot be flattering to the author of *Palæoromaica*, that we are thus indebted to the Jews, the bitterest enemies of our religion, for a defence against the danger to be apprehended from one who professes himself its friend.

Passing onward, with the same view, to the translation of Aquila, he observes, this “learned man published two versions of the Hebrew Scriptures; and I have *a strong suspicion* that the first of these was a Latin one,” (p. 301.) From the accounts of the two distinct versions, or editions of the same version, by Aquila, to be collected from the writings of Jerome, it is evident that in the *first* his attention was chiefly directed to express the *sense* of the Sacred Oracles, but not “*verbum verbo* ;” in the *second* his design was to give an exact verbal representation of the original, so that the most minute particle in the Hebrew should not be without its corresponding expression in the Greek. By this

servile adherence to verbal precision, sense and grammar were oft-times totally subverted. Nevertheless the translation thus executed was, from its literal fidelity, called *κατ' ακριβειαν* by the Jews^h; and by them, as well as the Christiansⁱ, was appealed to as affording a perfect exemplar of the original, and even as superseding its necessity and use. But the use to which the author of *Palæoromaica* seeks to apply these facts is such, as a blind devotion to his own hypothesis could alone have suggested. "Jerome tells us that he (Aquila) interprets as it were syllables and letters; saying, for example, *συν τον ουρανον, και συν την γην*. This which is part of the first verse of Genesis, must indeed, in this version, be acknowledged to be nonsense; but *I strongly suspect*" (a very forcible reason why others should also think!) "that Aquila wrote *In principio creavit Deus CUM et cælum TUM et terram*, and that *cum* and *tum*, both translated *συν*, gave rise to the Greek barbarous text." (p. 301.) If any one shall choose, in opposition, *strongly to suspect* that the translator did no such thing as is here imputed to him, I am fully per-

^h *Hieron. Comm. in Ezech. c. iv.*

ⁱ "Justinus aliquando Aquilæ versionem, celeberrimam apud Judæos consulit, et, in disputatione contra Tryphonem, *Hebræum* (hoc est illam ipsam versionem quam Hebræam Patres ideo vocabant, quia verbo verbum Hebræo respondebat) aliquoties producit." *Sim. H. C. V. T. Lib. ii. c. 3.*

suaded that the writer of the above sentence has no argument to offer in support of a conjecture which he somewhat ostentatiously claims as his own^k. If Aquila, or whoever translated his Latin, had been so ignorant of Greek as to conceive that CUM, in the above passage, was equivalent to *συν*, he could hardly have failed of translating TUM also literally; and his version would in all probability have been *συν τον ουρανον ΤΟΤΕ και την γην*. But in reality the justice of Jerome's criticism, and the source of Aquila's mistake, are self-evident to any one acquainted with even the rudiments of Hebrew. In that language, it is well known, the same monosyllable (את) is used as the prepositive article, and in the sense of the preposition *with*: and *συν τον ουρανον και συν την γην* is a literal translation, by one who confounded these two senses, of *את השמים ואת הארץ*. But other arguments are yet in store. Aquila was a native of Sinope; and it is not to be conceived that "a Latin, born in a Latin colony, should publish two Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures, while he utterly overlooked the wants of his countrymen." (p. 301.) This is indeed "begging the question," if it be intended to assume that the *countrymen* of Aquila, the citizens

^k "I have nowhere seen such a conjecture." P. 301. It would be strange if he had.

of Sinope, required a Latin version. Sinope was, it is true, a Roman colony, (as were many other cities in Asia and Greece) but the introduction of a few foreigners could not occasion an entire change in the language of a city, the inhabitants of which had spoken Greek for ages. It is much more probable that the colonists, or at least their descendants, would be merged in the native population, forgetting their Latin origin, and adopting the language of the place. But, it is farther argued, "if Aquila had not been a Latin, his name would have been *Ἀστρος*¹." Upon what principle? we may ask. Most emigrants, even if they give up the rest of their native language, retain their own name, and transmit it to their posterity. The utmost that can be inferred from the name of Aquila is, that he was of Roman descent; not that he was by birth a Latin, or that he spoke the Latin language. To shew the futility of such an argument, let the author of *Palæoromaica* consider how many foreign names he can recal to his recollection, the possessors of which have been naturalized during many generations, and would deem it no slight offence if their right to the name of Englishman were for a moment questioned. In this indeed, as in many other instances, our author may be made to refute him-

¹ Note 222, p. 301.

self; for since he maintains (p. 111.) that *Theophilus*, with a Greek name, was a Roman, why may not *Aquila*, with a Latin name, have been a Greek? If the former at Rome did not change his name to *Deodilectus*, what should lead us to conclude that *Aquila* would be called *Αερος* in Sinope?

In the case of Symmachus not the semblance of an argument is offered to prove, that of his two editions (were it even certain, which I think it is not, that he published two), one was in Latin. The words of Jerome^m certainly imply no such thing. Symmachus, he says, translated a certain Hebrew word by the Greek *εξαιρετον* “pro quo verbo in alio volumine, Latino sermone utens, peculiarem interpretatus est.” The words in *alio volumine*, I should translate in *another work or volume*ⁿ; and all which Jerome affirms is that, in some one of his Latin writings, Symmachus,

^m *Comment in Tit. ii.*

ⁿ Hody (p. 587,) shews, that Symmachus was the author of an Exposition of the Gospel according to St. Matthew; and probably of other books of the New Testament. He was reckoned among the wise men of the Samaritans, as we learn from Epiphanius, and was of such authority among the Ebionites that they were called Symmachians from him. Such an eminence he could scarcely have attained without exhibiting himself as a voluminous writer; and as the author of *Palæoromaica* quotes Lambecius, to prove that he was counted among the Latin fathers, his theological works were most probably chiefly composed in that language.

quoting the text in question, rendered that word by *peculiarem*, which, in his version, he had translated εἰσπετόν. As to the probability of our Vulgate Septuagint having been of his composition, it is negatived at once by internal evidence. The character bestowed upon the translation of Symmachus, by the concurrent testimony of the ancients, is that in it he studied *perspicuity*; which, according to the testimonies of Jerome and Eusebius, he succeeded in attaining in a very high degree: he avoided *Hebraisms*: his object was to admit no expression which could occasion doubt or difficulty to any one who understood Greek but not Hebrew°. Now I will leave it to any impartial judge, or to the author of Palæoromaica himself, if he have ever read the Septuagint, to determine whether there appear in it any one of the characteristics by which the version of Symmachus is said to have been distinguished; whether, on the contrary, it do not exhibit the very opposite qualities; being often obscure in its meaning; filled with the harshest Hebraisms; and in many places even unintelligible to those who are unacquainted

° “ Perspicuitati operam adeo dedisse memoratur Montfaucon ut, vel in difficillimis locis, sensum ita legenti exhibeat, ut statim intelligatur. Hebraismos raro sectatur. Summopere curasse videtur ne quidpiam in Græca serie poneret quod Græcum lectorem, Hebraice ignarum, offendere posset.” *Carpzov.* l. c. §. iv.

with the original. Can any man in his senses then maintain, that our Septuagint translation and that of Symmachus are one and the same?

There remains however another resource; that of attempting to shew that the Septuagint version, as it has existed for many ages, is so mutilated and depraved, that its identity with the original can no longer be maintained; and in support of this assertion an appeal is made to the testimony of Jerome. "Jerome, whose genius and learning gave him great authority in the church, was never weary of declaiming against the corruptions of the Septuagint," (p. 305.) This father, I admit, was accustomed to speak slightly of the Septuagint Version, after he became acquainted with the Hebrew tongue, and was no longer obliged to trust to the authority of others as to its true character. But the question now to be considered is not whether the Alexandrian be a faithful or an incorrect translation, or whether Jerome gave it a just character when he spoke ill of it; but we are concerned to know whether Jerome thought that the version in his possession, with all its corruptions, was the same with that which was made in the age of Ptolemy, and which was quoted and sanctioned by Christ and his Apostles. Now it is undeniable that, however Jerome may depreciate the version, and accuse it of being in many places interpolated and corrupt, he no-

where expresses a doubt of its being virtually the identical work of the Alexandrian translators. When he was vehemently accused of being misled by his fondness for Jewish learning, and of deserting the ancient translation which the Apostles had handed down to the church, he never thought of clearing himself by shewing that the world was mistaken in attributing so venerable a character to the Septuagint translation. A step which, under the odium which pursued him, he must assuredly have taken, if he had believed it to be only a version of recent date, or made up of fragments strung together from other translations. But he admits this translation to be the same with that which the Apostles used, and only urges the expediency of recurring to the Hebrew fountains with a view to the removal of those *blemishes* which time and inadvertence had introduced into the Greek^p. He professes in fact to have nothing farther in view than to effect for the Latin Church that which Origen had attempted to perform for the Greek^q.

^p "Declaravit ergo et professus est palam, se novam tantum ideo versionem concinasse, ut non amplius Judæi Christianis insultarent; neque se versioni Septuaginta, ab universa Ecclesia receptæ, præjudicatum ire; contendere se tantum quo Judæis, Versionem LXX calumniose traducentibus os obstrueret; et idem Latinis, quod Græcis olim præstiterat Origenes, præstaret." *Simon. l. c. Lib. II. c. 3.*

^q Jerome indeed expressly affirms that he considered the

But, it is objected, "this great writer (Origen) by the publication of his Hexapla, and by his intermixture of different versions with diacritical points, contributed probably to increase that confusion, which it was one of his great purposes to remedy. These diacritical marks were neglected or misunderstood, and thus a medley of different versions was produced," (p. 303.) The absolute degree of utility which has resulted from the well-intended labours of Origen it is utterly impossible for us to determine: but the mere fact of his proposing to correct and amend the version of the Seventy, involves, as a necessary consequence, that he supposed he had, however corrupted, the Septuagint itself before him. It is very evident indeed that his attention was directed to the emaculation of the more antient, or Philadelphian version; and not of that translation, of later date, which Usher supposes to have been communicated by Herod to Cleopatra. If the purity of the latter had been the final object of his labours, there is much

text of the Greek translation, preserved in the Hexapla, as the genuine production of the LXX; and as distinguished from the editions in common use, by its freedom from those errors which, to a greater or less degree, prevailed in all those copies. "*κοινή* autem ista, hoc est Communis Editio, ipsa est quæ et Septuaginta. Sed hoc interest inter utramque, quod *κοινή* pro locis et temporibus, et pro voluntate scriptorum veterum corrupta editio est; ea autem quæ habitur in *Ἑξαπλοῖς*, et quam nos vertimus, ipsa est quæ in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata Sept.

reason in the question of Baronius^r. Why he should have bestowed such pains on the restoration of a text, the original copy of which was still in existence ; and which it was in his power at any time to inspect by merely taking a walk to the library of the Serapeum ? In deducing the genealogy of our present Greek Version we are able most satisfactorily to shew that the original Philadelphian Septuagint was the subject of Origen's labours ; and, although the subsequent neglect of his diacritical marks may have added to the confusion of the text, there is still reason to hope that the mischief is not quite irremediable. According to Jerome's account of the formation of the Hexapla, whenever a passage was found in the Greek version, having nothing corresponding with it in the Hebrew, it was the custom of Origen to place before it a virgula or obelus to signify that it ought to be retrenched ; where, on the other hand, a passage existed in the Hebrew which was omitted in the Greek,

Interpretum translatio reservatur. Quicquid ergo ab hac discrepat, nulli dubium est quin ita et ab eorum auctoritate discordet." *Hieron. Epis. 135. ad Suniam et Fretell.*

^r " Cur enim (inquit Baronius) adeo laboratum ab Origene primum, deinde a Luciano, postea ab Hesychio Alexandrino, in ea cognoscenda, emendanda, ac in candorem pristinum restituenda, si ipsum originale suppetebat exemplar ; ex quo potuissent omnia, quam, verissime, atque purissime, summa facilitate, corrigi et emendari ?" *Usher, l. c.*

the deficiency was supplied by him from the version of Theodotion; an asterisk being placed before the words thus introduced. Since then *the whole* * of that column of the Hexapla, which contained the Version called by Origen the Septuagint, has escaped the ravages of time, and yet survives in the work of Montfaucon, excepting only that the virgulæ and asterisks no longer appear in their proper places, what follows but that we possess *the whole* of what Origen believed to be the genuine Septuagint version, together with certain *additional passages*, from the version of Theodotion, here and there incorporated with it? In a critical point of view, and in many other points of view, it is greatly to be lamented that these additions from Theodotion cannot be now discriminated †; but, as far as

* See *Bishop Marsh's Theological Lectures*, Part II. p. 123.

† The possibility of restoring the pre-Origenian text, to a considerable extent, is thus stated by Usher.—“Ad communem vero illam editionem quod attinet, in qua quæ a LXX aberant ex Theodotione ab Origene suppleta fuisse diximus, eam cum suis asteriscis et obelis prorsus perisse non recte sensit Martinus. *Psalterii* editio vulgata Latina, *obelis et asteriscis distincta*, cum Brunonis Herbipolensis Episcopi commentariis, anno 1531 a Johanne Cochlæo in lucem est emissa. Liber Josuæ. Græce et Latine *ejusmodi notis signatus*, Andreae Masii opera prodiit: penes quem et *reliquos V. T. libros historicos* in versione Syriaca, *similiter notatos*, extitisse diximus. Librum *Jobi* ex Græco ab Hieronymo Latine, et *libros Mosis* ab aliquo Arabice versos, *eodem modo interstinctos*, in publica Oxo-

the truth or untruth of the Palæoromaican hypothesis is connected with the antiquity of our present Septuagint, the circumstance is of no importance whatever. For estimate the additions from Theodotion at the highest possible amount; suppose them to compose a hundredth of even a fiftieth part of the entire version, as it appears in our editions, can it be pretended that this is sufficient to destroy the identity of the composition? or that, in consequence, we no longer possess the Greek version as it came to the hands of Origen, and as he believed it to have existed in the age of the Apostles? Can it with reason be suspected that all the marked expres-

niensis Academiæ bibliotheca vidimus. *Geneseos quoque, Levitici, Numerorum, Deuteronomii, Josuæ ac Judicum* fragmenta quædam Græca vetustissima, *obelis et asteriscis signata*, Claudius Sarravius, in Parlamento Parisiensi Consiliarius Regius; integram vero *Esaiæ et Jeremiæ* prophetiam, *asteriscis insignitam*, communicavit nobis Patricius Junius, Regius nuper apud nos Bibliothecarius; quorum alterum per literas tantum nobis notum, alterum amicum intimum et integerrimum morte nobis ereptum, luctu serio prosecuti sumus. Neque est quod diffidamus in aliis Europæ bibliothecis libros quoque cæteros reperiri posse *asteriscis saltem ita illustratos*, ut per eos ex Theodotione adjecta supplementa a reliquo *Vulgatæ* editionis textu discerni valeant. Obeli enim, ut in codice Rupefucaldiano, ita in aliis, fere, Græcis MSS. ut honori *ρωδ* consuleretur, videntur prætermitti: quod ea, quæ in his superflua erant, tanquam veru jugulare putarentur et confodere. Sed istos restituendi, Græci textus cum Hebraico collatione facta, facilis est ratio: asterisci vero absque librorum subsidio recuperari omnino non possunt." *Syntagm. l. c. p. 104, 5.*"

sions, which are common to the Greek Bible and the Greek text of the New Testament, are derived exclusively from those parts of the former which have been borrowed from Theodotion; and are therefore more recent than the Apostolic age? Can it be safe on such a foundation to build an hypothesis no less at variance with history and probability, than it is affronting to the reputation of the Sacred Writings, and destructive of the evidences of religion?

Previously to quitting this part of the subject it may be proper to add one remark concerning those "other editors, less fitted" for the task than Origen, who published Greek editions of the Scriptures," (p. 303.) The history and the performances of Lucian and Hesychius are very imperfectly known; but the Alexandrian and Vatican MSS. of the Septuagint, as they manifestly contain different recensions, have been, not without reason, supposed to present the texts

" In what the peculiar unfitness of these editors consisted I cannot determine; nor do I believe that the author of *Palæoromaica* can tell. It appears to me, I candidly confess, a very suspicious peculiarity that he is never sparing of his insinuations against those who have laboured, in whatever manner, to preserve the integrity of the Scriptures, and to maintain their genuineness and authenticity: while his commendations are reserved for those whose torpid industry is chiefly exerted in endeavouring to raise difficulties and to discover blemishes, which their efforts, after all, cannot exalt into importance.

revised by these two editors. Now, whatever may be the differences subsisting between these two recensions, and they are neither few nor unimportant, it is somewhat curious that the various readings do not extend to even a single word of those on which this part of the Palæoromaican theory rests. Having taken the pains to collate the various readings of the Alexandrian MS. with the text of the Roman edition, reprinted at the Clarendon Press, I find that, among the words common to the Septuagint and the New Testament, which have been fixed on in Palæoromaica as probably derived from the Latin, there is not one which does not exist, without the slightest variation, in both recensions. It is therefore plain that, whatever the text may have suffered in other respects, these words at least, and upon these the question turns, were not of the invention or interpolation of either Hesychius or Lucianus. The unison of the MSS. in these instances, while so many variations exist elsewhere, seems rather to lead to the inference that the words noticed as of Latin, and comparatively recent extraction, formed a part of the original Septuagint, and have been left in it undisturbed by every subsequent editor. Upon any other principle than that they formed a part of the Greek Bible in the age of our Saviour, and were copied from it by the Apostles, their appearance in the manner in which they do

appear in the New Testament, cannot be accounted for without the grossest violation of the ordinary rules of probability. For suppose the New Testament existing in the Latin language, and to be rendered into Greek by translators proceeding on the principle of selecting the Greek word from its similarity in sound to the Latin one. That they should be able *in such a number of instances* to discover, in the Septuagint, words affording this “chime or echo” is almost too marvellous for belief; but, that the words, thus found, should not only agree in sound, but in very many instances should communicate *a peculiar emphasis and propriety which the original did not and could not convey*^x; and that all this

^x An instance of this is afforded by the word *εγκομβωσασθε*. 1 Pet. v. 5. which in Palæoromaica is supposed to be “no other than the Latin word *incumbite*.” (p. 195.) I cannot help remarking that if this were the fact, and if “chime and echo” were the sole considerations by which this supposed translator was guided in his choice of words, he would unquestionably have preferred *εγκομβουτε*, as bearing a much closer resemblance than *εγκομβωσασθε* does to the word *incumbite*. But let this pass. It is impossible however not to notice the singular good fortune of a translator, who, proceeding upon no more definite principle than that which is in this work attributed to him, has yet fixed on a word which Parkhurst calls “beautiful and expressive;” and which (see his explanation of it) comprises a variety of allusions, not one of which can have been suggested by the supposed prototype *incumbite*. The same remark an attentive reader cannot fail to extend to an entire *class* of words common to the Jewish and the Christian covenant, by which indeed the

should be the work of men translating at hazard, and under the guidance of their ears and eyes rather than of their understandings, is altogether such a concatenation of improbabilities as must surely awaken the suspicions of credulity itself. If this be a true representation of what occurred, and of the manner in which the Greek text of the New Testament was composed, I can only remark that it annihilates, at one stroke, the system of a writer, for whom in Palæoromaica great admiration and respect are professed—the ambiguous Conyers Middleton; by shewing that an actual *miracle* (for nothing less can it be esteemed) was performed after the close of the second century.

The reliance of the author of Palæoromaica is, however, not so much on any general principle,

connexion and harmony between the two is surprisingly kept up and secured. “In the New Testament he will find *all the terms relating to propitiatory sacrifices*, made use of by the Septuagint translators, so applied to *the death of Christ upon the cross*, as to give no room for a suspicion that they are not there applied in their strict and proper sense.” *Philip Skelton's Sermons—Christ the true and proper Sacrifice for Sin*. Vol. I. p. 257. So thought and so reasoned no mean proficient in theology; but we are now required to think that he was deceived; and to admit that this continued application of the sacrificial terms of the Old Testament to the death of Christ in the New is purely *accidental*; the appearance of a designed and divinely appointed connexion between them, as between the shadow and the substance, having its origin solely in the misconceptions of an ignorant translator.

as on the collection he has formed of separate words and phrases. Some of these, as we have seen, are certainly Latin in Greek characters; others he conceives to be formed from the Latin, with such slight variation that the resemblance in sound still leads us directly to the original; a third class has been formed by transposition of letters and syllables in the Latin; another has been introduced through erroneous etymologies, abbreviations, and lacunæ of MSS., through a confusion of terms nearly synonymous, and by other similar causes. In all these instances, it is assumed, the sense is so cleared, and so many difficulties are solved, by supposing the present Greek text to be only a very bad translation of a previous Latin text, that this hypothesis carries evident marks of being the true one; or is, at least, much more probable than any other which can be suggested. According to the laws of strict reasoning I am not aware that we could be bound, in any case, or in solution of any difficulties whatever, to adopt an hypothesis of this description; an hypothesis growing out of no previously established facts, but arbitrarily founded on conjecture and assumption. In the instance of the Apostolical writings I am at all events certain that we are reduced to no such necessity, because no difficulties have been proved to exist in them which do not admit of a less violent solution; and I am sincerely of

opinion that, in spite of the *Classes and Disquisitions of Palæoromaica*, most readers, of plain understanding and of common sense, will still prefer the hypothesis that St. Mark and St. Paul were the authors of their own writings. A question may undoubtedly be raised how a certain style came to prevail in those writings; but there is no *difficulty* unless there be no reply, or only an unsatisfactory reply. That style, it is alleged, is not the very best that can be imagined. Admitted: and if it were, we then indeed might have a real difficulty in shewing that it could be the production of those men, unlearned and of a humble rank in life, to whom the writings are attributed. But our Greek text contains many very strange words, and words employed in unusual senses; it exhibits solecisms, barbarisms, and it is hard to say what other improprieties of diction^y: and we cannot suppose that these proceeded from the Apostles themselves. We reply, Wherefore not? The Apostles wrote not in their native language, nor in one which they had been grammatically taught; but in one which they acquired by hearing it spoken as a provincial dialect. The phrases current in Palestine, however remote from Attic purity, were therefore unavoidably incorporated in their style; while an additional

^y *Palæor. passim.*

source of unauthorized idioms was open to them in the Alexandrian translation of the Scriptures, and in the daily increasing prevalence of Latin terms and expressions, arising from the subjection of their country to the Romans². The

² With respect to phrases which are obviously nothing more than Latin, translated literally into Greek, the most simple hypothesis is surely that which supposes the Evangelists and Apostles themselves to have been the translators. It is manifest that a speech or saying, no less than a writing, may be thus rendered into a language different from that in which it was uttered. As an instance, the words *ἱκανον ποιησαι τῷ οχλῳ* are a literal translation of *satisfacere populo*; which last were probably the words *actually* employed and communicated to the writer. But this, and other instances of the kind, can evidently furnish no proof, nor even presumption, that the entire Gospel was written in Latin, unless it be first shewn to be impossible, or exceedingly improbable, that St. Mark himself should literally translate into Greek two Latin words, which had been communicated to him, as having been employed by Pilate, or by those who were acquainted with the motives upon which he acted in this affair. Greek words, occurring in the Sacred Writings, but not discovered in profane authors, stand in a different predicament, and are to be defended on other principles. We do not possess, it is to be remembered, an hundredth or even a thousandth part of the works which have been composed in Greek. If all of these survived, it is most probable that every word in the Apostolic writings might be defended by the example and authority of one or more ancient writers. "Præcipue," as observes Salmasius, "si illi extarent qui plebeio stylo et idiotico res ac vitas privatorum scripserunt. Ex his est apud profanos Laertius Diogenes, qui vitas philosophorum literis mandavit; et refertus est idiotismis tam in singulis vocibus quam in tota phrasi." *De Hellen.* p. 107.

taste of the Apostles had never been so cultivated as to teach them the great evil of solecisms; and, being desirous only of recording faithfully the facts which they knew to be true, and of stating those arguments with which they were furnished by inspiration, without any view to derive personal reputation from their writings, they were even less attentive in their selection of words than men of their own rank, and their equals in education, writing from human motives, would have been. To this I must add, that the difficulties which do exist in the interpretation of the New Testament, are invidiously magnified in the work before me; and that many of the obscurities arise only from the mistaken conceptions of the writer by whom they are pointed out. Upon the subject of alleged *obscurity* I would recall to his recollection the sensible question of Casaubon.—“*Quid? solus hic obscurus? non etiam optimus quisque attentissimum et πολυμαθεστατον requirit lectorem? Non commemorabo Thucydidis*” τας περινοησεις, τας

^a “ Γλωσσηματικά, μεν ουν, και απηρχαιωμενα, και δυσεικαστα τοις πολλοις εστιν, το, τε ‘Ακραιφνες’ και ο ‘Περιολογισμος’ και η ‘Περιοπη’ και η ‘Ανακωχη’ και τα ομοια τουτοις. Ποιητικά δε η τε ‘Κωλυμη’ και η ‘Πρεσβευσια’ και η ‘Καταβολη’ και η ‘Αχθηδων,’ και η ‘Δικαιωσις,’ και τα παραπλησια’ η δ’ εν τοις σχηματισμοις καινοτης τε και πολυτροπια, και η εξαλλαγη της συνηθους χρεσεως, εν η μαλιστα διαφερειν αυτον ηγουμεθα των αλλων, επι τουτων γιγνεται των εργαων φανερα.” *Dionys. Hal. Ep. 2. ad Ammæum de iis quæ Thucyd. propria sunt.* The same critic objects to the great Athenian historian,

εμπεριβολας, τα γλωσσηματικα και ξενα, τα ανακολουθα,
 et similia multa, quibus obducta caligo ingens
 ejus Historiæ. Silebo Platonis τας ακρατους και
 απηνεις μεταφορας de quibus Longinus. Hoc so-
 lum dicam; maximarum difficultatum ea potissi-
 mum scripta esse plena, quæ omnium seculorum
 docti homines maxime sunt admirati. Quis Pin-
 darum intelligeret aut Aristophanem, absque
 eorum interpretibus? quis, Græcis literis doc-
 tus, choras tragicorum inoffenso pede percurrit?

that "he converts verbs into nouns" (ονομαστικως σχηματιζει)
 "nouns into verbs" (τα ονοματα ποιει ρηματα) "uses passive
 verbs for active and the converse (αλλαττει τα ειδη των παθητι-
 κων και ενεργητικων) singular for plural, masculine for feminine,
 and vice versâ," with many other peculiarities. After this we
 may well ask, *Nos offendunt Paullinæ difficultates?* There is
 nothing new under the sun, except the *inference* which the au-
 thor of *Palæoromaica* seeks to deduce from the phenomena
 which he notices in the New Testament. A child might tell
 him that, if it be more probable "to suppose that the genius of
Paul may have had injustice done to it by an imperfect transla-
 tion," because obsolete and obscure expressions occur in his
 writings, and the figures are novel and unprecedented, while
 solecisms of gender, voice, number and the like, are occasionally
 apparent, if this be a just inference in the case of St. Paul, then
 the appearance of precisely the same blemishes of style in the
 writings of *Thucydides* would seem to prove, that the writings of
Thucydides also have come down to us only in an imperfect
 translation. So common a book as the Port-Royal Greek
 Grammar may shew that such phrases, as η παις εγειρου, and χαιρε
 ο βασιλευς, are no evidences of translation; otherwise there is
 scarcely a classical Greek author whose text will not be exposed
 to the like imputation.

