
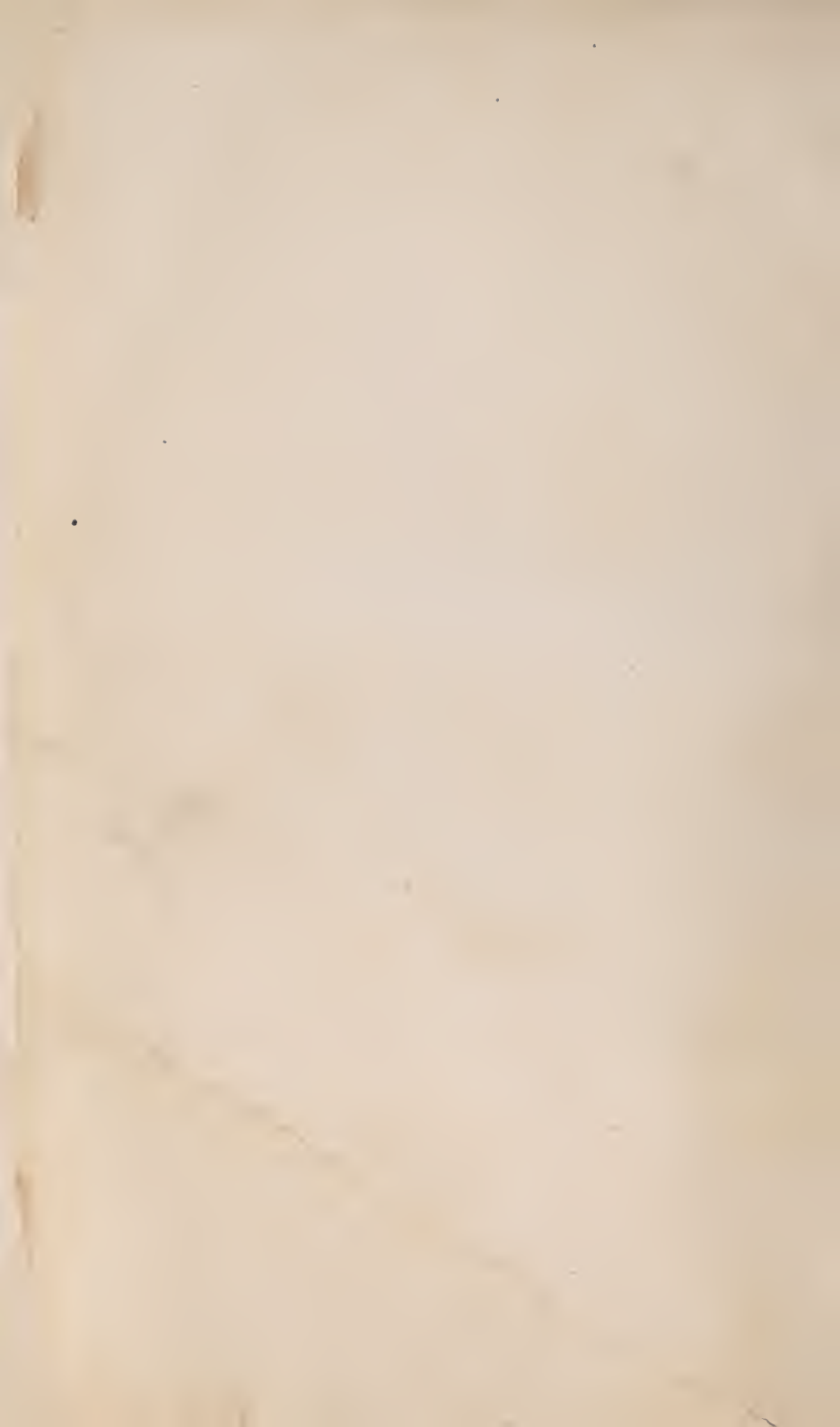


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BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

A

Collection of Tracts

IN

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

BY CHARLES HODGE,

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE, IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AT PRINCETON, N. J.

Ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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1950

BY

JOHN EDGAR WOOD

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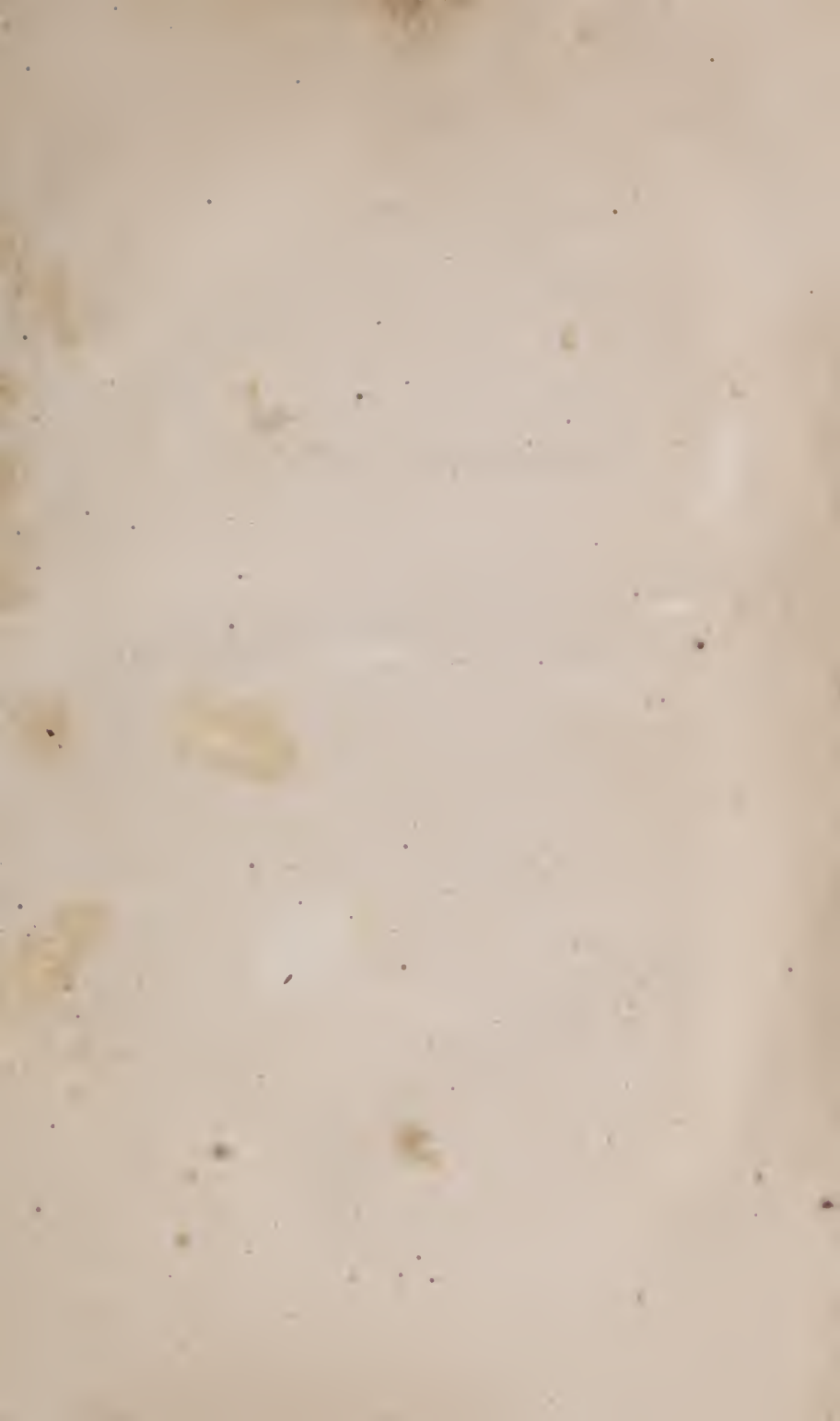
1950

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-



EXTRACT FROM DR. BENTLEY'S

PHILELEUTHERUS LIPSIENSIS.