Theocriti τα σκληρα notant veteres critici ; neque indignantur. Nos offendent *Paullinæ* difficultates ^b ?”

Men of humble and candid minds can admit but one hypothesis, that the Books of the Christian Religion are such as their Almighty Author designed they should be : evidently the production of persons incapable of inventing either the facts or the doctrines which they promulgate ; and, by those very defects which their untutored manner of writing exhibits, proving that a Greater Power was in operation to accomplish the eternal purposes, which these, his humble instruments, were commissioned to reveal.

I shall now proceed to select for examination, a competent number of the instances which are classified in this fourth Disquisition, (p. 229—263) as so many proofs of a Latin original ; directing my attention principally to those which it is attempted to support by some shew of reasoning ; or by the allegation of some difficulty, arising from the mode of expression in the Greek, which would be removed by a recurrence to the Latin. If, in all these cases, it should be made to appear that the reasoning is founded on false principles, that the alleged difficulty arises only

^b *Proleg. in Persium.*

from the objector's misconception of the author's design, or from his own imperfect acquaintance with the Greek language, I trust the reader will do me the justice to believe that the same conclusion might be established in every other instance, had it been thought necessary to go through them all. I have forborne to notice any greater number, not because it would be difficult to answer them, but because the specimen, here given, may suffice to shew the general character of the work, and the credit due to this kind of cumulative argument ; and farther I must add that the remarks, by which the remaining instances are accompanied, betray in general such a spirit of hasty and puerile criticism, that to expose their inconclusiveness, at any greater length, would be a wearisome as well as a needless undertaking. The reader will please to observe that in the first instance is set down, from the Vulgate text, the Greek word concerning which the debate is raised ; after that the Latin word from which the Greek is *supposed* to have been derived ; with a reference to the page of Palæoromaica from which the quotation is taken ; and last of all are added such remarks as seemed necessary to clear the sense of the sacred writer from misrepresentation, to support by due authorities the expression objected against, and to shew that the solution proposed in Palæoromaica

is always unnecessary, and, in a great number of instances may be proved to be demonstratively false.

Δι' ἡμερῶν. *Demorari*^c. (p. 229.) The Latin text is supposed to have been nearly as follows ; “ *Et rursus intravit in Capernaum DEMORARI.*” And again he entered into Capernaum to *tarry*, or *abide*. This supposed Latin text then, judging from this specimen, was not, more than our present Greek, distinguished by classical purity. But this is unimportant. The only pretext, by which the existence of any Latin text whatever, and this imputed mistranslation of it, could be rendered plausible, would be that the phrase, δι' ἡμερῶν, is so singular, so void of meaning, and so contrary to all precedent, as to render the supposition, of its having proceeded from the Evangelist, a manifest absurdity. But how is any such case of difficulty established? The expression objected to is a manifest Hebraism, and, even by the Greeks, would hardly be considered as unauthorized. In the Pentateuch the word ימים is used in like manner to signify an indefinite number of days ; as Gen. iv. 3. מקץ ימים which is translated μεθ' ἡμερας ; and Gen. xxiv. 55. תשב הנער ימים “ Let the damsel abide a few days.” Neither is the use of δια, to denote an indeterminate interval, unprecedented in the

^c Mark ii. 1.

classic writers : as “ Ην δε ενδον και ο πατηρ ο του Πολεμαρχου Κεφαλως και μαλα πρεσβυτης μοι εδοξεν ειναι ΔΙΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ γαρ και εωρακειν αυτον^d :” i. e. *interjecto aliquot tempore* : and Beza so renders δι’ ημερων *interjectis aliquot dieibus*.

Εκτρωματι. *Extremitate*^e. (p. 229.) “ It is evident that an abortive child is one that is born not *after*, but *before* the time ; and that, in this view of the matter, the Apostle Paul would have seen the Lord sooner than any other person.” Upon the slightest consideration, I think it will be evident, that the writer of the above sentence had no right conception of the meaning of the words on which he undertakes to comment. The reason why St. Paul bestows this epithet upon himself is, that he had been constituted a preacher of the Gospel without undergoing that previous probation by which the other Apostles had been gradually formed to their office ; and he therefore compares himself to a child which had not gone through the regular period of gestation. It is plain that such an abortive child cannot be entitled to equal consideration with those who have come regularly to the birth ; and, pursuing this notion, St. Paul, in the excess of his self-humiliation, represents his having seen the Lord last of all, and *after* that privilege had been vouchsafed to all

^d *Plat. de Rep. prope init.*

^e 1 Cor. xv. 8.

the other Apostles, as a suitable mark of his own inferiority to his brethren. With respect to any difficulty arising out of the use of the prepositive article in this case, (or from his calling himself not *εκτρωματι* but *τω εκτρωματι*,) it has been occasioned by not considering that St. Paul here speaks of himself, not individually or unconnectedly, but as a member of a particular family, or of what might be termed the household of Christ. Having mentioned our Lord's previous appearances to those other members of that household, who might be considered as having obtained their stations through the regular course, contrasting the mode of his own appointment with theirs, he adds, "and last of all he appeared to me, as being *the* one (out of all these brethren) who was born out of due time."

For the following illustration of the employment of the word *εκτρωμα* itself, I am indebted to the same kindness to which I have before alluded. "Extat hoc vocabulum in Alexandrina Versione'. Grammatici antiqui, statuunt non adhiberi ab iis qui puræ dictionis et Atticæ elegantiae laudem sequantur; neque tamen ejus usum refugit *Philo* 1. *Leg. Alleg.* p. 54. C.—
 Ου πεφυκε γονιμον ουδεν τελεσφορειν η του φαυλου ψυχη· αν δε και δοκει προσφερειν, αμελωθριδια ενρισκεται και ΕΚΤΡΩΜΑΤΑ. *Non est aptus ad gignendum*

' Job iii. 16.

quidquam perfectum ignavi animus : quod siquando videtur fœtus gignere, abortivi reperiuntur. Conf. Trillerus. ad Thom Mag. p. 319.—*Lœsner. Observat. ut supra. p. 295.*

Επιφωσκω. *Offusco*^s. (p. 220.) After attentively considering the remarks of Michaelis and his very learned translator, on the difficulty of the above passage, I must avow my persuasion that the solution is to be sought nearer the surface. The Jews, it is well known, began to reckon their natural day from the evening ; the Romans theirs from an hour which, taking the medium, might be considered as that of morning twilight. St. Luke therefore, wishing to express that a particular day was *beginning* to the Jews, uses a word which he would naturally have employed to denote the beginning of a Roman day. In the latter case it would have been strictly and physically correct to use the word *επιφωσκω* : because the dawning and the beginning of day were simultaneous ; but, in the case of the Jewish Sabbath, which began at eventide, the expression can be used only in what may be called its derived and adventitious sense ; and abstractedly from its original meaning. This employment of the word, it will be said, is improper ; and it is admitted, in strictness, so to be. But in every

^s Luke xxiii. 54.

language, as it is ordinarily spoken, how many words, particularly those relating to artificial divisions of time, are used in an acquired and unnatural sense, which constant custom alone could occasion to pass unnoticed? Suppose St. Luke to have said το σαββατον επεφωσκε, when it was growing dark, I cannot think that he has been guilty of a greater impropriety than one which all critics have overlooked and pardoned in Cæsar; who, speaking of the length of the nights in a polar winter, uses the words, “ *Complures præterea minores objectæ insulæ existimantur, de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, DIES continuos triginta esse NOCTEM* ^h.”

Παρεκτος. *Peractus* ⁱ. (p. 231.) “ What is more certain is that, more than once, in the New Testament, the Greek παρεκτος seems to be a mere corruption of the Latin *peractus*. Thus Matt. v. 32. παρεκτος λογος πορνειας, which in its usual interpretation, *saving for the cause of adultery*, is (besides the redundancy of λογος) in opposition to our Lord’s precept in the parallel passages ^k, where putting away one’s wife is *absolutely* forbidden. It appears to me, then, that the Latin had been *peracto crimine adulterii*; and that our Saviour’s sentiment is, ‘ Whosoever shall put away his wife, *having instituted a suit of adultery*

^h *Bell. Gal.* v. 13.

ⁱ *2 Cor.* xi. 28.

^k *Mark* x. 11. *Luke* xvi. 18.

against her, causeth her to commit adultery.' The phrase *peragere reum* means to *implead one and prove him guilty*," (p. 161.) Thus cavils, and thus comments the author of *Palæoromaica*. I am sensible that to enter into a laboured refutation of one, who is so very indifferent a scholar as to think that *to institute a suit is crimen peragere*, is, in reality, *actum agere*; to do a very unnecessary thing. But, not to deny him any satisfaction, let Juvenal set him right upon this point.

" Quum scelus admittunt, superest constantia, Quid fas
Atque nefas tandem incipiunt sentire PERACTIS
CRIMINIBUS¹."

Does the Satirist mean, by the employment of this identical phrase, to imply that the perpetrator of a crime becomes internally sensible of the difference between right and wrong, only when a *suit is instituted*, and he is *impleaded and proved guilty*? No: he maintains the very reverse; that, antecedently to all discovery, and independently of any danger of it, the guilty conscience is tormented with remorse from the very instant that *the crime is committed*. The criticism on 2 Cor. xi. 28, is, in like manner, founded on an entire unacquaintance with the principles of Greek construction, and with the meaning of the

¹ Sat. xiii. 237.

Apostle. The words of St. Paul, if it be not assuming too much to quote them as his, are *Χωρις των παρεκτος, η επισυστασις μου, η καθ' ημεραν, η μεριμνα πασων των εκκλησιων.* " Besides those things which are from without," i. e. besides the persecution and ill usage which are heaped upon me by those who belong not to the flock of Christ " there is that crowd of care, which cometh daily upon me, my anxiety for all the Churches." What room is there then for the tasteless imagination that *παρεκτος* is merely a bad translation of *peractus*, and *μεριμνα πασων των εκκλησιων* of *CURAM omnium ecclesiarum*? *πασων εκκλησιων* is elliptically put for *υπερ π. ε.* and the Latin version of the words should be, as Beza makes it, *Sollicitudo DE omnibus ecclesiis.* The author of such criticisms as these betrays indeed so singular an unacquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages, that, when he again affects to take the lead in questions of this sort, a modest enquirer may be emboldened to ask him what are his pretensions?

Πτερυγιον. Porticum^m. (p. 231.) " There is no word," it is true, " on the meaning of which commentators are more at variance than *πτερυγιον.*" But this circumstance does not prove that this is not the genuine expression of the Evangelist; because it was to be *expected* that in these, as in

^m Matt. iv. 5. Luke iv. 9.

all other writings of equal antiquity, *some words* should occur which all the resources of learning would be incompetent so to explain as to produce unanimous acquiescence. Let it be granted, if it must be so, that the question must be given up in despair; that we know nothing with certainty respecting it. I do not say that we are reduced, even in the case before us, to such an extremity; quite the contrary: but even if it were so, we should be neither constrained nor inclined to take refuge in the proposed hypothesis. The author of that hypothesis must know that there is no Greek writing whatever in which single words do not occur, on the meaning of which as wide a division of opinions has prevailed as even *πτερυγιον* has excited: and would he persuade us that, in every such instance, we must extricate ourselves from an admitted difficulty by the intervention of such a scheme as that which is proposed in the case of the Evangelists? Suppose that we were so uncertain as to the true meaning of this word, and so unable to express it by an equivalent English term, that we were to translate the passage in which it occurs, "Then the devil taketh him into the holy city and setteth him upon the *Pterugium* of the Temple." This would be quite sufficient to ensure our understanding the material facts of the narration; because the context would clearly shew that some elevated external point of the

Temple was designed ; but whether a wing, a portico, or a battlement were meant, would be a mere question of curiosity, the solution of which could not be a matter of great importance. At the same time this ought not to discourage our *attempting* to determine what is meant by *the pterugium* ; and, if I may venture to add to the numerous opinions already recorded, the most satisfactory explanation seems to me to be derivable from the Septuagint. The word *πτερυγιου* is used by the LXX as corresponding with the Hebrew *קָנָף* ; the signification of which is shewn, I think, from many passages, to be *the extreme edge or border of any thing, specially of a garment*. The command of God to the people of Israel ^a was *ποίησατῶσαν ἑαυτοῖς κρᾶσπεδα ἐπὶ τὰ πτερυγία τῶν ἱματιῶν αὐτῶν, εἰς τὰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐπιθήσετε ἐπὶ τὰ κρᾶσπεδα τῶν πτερυγιῶν κλωσμά ὑακινθίνον. καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς κρᾶσπεδοῖς.* *Bid them make them fringes on the borders of their garments, throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringes of the borders a ribband of blue ; and it shall be unto you for a fringe, or rather upon the fringe : “ added to it” as Patrick (in loc.) remarks, “ to make it the more noted ; being of a distinct colour from the fringe, which was of the same colour with the garment.”* The fringe indeed, as the same commentator observes, “ seems to have been only

^a Num. xv. 38.

threads left at the end of the web unwoven." The *edge* of the garment was therefore traced out by a *border* of a different colour extending along it; and is here called το πτερυγιον. This is the view which our translators have taken of the passage, and I cannot but think that their version, given above, is more correct than the Vulgate "*Faciant sibi fimbrias per angulos palliorum,*" This interpretation is certainly supported by the high authority of Salmasius, who says "γωνιας, *id est angulos vestium, iidem Græci etiam πτερυγας appellabant et πτερα* °;" and again, "Angulos autem pallii γωνιας et πτερυγας appellari Græce in superioribus observavimus. Sic quatuor angulos τεσσαρα πτερυγια pallio scribarum tribuit Epiphanius *Hæres XV. φησι γαρ ότι πλατυνετε τα φυλακτηρια, και τα κρασπεδα των ιματιων υμων μεγαλυνετε. ροϊσκις γαρ τινας επι τα τεσσαρα πτερυγια του τριβωνος εκαστος ειχεν, εξ αυτης τε στημονος καταδεδεμενους εν ω χρονω ενεκρατευετο, η παρθενιαν ησκεεν. — τεσσαρα πτερυγια τριβωνος, sunt quatuor anguli, ex quibus pende- bant ροϊσκοι, id est globuli Punicorum malorum specie* ^p." Such is the decision of this consummate scholar; but it is to be lamented that he offers no reasons in support of his very positive conclusion^q. There are, I cannot help

° *Ad. Tertull. de Pallio.* p. 111.

^p *Ibid.* p. 472.

^q He says indeed in another part of this volume, "πτερυγας proprie vocabant Græci *angulos illos, qui circa imum vestis, ab*

thinking, grounds for questioning whether *πτερυγία*, in the passage of Epiphanius, do not rather mean the *borders* of the garment, as the equivalent Hebrew word is rendered in our public version. The scribes, not content with a simple fringe, augmented the width of that part of their dress by appending to it little balls, or knobs, attached to the warp of the stuff whereof the garment was made. It would therefore seem that the *πτερυγία*, upon which these balls were placed, could not be the angles of the garment: because the fringe, along the whole course of which this account, compared with Patrick's, proves that they extended, was not confined to the *angles*, but ran along the entire *hem* or *border*. Hesychius plainly intimates that the *πτερυγες* and the *κρασπεδα* were co-extensive; and the former word could therefore not be designed to denote only the angular points of a four-sided cloak. His words, quoted by Salmasius, are *πτερυγες, ευδυντηρες, τα πηδαλια και μέρος χιτωνος, τα περι τα κρασπεδα*. We find accordingly that the LXX translate כנף; sometimes by *κρασπεδον*, at others

alarum similitudine. Aperti siquidem et divisi in medio vestimenti partes, ab utroque latere fluitantes, avium alas plane referunt." *De Pall.* p. 112. So Patrick on Num. xv. 38. "as it is in the Hebrew, *in the wings* of their garments." It is however an obvious remark that the fluttering of the *fringes* which surrounded the *borders* renders the name of *wings* no less appropriate to those parts of the garment than to the angles or corners.

by *περυγιον*: as if they considered them nearly equivalent terms^r. Admitting therefore the correctness of Fischer's decision that in the passage Ruth iii. 9. and in some others, the meaning of *περυγιον* is "non oræ, extremitates vestis, sed ipsum pallium^s." This synecdochical application of the word in particular instances furnishes no proof that in other cases, and in a more proper sense, it does not bear the meaning I attribute to it; namely, *the border, as marked out upon, and distinguished from the garment itself*. That this is its proper signification is farther confirmed by the circumstance that אָרַב, in other parts of the Septuagint, is translated *ακρον*: as Hagg. ii. 13. according to some MSS. the reading of 1 Sam. xxiv. 5. 6. 12. is *το ακρον της διπλοΐδος*: according to others *το περυγιον της διπλοΐδος*: and in all these passages our English version, with apparent correctness, has "the *skirt* of his garment" or "robe." According to Hesychius *περυγια* and *ακρα* are the same: *περυγια, τα ακρα των ιματιων*. upon which Salmasius, adhering to his own interpretation, observes, "*τα ακρα sunt γωνιαι*," (p. 112.) But this is confuted by Hesychius himself, who says, "*κρασπεδα, τα εν τω ακρω τω ιματι κελωσμενα ραμματα*:" from which it evidently appears that he did not consider *το ακρον* to mean

^r Conf. Deut. xxii. 12. Zech. viii. 23. Num. xvi. 38. 1 Sam. xv. 27.

^s *Prolus.* p. 108.

the angle or corner of a garment, but the hem or border to which the fringe was attached. It tends to establish the same conclusion that the same Hebrew word כַּנְפֵי־אֶרֶץ, signifying *the extremities of the earth*, or *the boundary of the visible horizon*^t is rendered *περυσγων*.

We are therefore, I think, justified in concluding that the word *περυσγων* means *a border or boundary* marked out and defined : as the hem of the Jewish garment was by the differently-coloured ribband which ran along it. Now, that relation which such a border has to the garment, the *outer wall*, which ran as a *boundary* round the whole mount of the house, may be supposed to bear to the area or plot of ground which it enclosed, and on which the Temple stood^u. On

^t Job xxxvii. 3. xxxviii. 13.

^u This resemblance will be rendered more evident by the inspection of a plan of the Temple and its surrounding courts, *in plano*. See such a ground plan in *D'Oyly's and Mant's Bible* : 1 Kings vi. Michaelis says, "even Strabo thought it necessary to explain what was signified by *περα* when applied to the Egyptian temples. Lib. xvii. p. 1159." (Almeloveen's edition.) Upon this his very learned commentator remarks, "It appears from Strabo's description of the *περα* of the Egyptian temples that they were nothing more than two high walls, which formed a kind of inclosure or court before the temple itself. The difficulty consists not in *περον* but in *περυσγων*, for Wetstein, in his note to Matthew iv. 5. has produced a very sufficient number of examples, where *περον* and *περυσξ* are applied to a building ; but if we except the example from Eusebius which had

account of this resemblance the word *περυγιον* may have been used to designate that boundary; and the words of St. Matthew may be thus rendered. “Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on *the outer wall* of the holy place^x.” The eastern side of this boundary wall may be considered as the scene of this temptation of our Lord; and the description of it in Josephus^y affords a very satisfactory comment on the words of Satan, “cast thyself down;” for he assures us that the descent from thence into the valley beneath, was so sudden and precipitous as to occasion giddiness in those who looked down. This particular spot has indeed been suggested by previous writers; but they in general suppose that some *pinnacle* or *battlement* raised *above* the wall, or some *wing* projecting

been borrowed from the Greek Testament, no instance has been found where the diminutive *περυγιον* is applied to a building.” *Marsh’s Michaelis*, Vol. I. pp. 144—420. It must however be noted that the Egyptian temples had only *one* court surrounding them; and that we must therefore not expect to find both terms, *πτερον* and *περυγιον*, used in heathen authors to describe the single boundary within which those temples stood. But the Temple at Jerusalem was distinguished from all others by having *two* enclosures around it. If therefore the *inner wall* (surrounding the court of the Israelites) were called, after the Egyptian fashion, *το πτερον*, the *outer wall* (surrounding the entire area) might be called by way of distinction, *το περυγιον*.

^x Matt. iv. 5.

^y Ant. Jud. xv. 14.

from it, is meant²; nor do I find any one suggesting that our Lord was placed *on the wall itself*, or mentioning the reason which I have assigned why that might be called *το πτερυγιον*.

*Ανατολη. Natale*³. (p. 233.) “ *I suspect that what the Magi say, ειδομεν αυτου τον αστερα εν τη ανατολη, may have been Natale astrum in the Latin text.*” But let me ask what reason has he for suspecting this? or where is the difficulty of the passage as it stands? Did not the wise men come from the east? Could not they in the east have beheld the star of Christ hanging over Judea? or does not *ανατολη* “in various other passages of the New Testament mean the east?” If these questions cannot but be affirmatively answered, what difficulty, I repeat, does the original present? and if no difficulty, what room for conjecture? In the case of the least considerable of profane authors such a liberty would not be tolerated; and wherefore is the Sacred Text to be held unworthy of that safeguard against rash innovation which is extended over the text of every other writer?

² “Till an instance can be produced from a Greek writer in which *πτερυγιον* is applied to a building, and its sense determined, it must remain mere conjecture whether the Evangelists intended to express *a wing* of the Temple; or only a *point* or *prominence*.” *Marsh's Michaelis*, Vol. I. p. 421.

³ Matt. ii. 2.

Γεεννα. *Ignē*^b. (p. 234.) “It seems to me to be no other than a corruption of the Latin word *Ignē*; *quam totum corpus tuum eat* in γεενναν (ignem).” The resemblance between the Greek and Latin words is so very slight as to be scarcely perceptible, even when pointed out. But has the author considered what will be the effect of applying his conjecture in other passages in which γεεννα occurs? What kind of sense, for instance, does the substitution of *ignis* introduce into our Lord’s rebuke of the Pharisees? “Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and, when he is made, ye make him tenfold more *the child of fire* than yourselves^c.” Can any one seriously maintain that this is more satisfactory than those “innumerable dissertations about the valley of Hinnom?” or that the hypothesis, when applied to the words of our Lord, does not so miserably fail as to prove that it cannot be true?

Μαμμωνας. *Nummos*^d. (p. 234.) “The original seems to have been *nummos caducos*, and, this phrase not being familiar to the translator, he converted it, by a kind of chime, into μαμμωνας της αδικιας.” (p. 223.) Concerning the probability of this conversion let others judge. To me, the passage, as it stands in the Greek, seems

^b Matt. v. 22.

^c Matt. xxiii. 15.

^d Luke xvi. 9.

to furnish an unexceptionable meaning ; and the derivation of the principal word in it is reasonable and easy. “Vox ממו, ambage remota, Ebrææ linguæ filiabus in usu est. Certe Chaldaice est *Lucrum*; Gen. xxvi. 36. et alibi. Ita et Punice, uti Augustinus, Lib. II. de sermone Dom: in monte; et Serm. xxx. De verbis Dom: ait Mammona apud Ebræos *Divitiæ* appellantur. Congruit et Punicum nomen: nam *Lucrum* Punice Mamon dicitur^e.” With respect to the other part of the conversion, namely of *caducus* into *αδικος*, I will only ask how it came to pass that a translator, capable of such a blunder, should in the eighth verse of this chapter have used *αδικια*, and, in the tenth, *αδικος* twice, in such a manner that the supposition of their having been, in these instances, derived from *caducus* cannot be admitted without converting the entire passage into unmeaning absurdity.

Χρονος. *Hornus*^f. (p. 236.) “Ὅτι χρονος ουκ εσται επι, that *before the end of a year* the consummation would take place.” How the author deduces this sense from the words which he quotes, I do not stay to enquire. I notice this conjecture only to have an opportunity of observing, that the translation of this passage, even

^e *Pfeiffer Dubia Vexata Ss. recognita*, p. 894.

^f Rev. x. 6.

in our authorized version, appears to be susceptible of improvement. "The angel, which I saw stand upon the sea, and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever—that there should be time no longer; but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished." This passage I would translate in a different manner, and will give a reason why it should stand *thus*: "The angel, which I saw stand upon the sea, and upon the land, lifted up his hand to heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever—that *the time shall not be yet, but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel; when he shall begin to sound, and (when) the mystery of God shall be accomplished.*" This is not only more literal, as a comparison of the Greek will shew; but, by translating χρόνος^ε ουκ εσται ετι, *the time shall not be yet*, the reference is more clearly made to the words of our Lord, ουπω εσται το τελος, *the end shall not be yet*^h." Indeed, if this were the place for such a discussion, it might, I think, be satisfactorily shewn, that the predictions of our Lord, recorded by the first

^ε Χρονος, without the article prefixed, denoting a fixed and definite time, is used in like manner. "It is not for you to know the times," &c. Acts i. 7.

^h Matt. xxiv. 6. and Mark xiii. 7.

three Evangelists, primarily relating to, and primarily accomplished in, the overthrow of Jerusalem, have a farther and prospective view to the overthrow of that antichristian power which shall arise in the last days: in other words that, of Matt. xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. 2 Thess. ii. of some of the prophecies of Daniel, and the greater part of the book of Revelation, the subject is one and the same.

Ἀγιαζω. *Sanctifico*. Qu. for *Sancio*ⁱ. (p. 254.) This is one of the instances in which through “mistakes from abbreviations, faded letters, &c.” one word, in the supposed Latin text, has been mistaken for another, and the Greek translation which we possess has suffered accordingly. The passage in question then is supposed to have correctly stood thus, “*Infidelis enim maritus sancitur uxori; et uxor infidelis sancitur marito, &c.*” “The unbelieving husband is *legally plighted* to the wife; and the unbelieving wife is *legally plighted* to the husband; else were your children *bastards*, but now are they *legitimate*.” The translator hereof, it is imagined, mistaking *sancitur* for *sanctificatur*, made use of the word ἡγιασται, to the detriment of the sense of the passage. Upon the interpretation of the concluding passage in the above quotation, it may be remarked^k, that the words

ⁱ 1 Cor. vii. 14.

^k See *Whitby in loc.*

by which *bastards*, and *legitimate children* would be properly expressed in Greek, are *νοθοι* and *γνησιοι*. The designation *ἅγιοι* is applied by St. Paul to those who are actually, or potentially, within the terms of the Christian covenant; and who are thereby distinguished from others, (*ἀκαθάρτοις*) who enjoyed not that privilege. The remainder of "this difficult text" must be explained by reference to the particular state of things to which the passage relates. In the early ages of Christianity it frequently happened that a believer and an unbeliever were united in marriage; and, scruples being entertained as to the lawfulness of such marriage *ab initio*, and of continued cohabitation, the direction of the Apostle is applied for as to the proper mode of proceeding. His reply is in substance, "The children of this marriage are not *unholy*, or without the covenant, like those who are the fruit of marriages where *both* parties are unbelievers, but are admissible to the right of baptism¹. Now this could not be unless the unbelieving parent, as far as the purposes of matrimony, and those alone, were concerned, were *sanctified*, or admitted to a participation in Christian privileges, by the believing." In the words of Chrysostom,

¹ " *Sancti sunt, et dicuntur liberi quod, ex communi infantum sorte exempti, in statu gratiæ versentur.*" *Venema. Dissert. Sacr. Lib. III. c. ix.*

“ νικᾷ ἢ καθαρότης τῆς γυναίκος τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός· καὶ νικᾷ ἢ καθαρότης τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀνδρός πάλιν τὸ ἀκαθαρτὸν τῆς ἀπιστοῦ γυναίκος:” through the mercy of God the designation of the offspring is taken from the better parent; in consideration of whose belief, the unbelief of the other is not suffered unfavourably to influence the condition of the offspring^m. “ Wherefore,” he proceeds, “ so long as each is willing to continue, let him not put her away, — let her not leave himⁿ.”

Ἀληθεία. *Veritas*°. Qu. for *Virtus*. (p. 250.) In an immediate sense, and with reference to the mutual intercourse of men, *truth*, or the conformity of words to the existing state of things, is opposed to *falsehood*, which is the absence of such conformity. In the economy of revelation, therefore, the Gospel itself is called *truth* on account of its conformity with the existing state of things in the spiritual world; inasmuch as it

^m “ *Liberi ex conjugio cum infideli non sunt impuri; infidelis non sequuntur sortem, sed sunt sancti, secundum meliorem parentem judicandi, quemadmodum bonitas Dei, qua in meliorem inclinatur partem, evincit, et ex fidelis relatione ad Christum, qui parentem cum semine sibi asserit, manifeste colligitur.*” *Ibid.* cxiv.

ⁿ See on this whole subject, *Chamier. Panstratia Cathol.* Vol. IV. Lib. 5. cap. x. sect. 46, et seq. 1 Cor. vii. 15, &c.

° 1 Cor. xiii. 6.

declares to us the true God, the duties which we owe to him, and the mode of worshipping him acceptably in spirit and in truth. The Gospel is, upon all these points, directly opposed to every other system which bears the name of religion ; because all these give us *false* views of God and of our duty to him. When, therefore, it is said in Palæoromaica (p. 251.) that, in the “eulogy on charity ^p, *Rejoiceth not in INIQUITY, but rejoiceth in the TRUTH, αληθεια TRUTH* is opposed to *αδικια INIQUITY*,” and it is inferred that, to preserve the force of the contrast, the original must have been not VERITATE but VIRTUTE, “rejoiceth not in INIQUITY, but rejoiceth in VIRTUE,” the error is this ; the word *truth* is understood, if not in a false, in too circumscribed a sense : *αληθεια* is supposed here, and in similar passages, to intend only that quality which among men is opposed to the neglect of veracity ; whereas the truth in which charity rejoices is *collective* truth ; as it forms the entire subject of revelation, and is opposed not to *falsehood* singly, but to *all* those qualities which are comprehended under the generic name of *αδικια* or unrighteousness. The correction proposed in Palæoromaica in fact amounts to nothing ; for in the scriptural sense *truth* and *virtue*

^p 1 Cor. xiii. 6.

are one^a; and therefore *truth* stands naturally and properly opposed to *every* deviation from virtue; or, in the Apostle's language, to "evil" and "*iniquity*."

Ἀναστροφή. *Conversio*. Qu. for *Conversatio*^r. This word is used in the sense of *conversatio*, by Polybius^s; also 2 Macc. v. 8. Schleusner^t observes, "Cæterum etiam græcos scriptores hanc vocem ita usurpasse ut *omnem vitæ instituendæ, et cum aliis hominibus vivendi rationem, familiaritatem adeo et conversationem significaret, multis docuit*." Wesseling. in *Diatribæ de Judæorum Archontibus*, c. ii. p. 14. To this work I have no means of referring; but it was at least incumbent on the author of *Palæoromaica* to shew, that the authorities cited by Wesseling do not prove his assertion, as Schleusner appears to think they do. The mere inspection of the Epistles of St. Peter is sufficient to prove the utter *impossibility* of the assumption, that *conversatio* has been mistaken for *conversio*. If, in the Latin exemplar, a

^a Such is the opinion of the ethic poet:

" *Truth* and good are one;
And *beauty* dwells in them, and they in her:"

So therefore does *virtue*, which is the beauty of the moral universe; and perhaps the only form acceptable to Him who "seeth not as man seeth, but looketh on the heart."

^r 1 Pet. iii. 1.

^s *Vid. Wetstein in loc.*

^t *Lex. N. T. s. v.*

mark of abbreviation unnoticed, or the obliteration of certain letters in the copy, can be supposed in *one* instance to have given rise to such an error, this would be carrying conjecture to the very limits of probability. But when we are required to admit that, if this source of error prevailed in *one* instance, it must have prevailed *six* times in the first Epistle of St. Peter, and *twice* in the second; *once* in the Epistle of St. James, and *four* times in those of St. Paul, when we find that at least *three* separate translators must have fallen *thirteen* times, in all, into the same error of mistaking *conversatio* for *conversio*, while the words *converto* and *conversio*, when they *do* occur, are rendered by other Greek words, and not by *αναστρεφω* and *αναστροφη*, we have a glimpse of the difficulties in which the New Testament will be involved by the admission of this very simple and unperplexed hypothesis.

Φωνην. *Vocem*. Qu. for *Vocantem*". (p. 257.)
 The objection here is, that a voice cannot be *seen*. But *βλεπω*, and words of similar import, do not necessarily signify *seeing* in a corporeal sense. They are applied, by writers, sacred and profane, to objects which cannot be, any more than a voice, the objects of vision. Thus Matt. xiv. 30. "βλεπων δε τον ισχυρον ANE-

" Rev. i. 12.

MON." Similarly Appian * "ως δε και ΠΝΕΥΜΑ
εθεασαντο."

Γινωσκω. *Nosco*. Qu. for *Agnosco*†. The true sense of this passage is that which our Established Version gives, "that which I do I *allow* not;" and the use of γινωσκω, with this signification, has been so often and so satisfactorily defended, that it is unnecessary here to repeat the authorities for it. In the passage, John i. 10. "ὁ κοσμος αυτου ουκ εγνω," I must still doubt, notwithstanding the authority of Valckenaer, whether *ipsum non agnovit* would correctly represent the Apostle's meaning. There is a wide and obvious distinction between acknowledging a person in a particular character, and knowing in what the attributes of that character consist, and in what the person's claim to it is founded. With respect to our Lord the unbelieving world was deficient in both these respects. Not only did it not acknowledge him in the character of Messiah; but (and this is the point to which St. John refers) they were disabled by prejudice from correctly apprehending what characteristics the Messiah should be expected to display; and from discerning how far those characteristics were exhibited in Jesus of Nazareth. To make their acknowledgment of him worth any thing, there was a previous qualification necessary;

* *Bell. Alex. Annib.* p. 574.

† *Rom.* vii. 15.

that they should *know* him, or correctly appreciate his character and claims. This distinction is clearly traced by our Lord himself. "It is my Father that glorifieth me, of whom ye *say*," or acknowledge, "that he is your God. Yet," he continues, this acknowledgment of him in that character is unavailing, because "ye have not *known* him^z;" or had any right perception of his nature and attributes. So, "If ye had *known* me, ye would have *known* my Father also^a;" where the introduction of *agnosco* for *nosco*, or of "if ye had *acknowledged* me, ye would have *acknowledged* my Father also;" would make their acknowledgment of the Father, as their God, dependent on their acknowledgment of the Son as their Messiah: plainly contrary to the fact.

ἔργον. *Factum*. Qu. for *Facinus*^b. (p. 164.) Whether or no "committing incest can properly be termed a *work*;" whether "facinus is quite appropriate to the occasion," and whether "the etymological translator confounded this with *factum*," are questions which the author of *Palæoromaica* may be left to decide in his own way. It is more to our purpose to shew, that in this application of ἔργον there is nothing but may be justified by adequate authority. One quotation

^z John viii. 54.

^a John xiv. 7.

^b 1 Cor. v. 2.

may suffice. “Ὡς δε Ρωμαιοι και αυτοι Καρχηδοντοι νομιζουσι, Διδω γυνη Τυρια, ης τον ανδρα κατεκαινε Πυγμαλιων και το ΕΡΓΟΝ απεκρουψεν^c.”

This application of the word *εργον*, to denote *murder*, might alone suffice to vindicate the Apostle's use of it; but it may be farther observed that, in a very marked instance, it is employed by Euripides to express that very crime which St. Paul has in view: ὥστε ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ τινα τς ΠΑΤΡΟΣ εχειν. Alluding to her own incestuous passion for Hippolytus, Phædra says,

“ το δ' ΕΡΓΟΝ γδη την νοσον τε δυσκλεα^d.”

There cannot indeed be a finer commentary on the words of the Apostle, *τοιαυτη πορνεια ητις σδε εν τοις εθνεσιν ΟΝΟΜΑΖΕΤΑΙ*, than is furnished by the management of the entire plot, as well as of particular scenes, in this tragedy. The writings of antiquity contain not a more striking representation than that which is here presented of Phædra's struggle against so odious a passion, and of the shame and confusion with which she shrinks back from any approach towards an avowal of it. Amidst the general horror, which the discovery of it excites, one thing is very strongly marked; namely, that it was, in the general estimation, too detestable to be *spoken of*.

^c *Appian. Lib. Carth. p. 13. ed. Car. Steph.*

^d *Eurip. Hippol. Coronif. 410.*

Thus Phædra obstinately refuses to *name* the cause of her misery, and when at length her insidious confidant is led to mention Hippolytus, she exclaims

“ σὺ τὰδ', ἐκ ἐμοῦ, κλυεῖς.”

as if it were some relief of her wretchedness, and some extenuation of her guilt, that *she* had not been reduced to *name* the malady which consumed her, or the unconscious author of her sufferings. ἀνηκίστα παθήεα they are termed by the chorus; “ sufferings which *ought not to be heard of*.” as the scholiast well explains it τὰ μητε ἀκοῆς ἀξία, τὰ ἀρρητά. From the same feeling, when the attendant even hints to the queen the gratification of her passion as a means of preserving her life, the utterance of such a sentiment suspends in her every other feeling but that of horror; and her reply is

“ ὦ δεινὰ λέξασ' ἔχι συγκλησεῖς στομα,
καὶ μὴ μεθησεῖς αὐδὶς αἰσχιστῶς λογῆς;”

and Hippolytus, after having listened to the relation of the Nurse, exclaims

“ ὡς καὶ σὺ γ' ἤμιν ΠΑΤΡΟΣ, ὦ κακὸν κἀρα,
ΛΕΚΤΡΩΝ ἀθικτῶν ἠλθεῖς εἰς συναλλαγᾶς.
ἄ' γὼ ρυτῶν νασμοῖσιν ἐξομῶξομαι,
εἰς ὧΤΑ κλυζῶν· πῶς ἀν ἐν εἰρῇ κακός,
ὅς ἐδ', ΑΚΟΥΣΑΣ τοιαδ', ἀγνευεῖν δοκῶ;”

I put it now to the author of Palæoromaica whether St. Paul has not given a most *accurate*

description of the feelings of the Gentile world upon this subject; and whether in his remarks about *facinus* and *nefandum* he himself does not display an *ignorance* which in another he would regard as no less than *shameful*?

Θαλασσα. *Mare*. Qu. for *Thessalia**. (p. 254.) That any person should *translate Thessalia* by *θαλασσα* is utterly inconceivable. That a copyist may have *written* *θαλασσα* for *θαισσαλια* is by many degrees nearer to the regions of probability; and such an error once introduced might naturally and easily be propagated through an entire class of MSS. If then it were even necessary, in order to maintain the congruity of the narrative, to read *θαισσαλια* and not *θαλασσα*, this mode of accounting for the disappearance of the former word would be preferable to that which supposes it to have arisen from mistranslation. I must however confess my inability to discern the validity of the reasons assigned by Markland, in support of the reading *θαισσαλια*. The passage as it stands in the received text, *πορευεσθαι ως επι την θαλασσαν* *to go towards THE SEA*, is in perfect congruity with the context; "They that conducted Paul *brought him unto Athens*." Now although, if he went to Athens *by land*, he would pass through *Thessaly*, yet, as the object of the brethren was to place the Apostle *as soon as possible*, beyond the reach

* Acts xvii. 14.

of the Jews, whose persevering enmity was shewn by their pursuit of him to Berœa, it seems more reasonable to suppose that they would conduct him to the nearest *sea port*; in order that he might be conveyed to Athens, or at least part of the way thither, as he had come from Troas, (xvi. 11.) on ship-board ^f.

Κεδρων. *Cedrorum* Qu. for *Cedron*^s. That a careless copyist should commit such an error as that of writing των κεδρων for του κεδρων can surprise no one; and the same error might, like that noticed in the preceding instance, creep into a great number of copies. That we possess so many as three MSS. which preserve the genuine reading

^f The following is Hoogeveen's explanation of the passage. "Τον Παυλον εξαπεστειλαν οι αδελφοι πορευεσθαι ως επι Θαλασσαν. *Paulum miserunt fratres, ut proficisceretur versus mare; sive, quasi ad mare.* Nempe Judæi Thessalonicenses, odio evangelii concitati, Berhœam tendentes Paullum persequebantur; quare fideles eum comitabantur, *simulantes* iter per mare: ideo que, urbe egressi, tendebant non ad, sed versus mare, hoc est ad ortum, versus sinum Thermäicum, ut insidiantes hostes eluderent, ita ut, longius ab urbe remoti, flecterent iter versus Thessaliam." *Doctrin. Parti. C. LVII. Sect. 8. P. 1210.* There does not appear however to be any necessity for this supposition that the brethren went towards the sea, as a feint to cover their real design of making the journey by land. Ως επι, in the examples from Arrian immediately preceding the above extract, evidently denotes not only a progress *towards*, but an actual arrival at the positions indicated. In either view of the subject the objection of Markland revived in Palæoromaica falls to the ground.

^s John xviii. 1.

is an exemplification of the manner in which the authentic sacred text has been preserved and may be recovered; the aberrations of some of the witnesses being in every case counterbalanced by the greater correctness of a sufficient number of others.

Θεμελιον. *Fundamentum* Qu. for *Fundum*^h. (p. 91.) The objection here is the incongruity of the metaphor. “What is the meaning of *treasuring up a foundation?*” “The word in that Latin copy from which our Elzevir Greek *appears* to have been derived, *seems* to have been *Fundum*” and “the passage in our version therefore ought not to be ‘*laying up in store for themselves a good foundation;*’ but ‘*laying up in store for themselves a good fund.*’” The *meaning* of the Apostle is plain enough: “charge them who are rich in this world,” to give, by their readiness to distribute, so clear a proof of their faith in Christ, that on Him, as on an immoveable foundation, they may build their hope of eternal life. But wherefore speak of *laying up* a foundation? Because their title to build on such a basis was to be acquired, not instantaneously or by any single act, but by the daily, hourly, persevering exhibition of charitable affections; as, among the children of this world, treasure is amassed by laying up conti-

^h 1 Tim. vi. 19.

nually and separately one piece of money after another. St. Paul's intention was to shew *what* a Christian ought to do, and *how* it was to be done; and when in his rapid style he unites these two points of instruction in a single sentence, he unites also the metaphors by which each, separately, was well and forcibly expressed; and thus produces "an incoherent figure." And is this so uncommon a case? "Multi," says Quintilian "cum initium a tempestate sumpserunt, incendio aut ruiná finiuntⁱ." This is a fault to which the fervid and energetic character of St. Paul peculiarly exposed him in writing; and another instance of it, an instance which I do not see how any supposition of a Latin original can remove, is exhibited^k in the words ὁ μεντοι στερεος θεμελιος τῆ θεσ εστηκε εχων την σφραγιδα ταυτην. Now it may be said in correct language concerning a *foundation* that it *stands firm* or *sure*; yet to speak of the *seal* of a *foundation*, and to intimate that its firmness or stability arises from its bearing such a seal, although the *meaning* be perfectly evident, does not appear to be a more correct style of figurative expression than that which exists in the phrase objected to, "*laying up a good foundation.*" If then St. Paul in this latter instance have employed an incoherent figure, upon what grounds can a similar

ⁱ *Institut. Or. Lib. VIII. c. 6. § 2.*

^k 2 Tim. ii. 19.

blemish in the former case be adduced in proof that the phrase is not his ¹.

Υἱος ἢ βοῦς. *Filius aut Bos* Qu. for *Ovis aut Bos* ^m. (p. 376.) “It appears to me that the original had been OVIS, and this, by a common metathesis, had been read ΥΙΟΣ by the translator.” The reading of the received text is well known to be ονος ἢ βοῦς, but on what *authority* this rests I cannot find. The ancient MSS. are all against it; and it seems to have been, as Mill remarks ⁿ, a conjectural reading introduced to obviate the harshness of the combination “whose *Son*, or whose *Ox*.” It seems desirable however to obviate this harshness, if it be possible, without such a deviation from MS. authority as the reading ονος entails. Although the *present* reading of the most ancient MSS. be υιος ἢ βοῦς (or in more modern orthography υιος ἢ βοῦς,) it may be worth while again to collate the passage to discover whether this were the *original* reading;

¹ Attempts have been made to remove the incongruity in both instances. Hammond (on 1 Tim. vi. 19.) attempts to shew that θεμελιον may signify a *note*, *bond*, or *obligation*, which may be *laid up*, and bear a *seal*; and M^cKnight that σφραγις may denote an *inscription* such as may be graven on a *foundation*. Their arguments however are not convincing; nor can I think such explanations necessary. It is however plain that if Hammond's opinion be correct, the inconsistent figure and the objection derived from it, will vanish together.

^m Luke xiv. 5.

ⁿ *Proleg.* xliv.

whether, in any MS. written without intervaks between the words, there appear any *lacuna* between the σ at the end of *υιος* and the following letter η : in which space the syllable *av* may have once stood, although by age or accident it be now expunged°. In other words I conceive it

° In profane authors, I will take this opportunity of observing, very corrupt and apparently hopeless passages may often be amended by considering the existing MSS. of those authors' writings as having been copied without due care from other more ancient MSS. in which certain letters had disappeared through age or accident. To exemplify this, let a well known passage in the *Persæ* of *Æschylus* be taken. In Archdeacon Blomfield's excellent edition of this play the passage alluded to stands thus :

τι ταδε, δυνατα, δυνατα
 περι τα σα διδυμα
 διαγοιεν αμαρτια
 πασα γα σα ταδε
 εξεφθινθ' αι τρισκαλμοι
 ναις, αναις, αναις."

The learned editor's observation hereupon is " Totum locum repræsentavi qualis in editione Glasguana exhibetur, quem si explicare coner risum doctioribus movebo. Infelices criticorum conjecturas memorare supersedeo, meam que, et ipsam forte infelicem, in medium proferam." *Persæ*, p. 62. 2nd. Edit. The passage may perhaps originally have stood thus :

" τιΜΙΩτατε δυναΣτα, δυναΣτα
 περιΣΑι τα σα διδΑΧα
 διαγΝοιεν αμαΥρα.
 πασαΙ γα σα ταδε
 εξεφθινται τρισκαλμοι
 ναις, αναις αναις."

and the letters written in capitals having been obliterated in the

to be not improbable that the passage in question originally stood thus, *τινος ὑμων υἱος ΑΝηξος εἰς φρεαρ ἐμπεσειται, και εκ ευθεως ανασπασει αυτον εν τη ἡμερα τς σαββατς*; Which of you having his *infant son* fallen into a well, will not straightway pull him out on the Sabbath day? *ανηξος* is explained by the Lexicographers, and by the *Scholiast* on *Theocritus*, to mean *one under twelve years of age*;

MS. from which our existing copies were taken, the scribe formed the remaining letters into Greek words as well as he was able; and thus spread over the passage such obscurity that any attempt to explain it in its present form, would, it is justly observed, only provoke a smile. With the emendation here proposed the sense becomes clear and suitable. The chorus, by desire of Atossa, evoke the shade of Darius, who was called *θεομηστωρ* or *equal to the Gods in counsel*, that they might enjoy the benefit of his often approved wisdom and experience to inform them of the causes of their late calamities. Concluding their adjuration with this *Epodos* they thus solemnly address him;

“ O thou who diedst most lamented by thy friends
O monarch, most honoured monarch,
May the Persians, by thy instruction,
Discern what is obscure, &c.”

namely, the cause of their late defeat, and the conduct which thereupon they ought to pursue,

“ πως αν εκ τωτων επι
 πρασσοιμεν ως αριστα περσικος λεως.”