An apprehension that the application of the principles of criticism to the New Testament and the multiplication of various Readings, would unsettle the sacred Text, and thus prove injurious to religion, has at different periods been very generally entertained. When Dr. Mill's edition of the New Testament with 30,000 various readings was published it produced the greatest alarm ; and Dr. Whitby was so impressed with the conviction of the dangerous tendency of such collections, that he published a laborious examination of the work of Dr. Mill and endeavoured not only to support the received text in every particular, but to evince the danger of submitting the sacred volume to such a rigid process of critical correction. As might be expected, the enemies of religion availed themselves of this apprehension, and made the uncertainty of the Text one ground of their attack upon the Scriptures. Collins in his Discourse on Free Thinking, among various other objections urges this with much force. Dr. Richard Bentley, whose character is so distinguished as a classical scholar, published a reply to this Discourse under the name of "Phileleutherus Lipsiensis." It professes to be the communication of a scholar at Leipzig to a friend in England which will account for the mode of expression so often visible even in the following extract. The portion of the work which is here printed, is that in which the author considers the objection derived from the number of Readings and answers the arguments urged by Whitby against Dr. Mill.

EXTRACT FROM

DR. BENTLEY'S PHILELEUTHERUS LIPSIENSIS.

Yes! but poor Dr. MILL has still more to answer for : and meets with a sorry recompence for his long labour of thirty years. For if we are to believe not only this wise author, but a wiser doctor of your own, he was* labouring all that while, to prove the text of the Scripture precarious ; having scraped together such an immense collection of Various Readings, as amount in the whole, by a late author's computation, to above thirty thousand. Now this is a matter of some consequence, and will well deserve a few reflections.

I am forced to confess with grief, that several well-meaning priests, of greater zeal than knowledge, have often by their own false alarms and panic both frightened others of their own side, and given advantage to their enemies. What an uproar once was there, as if all were ruined and undone, when Capellus wrote one book against the antiquity of the Hebrew points, and another for various Lectures in the Hebrew text itself? And yet time and experience has cured them of those imaginary fears : and the great author in his grave has now that honour universally, which the few only of his own age paid him, when alive.

The case is and will be the same with your learned country man Dr. MILL ; whose friendship (while I staid at Oxford) and memory will be ever dear to me. For what is it, that your WHITBYUS so inveighs and exclaims at? The

* Page 88.

doctor's labours, says he, make the whole text precarious ; and expose both the reformation to the papists, and religion itself to the Atheists. God forbid ! we will still hope better things. For surely those Various Readings existed before in the several Exemplars ; Dr. Mill did not make and coin them, he only exhibited them to our view. If religion therefore was true before, though such Various Readings were in being ; it will be as true, and consequently as safe still, though every body sees them. Depend on it ; no truth, no matter of fact fairly laid open, can ever subvert true religion.

The 30,000 Various Lections are allowed then and confessed : and, if more copies yet are collated, the sum will still amount higher. And what is the Inference from this? why, one Gregory, here quoted infers* that no profane author whatever has suffered so much by the hand of time, as the New Testament has done. Now if this shall be found utterly false ; and if the Scriptural text has no more variations than what must necessarily have happened from the nature of things, and what are common and in equal proportion in all classics whatever ; I hope this panic will be removed, and the text be thought as firm as before.

If there had been but one Manuscript of the Greek Testament at the restoration of learning about two centuries ago ; then we had no various readings at all. And would the text be in a better condition then, than now we have 30,000 ? So far from that, that in the best single copy extant we should have had hundreds of faults, and some omissions irreparable. Besides that the suspicions of fraud and foul play would have been increased immensely.