It is scarcely necessary to observe that the verse

“ τιμωτατε δυναστα δυναστα”

becomes *Asynartetus* precisely similar to v. 1083. of the *Hecuba*.

which perfectly suits the scope of our Lord's question. Dr. Campbell thinks that *ὑἰος* cannot be the reading, because " a man possessed of even the Pharisaical notions concerning the Sabbath might think it in the case supposed excusable from natural affection, or even justifiable from paternal duty, to give the necessary aid to a child in danger of perishing, and at the same time think it inexcusable to transgress the commandment for one to whom he is under no such obligation." Certainly if it were lawful to extricate a dumb animal *much more* would it be so to deliver a human creature on the Sabbath day. But though our Lord might have used this argument *a fortiori*, it is not certain that he must have done so ; since it was sufficient for him to shew that what he had done was *equally* justifiable with that which the Jews themselves did not scruple to do. If one of you, he reasons, would think it lawful on the Sabbath to deliver a child, too young to help itself, from a state in which it must otherwise perish, will you not acknowledge that it is equally justifiable in me to deliver this child of God, who is unable to relieve himself, from a state in which, without my assistance, he must equally perish ?

Ηφιε. *Sivit*^p. (p. 230.) For the following quotation and remarks, concerning this word, I am

^p Mark i. 34. xi. 16.

indebted to the same liberal scholar who has obliged me with the extracts from Lœsner's valuable work⁹. In availing myself for the last time of his assistance, I should be inexcusable not to mention the name of the Rev. H. J. Todd; whose great stores of learning are never employed with so much satisfaction to himself, as when they are directed to the support of the authority of the Scriptures, and to the maintenance of true religion.—“ Ηφιε. The author of Palæoromaica, in disparagement of this word, has given a note from Grotius, with no other remark appended to it; thus implying that it was not to be impugned, or, at least, that he thought so. The passage cited in Palæoromaica, is in p. 230. ‘ Ουκ ηφιε. Vox sane μονηρης,’ says Grotius, ‘ quam nemo observavit extra Marcum, qui infra iterum sic loquitur. Sed neque αναλογον flexionem facilè experies’.

“ Now then observe how completely Grotius is answered, which the author of Palæoromaica (I do insist) *ought* to have known; or else he *ought not* to have so triumphantly introduced the mistaken criticism.

“ ‘ De voce ηφιε, quæ Marc xi. 16. quoque occurrit, Grotius ad h. l. dicit, *Vox sane*, &c. &c. (as

⁹ Vide supra, for the Remarks from *Chr. Fr. Lœsneri*. Observ. on the words μετεωριζομαι and εκτρομα.

^r *Grotius Annot. in Marc. i. 34.*

before) Paulo post, *Si qui Codices haberent ηφιει, dubitandum non esset, quin ea lectio esset præferenda.*—Ne igitur in posterum vocis hujus lectio, universali fulta Codicum consensu, sollicitetur, addo locum, Philonis *Legat. ad Caium.* p. 1021. ὁ μιν οὖν Ἑλικῶν σκορπιῶδες ἀνδραποδὸν τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ ἰὸν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ΗΦΙΕΝ, *Helicon mancipium scorpioni simile venenum Ægyptium in Judæos emittebat.* Est verò aoristus sec. ab αφιειω, cujus imperfectum ηφιει frequentius occurrit.* Such is Kypke's illustration of ηφιει, and of his own position, '*lectio hujus vocis immeritò suspecta videtur.*' "

Many other instances might be similarly treated, but my limits will not permit it. In most of the preceding cases, it is impossible, as was before observed, to prove a direct negative; but, since it is our antagonist's business to shew that the Apostles did not write in Greek, not ours to shew that they did not write in Latin, as much as the case requires or admits has been performed, if it have been proved in all these instances that the exceptions taken are unfounded; that the peculiarities noticed may be explained without resorting to the hypothesis that our Greek is a translation or retranslation from some antecedent text; and that consequently the design of attacking its originality on

* *Philonis Legat. ad Caium.* p. 1021.

any such ground must be abandoned. There are however instances to be met with in Palæoromaica, in which the falsehood of the hypothesis is reduced to a certainty; because the Latin text which it restores proves to be unmeaning and absurd. For instance, *απαρτι*[†], is said to be only the Latin *aperte*. Be it so: but can any man suppose, as this correction would oblige us to think, that such a sentence was ever written as “*aperte videbitis cœlos apertos?*” Can we be persuaded that the original text was “*divites fieri in bonis opibus*”[‡] (p. 91.) which would be to make the Apostle write as follows, “Charge them who are rich in this world—to be *rich* in good *riches*.” Another instance is, where our Lord being interrogated by the disciples as to the meaning of the parable of the sower, asks them, “*Ακμην και υ̅μεις ασυνετοι ε̅στε*”[‡]; The sense of this, according to Palæoromaica, is “Our Lord asks them, whether they also were deficient in *acumen*?” (p. 229.) that is, the ignorant translator took *ακμην* as the representative of *acumen*, merely from its resemblance *in sound*. Now the Latin text from which the Greek was derived, supposing its existence for a moment, must have been nearly as follows, “*Annon vos etiam acumine destituti estis?*” The translator then, com-

[†] John i. 51.

[‡] 1 Tim. vi. 18.

[‡] Matt. xv. 16.

ing to this passage, either understood the meaning of *acumine* or he did not. If he did understand it, he could not possibly suppose that it was adequately translated by *ακμην*, with which he must have been sensible it had no correspondency, except that which arises from their being partially composed of letters of corresponding powers. It is plain, therefore, and indeed the whole argument of Palæoromaica proceeds upon the assumption, that he did not comprehend the meaning of *acumen*; that he could have no more suspicion that it meant *understanding*, than that it meant any thing else, however remote from that idea. He therefore renders *acumen* by *ακμην*, (the word most nearly resembling it in sound, which his vocabulary could furnish) and then the words remaining to be translated, are “*Vos destituti estis?*” or some of equivalent import. Now here is the difficulty. Having disposed of *acumen*, in a mode which he would not and could not have adopted unless he had been ignorant that it meant *understanding*, how comes our translator to suspect that the sentence contained any thing about *understanding* or *discernment*? How could he elicit any such meaning from the word *destituti*? or how came he to translate *Vos destituti estis*, by *υμεις ασυνητοι εστε*; which is in fact equivalent to *Vos acumine destituti estis*? Surely we cannot but think it a piece of uncommon good fortune that this word, with the idea which it

conveys, having been so wrongfully ejected, should so speedily be reinstated; and, as it appears, by the merest accident in the world. Our author requires us to believe the same thing to have happened to his translator, as good Bishop Berkeley conceives to have occurred on another occasion; or that, having committed one oversight in his original supposition, he was fortunately guilty of a second error which exactly countervailed the first, and brought all right again^y. For myself I could however wish to have it explained how the translator, if he did *not* know the true meaning of *acumine*, was put in mind of using a word so proper as *ασυμμετροι*: if he *did* know it, can we believe that any one, a single step removed from imbecility, would have thought of translating it by *ακμην*?

We will quit however the writings of St. Matthew for those of St. Mark. From these an instance is taken on which great stress is laid, and great pains have evidently been bestowed; but in which, if I am not mistaken, the writer's failure is complete. "This (*κοινος*) is a Greek word signifying *common*; but Hellenistically, *de-*

^y "Therefore the two errors, being equal and contrary, destroy each other; the first error of defect being corrected by a second of excess. If you had committed only one error, you would not have come at a true solution of the problem. But, by virtue of a twofold mistake, you arrive, though not at science, yet at truth." *The Analyst*, p. 34.

filed or *impure*: in which latter sense it is used by no classical Greek writer." (p. 89.) Here then is the difficulty; next comes the solution. "Here I think it exceedingly probable that (St.) Mark, if he himself wrote in Latin, or one of his Latin interpreters, had written *cænosis manibus*, or abbreviated *cænis manibus*; and that the translator, like William de Möerbeka's above, gave both the original and the translation." (p. 89—90.) I reply that, if St. Mark had designed to tell us that the Jews objected to Christ's disciples eating with hands literally defiled, or covered with mud, he might have used such a phrase as *cænosis manibus*: we might have thought that the Jews were interfering in a matter which did not concern them, but should hardly have considered their scrupulosity as, in itself, absolutely unreasonable. But no such idea was ever in the contemplation of St. Mark, or of any Jew in all the tribes of Israel. There was among them no scruple or question as to the absolute cleanness or uncleanness of the hands in a literal or physical sense; it was a ceremonial defilement which their objection contemplated; and therefore, even when their hands were as free from stain as all the waters of Jordan could make them, they still refused to eat without a previous ceremonial ablution; and, after such ablution, for form's sake, they no longer hesitated to eat though their hands con-

tinued in a state far from that of actual cleanliness. It would, therefore, have been giving a false representation, and must have been obviously contrary to the design of St. Mark, to employ a word (*cænosus*) which, by every inhabitant of Rome, must have been understood to mean, that the Jews objected to lying down at their meals with hands literally *dirty* and *defiled* with *mire*. In this use of *κοινος*, on the other hand, implying *legal* impurity, there is nothing strange or unprecedented; since from the passages quoted by Parkhurst and Schleusner, (*v. κοινος*) it plainly appears that it was current among the Jews in that sense; and, when we call to mind the comparative estimation in which in all cases they held themselves and other people, we cannot be at a loss to account for its acquiring such a sense among them. In this sense *κοινος* was not current among the Gentiles; for whose instruction therefore the Evangelist very naturally adds, *τουτ' εστιν ανιπτοις*. The case of such an addition here bears no resemblance whatever to that of the circumlocutory interpretations, annexed to certain words in the ancient translation of the Bible, referred to in the Diversions of Purley, and from which some quotations are given in *Palæoromaica*, (p. 87, 8.) Let us take for instance the passage²

² 2 Cor. ix. 15.

as it is given in this translation, “thankings to God upon the *unenarrable* or *that may not be told* gifte of hym.” Admitting, what I believe few will dispute, that these words, and similar words in the other instances, betray a translation from the Vulgate “*Gratias Deo super inenarrabili dono ejus,*” &c. yet is it most incorrect to affirm, that “the case is *precisely analogous* in the following phrase of St. Mark, *κοιναις χειρσι τουτ’ εστιν αμπτοις.*” That the cases are not analogous is plain from the very explanation of those peculiarities in the early Bible, which is quoted (p. 86,) from the Diversions of Purley. “These words (*inenarrabili, amabilia, &c.*) and such as these, our early authors *could not possibly* translate in English but by a periphrasis;” and for the plainest of reasons; because there were no synonymous words in the English language. The English translator was therefore obliged either to adopt the expedient to which he had recourse; or else he must have suffered such words as *unenarrable, insolible, amiable, &c.* to stand without explanation in the text, which would then have been no more intelligible to most readers of that age, than the original itself was. But, if the Latin Gospel of St. Mark had come into the hands of a Greek translator, he would have been under no such difficulty; the phrase *cænosis manibus* might have been literally rendered into Greek, because in Greek there is

an adjective ($\beta\omicron\rho\epsilon\omicron\rho\omega\delta\eta\varsigma$) of common and approved use, which exactly corresponds in signification with the Latin *cœnosus*. Another consideration also will shew us the futility of the conjecture, that $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ is *cœnis* in disguise. In the passage from St. Mark here considered, and in that from Heb. x. 29. the substitution of *cœnum* for $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu$, preserves something like sense and meaning, though not of the clearest description. But before the author of Palæoromaica can be entitled to consider his triumph as complete, his hypothesis must bear the test of application in every other passage where the same word occurs. In all these instances he must assume, that *cœnum* or *cœnosus*, of the original Latin, has been converted into $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu$, or else he must admit that $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ itself is there used, and therefore may have been used by St. Mark, in the sense of *legally impure*. The next passage then in which $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ occurs, is Acts x. 14; and restoring the original Latin of St. Luke, or of his translator, it stood thus, "Petrus vero dixit Minime Domine; nunquam enim comedi quidquam *cœnosum*." So (v. 28,) according to this hypothesis St. Peter must have said, "Mihi ostendit Deus ne quenquam *cœnosum* appellem hominem:" and St. Paul^a, "Scio et persuadeor in Domino Jesu quod nihil *cœnosum* in seipso." Can any one be so enamoured of

^a Rom. xiv. 14.

a theory as to maintain, that in these instances what is obscure in Greek is plain in Latin? I will not believe that it was the author's design to hold up the Apostolical writings to ridicule and contempt; but would rather persuade myself that, in the transport of a supposed new discovery, he overlooked these and other passages; and forgot that, to use the words of a very competent judge, "an hypothesis should be able to solve *every one* of those phenomena, or appearances, for the solution of which it was proposed; *otherwise it cannot be true* ^b."

The interpretatory additions of this nature, which, though not peculiar to St. Mark, are more common in his writings than in those of the other Evangelists, form throughout great part of the second disquisition, and in many other parts of the work an object of peculiar attention; as supposed indications of a Latin original. By the aid of these it is even attempted to trace still higher the origin of St. Mark's Gospel. "This Evangelist," it is said, "who appears to have derived his Gospel from a Hebrew document, or narrative by a Hebrew, seems to have been fond of quoting the original for the sake of accuracy." (p. 87.) As the examination of these quotations seems calculated to throw some light on the

^b *Bishop Marsh's Defence of the Illustrations of the Origin of the Gospels*, p. 24.

origin of St. Mark's Gospel, a question which has excited much attention and discussion, and is besides connected with the truth or falsehood of the Palæoromaican hypothesis, I shall enter into it at some length.

The promise of our Lord to his disciples, and more particularly, we may suppose, to such among them as were to write the history of his ministry, was, "when he, the Spirit of Truth is come, he shall guide you into all truth;" that is into all *substantial* truth: so as that all the circumstances related by every one of them should be essentially founded in truth. Their situation enabled the Evangelists fully to ascertain what really happened, and the influence of the Holy Spirit, while it aided them by bringing all things to their remembrance, disposed them to observe the strictest and most undeviating veracity in all which they related. But, this important object being secured, it is plain that in the choice of expression, and in such subordinate particulars as could not affect their accuracy of narration, they were left to consult their own judgment, and their own notions of expediency. This independency I think we must also extend to the form and scope of their narratives, no less than to the style; so that in the original scheme or draught which each formed in his own mind, in the plan upon which they proceeded in the construction of their work, in determining, in a word,

how they would relate the occurrences of our Saviour's ministry, they were left to the influence of their previously acquired habits of thought. Now experience shews that among many spectators of one event, different circumstances take a stronger or weaker hold upon, and excite a more or less forcible interest in, different minds ; and scarcely any four men can be found who shall agree exactly how the story of a transaction, in which all were concerned, ought to be related, even while they have no disagreement as to any one fact whatever. One may think it advisable to relate every fact concerning the truth of which he considers himself to possess sufficient evidence ; another, while he agrees with the first in a perfect belief of the same facts, may think it preferable to relate none but such as he or his informant personally witnessed. Let us apply this remark to the case of the two Evangelists, St. Matthew and St. Mark. The former seems to have arranged his plan of narration with a view of giving a connected history of our Lord from his birth to his final ascension. In conformity with this design, he details the circumstances of his nativity ; he enters into a very full detail of his actions and discourses ; he describes his death and burial ; his resurrection, and subsequent intercourse with the disciples, until his removal from them into heaven. Having formed his plan on so extended a scale, this Evangelist

is under a necessity of relating many facts which, though he had undeniable evidence of them, he could not *personally* have witnessed ; such as the birth of our Lord ; the adoration of the Magi ; and most of the events recorded in his first two chapters. The same may be said of the temptation in the wilderness ; and of the transfiguration. But, though the Evangelist was not personally concerned in these transactions, he had access to such sources of information as could supply him undeniable evidence of their occurrence, and he appears to have faithfully availed himself of these opportunities. Thus concerning the birth and infancy of Christ, it is evident that his intelligence was derived from Joseph himself ; for we are told (i. 19.) what were the feelings and intentions of *Joseph* on discovering the pregnancy of his espoused wife ; (ii. 13.) we have the very words which the angel spoke to *Joseph* in a dream ; and (22.) are informed what were the secret reasons which weighed with him not to return into Judea, but to turn aside and dwell at Nazareth^c. The history of the temptation St. Matthew might receive from the lips of our

^c The evident derivation of this part of the history from the reputed father of our Lord seems an additional reason for concluding that the word *δικαῖος*, i. 19. is not designed to be applied in a commendatory sense to Joseph as a *just man* ; but to imply that he was a strict observer of the laws of Moses ; as many of the best commentators explain it.

Lord himself; and that of the transfiguration from one of the three Apostles who were, on that occasion, present with Jesus on the mount. The plan of St. Mark appears to have been differently formed from the beginning; and I believe it will appear on examination, that no single circumstance is introduced into his relation which may not have fallen under the personal observation of him, from whom the materials of his narrative were derived, and under whose inspection he wrote; that is, as all history and tradition concur in assuring us, of St. Peter^d. This scheme

^d The only facts to which I have entertained a doubt whether this observation could be justly extended, are the baptism and ministry of John the Baptist. From John i. 40. it appears however that "Andrew, Simon Peter's brother," and therefore probably St. Peter, witnessed the appearance of John. As Jesus came to him from Galilee, we have every reason to conclude that many of his countrymen did the same; and as the Baptist was sent to prepare the way for Christ in the minds of the people, it is reasonable to think that his first followers and disciples would be selected from among those who had partaken of this preparatory baptism to repentance. In saying that St. Mark wrote from the experience of St. Peter, I do not of course mean to affirm that he relates all which St. Peter witnessed; but only that he relates nothing which St. Peter did not witness. In the business of our Lord's resurrection it certainly cannot be affirmed that he was an eye witness of all the events recorded Mark xvi. 1—8; as he did not on their first visit accompany the woman to the sepulchre. But as on their report (See Luke xxiv. 12. and John xx. 3—6.) he hastened thither immediately, and found all things to agree with what they related themselves

of writing necessarily caused St. Mark to omit many particulars related by St. Matthew; but that he did not intend to abridge the Gospel of St. Matthew is very evident; for, though St. Mark's be the shorter of the two, yet it notices some events which St. Matthew does not record, and where they have matter in common is generally the most full in details. The testimonies of ancient writers, affirming that St. Mark's Gospel was written by him when at Rome in company with St. Peter, have been collected by Lardner and Jones, and are considered satisfactory by almost all subsequent writers upon the subject: and an examination of the narrative itself confirms their testimony upon this point. The peculiar manner in which St. Peter is, as it were, passed over, and all particular mention of him studiously avoided in the narrative of St. Mark, is one instance of this kind; and many others may be traced in the form of the narrative itself, and in the mode of expression adopted in numerous passages. Thus in the account of the transfiguration, while St. Mark follows St. Matthew in the circumstances, and generally in the very words of the narration, he adds, after the

to have witnessed a few moments before, it can hardly be alleged that this Apostle, the informant of St. Mark, had not personal knowledge even of those few particulars which he did not actually witness.

ejaculatory speech of St. Peter^e, « γὰρ ἤδει τι λαλήσῃ· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκφοβοί. So again^f, καὶ ἐκ ἠδειςαν τι αὐτῷ ἀποκριθῶσι. Both of which seem rather to be *additions* by St. Mark than omissions by St. Matthew; and additions made by St. Peter; inasmuch as they look like transcripts of his own feelings supplied by one who reviews the account of a scene in which he was engaged, and explains not only what he *said*, but what he *thought* and *felt*. In the account again which St. Mark gives of our Lord's arraignment before Pilate and of the attendant circumstances, many particulars are introduced which seem to shew that while the narrative of St. Matthew, as being substantially true, was generally adhered to, it was amplified by many slight touches which could be supplied only by one who was himself an actor in that scene. Thus giving an account of St. Peter's conduct after the scene in the garden, St. Matthew says, “ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἀπο μακροῦθεν ἕως τῆς αὐλῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων· καὶ, εἰσελθὼν εἰς αὐτήν, ἐκάθητο μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρέτων.” The account of St. Mark is “καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπο μακροῦθεν ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ἕως εἰς αὐτήν τῆς αὐλῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων· καὶ ἦν συγκαθήμενος μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρέτων.” The expressions of St. Matthew evidently served St. Mark as the *groundwork* of his relation, although the phrase of the latter has been rendered more compact. What however I

^e Matt. xvii. 4. compared with Mark ix. 6.

^f Matt. xxvi. 43. compared with Mark xiv. 40.

would more particularly notice, is that the concluding clause of St. Matthew has been altered in its construction by the other writer, obviously with no other view than to annex an additional circumstance, *ην συγκαθήμενος μετα των υπηρετων — και θερμαινομενος προς το φως*, and this last circumstance, his warming himself by the fire, so slight that no one except the person to whom it happened, and on whose mind the minutest occurrences of that memorable night were indelibly impressed, would probably have thought it worthy of being *added* to a former account^s. Of the same description are those instances of greater minuteness in St. Mark's account of the trial. St. Matthew simply tells us that the rulers of the Jews could find no witnesses who could obtain belief^h. St. Mark adds the *reason*

^s St. Luke (xxii. 54.) and St. John (xviii. 18.) also notice, it is true, the circumstances of the fire being kindled, and of St. Peter warming himself; but the difference is this: *their* relations of this night's occurrences are *original*; they do not make the words of another writer the groundwork of their own, up to a certain point, and then single out one unimportant circumstance to be *added* to the former narration. This is what St. Mark does; and such a peculiarity cannot be attributed to any cause so probably as to the agency of St. Peter. In assuming that St. Mark wrote *after* St. Matthew, and, to a certain extent, copied his words, I am aware that I am opposing very great authorities. But as this question does not interfere with that concerning Palæoromaica, this is not the place to assign my reasons for entertaining this view of the subject.

^h Matt. xxvi. 59, 60.

of their being considered incompetent, *ισαι γαρ εκ ησαν αι μαρτυριαι*. His informant had heard their testimony delivered, and was therefore able to testify that it was contradictory and inconsistent. The several indignities offered to Christ, the spitting on him, the smiting him, the buffeting, are related by St. Matthew xxv. 67. and in addition to these by St. Mark the covering of his face and other particulars. In the account of the damsel who accosted Peter, the respective attitudes and demeanour of the parties are more minutely and graphically described than by St. Matthew : she (*εμλεψασα αυτω*) *looking full at him* ; he (*θερμαινομενος*) *warming himself* the while, as if willing to escape her scrutinizing regard. These are it is true almost imperceptible traits ; but having reference to such a scene, I can hardly consider them as uninteresting, or as quite unimportant ; for as they harmonize with the situations and characters of the different Evangelists, and are too minute to have been designedly introduced, they add force to the presumption that the writings which bear their names are of their genuine production.

Let us then consider whether we are not in a situation to offer a more direct and probable explanation of the introduction by St. Mark of those Hebrew or Syriac words which the author of Palæoromaica supposed him to have quoted, for the sake of accuracy, from some original

“ Hebrew document.” The first word, *βοανεργες*, iii. 17. affords no presumption of having been copied from a Hebrew document; because, from whatever source St. Mark might derive his information, if he wished to inform his readers that a certain name was bestowed by our Lord upon two of his disciples, he would naturally retain the name itself. To have given merely the explanation of the word, without the word itself, would have been useless, as well as contrary to the practice of all other writers in similar cases. *κορβαν*, vii. 11. may also be accounted for without the intervention of a document written in Hebrew; because it was a *conventional* term among the Jews; it had a peculiar reference to a prevailing custom; and therefore by the insertion of this appropriated term, the intended allusion to such custom is rendered much more manifest and direct than by the simple use of the equivalent Greek work. Indeed I am not sure whether any one unacquainted with Jewish customs might not read the passage in St. Matthew without being sensible that any reference to them was designed; but, by the introduction of *κορβαν*, the attention is at once directed to consider the phrase as having some peculiar allusion. The utility of such an insertion is therefore evident; but it by no means follows that St. Mark could not derive this information from the oral instruction of St. Peter, and not from any written docu-

ment. Two other instances occur vii. 34 ; when to the deaf and dumb restored to hearing and speech our Lord is represented as saying εφφαθα : and v. 41. to Jairus' daughter ταλιθα κεμι : and in both cases an explanation is added. Now in the latter instance the cure was performed in the presence of only *Peter*, James, and John ; the multitude, excepting the father and mother, being put out ; and in the former case, previously to healing the deaf and dumb, Christ took him apart from the multitude into a private place (απο τς οχλς κατ' ιδιαν) from which I infer that, although it be not specifically noticed, our Lord was here also attended by *Peter* and the other usual companions of his retirement. Indeed it does not appear to have been his practice on any occasion to perform his miracles absolutely in private ; and the very nature and intention of a miracle seem to require that it should have some witnesses. I therefore conclude that St. Peter, who is all along considered as the informant of St. Mark, was present on *both* these occasions ; and that to his recollection of what passed, we are indebted for the preservation of the words actually spoken by our Lord. This cure of the deaf and dumb, vii. 31. is *one* of the facts *added* by St. Mark to the Gospel of his predecessor ; and it deserves to be noticed, that the only *other* circumstance which he *adds*, is related to have been attended with a very similar peculiarity.

On our Lord's return to Bethsaida, viii. 22. he heals a blind man ; and here also it is remarkable, that previously to effecting the cure, " he led him out of the town." But, for the reasons above stated, I conclude that he would choose to be attended by *some* witnesses, and that these would be *Peter* and the other two who so often attended him on such occasions. That St. Mark's information was derived from some one of these three, and therefore most probably from Peter, with whom we know him to have been most connected, will be rendered probable by referring once more to the cure of Jairus' daughter, and by comparing the respective accounts of that event by the two Evangelists¹. On this occasion " he suffered no man to follow him save Peter and James and John;" and accordingly the account in St. Mark, of what occurred *after* the people were put out, is so much more particular, that it can be regarded only as an enlargement of St. Matthew's narrative by an eye-witness of the scene ; and I must consider the mention of the very words (*talitha cumi*) which were uttered, as very much in character with the narrative of a person who was himself one of the few who were present and heard them.

Thus far then the peculiarity which is noticed in the style of St. Mark may be accounted for by

¹ Matt. ix. 23. and Mark iv. 38.

supposing him to write, under the superintendance of St. Peter, a narrative of events which the latter Apostle had personally witnessed. This supposition is, as we have seen, confirmed by certain internal evidences; and it is strictly conformable with the accounts which historians have left us of the connexion subsisting between these two disciples, and of the undertakings in which they were jointly engaged. St. Peter having preached with great success at Rome, was prevailed on by his converts to leave them an account authenticated by himself of the words and actions of Jesus Christ. If Peter had been desired, or had designed, to leave them an authentic record of what he himself *believed* upon this subject, he would undoubtedly have contented himself with recommending to them the Gospel of St. Matthew; but if his wish were, as I conjecture, to attest nothing but what he himself had *witnessed*, and from personal experience *knew* to be true, this course could not be taken. The elucidation and establishment of this hypothesis are undoubtedly important; as it accounts for a circumstance which has hitherto much embarrassed the critics; namely, the apparently arbitrary manner in which certain facts are *added* by St. Mark to the Gospel of St. Matthew; while others which the latter details, though apparently of equal importance, are passed over without notice.

But the explanation by St. Mark of the Hebrew or Syriac words which he introduces, as it cannot assist the hypothesis of a *Latin* original, is a circumstance slightly dwelt upon in comparison with that of his sometimes annexing a Latin word in explanation of a Greek. As for instance, xii. 42, λεπτα δυο ο εστι κοδραντης; xv. 16. εσω της αυλης υ εστι πραιτωριον. "What is singular," says the objector, "upon the hypothesis that St. Mark wrote in Greek, is that he should have thought it necessary to explain Greek by Latin words," (p. 86.) But why singular? if the Romans, for whose use and instruction this Gospel was primarily written, were not likely to understand the Greek terms in question without such an explanation; or, at all events, not to understand them so clearly as they would the equivalent Latin words annexed. The same practice is common in every language, and with almost all writers when the necessity for it occurs. Stephanus Byzantius, for example, relates that Euphorbus sacrificed to the infernal gods, "Ουανουν ο εστιν αλωπηξ, και Εξιν ο εστιν εχινος (in v. Αζανοι)." He explains a Phrygian or Egyptian, by a *Greek* word, because he was writing for Greeks; and St. Mark explains a Greek by a *Latin* word, because he knew that his readers would be Romans. An equivalent mode of explaining the signification of a foreign term, is adopted by Dionysius Hali-

carnassensis, where, describing the polity of Romulus, he says, “ Ἐκαλεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ καταδεεστέρα τύχη Πληθίους, ὡς δ’ ἀν’ Ἕλληνας εἰποιεν δημοτικούς^k.” Here the phrase, ὡς δ’ ἀν’ Ἕλληνας εἰποιεν, is precisely equivalent with the ὁ ἐστίν of St. Mark, and is introduced with a precisely similar view. A Greek, reading the history of Dionysius, would be at a loss to understand who the πληθῆιοι were, until he was informed that they corresponded in rank with those whom his countrymen called δημοτικούς: so a Roman, though he could not but suppose that λεπτον was a coin, would have a very imperfect conception of the value of the widow’s offering δύο λεπτά: but when it was added, that they were equal to a *quadrans*, he would know the amount as well as an English peasant does on being told, that “ she threw in two *mites*, which make a *farthing*.” This explanation of St. Mark’s views assumes, undoubtedly, that he wrote for the use and instruction primarily of Roman readers, and probably at Rome; which, by Baronius^l, is alleged as a convincing proof that it could not be written “ in any other than the language of the place.” But, before we admit the inference, that a Gospel written under these circumstances *must* have been written in Latin, will it not be advisable to enquire whether all others, who

^k *Antiqu. Rom.* II. 8.

^l See *Pal.* p. 76.

wrote at Rome for the use of Romans, thought it necessary to pursue that course? That Josephus wrote at Rome cannot indeed be affirmed; but we know, on his own authority, that, having written his history in Chaldaic, he made a translation of the original for the information of those *Romans* who were not in the wars; yet that translation was in *Greek*. And does not literary history supply us with very many analogous instances? What are we to think of the cases of Plutarch, of Strabo, of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Diodorus and Appian? These all wrote at Rome, some previously, others subsequently, to St. Mark, and for the use of Romans; yet they all wrote in Greek. The instance of Ælian is perhaps still more in point. He was a Latin by birth; and his biographer, Philostratus, informs us, never was out of Italy. If he then composed his histories in Greek, what conceivable difficulty is there in supposing that St. Mark may have done the same? Philostratus too makes, concerning Ælian, another remark; that, considering his having written in a *foreign* language, he wrote surprisingly well; and I believe that a fair comparison, between his style and that of St. Mark, will prove that the observation may, with at least equal justice, be extended to the latter.

Having thus completed an examination of as many of the arguments and examples, adduced

in proof of a Latin original, as the limits of this work will allow, I must add that, if my design has been successfully executed, it will appear by this time how unsubstantial is the hypothesis of Palæoromaica, and how vague are the critical principles, if principles they may indeed be called, upon which it is founded. My endeavour has been to shew, that the employment of Roman terms and phrases is natural, and was to be expected in writers situated as the Apostles were : that the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament is a source to which many of the peculiarities of their style must be referred ; that the hypothesis of a Latin original is therefore gratuitous and unnecessary ; that many instances, adduced in confirmation of it, are nugatory ; and that others, so far from proving the point, of which the establishment is desired, demonstratively shew that, as far as these instances extend, no such Latin text as is contemplated can ever have existed. Let me repeat, that I have not written for the learned, who are able without any such aid to detect the fallacies of this very paradoxical work : but these pages are for the use of that very numerous class of readers who may be in danger of adopting an opinion, urged with plausibility and a shew of learning ; not being able, through want of leisure or other causes, to examine for themselves its true claims to acceptance. To readers of this description

I have, I trust, said enough to shew them the incapacity of their guide ; to make them receive his statements with caution ; and estimate his critical opinions at just what they are worth. There still however remain a few other points to which I feel myself called to extend my observations.

The principal excellence on which the author appears to pique himself, is his supposition, that the text from which our Greek was derived, whether that were the Apostolical original or not, has utterly perished. This he repeatedly tells us is the key-stone of his system ; the characteristic by which it is most advantageously distinguished from the system of Hardouin ^m. As enabling a disputant to play fast and loose with his subject, to assume whatever is convenient, and to decline whatever seems to threaten danger, the want of a fixed and definite text, as a standard of ultimate appeal, has its advantages ; tempting advantages to a visionary mind, as they enable it to indulge in the very wanton-

^m " Hardouin's fundamental mistake was the hypothesis, that the Latin Vulgate was the *primitive* exemplar. How much he was hampered by this foolish notion may appear from a few examples, &c." p. 191.—" Hardouin in fact was so hampered by his notion of the originality of the Latin Vulgate, that the absurdities to which it led him, threw ridicule upon his whole argument, and prevented the most ingenious and solid of his remarks from meeting with attention," p. 209.

ness of rash conjecture. But, in every other point of view, I must unhesitatingly assign the preference to the hypothesis of Hardouin. I speak, of course, only by way of comparison; not meaning to recommend the system of Hardouin, but agreeing most entirely in all the censures which it has incurred from sober-minded judges. Still, if it were necessary to choose between that and the hypothesis of Palæoromaica, I must give my suffrage for the former, as being less injurious to the credit of religion, less contradictory of all reasonable probabilities, and less complicated in its conception and details. *If* the opinion of Hardouin admitted of proof, *if* it could be well established that the Latin Vulgate proceeded from the hands of the Apostles, and had therefore a claim to a more venerable antiquity, and a more attentive regard than the Greek, which would then be the *derived* text, we should still be left in possession of the inspired original, and be able to trace the derivation of the translation from it. Nothing would then remain but to reverse the degrees of credit with which the Greek and Latin texts have hitherto been regarded: no age of Christianity will have been without the genuine written word of God, and we still have it in our possession. But the hypothesis of Palæoromaica places us in a very different situation; the writings of inspiration are lost, and we have no means whatever

of connecting with them the writings which we possess ; the evidences of religion, as far as they are referable to the credit due to the Apostles, will depend on the conformity of the writings which bear their names, with other writings, the very existence of which is a subject only of assumption and conjecture. It would be dogmatising, unworthily of such a cause, to assume that Christianity is *true*, and that therefore every opinion which contradicts it *must* be false. But the truth of Christianity is admitted by the author of Palæoromaica ; and I must beg him to consider how such an admission can be consistent with his philological opinions ; or whether those opinions may not be appealed to as an *argumentum ad hominem*, to prove that his religious persuasions cannot be well-founded. It is part of his assumption, that our present Greek text does not *correctly* represent the Latin from which it is derived ; and which, as far as the present argument is concerned, may be regarded as identical with the Apostolic original. He conceives, that the original becomes known to us, in detached portions, only by its *deviation* from the *original*, the sense of which was ignorantly mistaken by the translator. Can it then be denied that, if the *original* were a *revelation* from God, which it were impious to doubt, our present text, so far as it *deviates* from that original, is *not* a *revelation*? And as we are supposed to know

only the fact that such a deviation has taken place, and to have no possible means of ascertaining to what extent, we cannot tell how far we are required to place faith, not in the Word of God, but in the dictates of fallible men, “ of like passions with ourselves.”

With respect to the comparative freedom from complication, exhibited by the hypothesis of Hardouin and that of Palæoromaica, the advantage is, evidently and entirely, on the side of the former. Hardouin *only* requires us to believe that the genuine Apostolical writings have, through some unaccountable mistake, hitherto been regarded as translations, while the text really translated has usurped the name and credit of the original. But he makes no such demand on our credulity, as to claim our assent to the postulatam laid down as the groundwork of Palæoromaica; that our present New Testament is not only not the original, but may not be even immediately derived from the original; that in many books not only the *primary text*, but at least *one* version intervening between it and our Vulgate Greek, has been suffered entirely to disappear. This supposition of the loss of a two-fold text, the one Greek, the other Latin, is not openly maintained; but it may be detected running tacitly through most of the arguments of Palæoromaica. In the case of the Epistle to Philemon it is admitted: “ There is one Epistle

in the New Testament, which even Hardouin himself admits to have been originally composed in Greek; but (from two philological phenomena which occur in it ⁿ) he contends that our present Greek Vulgate is not the original but a translation," (p. 204.) This inference the author of *Palæoromaica* admits, with the addition that our Greek text of this Epistle is a version from the *Latin*; that is, a *Greek translation* of a *Latin translation* of the *original Greek*. In like manner, if there be any force in his arguments, (p. 166—199,) that St. Paul would deem it proper

ⁿ These are, ver. 1, *Φιλημονι τῷ ἀγαπητῷ*, and ver. 10, 11. *Ὀνησιμον τον ποτε ἀχρηστον, νυνι δε σοι και εμοι ευχρηστον*, where the philologist contends it is evident, that to support his allusions to the names, St. Paul in *his* Greek must have written *Φιλημονι τῷ φιλητῷ*, and *Ὀνησιμον τον ποτε ανονησιμον νυνι δε Ονησινον*. The best mode of determining the probability, whether St. Paul would here employ such a style, will be to examine whether, in other cases where the Greek proper names which he introduces have a *meaning* attached to them, he is accustomed to descend to any such laborious trifling, or to indulge in a mere clench and jingle of sounds. I think not; for Rom. xvi. 7. we find him terming *Ἀνδρονικος* his *συναιχμαλωτης*; and v. 5. *Ἐπαινετος* is saluted as being *ἀγαπητος*. Coloss. iv. 17. he charges *Ἀρχιππος* that he should take heed to his *διακονια*; and calls *Ἐπαφροδιτος* his *συνεργος και συστρατιωτης*; and 2 Tim. i. 16. speaking of the assistance he had received from *Ὀνησιφορος*, he expresses it by the word *ἀνεψυξε*. In all which, and other instances, it would baffle the ingenuity of Hardouin to excogitate a Greek text in which, the same sense remaining, the verbal allusions shall be preserved.

to write to the Romans, Corinthians, and Philippians in Latin, he would, upon the same principles, deem it proper to write to the Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, and others in Greek. But our Vulgate Greek text of the last named Epistles exhibits, no less than that of the former, internal proofs of being a translation from the Latin. The *primitive Greek*, therefore, which our Vulgate cannot be, must have ceased to exist; and not only the *primitive Greek*, but also that *Latin translation* from it, through which our present Greek was derived. To account for the neglect and disappearance of the Latin text it is urged, that "the Greek (language) from the age of Hadrian began to gain the ascendancy over the Latin," (p. 332.) Now it is obvious, that if this afford any presumption that the Latin Scriptures would, from this time, fall into disuse, it argues with at least equal force that the Greek would be more generally sought after. Whence then could it arise that, for the use of the increasing Greek church, recourse was not had to the *original* Greek Epistles of St. Paul to Philemon, to the Galatians, the Ephesians, and other churches? (which by the admission, or in conformity with the principles, of Palæoromaica, must have been in Greek, and at so early a period as 140 years after Christ could not be annihilated and forgotten;) why was not recourse had to these, instead of endeavouring to supply

the general and increasing want of a Greek text, by so imperfect a retranslation as is represented to be contained in our Vulgate? and if, *before* the age of Hadrian, the Latin had the ascendancy, how came it that the original Latin Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Philippians, fell into such neglect, that translations innumerable, from the Greek into Latin, were adopted into common use from the earliest ages? In endeavouring to account for this the author expends some needless learning, with a design to shew how it may come to pass that in many cases a translation shall be preferred to the original. But here is what good Bishop Berkeley, and the logicians, call a *fallacia suppositionis*, or a shifting of the hypothesis. The original supposition was not, it is evident, that a translation has been *preferred* to the original, but that the original and the translation have had so little store set by them, that both of them have been allowed to perish. This loss of a two-fold text is brought as little as possible into notice, but it must not be lost sight of by those who wish to form a true judgment of this novel hypothesis; and I am greatly mistaken if, keeping this in view, we do not find the "absurdity" so liberally imputed to Hardouin's hypothesis, gathering thick around this new and improved edition of it.

The author's own opinion of his system is,

however, that the admission of it would not be more prejudicial to the character of the Scriptures, than that of some other opinions which are entertained without scruple by the most orthodox writers. In the conclusion of the work, (p. 470,) it is even hinted, that “the establishment of the hypothesis, which is developed in the preceding Disquisitions would, perhaps, be productive of considerable theological advantages. Upon the first of these points,” he says, speaking of the Epistle which is alluded to, 1 Cor. xv. 9. and which many critics have supposed to be no longer extant, “it is surely bolder to say with Calvin and Beza that, Epistles of Paul are *wholly lost*, than that some, or even all of them, exist only in translations.” Two questions are here, I think, more than doubtful: first, whether in this passage St. Paul alluded to any other Epistle than that on which he was actually employed, and which is still extant: secondly, if he intended to speak of *another* Epistle, and that Epistle have perished, whether it were one of those written by him under the influence of inspiration. At all events it is manifest that, if any *single* Epistle of his have been totally lost, although it cannot instruct, it cannot mislead us; its effect at most is neutral. Not so the effect of writings which “exist only in translation,” if that translation be

° Note 19, p. 62.

incorrect, and we have no means of connecting it with the original. If we have only a garbled representation of the Apostle's words, *so far* then our faith is not "built on the foundation of the Apostles:" if "all Scripture," or every writing, "given by inspiration of God is profitable for instruction in righteousness," then our Vulgate Greek text, inasmuch as it deviates from the original, is so far not given by inspiration, and therefore so far not profitable for instruction in righteousness.

Another sophism still requires to be noticed. From the days of Wetstein, if from no earlier date, a suspicion has been entertained by critics that certain MSS. of the New Testament *latinize*, or that their Greek text has been in many instances corrected from the Vulgate or some other Latin version. That the allegations of Wetstein were too general, and in a great degree unfounded, has been shewn so convincingly by later critics, that it is needless to recapitulate their arguments^p. All which in the present state of criticism can be considered as well-established, is, that the charge, with respect to

^p See in Pal. p. 370-72, the remarks of Michaelis, Bishop Marsh, and Mr. Hug. These, singularly enough, are introduced into the text of a work, the conclusions of which they tend directly to overthrow, without an attempt to remove the effect which they cannot fail of producing. They certainly deserved a reply: but perhaps did not admit of one.

some MSS. is true to a certain extent. "I would not be understood," says Michaelis, "to assert that the Greek text (of certain MSS) has in no case been altered from the Latin;" and as this charge has been most extensively imputed to the Codex Bezae, upon which MS. also copious observations are made in Palæoromaica, that shall stand with us as representative of the entire implicated class. "If," argues the author, "it be no crime to charge this MS. to say nothing of its venerable compeers, with being *either a version, or throughout interpolated from the Latin*, where can be the offence of enquiring whether this may not be the case with the Vulgate Text, or, in other words with the confessedly modern MSS. of Basil and Alcala?" Here I am again compelled to remark "a shifting of the hypothesis." The text of those MSS. which are most vehemently accused of *latinizing* was never, that I am aware, charged with being a *version* from the Latin; nor was this the meaning of the critics by whom the term *latinizing* was invented and applied. On the other hand the Greek text, as exhibited in the Elzevir edition, is not charged, in Palæoromaica, simply with being *interpolated* from the Latin, but broadly and expressly, from the title page to the conclusion of the book, it is spoken of as a *version* from the Latin, absolutely and in all its parts. Admitting even the justice of the former charge against the Codex Bezae, it requires

much more ingenuity than has yet been displayed to shew how it can with justice be extended to the text which is contained in the MSS. and in the writings of the Fathers collectively. The Greek text of the Cambridge MS. has been so *reformed*, if that term may be used here, that particular words and phrases have been changed, to bring it, as nearly as may be, to a correspondency with the Latin. And how is this discovered, except through the agency of *other* MSS. which do not exhibit that suspicious correspondency ; and which therefore cannot with justice be involved in the same charge with a MS. the falsification of which they are the very instruments of exposing ? “ If,” as the late Bishop of Calcutta justly argued, “ we had *no other* Greek MS. of the Evangelists and Acts than the Codex Bezae—Hardouin’s hypothesis of a Latin original of the Gospel and Acts would not be altogether chimerical¹.” And this is unquestionably true. If *all* our acquaintance with the Greek text of the Gospels and Acts were derived from this single MS., then, since the conformity between the Greek and Latin texts of this copy is very evident, and it is plain that the Greek in many instances, has been made to coincide with the Latin, and not the Latin with the Greek, there might be some plausibility in the opinion that the Latin was the original, and the Greek the secondary

¹ *Gr. Article*, 695.

text. But in no other case would this conclusion be justifiable, and we are at liberty to think "that Hardouin's hypothesis *is* altogether chimerical," because we *have* other Greek MSS. which enable us to detect the interpolations of the Codex Bezae. There is, it may be said, a contest between two opposing texts; the one agreeing with the Latin, and arguing a translation from it, the other not exhibiting such an agreement; and who shall determine that the former is not genuine; especially supported as it is by the Codex Bezae, perhaps the most antient of existing MSS. and by others of a very high character? In many instances unquestionably the text of the Codex Bezae, and of its kindred MSS. agreeing with the Latin, is to be preferred to the readings in others which have no such agreement. But does it follow that in all these instances the Greek has been *altered* from the Latin? So Wetstein thought, but the opposers of his opinion have successfully disputed the correctness of his conclusion upon grounds similar to those which I have taken against the hypothesis of Palæoromaica; or by shewing that the appearances in question might be satisfactorily accounted for in a more probable manner. The prevailing and more reasonable persuasion is, that most of the words and phrases which were once regarded as marks of *latinizing* in a Greek MS. instead of having been *made* to cor-

respond with the Latin, are the genuine readings of those early exemplars from which our existing copies, and the Latin translation itself were alike, in the first instance, derived. Surely therefore, when it is demanded "where can be the offence of enquiring whether the Vulgate Greek text be not a *version* from the Latin," seeing that the Codex Bezae is admitted to have been in a very few instances *interpolated* from the Latin, it may be sufficient to reply that the cases are in no respect parallel. The corruption of the Codex Bezae, of the Alexandrian, the Laudian, or of any single MS. must have been the work of a single individual; and argues nothing more than an individual's erroneous conception of the manner in which the Greek text might be restored to purity; but the loss of the original Apostolic writings, and the substitution of imperfect translations in their place, argues the existence of the grossest and most unaccountable negligence on the part of the whole Eastern and Western Churches; and casts a slur on the entire Christian world. In the next place the interpolations of any single MS. are discoverable by the application of those just and certain principles which constitute the science of sacred criticism; but the unqualified substitution of a *translated* text for the original leaves us without any means whatever of discovering how perfectly or imperfectly that original has been adhered to; it not

only plunges us in darkness, but it cuts us off from the possibility of ever arriving at the confines of light.

It does not yet appear, then, that we have any right to congratulate ourselves on the attainment of those theological advantages, which "should seem to accrue to our faith by the establishment of the hypothesis" of Palæoromaica. These advantages are in fact nothing more than a partial and uncandid statement of the disadvantages attending the present state of biblical criticism. Witness what is said (p. 470,) respecting the existence of various readings in the Sacred Text and their influence in rendering that text fluctuating and uncertain. If the author of those remarks understand but one fourth part of what he has read, he must be sensible that, after the extensive and indefatigable researches, which have been conducted with equal ingenuity and judgment, by scholars, silently wearing out their lives in these unostentatious pursuits, and applying the result of their labours not as partisans but with the utmost impartiality and candour, the text of the New Testament is any thing but fluctuating and uncertain. As however this subject of various readings is generally regarded as one of an abstruse and complicated nature and as a persuasion that he is incompetent to examine the question for himself may expose the mind of the general reader to many distressing

doubts, which the insinuations of Palæoromaica are, unhappily, too well calculated to excite, a few pages may not be unserviceably employed in endeavouring to make *the merits of the case* popularly intelligible.

It cannot have escaped the notice of anyone who has made the trial, that, in transcribing a writing of any length, notwithstanding the most earnest desire and the most constant attention to copy it with accuracy, the original will not be invariably followed throughout. The eye will be misled, the attention will sometimes slumber, the hand will occasionally falter in its mechanical process: and from these and other causes, which it is needless to mention, partial differences will be found always to exist between the original and the copy. Differences, be it observed, which betoken not the slightest dishonesty of intention, but are the unavoidable effects of human infirmity^r. In this manner therefore it could not but happen that the copies of the Apostolic writings which were made immediately from the very originals, should vary in certain respects

^r I have designedly alluded here only to the most common cause of variation between the original and the copy. Instances undoubtedly occur of alterations *designedly* made in the text of particular MSS. by persons acting under false critical views: but these are few in number, and must be regarded only as exceptions to the general rule laid down in the text.

from those originals, or, in other words, exhibit *various readings*. These, by the operation of similar causes at each successive transcription, would be continually augmented in number; and it is plain that, under such a state of things, we cannot expect to find any two MSS. *entirely* conforming to each other, or any one MS. presenting a *faultless* transcript of the words of the Apostles. Such is the origin of the greater number of the various readings which have been discovered in the documents, from which, collectively, the text of the New Testament is to be extracted: and it is plain that this state of things could have been prevented only by the exertion of a constant supernatural superintendance over every individual transcriber; that is by a series of miracles, and a perpetual infraction of the laws of nature, which no reasonable person can expect to witness. In a less instructed age the exertion of such a superintendance was inferred, because it was thought that, without it, the integrity of the Sacred Writings could not be preserved. But fuller enquiry has shewn that it was not exerted (otherwise there had been no various readings) and a juster comprehension of the subject teaches us to believe that neither was it necessary. “Should we grant the assertion,” says the author of *Palæromaica* “that every word of the Greek Testament was originally

inspired by the Holy Spirit^s, yet amidst a hundred and fifty thousand various readings, *which is the word used by the Holy Spirit.*" (p. 469.) And again, "I would exclaim with Erasmus, let me be shewn the word dictated by the Holy Spirit and I will embrace it with the utmost reverence." We know who they were who cried "shew us a sign from heaven;" give us demonstrative assurance and then "we will believe;" but God rejected their unreasonable demand because a *moral* and not a *demonstrative*

^s Where, when, or by whom, such an assertion was made I cannot tell; but, if it ever were made, it is at all events incorrect. A very slight inspection of the Apostolic writings will shew that there was no suggestion of the *words* which the authors of them should employ. Amidst the various readings we seek "which is the word used" *by the Apostles*; in order that we may be convinced that we possess a correct exposition of the *sentiments* which were the suggestions of the Spirit.