It is good therefore, you will allow, to have more anchors than one ; and another MS. to join with the first would give more authority, as well as security. Now chuse that second where you will, there shall be a thou-

* Page 38.

sand variations from the first; and yet half or more of the faults shall still remain in them both.

A third therefore, and so a fourth, and still on, are desirable; that by a joint and mutual help all the faults may be mended: some copy preserving the true reading in one place, and some in another. And yet the more copies you call to assistance, the more do the Various Readings multiply upon you: every copy having its peculiar slips, though in a principal passage or two it do singular service. And this is a fact, not only in the New Testament, but in all ancient books whatever.

It is a good providence and a great blessing, that so many Manuscripts of the New Testament are still among us; some procured from Egypt, others from Asia, others found in the Western Churches. For the very distances of places as well as Numbers of the books demonstrate, that there could be no collusion, no altering nor interpolating one copy by another, nor all by any of them.

In profane authors (as they are called) whereof one MS. only had the luck to be preserved, as Velleius Paterculus among the Latins, and Hesychius among the Greeks; the faults of the scribes are found so numerous, and the defects so beyond all redress; that notwithstanding the pains of the learnedest and acutest critics for two whole centuries, those books still are and are like to continue a mere heap of errors. On the contrary, where the copies of any author are numerous, though the Various Readings always increase in proportion; there the text, by an accurate Collation of them made by skilful and judicious hands, is ever the more correct, and comes nearer to the true words of the author.

Were the very originals of ancient books still in being, those alone would supercede the use of all other copies; but since that was impossible from the nature of things, since time and casualties must consume and devour all;

the subsidiary help is from the various transcripts conveyed down to us, when examined and compared together.

Terence is now in one of the best conditions of any of the classic writers ; the oldest and best copy of him is now in the Vatican Library, which comes nearest to the poet's own hand : but even that has hundreds of errors, most of which may be mended out of other exemplars, that are otherwise more recent and of inferior value. I myself have collated several ; and do affirm that I have seen 20,000 Various Lectons in that little author, not near so big as the whole New Testament : and am morally sure, that if half the number of Manuscripts were collated for Terence, with that niceness and minuteness which has been used in twice as many for the New Testament, the number of the variations would amount to above 50,000.

In the Manuscripts of the New Testament the variations have been noted with a religious, not to say superstitious exactness. Every difference, in spelling, in the smallest particle or article of speech in the very order or collocation of words without real change, has been studiously registred. Nor has the text only been ransacked, but all the Ancient Versions, the Latin Vulgate, Italic, Syriac, Æthiopic, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Gothic, and Saxon ; nor these only, but all the dispersed citations of the Greek and Latin Fathers in a course of 500 years. What wonder then, if with all this scrupulous search in every hole and corner, the Varieties rise to 30,000 ? when in all Ancient Books of the same bulk, whereof the MSS. are numerous, the variations are as many or more ; and yet no versions to swell the reckoning.

The editors of profane authors do not use to trouble their readers, or risk their own reputation, by an useless list of every small slip committed by a lazy or ignorant scribe. What is thought commendable in an edition of Scripture,

and has the name of fairness and fidelity, would in them be deemed impertinent and trifling. Hence the reader not versed in ancient MSS. is deceived into an opinion, that there were no more variations in the copies, than what the editor has communicated. Whereas, if the like scrupulousness was observed in registering the smallest changes in profane authors, as is allowed, nay required in sacred; the now formidable number of 30,000 would appear a very trifle.