"Objections drawn from any supposed defects in the style of the Sacred Writings are almost too futile to deserve attention. The *matter* contained in these writings rather than the manner is that which proves them to be divine. To imagine the Almighty interposing to enable men to become proficient in the art of literary composition is frivolous and below the dignity of the subject. Were we obliged to contend even for a strictly *verbal* inspiration of the Scriptures, such arguments as these might easily be repelled. But against an inspiration plenary as to *substance* only, and not as to the *words* of Holy Writ, they weigh but as dust in the balance." *Sermons preached for the Lecture founded by the Hon. Robert Boyle*: By the Right Rev. William Van Mildert, D.D. Lord Bishop of Landaff. Vol. ii. p. 406.

assurance was all the evidence which He saw could reasonably be required. And if, in the case of the Sacred Text, he also withhold a miracle because he has placed within our reach the means of attaining moral certainty, shall they escape the condemnation of the scribes and pharisees who clamour that infinite wisdom should enlarge the bounds which itself has set, and refuse to be convinced without clearer evidence than that which is given? As to the question, which is the word used by those who wrote under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, it is sufficiently evident that the number, *a hundred and fifty thousand* various readings is blazoned forth with a design of impressing upon the uneducated, that such a number cannot exist without rendering the text in which they occur fluctuating and uncertain. Now, out of these hundred and fifty thousand, though I believe that even half that number have never yet been reckoned up, three fourths at least are evidently the effect of *error in the copyist*, and therefore, in seeking to establish a genuine text, they may be left wholly out of the account; a great many rest on such *incompetent authority*, and are counterbalanced by such a weight of opposing evidence, that they may be at once rejected; many more are *transpositions* which affect only the *order* of the words and not the sense of the passage; while, respecting a very numerous class, it may

be incontrovertibly shewn how they originated from the genuine reading, which, through them, may be clearly recognised.

After making these deductions, if the number remaining be still considerable, whence does it arise but from the multiplicity of copies? and the multiplicity of copies, while it thus increases the number of various readings, enables us more clearly to discern which among them all is the genuine. These copies act as mutual correctives where they disagree, and satisfy us as to the genuineness of those readings in favour of which the greatest weight of testimony is exhibited. Which indeed, in the case of profane authors, are the most corrupted texts, or the texts of whose genuineness we have the least assurance? Those, it is admitted, of which the smallest number of copies survive, or which present the fewest various readings'. This alone may remove the

' " The ingenious *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis* (Dr. Bentley) hath shewn to demonstration, that the great abundance of manuscripts brought from Egypt, Asia, and the Western Churches hath enabled us to settle the Sacred Text by collating the one with the other, and following that reading which is agreeable to the sense," (rather, that which is supported by the greater number of approved testimonies) " upon the clearest and most incontestible footing; which could never be done if we had but one or two manuscripts to print from: so this, instead of being an objection against the genuineness of the New Testament, as it stands at present, is the strongest argument in its favour that the nature of the thing admits of. ' It is for this reason,' he ob-

anxiety which might be occasioned by the existence of so many various readings, by proving to us that, so far from rendering the Sacred Text fluctuating and uncertain, they afford assurance that we possess so much better materials, for establishing a text which shall not sensibly differ from the original. This is a fixed and invariable rule, that the smaller the number of copies which we possess, or the *fewer* various readings we can detect, the less assurance we have of our possessing the unvitiated text of any ancient writer.

Previously to examination this may appear a paradoxical assertion ; but the rule is founded

serves, ' that we can never have a tolerable edition of either *Velleius Paterculus*, or *Hesychius*, because there happens to be but one manuscript of each preserved ; and that *Terence* is now in a better condition than any of the classic writers, merely on account of the great variety of manuscripts by which the editors of that author adjusted their editions. He says he saw at least twenty thousand various readings in the manuscripts of this little book, and is sure that, had the same scrupulous care been taken to collate all the manuscripts of Terence which was employed about those of the New Testament, the number of various readings must have amounted to fifty thousand. After all the noise made by *libertines*, about various readings, they were little more than literal and involuntary errors of the transcribers, incapable of serving any party, or influencing any debate ; and ten times the number might be gathered out of half the printed Bibles in Europe, which, all put together, are of no consequence to any one doctrine controverted or agreed on." *Ophiomaches, or Deism Revealed*. Vol. II. p. 45.

on principles nearly self-evident, as may be easily made to appear. If any number of men, separately and independently, make copies of the same writing, it is certain that each of their copies will contain errors; and therefore the greater the number of copies, the greater will be the number of errors or of various readings. But, on the other hand, the greater the number of copyists, the smaller will be the chance of their *all* falling into *the same* error. As I write to be comprehended by those to whom such subjects are not familiar, I shall not blush to use a very homely illustration. If a man were to put on only three coats at once, it would be marvellous indeed if he should find a hole through them *all* in exactly the same place. Such a thing *might* happen; but, according to the established laws of probability, it is not *likely* to happen: and when, as in the case of the writings of the New Testament, we have the power of referring not to three, but, directly or indirectly, to more than three hundred witnesses, the chances in our favour are so incalculable as to justify us in affirming, with a confidence which is next to certainty, that no single error runs through them all; and if not, then, though no single MS. may contain a *perfect* copy of the Sacred Text, yet between them all they must contain it, and from them collectively it may be deduced. Upon these two principles, that the

Sacred Text is floating in the world, and that, with the means providentially in our power, the faculties of men are capable of recovering and identifying it, rests the entire fabric of sacred criticism. Every moral enquiry, it must be granted, in which men do or can engage, proceeds upon the supposition that there is such a thing as truth existing, and that, however concealed and disguised by the short-sightedness and prejudices of men, there is still a possibility that the efforts made for its discovery may be attended with success. Take away this *possibility*, in other words suppose that truth has *no existence*, and wherefore should men persevere in the prosecution of enquiries which would no longer have any possible object or definite end? Just so, in the science of sacred criticism, so long as we are allowed to think that the original expressions of the Apostles, however partially hidden by interpolations and transpositions, are yet contained, if not in any individual MS. in the collective mass of existing documents, the discovery of the genuine text forms a reasonable object of exertion. We may, by employing our faculties and industry aright, continually approach nearer to the identification of the actual words employed by the Apostles; we shall be encouraged to proceed by the consciousness that complete success is of possible attainment; and by the moral certainty that we cannot be far re-

moved from it. But all this is upon the supposition, a reasonable supposition, I think it has been shewn to be, that the original text is yet *preserved*, and that means exist of gathering and identifying its genuine parts. Once admit the hypothesis of Palæoromaica, once suppose the *extinction* of the genuine text, and you render all enquiry respecting the actual language of the Apostles useless and therefore unreasonable. But "let me be shewn the word dictated by the Holy Spirit" is the cry; out of many readings which is genuine? That, we reply, in favour of which reason and judgment, exercised according to certain approved rules, shall pronounce the balance of evidence to incline. Because reason and judgment are not infallible, the criterion here proposed, I am ready to admit, is not infallible; but this is a question of evidence; and the assurance which is thus obtained, after impartially weighing what may be said on either side, is as satisfactory as that upon which men do not hesitate to act in the most important affairs of life^u:

^u "This way of balancing evidences and subtracting the less from the greater, in order to proportion the assent to the overplus, ought not to be passed over without examination. As propositions in themselves are either true or false, so they must appear to be either true or false to the mind, before it fixes its assent. As soon as the judgment hath weighed the evidences for and against any proposition, and fully rests in the belief of that proposition, although the evidences against it were allowed

and in the case before us the balance of evidence is sufficient to beget a moral conviction, which, in matters of religion, is faith. The author of *Palæoromaica* shuns the imputation of unbelief, nor would I wantonly attach the charge of scepticism to one who professes himself a Christian; not only a Christian but a Protestant; and not only a Protestant but a believer in the personality of the Holy Spirit; but it would be an unworthy compromise of my own principles not to declare my persuasion that his principles, in certain instances, approach nearly to those of Deism. You believe, says the infidel, that miracles were performed in confirmation of Christ's divine mission; but there are *difficulties* opposed to such a belief; you *may* be deceived. You believe, says the author of *Palæoromaica*, that this is the

all their weight in the scrutiny, yet they are now regarded as false, and thrown entirely out of the scales. Were not this the case, how could a jury, on oath, find their neighbour guilty of murder, after a trial in which he had produced considerable evidence for his innocence against superior evidence for his guilt?—It is true that when the evidences on both sides of any point appear equal there can be no assent. It is likewise certain that opposite arguments, not equal but nearly equivalent, leave a faint and feeble assent on the side where the superiority seems to lie; but if the superiority appears to be very great on one side, the assent of a rational mind closes entirely with it, believes without reserve, and, having regarded the arguments against its assent as nothing, ceases to attend to them, or entirely forgets them." *Ophiomaches*, p. 26.

genuine sacred text ; but you have no demonstrative assurance that it is so ; you *may* be deceived. To both we reply, that we accept, as true, the account of miracles recorded in the New Testament, and we accept, as genuine, that text which critical research has extracted from the mass of documents, not because we can, in either case, prove to demonstration that our persuasion is well founded, but because it appears to us that no impartial enquirer can regard the evidences on both sides as equal or nearly equivalent. We therefore bestow our assent where the superiority lies, because it would be acting inconsistently with the laws of reason and evidence to withhold it until absolute certainty is attained, in a case wherein we know that nothing beyond moral certainty is to be looked for. In two or three instances the evidence in favour of two opposing readings, may appear to be so equally *balanced*, as to prevent impartial critics from pronouncing a decided opinion on either side ; but rare exceptions of this kind do not vitiate the general rule. As far as these partial instances extend, the text may be called fluctuating and uncertain ; farther than this, and speaking generally, it is neither one nor the other. After the lengthened examination which the subject has undergone, and after numberless authorities consulted and collated, no man, who takes a fair view of the question in its present

state, need hesitate to avow his conviction that the text, which is extracted from those authorities collectively, is virtually identical with the text from which our existing copies, and the copies employed by the Greek Fathers in their quotations, were all originally derived : that is, with the text contained in the autographs of the Apostles.

To return once more, and for the last time, to the proofs by which it is attempted to support the hypothesis of a Latin original, a very favourite class with the author is that which is founded on the occurrence in the text of Latin idioms literally translated into Greek. I do not mean to deny that a bad and servile translation generally affords marks of its origin, by too close an adherence to the idiomatic peculiarities of the original : but, I ask, are servile translations the *only* writings in which such marks appear ? If not, if the occurrence of such idioms may be consistent with originality in the composition, then it is plain that the argument proceeds upon a false supposition, and is consequently nothing worth. Let us scrutinize now the speech of St. Evremond, which is quoted from the *jest books*, and duly referred to in the index, as affording a case of language analogous to that of the Apostles, and as illustrating and confirming the hypothesis, that our Greek text has been derived from the Latin. “ First, he said, he loved *the*

war, and after *the* war, he loved *the* religion and *the* philosophy ;” the commentary on which nonsense is as follows : “ This use of the article is little less decisive than the author thought in French (or at least a foreign tongue), and gave a version of it, than if he had written the sentence in that language,” (p. 210.) I say nothing of the taste and proper feeling which are displayed in the introduction of this “ fool-born jest ” into a serious enquiry on a sacred subject ; but I cannot help remarking that both the text and the comment, if they had been chosen purposely with that intention, could not have been better adapted to negative the author’s reasoning, and to expose the futility of his laboured hypothesis. Words cannot shew more plainly that the existence of foreign idioms, literally translated, is no proof that the writing in which they appear is not original ; or that it must have been originally composed in the language to which the idioms belong, and afterwards translated from it. “ The author *thought* in French ; and ” himself “ gave a version of it ; ” and what can we desire to establish in the case of the Apostles, more than they *thought* in Hebrew, or *thought* in Latin, and themselves “ gave a version, ” or expressed their thoughts in Greek ? This is all for which I have ever thought it necessary to contend ; that, any idiomatic peculiarities belonging to other languages notwithstanding, our Vulgate Greek text

may have been the composition of the Apostles themselves. They wrote in Greek, a foreign language to them, and Latinisms and Hebraisms may prove a *mental* translation, a clothing of the ideas of one language in the words of another, effected by the writer himself as he proceeds ; but a *translation*, in the proper acceptation of the word, they do *not* prove, neither argue anything against the originality of the writings in which they are detected. Besides this, if we must consider the existence of Latin idioms as an infallible criterion of a text ignorantly and servilely translated from the Latin, what are we to conclude from the Grecisms ? If the origin of our text were such as this hypothesis would make it, there would prevail in it a uniform character ; it would be found uniformly betraying marks of being a servile copy of the Latin. But this is not the case ; the utmost that can be objected to the Apostolic style is that it is a *mixed* style ; occasionally exhibiting idioms not purely Greek ; but still abounding in phrases, and turns of expression, noble, elegant, and classical ; and exhibiting, in many passages of every book in the New Testament, a character to which, even philologically, no objection can be made. This intermixture of barbarisms is easily to be accounted for, if we consider them as proceeding from the Apostles themselves. They wrote the Greek language as it was spoken around them ;

in a state of declension from its original purity, occasioned by the contagion of other languages then very prevalent in Judea. Such a state of things exposed them, as writers, to many disadvantages ; especially to the danger, or rather certainty, of occasionally intermingling expressions offensive to the taste of those who had cultivated, with greater attention to purity, the language which they employed. But in these circumstances there was still room for the native genius to appear, and for the intellect to display its bent through all the disadvantages of expression ; and it is often found that a writer thus situated, whose mind is not unfurnished, will, occasionally, and when strongly excited, express himself with a freedom and correctness which shall afterwards surprise even himself. But the case of a person translating the thoughts of another from their original language, into a language with which he is imperfectly acquainted, is totally different. Experience proves that such a person will have no occasional flights of sublimity or eloquence ; correctness will be his highest boast, and a level uniformity his prevailing characteristic. It is therefore inconceivable that the beautiful passages which, by the confession of all, are scattered throughout the New Testament should be the work of men so ignorant at other times, as to make *κεφαλαιωσαν* out of *expulerunt*, and to suppose that *destituti* was

properly translated by *ασυμμετροι*. My difficulty still increases when, in reading this volume, I trace, in every page, the introduction of many of the most exquisite peculiarities of the Greek language, which, from the very nature of things, can have had nothing corresponding with them in a Latin text. “Every language,” says Leigh, “hath indeed its several idioms; and there is still in the original a certain *genuina vetustas*, a peculiar and native elegance, which cannot be well expressed in the translation: so that translations are not unfitly compared to the wrong side of arras-hangings. This is true likewise in the New Testament, where there are many paronomasias, sweet allusions and cadences of words, rich and lofty expressions *in the original*, which the most exquisite translation cannot attain fully unto*.” By the *original*, Leigh, as it afterwards appears, and was of course to be concluded, meant *the Greek*; and though, in our present argument, I may not assume this point, as he and all others have done, I must maintain that the originality of the Greek is *proved* by the peculiarities which he points out; the paronomasias, cadences and forms of expression peculiarly Greek, which cannot have had any thing analogous to them in a Latin text. To take a few of the instances quoted by him; we have Rom. i.

* *Epis. Ded. to Cr. Sac.*

29. πορνεία πονηρία, φόδου φονου. Lat. *scortatione, improbitate, invidia, cæde*. Again, v. 31. ασυνετους, ασυνθετους. Lat. *Desipientes, fædifragos*. Tit. i. 8. φιλοξενον, φιλαγαθον, Lat. *Hospitalem, bonorum amantem*. ii. 4. φιλανδρους, φιλοτεκνους. Lat. *Maritorum ac liberorum amantes*. 2 Tim. iii. 4. φιληδονοι μαλλον η φιλοθει. Lat. *Voluptatum amantes, potius quam Dei*. And Rom. xi. 3. μη υπερφρονειν παρ' ο δει φρονειν· αλλα φρονειν εις το σωφρονειν. Lat. *Ne supra modum sapiat ultra quam oportet sapere: sed sapiat ad sobrietatem*. Who will be persuaded that these marked alliterations proceeded from an ignorant and incompetent translator, whereas there was nothing in the original to suggest them? The concise and elegant expressiveness of these forms in Greek vanishes in every Latin translation which I have seen; and, were we even in possession of a Latin text as happily paronomastical as the Greek, we should still be exposed to this dilemma: if the translators of the Latin into Greek were as ignorant as the Palæoromaican hypothesis necessarily supposes them to have been, they could not have possessed the skill so happily to retain the spirit of the Latin original; if they had the skill to effect this, then they *could* not be so ignorant of Greek as to be guilty of the absurdities into which they are charged with having fallen in other passages of these very same Epistles. Beza, it is true, has most admirably expressed εγκριναι η

συγκρῖναι, 2 Cor. x. 12. by *adjungere* vel *conjungere*; and Stephens nearly as well, ἀπορούμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι. 2 Cor. iv. 8. by *premimur* non *opprimimur*. Such Greek might naturally suggest such Latin to Stephens and Beza, scholars and men of genius; but the reverse operation of forming such Greek from such Latin would not have been equally easy to the dunces whom the author of *Palæoromaica*, uncritically I must think, if not profanely, supposes to have been the authors of our Vulgate Greek text. Take another instance, the repetition of the negative in Greek: as Matt. xxiv. 21. οὐδε οὐ μὴ γένηται. Lat. *Neque unquam fiet*. Which of these two has the greatest appearance of being the original? assuredly that which is beyond comparison the most emphatic: for the loss of emphasis is the natural and inevitable consequence of translation. Heb. xiii. 5. οὐ μὴ σε ἀνω, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω. In this are no less than five negatives; as it were to give the stronger assurance that God will never forsake his people; but what could suggest so many to a translator of the Latin sentence *Nequaquam te omittam; neque unquam te deseram*, (or one of similar construction) in which they do not and cannot appear? especially to a translator, who in other parts of this Epistle is supposed to exhibit so little acquaintance with Greek as to call *cænum* κοῖνον, to express *mutatio* by μετανοία, *participo* by

περιπατεω, and *colluceo* by τραχηλιζω? If ever inconsistency were the ruin of an hypothesis, it must surely cast down the one we are examining, never to rise again.

The mention of Greek peculiarities which have no correspondence in the Latin, reminds me, before I conclude, to notice what is said respecting the want of the *dual number* in the New Testament. "There is another feature in the Hellenistic style" it is observed (p. 296,) "which to me seems to be scarcely explicable except on the hypothesis of a version from the Latin. This is the want of the *dual number*." "It appears to me much more probable that the neglect of the dual number in the New Testament was owing to its being a version from the Latin; and that the inflections, which did not exist in the old text, were not thought necessary in the new." (p. 297.) In reply to this I must observe, that the contrivance of a dual number is a refinement of language, which, though it may contribute to precision and elegance, is not practically necessary for purposes of general intercourse. We have therefore every reason to believe that the employment of it in ordinary life would not be adhered to, except in Attica and other places where the Greek tongue was spoken with *perfect* purity and correctness. But this was certainly not the case in Judea in general; least of all among men of the rank of the Apostles; who, as

Salmasius, already quoted, justly remarks, were “ in Græco sermone rudes et imperiti,” and “ quales ipsi fuere, tale et loquendi genus haberunt.” This may account for their neglect of the dual number, which is a refinement, and nothing more than a refinement of language; such as was neither necessary to their wants nor likely to prevail in their station. But if “ inflections which did not exist in the old (or Latin) text were not thought necessary in the new,” (that is the Greek,) let me beg the author of *Palæoromaica* to consider how he will account for the employment of the *middle voice* in the Greek New Testament. He cannot surely dispute that the same thing which in Greek is expressed by a verb of the middle voice must have been expressed by a periphrasis in the old text, and by an ignorant translator would undoubtedly have been expressed by the same artifice in the new. But the fact is that the middle voice not only occurs generally in the Greek Testament; but is used in many instances, as they who have made this subject their peculiar study have remarked, with a propriety and a significancy which no circumlocution in Latin could have adequately attained, and which therefore furnishes a pregnant proof that the text in which this occurs cannot be of Latin origin.

But why, it is argued, may not this be very safely conceded, seeing that according to Papias

St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew ; consequently his Gospel now existing, being in Greek, can be no more than a translation ; and since this circumstance detracts not from the authority of St. Matthew why should the hypothesis that the entire New Testament exists only as a translation detract from its title to acceptance and veneration ? (p. 468.) “ Let the loss of the original Gospel of Matthew ’ guard us against

’ Here I have omitted the words “ let the resurrection (if I may so speak) of the writings of Epicurus from Herculaneum,” because I would not incur the main question by uniting with it another subject of discussion. The destruction of Herculaneum occurred, I think, within fifty years of our Lord’s ascension ; at which period the Gospel had made so little progress among the heathen as to render it not very probable that copies of the Apostolic writings were then existing in that city. I do not dwell, however, upon this mistake, if it be one ; because it is evident that Herculaneum is used only as a general name for a place in which ancient writings have been preserved for centuries ; and have afterwards been restored to light. The *intention* of the writer in making such a remark is of more importance ; and that is, plainly, ‘ to insinuate that since, under circumstances similar to those of Herculaneum, writings of little value have been preserved, while copies of the Gospels or Epistles were not preserved, it is hence reasonably to be argued that the original Gospels and Epistles may not have been *at all* preserved. But here, from true premises, a false conclusion is attempted to be derived. The fallacy may be easily exposed. God Almighty appears to have provided for the conservation of the Scripture, not by exercising a peculiar providence over the fate of each individual copy, but by stamping the writings themselves with such a character as to render them objects of

forming hasty conclusions with respect to the mysterious conduct of Providence," (p. 63.) "Let it be remembered," says Dr. Campbell, "that Papias, in the words quoted from him, asserted two things; that Matthew wrote the Gospel ascribed to him, and that he wrote it in Hebrew"—"Now," says the author of Palæoromaica, "I would ask any person of common candour how it happens that Papias, who in the first of these articles is an authentic testimony to the genuineness of St. Matthew's Gospel, dwindles, in the second, into a person not to be trusted?" (p. 483.) There is this important difference to be remarked between the two parts of the testimony of Papias. His first assertion that Matthew wrote a Gospel, is confirmed by the existence of a writing bearing his name, and proved by most satisfactory evidence to be the same with that to which Papias alluded. His

reverence and regard among men; and, through the agency of these feelings, or by the operation of natural causes, to ensure such a multiplication of copies, as that, in the ordinary course of things, ALL of them could not perish. It is reasonable to conclude that the Sacred Writings were placed under no stricter safeguard than this, *because* the unlimited prescience of God enabled him to foresee that this would effect his purposes. It is therefore a gross fallacy to argue that the original writings may have perished, because we do not trace any especial agency employed to preserve individual copies from ordinary dangers; and because copies of Holy Writ may have perished in cases where other less valuable productions have escaped destruction.

second assertion, that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, is not confirmed by the appearance of any such document, nor by the direct testimony of any witness stating that he had actually seen it. The two parts of the testimony therefore do *not* rest upon *equal* authority; though I am far from implying that even in the second article Papias is “a person not to be trusted.” Admitting that article to be true, and that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, there is a reason which may be assigned for its disappearance, namely, that the Hebrew language speedily fell into total disuse; and the Gospel would therefore have so few readers as not to require a multiplication of copies sufficient to preserve it in existence. But this reason will obviously not apply to Gospels and Epistles written in either Greek or Latin. In the next place Papias may be a faithful witness, and yet there would be no inconsistency in the supposition that St. Matthew, having composed his work originally in Hebrew, might afterwards translate it, as Josephus did, into a more polite and accessible language. It is needless to observe how different a degree of credit is due to a translation executed by the author himself, and a translation which is the work of a nameless and ignorant person; such as the Palæoromaican theory supposes to have been employed in the composition of our Vulgate Text. Lastly, were there even no probability that St. Matthew either

wrote his Gospel originally in Greek, or himself translated it into that language, still, if the remaining books of the New Testament be the original writings of the Apostles, we have an assurance of the fidelity of St. Matthew's translator, whoever he were, from the perfect accordance in every point of importance between his *version* and the remaining books which are *not* translations: an assurance which we obviously cannot possess, if the originals of *all* the books have perished, and only translations survive. Should an unbeliever object that, if Papias speak the truth, we cannot tell of whose composition the existing Gospel according to St. Matthew may be, we might forbear from deriving any of our arguments, for his conviction, from this Evangelist, and take our stand in the writings of the *other* Apostles; which, if original, are perfectly sufficient to uphold the evidences of Christianity. But if *none* of these be original what other appeal do we possess? It is therefore very evident that there is the widest possible difference between the supposition that *one* or *two* books exist only as translations, and the hypothesis that *all* the originals have been lost.