It is manifest that books in verse are not near so obnoxious to variations as those in prose: the transcriber, if he is not wholly ignorant and stupid, being guided by the measures, and hindered from such alterations, as do not fall in with the laws of numbers. And yet even in poets the variations are so very many as can hardly be conceived without use and experience. In the late edition of Tibulus by the learned Mr. Broukluisse you have a register of Various Lections in the close of that book; where you may see at the first view that they are as many as the lines. The same is visible in Plautus set out by Pareus. I myself, during my travels have had the opportunity to examine several MSS. of the poet Manilius; and can assure you that the variations I have met with are twice as many as all the lines of the book. Our discourser here has quoted nine verses out of it, p. 151: in which, though one of the easiest places, I can show him 14. Various Lections. Add likewise, that the MSS. here used were few in comparison: and then do you imagine, what the Lections would amount to, if ten times as many (the case of Dr. Mill) were accurately examined. And yet in these and all other books, the text is not made more precarious on that account, but more certain and authentic. So that if I may advise you, when you hear more of this Scarecrow of 30,000, be neither astonished at the sum, nor in any pain for the text.

It is plain to me, that your learned Whitbyus, in his invective against my dead friend, was suddenly surprised

with a panic; and under his deep concern for the text, did not reflect at all what that word really means. The present text was first settled almost 200 years ago out of several MSS. by Robert Stephens, a Printer and Bookseller at Paris: whose beautiful and (generally speaking) accurate edition has been ever since counted the Standard, and followed by all the rest. Now this specific text in your Doctor's notion, seems taken for the sacred original in every word and syllable; and if the conceit is but spread and propagated, within a few years that Printer's Infallibility will be as zealously maintained as an Evangelist's or Apostle's.

Dr. MILL, were he alive, would confess to your Doctor, that this text, fixed by a Printer is sometimes by the Various Readings rendered uncertain, nay is proved certainly wrong. But then he would subjoin, that the real text of the Sacred writer does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any single MS. or edition, but is dispersed in them all. It is competently exact indeed, even in the worst MS. now extant: nor is one Article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them; chuse as awkwardly as you can, chuse the worst by design, out of the whole lump of Readings. But the lesser Matters of Diction, and among several synonymous expressions, the very words of the writer must be found out by the same industry and sagacity that is used in other books; must not be risked upon the credit of any particular MS. or edition, but be sought, acknowledged and challenged, wherever they are met with.

Stephens followed what he found in the king of France's copies, Acts. xxvii. 14. "Ανεμος Τυφωνικός, ὁ καλώμενος ΕΥΡΟΚΛΥΔΩΝ· and he is followed by your translators, *There arose against it a tempestuous wind, called EUROCLYDON.* This reading perhaps your learned doctor would not have now be made precarious: but if that printer had the use of your Alexandrian MS. which exhibits here ΕΤΡΑΚΤΑΩΝ;

it is very likely he would have given it the preference in his text: and then the Doctor upon his own principle must have stickled for this.

The wind Euroclydon was never heard of but here: it is compounded of *ευρος* and *κλύδων*, the wind and the waves; and it seems plain a priori from the disparity of those two ideas, that they could not be joined in one compound: nor is there any other example of the like composition.

But *Ευρακίλων*, or as the vulgar Latin here has it, Euroaquilo (approved by Grotius and others) is so apposite to the context, and to all the circumstances of the place; that it may fairly challenge admittance, as the word of St. Luke. It is true, according to Vitruvius, Seneca, and Pliny, who make Eurus to blow from the winter solstice, and Aquilo between the summer solstice and the North point; there can be no such wind nor word as Euroaquilo: because the Solanus or Apheliotos from the cardinal point of East comes between them. But Eurus is here to be taken, as Gellius, II. 22, and the Latin poets use it, for the middle Æquinoctial east, the same as Solanus: and then in the table of the 12 winds according to the ancients, between the two cardinal winds Septentrio and Eurus, there are two at stated distances Aquilo and *Καικίας*. The Latins had no known name for *Καικίας*: *Qem ab Oriente Solstitiali excitatum Græci Καικίαν vocant; apud nos sine nomine est,* says Seneca, Nat. Quest. V. 16. *Καικίας* therefore blowing between Aquilo and Eurus, the Roman Seamen (for want of a specific word) might express the same wind by the compound name Euroaquilo; in the same analogy as the Greeks call *Εὐρόνοϊ* the middle wind between Eurus and Notus; and as you say now South East and North East. Since therefore we have now found, that Euroaquilo was the Roman Mariner's word for the Greek *Καικίας*; there will soon appear a just reason why St. Luke calls it *άνεμ* *τυφωνικός*, a tempestuous wind, Vorticosus, a whirling wind; for that is the peculiar character of *Καικίας* in those cli-