Such an absolute and universal disappearance of the originals as is here contemplated must be considered as sufficiently guarded against by the known reverence of the early Christians for the Sacred Books of their religion. Men of humble

pretensions and of simple minds, as they were, might not be able, very possibly, to assign the best critical reasons why the original should not be superseded by a translation. Nevertheless natural feeling would have operated where argument failed. The reluctance which individuals and communities feel, at parting from that to which they have been accustomed, would secure the first believers from neglecting that *original* out of which they had, from the beginning, been instructed in the principles of their faith. Continual use and lengthened recollection naturally attach men to particular objects, and make them anxious for their preservation, even when those objects have little use or value in themselves. Would the influence of this feeling, then, be less operative in the instance of a possession so valuable and important as the original Christian Scriptures? This cause, if there had been no other, would have sufficiently guarded those writings against the neglect with which the author of *Palæoromaica* conceives them to have been treated; and it affords a proof of the justice of the observation, that no strictly natural feeling has been given to us in vain.

I have called the Apostolical originals valuable and important, because to the early Christians they were pre-eminently so. Believers, in that age, were too much exposed to suffering, on account of their faith, to embrace or to adhere

to it on light and unsatisfactory grounds. But their only assurance that they had not done so must ultimately rest on the credit due to the Apostles; and the degree of credit, to which *they* were entitled, could be ascertained only by a reference to *their own* writings. In whatever language those writings were drawn up, we must suppose it to have been, at the time, and during some centuries after to have continued, a living language; and consequently, during that whole period, there must have been vast multitudes of Christians who could read no other than the original. They at least must necessarily have adhered to, and thus have preserved it; because to give up the original would be, with all such persons, the same thing with giving up the Scriptures themselves. Yet, if we suppose the Apostolical writings to have disappeared at any period within the first century after they were promulgated, this must have been submitted to not by individuals only, but by entire communities; the members of which were daily hazarding, nay, often were actually sacrificing, their lives and all which was most dear to them, in defence of a faith respecting the groundwork of which they are represented to have been so negligent and indifferent. If we could even suppose the Christian Churches to have acted thus in opposition to the ordinary principles of human conduct, in permitting the Apostolical writings,

entrusted to their keeping, to perish, some of the opposers of Christianity could not have failed to make use of an argument which we know that none of them ever did employ. 'You Christians,' they might have said, 'have taken up a religion which cuts you off from honour and emolument, from country, family, and friends; which exposes you to contempt, reproach, suffering and death, on the faith of what? on the faith of what the Apostles of Christ delivered! And yet, having suffered their writings to perish you cannot tell, with certainty, what they said. Where is the reasonableness of such a faith, and of the deportment which you say is founded on it?' Thus, I think, a heathen might have argued, and thus some of them would have argued if it had at any time come to their knowledge that the original Gospels and Epistles were either lost, or could no longer be identified. I may therefore, with confidence, appeal to every reader of that part of Dr. Lardner's great work, in which he relates the substance of the objections raised by Celsus against the Christian religion, and of the answers to them by Origen², whether it be possible that this early unbeliever, who exhausts his scanty resources both of ridicule and argument to prove that the grounds of the Christian faith are insufficient, should never have made even a

² *Jewish and Heathen Testimon.* Vol. II. p. 261 - 354.

distant allusion to such a fact as the disappearance of the original text? a fact by which, if it could have been established, the credit of Christianity would have been more seriously affected than by the vague allegations of Celsus and all the other infidels in the universe ten times repeated. He attacks the credibility of the Evangelists on other grounds; saying, “I could relate many things concerning the affairs of Jesus, and those true too, different from those written by his disciples^a :” and afterwards he affirms, “that some of the believers take a liberty to alter the Gospel, from *the first writing*, three or four ways, or oftener; that, when they are pressed hard, and one reading has been confuted, they may disown that and flee to another^b.” Celsus then confines himself to charging the Apostles with delivering an untrue report of the actions of Jesus^c; and succeeding believers with falsifying the accounts which the Apostles had delivered. But he evidently admits, that the histories to which he objected were “written by the disciples of Jesus;” and that “*the first writing*” (της πρωτης γραφης, he

^a Ibid. p. 274.

^b Ibid. p. 275.

^c It is plain that he had no grounds for this; because, as Dr. Lardner justly remarks, “if he could have contradicted the disciples upon good evidence, in any material point, it is not easy to believe he would have omitted to do so.”

calls it) was extant in his time. How could he otherwise pretend to know that it had been altered? Now this objector is placed by Lardner, and the Benedictine Editors of Origen, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus^d; and it is plain that the writings, which he, at this early period, speaks of as proceeding from the disciples, were either the same, and in the same language, with those which we possess under the title of *the originals*, or they were not. If they *were* the same with ours, and Celsus and his contemporaries were deceived in taking these for the originals, then we must have recourse to the extraordinary supposition, that within seventy years of the death of St. John, while Polycarp, his hearer and disciple was yet alive, all traces of the genuine writings of the Apostles were so completely obliterated, as to escape the observation of this inquisitive collector of whatever could tend injuriously to affect the credit of the religion which they preached. If the text of the Gospels, which Celsus regarded as the original, were *not* the same with our present Greek, it is incumbent on the proposers of such an opinion to shew at what period, *since* the age of Celsus, it is possible for the original writings to have perished, and for those now existing to have assumed their name and place. We may with

^d A. D. 161 to 180.

perfect certainty affirm, that no such substitution has happened since the middle of the second century; because, from this period, the evidence is taken up by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and a host of witnesses, combining to assure us, that the Greek text of their age was virtually the same with our own, and that, as will be hereafter shewn, it was considered by them as the undoubted original of the New Testament. Whichever alternative we adopt, (and, if the Palæoromaican hypothesis be true, one or the other must be admitted) we shall find ourselves beset with insuperable difficulties, and under the necessity of making the most improbable and unauthorised assumptions. In the words of one of the closest reasoners, as well as best of men, "it would indeed be a sufficient answer to the whole to repeat the several *suppositions* which have been made, and to call for the *evidence* on which they stand: this would plainly discover *every part of the story to be mere fiction* ^e."

But we may advance even beyond this. Were it even to be conceded, that the great mass of the Christian community, in different countries, would give up all care of these records, and be contented to possess the Evangelical writings only at second hand, and that their adversaries

^e Bishop Sherlock's *Trial of the Witnesses*, p. 15. Society's Ed. 1820.

would not have objected this against them, can it be believed that the same passive acquiescence would be displayed by that body of ecclesiastical writers, who, from the second century, have made the Sacred Books the objects of critical examination? The early Fathers might not be, according to our improved notions, the very best of critics; still it is impossible to believe that they could pursue their endeavours to elucidate the true sense of the Apostolical Writings, upon an infinity of controverted points, and yet not one of them ever think of having recourse to any other than a *translated* text, as, according to this hypothesis, the Greek is to be considered. That they do not *appeal* to an original anterior to the Greek, is a proof that no such original was, in their age, known to exist; that they do not lament their *inability* to appeal to any such, is a proof that they had never *heard* of its existing in the age before their own; and that they, at this early period, should not have heard of it, is, when combined with other arguments, a sufficient proof that no other original than the Greek ever did exist. For state as you will “the circumstances which may have contributed to give the Greek a superiority over the Latin text;” suppose that, in certain situations, and for some individuals, a translation might be more useful than the original itself, still this will not explain how the original could absolutely

disappear. The world may have been pretty equally divided between Greeks and Romans, or persons using those languages: still, if the wants of the one party were accommodated by a translation, there was the remaining equally numerous community, which, by a parity of reasoning, must have preferred and preserved the original. I do not feel myself at all concerned either to admit or to deny the possibility of the supposition made in Palæoromaica^f, that “As the Epistles (to the Corinthians) were, in some measure, addressed not merely to the Corinthians, but to the saints of Achaia, some Latin, at the period *may* have translated them into Latin-Greek.” Admitting that it were so, although we have no evidence of the fact, still we are left without any account of what became of the original. If the citizens of Corinth, in the days of St. Paul, stood in need of a Latin Epistle, neither in the days of their children, nor even of their grandchildren, could the language of the place be so *suddenly* and so *entirely* changed as to render them totally indifferent as to the preservation of any other than this supposed Greek text. The Latin original, therefore, could not have fallen into total oblivion, even if every copy of it, which was ever taken, had been confined within the walls of

^f P. 331.

Corinth. But common sense may teach us that this could not be the case, and that the preservation of such a writing could not be dependent on the decline, in any one city, nor even in the world, of the language in which it was written. I will go even farther than the author of *Palæoromaica*, in admitting that the Epistles to the Corinthians were designed for the use and edification not of the inhabitants of that city alone, nor even of the saints of Achaia, but of the whole Christian world in that and every succeeding age. St. Paul himself knew this; all his disciples knew it as well as we know it now; the perusal of the fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians was alone sufficient to convince them; and, as far as they were able, though their ability might be trifling compared with ours, they would seek to extend the knowledge of these universally interesting truths. The declaration of St. Peter shews at how early a period "the Epistles of his brother Paul" were generally known and read; and, if we examine only those to Rome and Corinth, we shall find how active was the intercourse, and the consequent circulation of intelligence, between the churches established in those cities. The original of the Epistles to the Corinthians, in whatever language written, could not fail of being conveyed to Rome by some of the Achaian brethren who were continually resorting thither;

and, if written in Latin, there they *must* have been preserved. I must be allowed to acknowledge myself one who can *not* “conceive how a Latin Epistle of Paul to the Romans (if he wrote to them in Latin) may have been much supplanted by, or interpolated from, a *Latin version from the Greek*.” This opinion and the reasons assigned in support of it are truly worthy of each other. “It is well known,” (we are told on the authority of “a German critic,”) “that the *sentiments* of Paul have a striking affinity to those of Seneca; and the style of the Apostolical original seems, from what can be now collected, to have had a strong resemblance to that of the philosopher. Such a style would, to uneducated persons, as the Christians generally were, seem (especially when its fashion was over) less easy and agreeable than one more simple and barbarous.” The most difficult arguments to contend with are, beyond all doubt, those which have nothing in them; as beating the air is the most laborious and, at the same time, the least satisfactory of all exercises. But I would beg to enquire, if the Apostolical originals be not extant, how we can receive any information, or pretend to form any judgment, as to the style which prevailed in them? No one, it might have been supposed, above the rank and ac-

‡ P. 340.

‡ Ibid.

quirements of a school-boy, would have thought of instituting a comparison between the style of St. Paul, of one, according to his own avowal, "rude in speech," and continually hurried by the impulse of strong feeling beyond the bounds of correct writing, and the style which prevails in the highly ornamented, yet strictly regular and correct, productions of the cool, the philosophic, the fastidious preceptor of the son of Agrippina. Neither is it true, that the taste for Seneca's fashion of writing did so very quickly decay. Quintilian informs us of the admiration in which his works continued to be held by the youth of a later age; and of the exertions which he himself employed to inculcate a taste for purer modelsⁱ. Still, therefore, if St. Paul

ⁱ "Solus hic ferè in manibus adolescentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere sed potioribus præferri non sinebam, quos ille non destiterat incessere, cùm, diversi sibi conscius generis, placere se in dicendo posse quibus illi placeant diffideret.—Cujus et multæ alioqui et magnæ virtutes fuerunt, ingenium *facile et copiosum*, plurimum *studii* et multarum rerum cognitio—multæ in eo claræque sententiæ, multa etiam morum causa legenda: sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosissima quod abundant dulcibus vitiis." *De Institut. Orat.* Lib. X. ch. 1. § vi. 4. Quintilian, if he had ever read the writings of the Apostles, might think their style corrupt, as he did that of Seneca. But this discerning critic would never have thought of comparing the style of St. Paul, with that of a writer whose characteristics were facility, copiousness, and laboured arrangement. He would not have laid to the charge

wrote to the Romans an Epistle in Latin, and to the Corinthians two Epistles in the same language, which must have been known in Rome, we are left unsatisfied as to any reason which could render necessary a translation into Greek, for the sole purpose, as it would appear, of being retranslated into Latin. Above all, we have no answer yet given to the most important of all questions, What *became* of the original? If not preserved at Rome, which is in itself incredible, still it must have been in many other places. "Greek, from the age of Hadrian," very possibly "*began* to gain the ascendancy over Latin^k;" but Latin was not instantly extirpated as a living language. The speech of Rome, though gradually declining, continued still to be very extensively employed; as the writings of Suetonius, Apuleius, Justin, and many others testify; and shot forth occasional gleams of great brilliancy into that night which threatened, for several centuries before it was able to accomplish, its final extinction. The churches of Africa, in which, from the age of Tertullian to that of Augustin, the Latin language was used, would

of any one of the Apostles, that his writings abounded with charming defects; or have insinuated, as he does a little lower down respecting those of Seneca, that they were calculated to win the admiration of boys rather than to satisfy men of information and judgment.

^k P. 332.

alone have sufficed for the preservation of a Latin original, if there had ever been any such original in existence¹. Tertullian was much connected

¹ “ In Africa, auctores habemus nobilissimos, Tertullianum Cyprianum, Augustinum ; qui omnes in Africa nati, in Africa vixerunt, Afris vel scripserunt vel concionati sunt. Tertullianus suum de Pallio librum, nonne in Africanorum gratiam edidit, apud quos id vestimenti in scomma abierat ut Christianos appellerent *γραικούς επιθετας* Græcos impostores ? Et quos ex eodem libello constat a Romanis togam esse mutuatos, neget aliquis linguam ? Quid quod ad uxorem scripsit, non Africè sed Latinè ? ad mulieres de habitu, ad fæminas de cultu, ad virgines de velo ? Et quidem, ut notes, non quemadmodum docti solent de quibusvis rebus in musæo commentari, quæ postea non nisi docti legant pauci que ; sed ad eas ipsas directo sermone, ut in earum gratiam scripta scias—Cyprianus quoties scripsit ad Clerum, quoties ad Martyras, quoties ad plebem ? Scripsit autem non Latinè tantum, sed eleganter. Hæc Carthagine, Africæ Metropoli, ubi orabat etiam Apulëius Latinè, quam poterat eloquentissimè. Et *Quis vestrum* (clamabat l. Floridorum) *unum mihi solæcismum ignoverit ? Quis vel unam syllabam barbarè pronunciatam donaverit ? Quis incondita et vitiosa verba temere, quasi delirantibus oborientia, permiserit blaterare ?*—Augustinus suos Hipponenses non docebat nisi Latinè. Extant infiniti ejus tractatus et sermones, quos ad et infimorum hominum captum accommodabat. Quo fructu si Latinè loquentem aut nemo, aut soli docti essent assecuti ?—Sed non est necesse conjecturas sectari, cum habeamus locupletissimum ejusdem testimonium : Lib. I. Retractat. c. 20. *Volens, inquit, causam Donatistarum ad ipsius humillimi vulgi, et omnino imperitorum atque idiotarum notitiam pervenire, et eorum, quantum fieri posset per nos, inhærerere memoriæ, Psalmum qui eis caneretur per Latinas literas feci. Et paulo post, Ideo autem non aliquo carminis genere id fieri volui, ne me necessitas metrica ad aliqua verba quæ sunt minùs*

with Rome, and well versed in the history of its church^m; from which he affirms that his own deduced its authority for the Scriptures which it possessedⁿ. These Scriptures, as his quotations from them shew, were in Latin; yet, as we shall hereafter see, he repeatedly and explicitly speaks of them as having been translated from the Greek. It may be very true, that the church established in Africa “furnished many members of the Greek church,” after the destruction of copies during the persecution of Dioclesian, “with versions made from their Latin Scriptures^o.” But if those Latin Scriptures were different from the Latin *translation* made use of by Tertullian, if they were wholly or in part the originals, what has become of them? The furnishing of twenty versions to twenty different churches, in as many different languages, would not make the original itself less necessary to the Africans, much less would it occasion, and therefore much less does it account for, its total dis-

usitata compelleret. Hic mihi tria nota. Primum Augustino Psalmum esse compositum in gratiam quorumcunque imperitorum: secundum compositum esse vocibus usitatissimis, vitatis minùs usitatis: tertium Latinis literis. Hinc verò quis non concludat ipsis etiam imperitis hominibus in Africa voces literas que, id est sermonem Latinum, fuisse usitatum, fuisse itaque cognitum?” Chamier. Panstr. Cath. Vol. I. p. 201.

^m Euseb. E. H. II. 2.

ⁿ De Præscr. Hær. c. 36.

^o P. 336.

appearance. Our Greek Vulgate survives in company with the innumerable translations which are confessedly derived from it; and the original Latin Scriptures, if any such there had been, must have been still less likely to disappear from the ritual of a church, which, to the age of Augustin and even beyond it, continued to employ the Latin language. Above all, when or how could they escape from the custody of the Church of Rome, which has been constant in two acknowledgments, First, that the New Testament shall be read only in Latin; secondly, that the Latin which is authentically sanctioned by her, is *a translation from the Greek?* The same vice, in fact, runs through all the reasonings of Palæoromaica; the loss of the original is not accounted for; and to hide this defect, cases are brought forward as similar, which fail in the very point where the resemblance ought especially to hold. Thus, for instance, it is remarked, “we have an instance *completely in point* in the *Septuagint*. The early Fathers of the church, with the exception of Origen, considered the Hebrew as perfectly superseded by the Greek version; and doubtless, but for the Jews, the former would be no longer extant^p.” This is surely a bold assumption! but admit it; what then? We should still have abundance of

evidence, as much in fact as we have now, to assure us that a Hebrew original, though lost, had *once* existed ; and that the Greek was only a translation from it. But, in the case to which this is put forth as parallel, we are required to believe not only that the original has perished, but that no single writer has made the slightest mention of its existence either before or since¹. The true question, I repeat, is not, as in Palæoromaica it is assiduously represented to be, whether *any* original writing could perish, and a translation, or retranslation, be unsuspectedly received in its place. The original Simplicius lay hid during many years, and might almost, even now, perish a second time without being missed ; but this instance, though much insisted on, is not in point. We have to consider, whether it be possible that writings of such a character, so extensively known and so profoundly venerated, as the Apostolical originals must have been, could, by any combination of possible events, totally dis-

¹ The same defect of parallelism in *the important point*, is visible in the instance of " the correspondence of the Duke of Shrewsbury." Mr. Coxe has published King William's Letters in an English translation, keeping the original out of sight ; but then *he tells us*, that such an original was in being, or " that the king's letters were written *in French*." (*Pal.* p. 333.) So if the New Testament had been written in any other language than Greek, though the original were withdrawn, we must, from some quarter or other, still have *heard of it*.

appear; much more whether they could *so* disappear as to *escape absolutely from the notice and recollection of the world*; so as that not only no single fragment of them should survive, but that *no mention of them, nor the remotest allusion to the fact of their having ever existed*, should be found in *any* of the writers, heretical or orthodox, who, from the beginnings of Christianity, have made the Sacred Text and its history the subject of their voluminous commentaries.

But neither, it is objected, do any of these early writers express a distinct belief, that the Apostles wrote in Greek. “As to the language in which the books of the New Testament were originally written, we have, I believe, no historical evidence till towards the conclusion of the fourth century.” This, as I shall presently shew, is not a correct representation. But, even if it were, would there be any difficulty in explaining it? The absence of all historical evidence can be fairly taken as a ground for disputing a particular fact, only where there is a sufficient reason for thinking that, if the fact were as is alleged, all evidence would *not* be wanting. But here the very notoriety of the fact, that the Gospels and Epistles were originally written in Greek, may be, and probably is, the reason of our possessing no distinct attestation of it. It

might never enter into the mind of a writer in the second or third centuries, that it could be necessary to bear testimony to a fact which never had been, and, he might reasonably think, never would be, disputed ; and consequently the silence of the early Fathers and Heretics leads to no inference whatever against our position, that the Apostles wrote in Greek. I will not go so far as to affirm, that their silence, on the other hand, as to the existence of any anterior text, directly proves that there never was any earlier than the Greek ; but it at least shews that, in their opinion, there never was, and it will be difficult to persuade reflecting men that, upon such a point, they could be deceived.

I do not, as will hereafter be seen, either want or intend to appeal to the testimony of the Fathers of the first century, to establish the main position here contended for. Still, though it be an interruption of the direct enquiry, it is necessary to correct a misrepresentation, occurring in *Palæoromaica**, of what that testimony really is. “ The hypothesis of a Latin original,” we are informed, “ appears to account for a circumstance, which has been urged as an objection against our Canonical Books — the neglect of them by Greek writers till towards the close of the second century.” With what propriety, or

fairness, it can be said that the Canonical Books are *neglected* by the Apostolical Fathers, it is not in my power to discover. If the existing writings, which claim to be those of the first century, and bear the names of Barnabas, Clement, Hermas, and Polycarp, be *genuine*, then it is not true that the Canonical Books were neglected ; because, as the labours of Dr. Lardner shew, these writings abound with allusions to, or direct quotations from, every Book in the New Testament. If the genuine works of the immediate followers of the Apostles have perished, as the author of *Palæoromaica* supposes, and those which now bear their names are forgeries of a later date, then he is assuming what he cannot prove, when he says, that they neglected the Canonical Books ; because it is plain, that neither he, nor any other person, can tell *what* they said. But, he proceeds, appearing to think his own assertion to be a sufficient evidence of the fact. “ I say it has been a subject of no little surprise, that our Canonical Gospels and Epistles are not taken notice of by any Greek writer till towards the close of the second century ; and this has furnished objections to their genuineness and authenticity.” Now, as I have before observed, if we possess the genuine works of those writers who lived in the first century, and

the early part of the second, it is not true that they take no notice of the Canonical Books; if we possess them not, it must always remain doubtful what their testimony amounted to, and what was the nature of it. But there is a writer of the *middle* of the second century, a *Greek* writer, whose works are undoubtedly genuine, whose highly important testimony must not be thus lightly set aside. I mean Justin Martyr. "It is to be observed," continues the objector, "that, with the exception of the *Memoirs of the Apostles*, and the *Apocalypse*, Justin cites or refers to no other books of the New Testament". "These *Memoirs of the Apostles*," it is afterwards added, "were not our present Gospels;" and the authority of "a German critic" is again adduced in support of the opinion, that Justin took his quotations from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. The words of Justin himself seem, utterly irreconcilable with both these opinions; for he distinctly affirms, that the *απομνημονευματα*, or *Memoirs*, which he possessed and quoted, were written by the *Apostles*, and that *they* were called *Gospels*^x; using the plural in both instances, as if he spoke not of a *single* document, like the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, but of *several*,

" P. 312.

^x "Οι Αποστολοι, εν τοις γενομενοις υπ' αυτων απομνημονευμασιν α καλειται ευαγγελια, οντως παρεδωκαν."

written by different authors. It need not be disputed that he used, in addition to our present Gospels, some of the unauthorised histories of our Lord, which existed, we know, in the first ages, and gradually fell into disuse after the Canon was settled, and that from these may have been derived those quotations which are not found in the writings of the Evangelists. But no one, I think, who reviews the extracts from Justin, given by Lardner and Paley, can hesitate to acquiesce in the conclusion of Dr. Jortin, at least to this extent, that “his citations from the four Gospels—and from the Revelation, shew to a demonstration, that he had them as we now have them in the main^v.”

There is another testimony, which, though of

^v *Rem. on Eccl. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 214. ed. 1805. As an example of Justin's mode of quotation, let the following be taken: εν γαρ τοις απομνημονευμασιν α φημι υπο των αποστολων και των εκεινοις παρακολουθησαντων συντεταχθαι, λεγεται οτι “ιδρωσ ωσει θρομβοι κατεχειτο, αυτου ευχομενου,” και λεγοντος “παρελθετω, ει δυνατον, το ποτηριον τουτο.” *Dial. cum Trypho Jud.* From this it appears evidently that Justin had read the accounts of the Agony in the Garden by St. Matthew (xxvi. 39.) and St. Luke (xxii. 44.) He appears also to affirm, that the *Memoirs* or *Gospels*, which he quoted, were written by the Apostles, and by those (εκεινοις παρακολουθησαντων) who attended on them; meaning thereby to designate St. Luke in particular, by this obvious allusion to his employment of the same word (παρακολουθεω) in his description of himself, and of the sources from which he derived his acquaintance with the actions of Christ.

later absolute date than that of Justin, yet affords convincing proof how long before his time the principal Books in the Canon were known, and referred to; and above all, how incorrect and unguarded is the assertion of Palæoromaica, that “*Irenæus* is the very *earliest* writer, now extant, by whom they are expressly cited,” (p. 313.) The document here alluded to, is the *Epistle from the churches of Lyons and Vienne* to those of *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, giving an account of the martyrdom of their aged Bishop, *Pothinus*, and of many other members of their communion². (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* Lib. V. c. 1—2.) “In this Epistle,” says Dr. Paley³, “are exact references to the Gospels of Luke and John,” (to

² This most interesting account of the almost incredible resolution, which these early martyrs opposed to the diabolical cruelty of their persecutors, was written, I think, in Greek; because Eusebius merely observes, in introducing it, “we will subjoin their words:” whereas, when he gives a translation, he is in the habit of mentioning it. For instance, he does so in citing a passage from Tertullian (*Eccl. H.* II. 2.) and more distinctly where, quoting from *Justin*, the *Rescript of Adrian*, in favour of the Christians, he says, “we have translated it, as we could, into Greek.” (*Ib.* IV. 8.) I mention this to shew how vain is the notion, that in all the Roman colonies Latin was spoken; and that Irenæus, who succeeded Pothinus, “must have instructed his flock in Latin, or perhaps Celtic.” (*Palæor.* p. 314.) The name of *Pothinus* is Greek; and, among his companions in martyrdom, we find mention made of Attalus of *Pergamus*, and of Alexander a *Phrygian*.

³ *Evidences*. Part I. ch. ix. Sec. i. § ix.

the latter twice) “ and to the Acts of the Apostles.” To which I may add, there are also precise quotations from the Epistles—to the Romans viii. 18.—First to Timothy vi. 13.—to the Philippians ii. 6.—to the Colossians i. 18.—and from the Revelation xxii. 11. This testimony is not only valuable in itself, but, in consequence of the great age of Pothinus, (as the narrative informs us upwards of ninety years,) it is equivalent to an attestation of much earlier date. Pothinus, by his dignified submission to martyrdom in the cause of Christianity, placed the sincerity of his belief above all suspicion ; and that belief could be founded only on his conviction, that the Christian Scriptures received by his church, and received by them, it appears, in Greek, were the genuine productions of the Apostles, and had been received as such from the earliest period of his remembrance. This, it is unnecessary to state, carries us back to the age of those who had conversed with the Apostles, and had been placed by them in the government of the Church of Christ.

But to return from this digression, to the enquiry concerning the original language of the Apostles. My reference is purposely made to the writers of the *second* and *third* centuries, commencing with Irenæus ; not so much because an attempt to vindicate the authenticity of the writings, attributed to the Apostolical Fathers and

their immediate successors, would involve us in a long and somewhat difficult enquiry, as because I see that such an enquiry would be useless with any view of applying their testimony to the refutation of Palæoromaica. I may myself be convinced that the *First Epistle of Clemens*, for instance, is authentic, because Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth within less than a century of the age of Clemens, testifies that an Epistle, bearing his name, had been wont to be read in that church from ancient times; and because, if the Epistle which we possess were not the genuine, but were a forgery of a later age, it would unquestionably have contained more numerous and more direct quotations from the writings of the New Testament^b. But suppose this Epistle admitted to be genuine. If we attempted from this to prove, that St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians was written in Greek, because a quotation from it in that language occurs in the Epistle of Clemens, the reply of my adversary might be, But how can you prove that the Epistle of Clemens itself was not originally

^b " De Priore Epistola si quæratu au sit Authentica; ei sane omnia Authenticiæ indicia adsunt. In illa enim non violatur temporis ratio. Nihil contra Ecclesiæ Disciplinam instituitur. Nihil contra Doctrinam Christianam præcipitur. Stylus ac dicendi methodus proximè accedunt ad Nov. Test. neque aliquid, quod non est maximè viro Apostolica dignum in ea reperitur." *Henr. Wotton, in Epist. Clement. Præfat. p. ccvi.*

written in Latin, and, at some unascertained period, translated into Greek? To negative this possibility, which must however be done before the writings of the first century can be applied to establish our conclusion, would be more troublesome and less satisfactory, than to vindicate at once the originality of the Greek New Testament. But the ecclesiastical writers, who flourished between the middle of the second and the close of the fourth century, are differently circumstanced. No design can be entertained, I presume, in any quarter, of maintaining that such of their works as now exist in Greek were all originally composed in Latin; nor indeed would this affect the argument which I design to found upon them: that is, an argument to prove the general and uninterrupted persuasion, entertained by the Church at large, respecting the original language employed by the Apostles.

To begin then with Gregory of Nyssa; it is evident that when he criticises the *style* of St. Paul^c, and enters into an examination of his phraseology, he must be fully persuaded that St. Paul's *own writings*, and not *translations* of them, are the subjects of his animadversions. When he asked, for example, “ Whence did he borrow his peculiar sense of *εκενωσεν*? who shall condemn him for his use of *ὁμειρομενοι υμων*? How are

^c See *Palæorom.* p. 156.

περπερευομαι and εριθεια taken by him to signify such and [such things?" When he asked these questions, he must have felt assured, that ΕΚΕΝΩ-
 σεν, and the rest, were terms employed by St. Paul himself: in other words, that this Apostle composed in Greek the writings in which those terms appear. But it is objected, "accurate critical ideas, with respect to the comparative values of originals and translations, are the result of a state of literature considerably advanced. In fact they scarcely exist at any period except among critics by profession^d." Now Gregory of Nyssa *was* a critic by profession; and what is still more to the purpose, a *verbal* critic. As a man even of common understanding and probity, he would surely not have proceeded to animadvert on *the style* of St. Paul's compositions, unless he had been satisfied that they were the actual writings of the Apostle, in his own language, on which he was commenting. That he considered the Greek text as entitled to this character, is therefore a conclusion indisputably to be drawn from the manner in which he speaks of it; and the same as evidently appears from the general character of his critical observations. It will be sufficient to adduce a single instance. As early as the age of Gregory, and perhaps before, doubts had been entertained respecting the

^d P. 332.

authenticity of the last twelve verses in the concluding chapter of St. Mark's Gospel. The ground of the objection to this clause was that, by retaining it, an apparent inconsistency with the accounts of the other Evangelists was occasioned. Now it is worthy of remark that, to set the sense of the passage in its true light, Gregory has recourse to the Greek text alone, and shews how, by a different punctuation of that, the dissonance complained of might be removed^e. It is to the Greek text alone he refers, as if this were competent definitively to decide whether

^e "E Codicibus istius ævi, memorat primus jam (quod sciam) *Gregorius Nyssenus* nonnullos, in quibus Evangelium Marci finitum erat ad Capitis 16^{ti} v. 8^{vi} verba ista, εφοβουντο γαρ. Hos ακριβεστερους vocat, seu notæ præstantioris: unde palam quid senserit de seqq. duodecim versiculis qui concludunt Evangelium. Et tamen ex istis citat alicubi nonnulla *Nyssenus*, modum que insuper tradit solvendæ difficultatis istius, cujus causâ (partim) facta videtur hæc ipsa mutilatio. Verba sc. Αναστας δε πρωι πρωτη σαββατου εφανη, &c. ita ordinata vult, ut ad αναστας δε ponatur hypostigme; sequentia vero, πρωι πρωτη σαββατου, referantur ad εφανη; sic enim Christus resurrexerit ante primam Sabbati, sive nocte eam præcedente (quomodo οψε σαββατων, Matt. xxviii. 1. recte omnino interpretatur *Nyssenus*) ac primo manè diei proximè sequentis, seu πρωτης σαββατου, apparuerit Mariæ Magdalenæ. De hac verborum istorum distinctione cum nihil cogitassent temerarii quidam censores, et vero magnis circa tempus resurrectionis Christi, atque alia aliqua, difficultatibus sese implicatos vidissent—eò processere ut ista, tanquam repugnantia cæteris Evangelii, et D. Marco indigna, Codicibus eradenda arbitrarentur." Millii. *Proleg.* p. 77.

the passage were written by St. Mark or not. Now it is plain that, unless the Greek had been universally acknowledged as the original, he would not have done so; for, if it had been known or suspected that there was, or ever had been, any antecedent text from which the Greek was translated, the question must at least have been raised as to what the reading of that original was. An appeal to this might have shewn the emendation of the learned Father, to be either unnecessary or unsatisfactory; the ambiguity, which he sought to remove by a different punctuation, might either not exist in the original, or, if it did exist, might not have admitted of removal by the simple process which he adopted with respect to the Greek. Neither, in estimating the importance to be attached to the persuasions of Gregory of Nyssa, respecting the language employed by St. Paul, must it be forgotten that he had the advantage of living in the neighbourhood of many of the churches to which that Apostle had directed his Epistles. He must, unavoidably, have had many opportunities of communicating with Ephesus, Colossæ, and Galatia; where the Christians, though often persecuted, had never been extirpated, nor even so totally scattered as to interrupt the course of tradition with respect to the language in which St. Paul had addressed them. The remarks of Gregory are therefore highly valuable, as they

furnish us with presumptive evidence that, in his age, the general persuasion of the churches in Asia was, that St. Paul wrote to them in Greek.

The date of his evidence is, I admit, not much earlier than that of Jerome and Augustin; concerning which it is questioned, whether “ assertions so late can be entitled to the name of evidence ^f ;” and again, “ the assertions of Jerome and Augustin (writers of the fourth and fifth centuries), are matters not of evidence, but of opinion ^g .” As evidences of an opinion, that is of one uniform persuasion, existing in the ages preceding their own, that the Sacred Writings had been preserved in the original language, the testimonies of Jerome and Augustin are entitled to the highest respect. Jerome was, no less than Gregory of Nyssa, a critic by profession ^h ; a man of bold, penetrating genius, and of indefatigable industry; who had travelled principally with a view of perfecting his acquaintance with the

^f P. 63.

^g P. 356.

^h “ Jerome has many excellent things, and is the *only* Father who can be called a critic on the Sacred Writings.” *Letters from a late eminent Prelate*. Let. 25. Bishop Warburton should have been satisfied with calling Jerome the *best*, or the *most learned*, without setting him up as the *only* critic among the Fathers: remembering, that *Quamvis est omnis hyperbole ultra fidem, non tamen esse debet ultra modum: nec aliâ magis viâ in κακοζηλιαν itur.*

genuine text of the Scriptures ; and the nature of whose researches necessarily brought under his inspection the most ancient manuscripts in which that text was preserved. Were it even possible to suppose that *all* the copies of the Apostolical autographs had perished in the comparatively short period of three centuries and a half, it is still inconceivable that, in some of the churches which he visited, Jerome should not have met with some traditional accounts that such manuscripts, containing such a text, had formerly existed. For the purpose of tracing such accounts, indeed, it could scarcely be necessary to visit any church in particular ; because, if such a persuasion had any where prevailed, it must have been universally known. Believers then, as now, formed, in a certain sense, one community, among the members of which, if uniformity of sentiment on all theological points did not prevail, there was still such a circulation of intelligence upon points connected with the traditional history of their faith, that no question of importance could be agitated in any one quarter, without gradually exciting attention in all the rest. The testimonies of Clemens Alexandrinus, of Tertullian, of Gregory, of Jerome, and of Augustine are, I repeat, valuable as evidences of a widely-diffused, uniform, and unbroken persuasion, existing among Christians from the be-

ginning ; they assure us of their own sentiments, and lead us, by a kind of induction, to those of a much earlier period.

The testimonies of the two first mentioned Fathers it will be proper to examine somewhat more minutely, and it will be found that they coincide strictly with the rest, and thus carry back the persuasion, in favour of the originality of the Greek, to an era much less distant from that of the Apostles. The experience of Clement of Alexandria was not acquired solely in his own province ; he had travelled, and had been every where a careful observer of ecclesiastical antiquity, as handed down by tradition. From Eusebius we learn, that Clement had had an opportunity of hearing many illustrious men, “ who handed down a true traditionary report of that blessed doctrine which they had before received from the holy Apostles, Peter, James, John, and Paul, as a son from his father ¹.” It is a necessary conclusion, that these predecessors of Clemens must have known, and that from them he also must have learned, in what language the Apostles wrote. But on the same authority we are informed, that Clemens affirmed the Epistle to the Hebrews to have been written originally by St. Paul in Hebrew, for the use of the circumcision ; and carefully translated by

¹ *Eccl. Hist.* V. 11.

St. Luke into Greek for dispersion among the Gentiles. From which cause it arose, that the style of this Epistle bore a strong resemblance to that of the Acts of the Apostles. This declaration of Clemens is important in many points of view. First, as it contradicts the bold assertion, that we have no evidence, concerning the language in which the Books of the New Testament were written, till towards the close of the fourth century. Here is a witness, of two hundred years' earlier date, who professes to have heard from an elder of the age preceding his own, that the Acts of the Apostles, supposed with great probability to have been written *at Rome*, were composed *in Greek*; and that another of the Canonical Books was translated, under the sanction of the author, *into the same language*, to facilitate its circulation among the Gentiles. Clemens, it is farther observable, does not think it necessary formally to *assert*, much less does he attempt to *prove*, as, if there had ever been any question concerning it, he probably would have done, that the Acts of the Apostles were written by St. Luke in Greek; but he alludes to it as to a fact so universally known and admitted, in his age, that it might be taken for granted. It may be objected, that unless we here admit that the original Epistle to the Hebrews was written in Hebrew, and has therefore perished, Clemens in this instance furnishes us with a false tradition,

and may therefore do the same in the other case of the original language of the Acts of the Apostles. But this objection, which strives to make it appear that, if one tradition be false, the same inference may be drawn with respect to any other tradition preserved by the same communicant, assumes that all traditions, or all parts of the same tradition, are equally credible. This is not true; but the separate evidence for each must be carefully weighed. If there be visible traces of an uninterrupted tradition in one direction, without any traces of a contradictory tradition in the opposite, the opinion which is thus supported has the highest possible degree of moral evidence in its favour. This is the case with respect to the opinion, that the original language of the New Testament in general was Greek. But where there are two opposing traditions, each supported by its distinct evidence, the arguments on both sides must have their due weight assigned to them, and the decision must be formed according as the balance, in fair and equitable hands, shall appear to incline. This is the case with respect to the tradition, asserted by Clemens, but contradicted by others, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written first in Hebrew, and afterwards translated into Greek. It is therefore very possible that one of the particulars recorded by Clemens may be false, and yet the certainty of the other be in no respect

impaired. It is of more importance to remark that, by adopting and repeating this tradition respecting the last-mentioned Epistle, and by what he says respecting the Acts, Clemens proves, that in his own age and in that of Macarius who preceded him, the prevalent persuasion was that Greek was the language generally employed by the original writers of the New Testament. Had it been otherwise, he would hardly have passed over so natural an occasion for noticing it, and for explaining why, in adopting this language, St. Luke and St. Paul deviated from the general usage of their brethren.

This same persuasion, the general prevalence of which is thus implied in the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, is even more distinctly marked in those of his contemporary, Tertullian. In the celebrated passage wherein he uses the phrase "*authenticæ literæ*," I will not affirm that he means by these words to describe the Apostolical autographs; although, in the passage quoted by Mr. Nolan from Cyprian, the disciple of Tertullian, the words "*epistolam authenticam*"

^k Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsent, apud quas, ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque, &c." *De Præscr. adv. Hæret.* c. xxxvi. p. 215. See the passage also in *Palæoromaica*, p. 58. Note 12; and in Mr. Nolan's *Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate*, p. 115. Note 14.

unquestionably mean that identical epistle which came from the hand of the writer. The words of Tertullian must, however, be at least allowed to mean "letters *in the original language*;" copies not *translations*. How indeed can any other words than those which the writer himself actually employed, be said to "sound forth his voice" as if he were actually speaking, or to "represent his image" as if he were personally present? Above all, why should Tertullian direct his enquirer to *Philippi*, to *Ephesus*, to *Corinth*, and to *Rome*, to satisfy himself of the authenticity of the Epistles addressed to those churches, if the writings, which he was there to hear recited, were *translations* only? The same satisfaction might have been, with more ease, obtained nearer home. But he directs him to "the Apostolical churches," because *there* he might hear the very words of the Apostles recited, if not from the actual autographs, at least from copies, the correctness of which could be no where so satisfactorily attested as in the bosom of those churches which, at no very distant period, had received the original Epistles from the Apostles by whom they were written. The lowest supposition, therefore, makes these "*authentic letters*" to be letters couched *in the original language*; as I have said before, copies not translations; from which last the words seem designed indeed emphatically to distinguish

them; and that this *original* language, in Tertullian's opinion, was *Greek*, is manifestly shewn by his practice, when the *original* is named, of calling it uniformly "*authenticum GRÆCUM* ¹."

¹ "Hanc (Rationem) *Græci*, *authenticum* Evangelio usi, *λογον* dicunt; quo vocabulo etiam *Sermonem* appellamus." *Adv. Prax.* c. v.—"Sciamus plane non sic esse in *Græco authenticum*, quomodo in usum exivit." *De Monogam.* c. xi. This latter passage must not pass without observation, as Semler (*Append. Observatt. in Wetsten. Prolegom.* p. 588.) strives to shew, that *authenticum* here means only a less corrupt *Latin* copy, and that *græcum* is a marginal gloss, erroneously admitted into the text. The author of *Palæoromaica* also, from an undue reliance on Semler's authority, does Tertullian the injustice of imputing to him that, in pretending to correct the *Latin* by the *Greek*, he had recourse to "a mere subterfuge for a controversial purpose." If Semler had even established his opinion, that Tertullian had never seen a *Greek MS.*, the testimony of this early Father would become so much the more valuable to us, inasmuch as it would then be more manifest, even than it now is, that in applying the title of *original* to the *Greek* New Testament, he relied not on his own judgment, but spoke, merely in the character of a witness, the general persuasion of his age. Semler, however, has not sustained his opinion by convincing arguments; and, when the words of Tertullian are *correctly* given, it will appear that his appeal to the *Greek* was very pertinent and judicious. The passage of Scripture to which he alludes, is 1 Cor. vii. 39. "*Mulier vincta est in quantum vivit vir ejus; si autem mortuus fuerit, libera est; cui vult nubat; tantum in Domino.*" On this passage Tertullian, according to the printed copies of his works, thus comments. "Sciamus plane non sic esse in *græco authenticum* quomodo in usum exivit, per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem *eversionem*, 'Si autem dormierit vir ejus'—quasi de futuro sonet; ac, per hoc,

On the most cursory inspection, therefore, of the works of the early Christian writers, we find

videatur ad eam pertinere quæ jam in fide virum amiserit. Hoc quidem si ita esset, in infinitum emissa licentia toties virum dedisset quoties amissus esset. Sed, etsi ita esset quasi de futuro, tantundem et ad eam pertineret cujus ante fidem *moriatur* maritus. Quæ vis accipe, dum cætera non evertas." Semler professes his inability to understand what is here meant by 'duarum syllabarum—*eversionem*;' he proposes to read *emersionem* instead, supposing Tertullian to mean that *dormierit* was a corruption of *dormit*. In short he perplexes himself and his reader, and expends much labour to no purpose, in consequence of not perceiving that neither *dormierit*, nor any other part of the verb *dormio* had any right to appear at all in the passage. The true reading is 'Si autem *moriatur* vir ejus.' Making this alteration we shall find the sense and reasonableness of the comment to be evident enough. "The woman is bound to her husband as long as he liveth; but *if he shall have died* (si mortuus fuerit) she is free to marry whom she will: only in the Lord." On this, Tertullian proceeds to remark, "we should clearly understand that in the GREEK ORIGINAL it is not, as, by the fraudulent or undesigned *erasure* of two syllables, it stands in our Latin version 'Si autem *moriatur* vir ejus' (if her husband *shall die*) as though it were to be understood relatively to the future; and it should thereby seem to extend to the case of a woman who shall lose her husband after her conversion to the faith. Were this indeed so, a perpetually renewable dispensation would be granted to such a one to take a fresh husband as often as the former should be removed. But, although it were to be thus understood, as relative to the future, still that future must be equally confined to her whose husband *shall die* (*moriatur*) before she becomes a Christian. Adopt whichever reading you please (*mortuus fuerit*, or *moriatur*,) provided only that you do not subvert the true sense of the remaining words"

in them a prevailing persuasion that a Greek text, which by their citations from it is proved to have been, in all material respects, the same with our own, was the original composition of the Apostles. We never find those who used it complaining, as the Latin Fathers did of their versions, and as all men who use a translation

(*dum cætera non evertas*, with an evident allusion to the preceding *eversionem*.) The Greek original, *εαν κοιμηθη*, he describes as accurately translated by the words *si mortuus fuerit*; if her husband *shall have died*; i. e. *before* she became a Christian. But, "in consequence of the fraudulent or accidental *erasure* of the *two syllables*" *tu-us*, the remaining letters *mor. fuerit* were formed, by a slight metathesis, into *morietur*; and thus, in the Latin translation then in use, the reading of the passage came to be '*si autem morietur vir ejus.*' This, as the zealous monogamist remarked, being interpreted '*if her husband shall die*' might be construed as giving permission to Christian females (*jam in fide*) to marry another husband as often as the preceding should be removed by death; whereas, in his opinion, the passage, according to the original and correct translation, extended this privilege to those alone whose husbands shall have died (*ante fidem*) while the wives themselves were in a state of heathenism. This was all very plain; but some careless copyist of the works of Tertullian, instead of *morietur vir ejus*, wrote *dormierit vir ejus*, (the component letters of the two words being very much alike) and thus occasioned that obscurity, in the passage, which so many useless efforts have been made to remove. I will conclude this long note by observing, that the best commentary on the words "*authenticum Græcum*" is furnished by Tertullian himself in the following passage "*Græco sermoni, quo literas fecit Apostolus, usui est et Mulieres vocare et Fæminas; id est tam γυναικας quam θηλειας.*" *De Orat.*

knowing or suspecting it to be so, must occasionally do, that the sense of the original is not given with perfect accuracy or with sufficient force: but they, with a general concurrence, *take it for granted*, that the Greek is the original text. Such a persuasion must have been founded on ecclesiastical tradition; and therefore, having traced the existence of it among the Fathers of a very early period, we are entitled, I must insist, to ascend by means of it to the opinions of a still earlier age. It may be laid down as an axiom that, where a persuasion respecting any FACT can be shewn to have prevailed *universally*, and without the smallest contrariety or opposition, among the writers of a particular sect or community at a given period, the same persuasion was *also* held by the writers belonging to the same class in the age immediately preceding. Because it is impossible that any age should at once repudiate the opinions of its predecessors, and adopt those of a directly opposite complexion, without giving rise to controversy, without some notice being preserved of the causes which led to such a change of sentiment, and of the manner in which it was effected. Such a change cannot but be gradual; and we have, I think, a perfect right to conclude that the writers of the *second* century would never have *taken for granted*, as we have seen they do, an opinion of this nature unless it had descended

to them, by inheritance as it may be termed, from the writers of the *first*; from those who knew and conversed with the Apostolical Fathers, and even with some of the Apostles and original disciples of our Lord. The notices from which their opinion is collected are, it is admitted, few, and derived from a restricted number of writers; but this only proves that the point was never contested. A negative argument is, in a case of this sort, the strongest of all arguments. Opinions undisturbed and unquestioned make the least considerable figure in history, but disputes are sure to be recorded. This conclusion, the author of *Palæoromaica* opposes only by representing the whole of this early period of Christianity as involved in such obscurity, and so beset with contradictions, that all attempts to deduce any regular and well-authenticated history from the memorials which we possess, must be abandoned in despair. His creed appears to be that because some things are dubious there is nothing certain. But, though little is recorded with respect to the proceedings of the Christian Church at large during the eighty years which followed the destruction of Jerusalem, that little is sufficient to shew how the members of it were employed. We have the most distinct evidence, as well as the admission of our opponent, to assure us, that during this interval the Canon of the New Testament was settled; and settled

upon principles so just, that succeeding ages have been able neither to contradict nor to improve them. This plainly shews at how early a period the means of general consultation were possessed by the Church, and how they were employed. Where such a spirit of enquiry and comparison prevailed, as this classification of writings implies, the question, in what language were those writings originally drawn up, could not have been so totally neglected, as we have assurance that it was, unless there had been a sense as universally prevailing that it could be decided in only one way. To convince us then of the opinion entertained, upon this subject, by the Church at large, from the beginning, we have all the evidence which the case admits, or can require ; and, having shewn what that opinion was, I must leave it to be determined, by those who have revolved the history of that period, and the ordinary modes in which knowledge is communicated and preserved, whether it be possible that such a persuasion should have been thus general at so early a date, unless it had been also true.

But although few points seem to be more conclusively established, than that the New Testament was written in Greek, this, singular as it must appear, is not deemed by the author of *Palæoromaica* a sufficient reply to the question which he has raised. " That Greek was the

original language of the New Testament," he says, "as I would again and again repeat, I neither affirm nor deny." The sole conclusion to which he clings is, that if the original were Greek, still it was not *our* Greek. "Our present Greek Vulgate seems to be a version from the Latin; and there is scarcely a page from which more than one apparent proof might not be brought to justify this hypothesis," (p. 356.) The nature of these *apparent* proofs, and the credit due to them, may be pretty well estimated from the specimens which have been given in the preceding pages; and I have no hesitation in declaring my conviction, that all the other examples in the several classes, together with the objections founded upon them, might be easily shewn to be as futile as those which have been subjected to examination. Against these must be also set the internal proofs of originality, which the best critics have discovered in the Greek text; together with the consideration, that the hypothesis of a Greek or Latin text, or of both, having existed antecedently to the present, involves the supposition that these texts have disappeared without the slightest record being preserved, either by history or tradition, of any such compositions having ever had a being. An assumption, it may be boldly said, revolting to common sense; a case, if not impossible, at least incredible, as being without a

parallel in the history of the world. Upon this issue we may be well contented that the decision of the controversy should rest ; and the result of the enquiry, it seems to me, will be to confirm the sensible remark of Dr. Lardner, that “ As the Christian Religion is built upon FACTS, the study of Ecclesiastical History will be always needful, and may be of use to defeat various attempts of ingenious, but mistaken and prejudiced men ^m. ”

^m *History of the Apostles, &c.* Vol. I. c. ii. § 2. ; or *Watson's Theological Tracts*, Vol. II. p. 11.

THE END.

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