mates ; as appears from several Authors and from that known Proverbial verse,

Ἐλχων ἐφ' αὐτὸν ὡς ὁ Καικίας νέφη.

So that with submission I think our Luther's and the Danish Version have done more right than your English to the Sacred Text, by translating it *NORD-OST*, North East : though according to the present compass divided into 32, Euroaquilo answers nearest to *OST NORD OST*, East North East : which is the very wind that would directly drive the ship from Crete to the African Syrtis, according to the pilots fears, in the 17th verse.

The Alexandrian copy then, though it has vastly increased the number of Readings, as you see in your Polyglott and Dr. Mill's Edition, has been of excellent use here ; and so in many other places : retrieving to us the true original, where other copies failed. And what damage if all the other copies of near the same antiquity, which Mr. Montfaulcon has discovered and Dr. Mill never saw, were sometime collated as exactly, and all the varieties published ; let the thousands grow never so many ?

When the doctor is so alarmed at the vast sum of 30,000, he seems to take it for granted, that within that number the very original is every where found ; and the only complaint is, that true are so blended with false, that they can hardly be discovered. If that were the only difficulty, some abler heads than ours would soon find a remedy : in the mean time I can assure him, that if that be the case, the New Testament has suffered less injury by the hand of time than any profane author ; there being not one antient book besides it in the world, that with all the help of Various Lections (be they 50,000 if you will) does not stand in further want of emendation by true criticism : nor is there one good edition of any that has not inserted into

the text (though every reader knows it not) what no manuscript vouches.

It is plain indeed, that if emendations are true they must have once been in some manuscripts; at least in the author's original: but it does not follow, that because no manuscript now exhibits them, none more antient ever did. Slips and errors (while the art of Printing was unknown) grew presently and apace; even while the author was alive. Martial tells us himself, how one of his admirers was so curious, that he sent a copy of his Poems which he had bought to be* emended by his own hand. And we certainly know from Gellius,† that even so early as Hadrian's time and before, the common copies of Virgil had several mistakes

Not frightened therefore with the present 30,000, I for my part, and (as I believe) many others would not lament, if out of the old manuscripts yet untouched 10,000 more were faithfully collected: some of which without question would render the Text more beautiful, just and exact; though of no consequence to the main of religion, nay perhaps wholly synonymous in the view of common readers, and quite insensible in any modern version.

If all those remaining manuscripts were diligently perused, perhaps one might find in some or one of them a new various lection in 1 Tim. vi. 3. Εἰ τις ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖ, καὶ μὴ ΠΡΟΣΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ὑγιαίνουσι λόγοις τοῖς τε κυρίαις ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. For though the sense of Προσέρχεται is so fixed by the adjacent words that no version has mistaken it, *consents not to, acquiesces not in, the wholesome words of our Saviour;* yet the propriety does not appear in the original, no example of that phrase having yet been given. If some Manuscript then should have it Προσίχεται or Προσίχεται, cleaves and adheres to the wholesome words; who has reason to be angry at that variation? But I should sooner

* Martial vii. 10.

† Gellius i. 21, ix. 14.

expect to find ΠΡΟΣΕΧΕΙ; because προσέχειν λόγοις, to give heed, attend, observe, listen, obey, is a known phrase, as well in sacred as in profane authors. So 2 Peter i. 19, ᾧ λόγῳ καλῶς, προσέχοντες. Prov. i. 24, Ἐξέτεινον λόγους καὶ εἴ προσέχητε. Jer. vi. 19, Τοῖς λόγοις μου εἴ προσέσχετε. So in other places of the LXX. Προσεχειν ῥήσει, ῥήμασι, νόμῳ, εντολαῖς. So to the same effect, Acts viii. 6, προσέχειν τοῖς λεγομένοις. xvi. 14, τοῖς λαλζυμένοις. Heb. i. 1, τοῖς ἀκροθεῖσι. Tit. i. 14, μύθοις. And lastly it is joined with the same word ἐπεροδιδασκαλεῖν, 1 Tim. i. 4. Μὴ ἐπεροδιδασκαλεῖν, μηδὲ ΠΡΟΣΕΧΕΙΝ μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις. If a search therefore was made in the Manuscripts abroad, and this Lection should chance to be found there, what detriment would it bring either to the authority or beauty of the text?

In the Epistle of Jude, ver. 18, the general sense is clear and palpable; mockers in the last time, κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευομενοι των ἀσεβειων, who walk after their own ungodly lusts. But if one of those Manuscripts instead of ἀσεβειων should exhibit ΛΑΞΕΛΓΕΙΩΝ, lascivious, wanton, filthy lusts: as those two words are joined, 1 Pet. iv. 3, πεπορευμενες ἀσελγείαις, ἐπιθυμίας, who walked in lasciviousness and lusts; and 2 Pet. ii. 18, ἐν ἐπιθυμίας σαρκός, ἀσελγείαις, the lusts of the flesh and wantonness; though the sense of both may perhaps be equivalent, yet it is not nothing, to add a justness and propriety of expression.

Once more; in a passage of St. James v. 6, where, after he had denounced wrath and judgment against the rich and proud, he thus concludes, Κατεδικάσατε, ἐφρονεσατε τον δικαιον· εκ ἀνιλήσσειαι ὑμιν, ye have condemned and killed the just: he doth not resist you: if instead of ΟΥΚ some Manuscript, by the change of some letter should represent ΟΚΣ, which in the ancient books is always so abbreviated for Ο Κύριος the Lord; some persons would not be sorry, if what has hitherto appeared to all interpreters abrupt, incoherent and forced, should with so slight a change be made pertinent and proper: The LORD resists, opposes, sets

himself against you. For so St. James speaks before, iv. 6, and St. Pet. 1 Ep. v. 5, out of Prov. iii. 34. Ο ΘΕΟΣ ὑπερηφάνους ἀντὶλάσσειται, God opposeth the proud. And then the connexion is apt and just in the following verse; Μακροθυμήσατε ΟΥΝ, Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming τῆς ΚΥ of the Lord ; exactly as St Peter's is in the place already cited : For God resisteth the proud; humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God.

But to return to our discourser, and to close up this long remark ; it is fact undeniable, that the sacred books have suffered no more alterations than common and classic authors ; it has been the common sense of men of letters, that numbers of manuscripts do not make a text precarious, but are useful, nay necessary to its establishment and certainty. And as Scaliger, Casaubon, Heinsius, &c. when they designed to publish a correct edition of an author first laboured to procure all the manuscripts they could hear of, as the only means that promised laudable success : so Stephanus, Junius, Curcellaeus, Walton, Fell, and Mill proceeded in the same method. All these, except Stephens, the Printer, were Christian Priests : and what, pray, were they doing with all this pains and labour ? Why, according to our wise author, they were confounding their own scheme. Very magisterial and decisive ! And yet the comfort is, that in his courteous distribution of all mankind into knaves and fools, he can neither accuse the clergy here as playing their priestcraft ; nor, without involving with them the most learned of the layety, turn them over to his second row of crack-brained and idiots.

The result of the whole is, that either a posteriori all antient books, as well as the sacred, must now be laid aside as uncertain and precarious ; or else to say a priori, that all the transcripts of sacred books should have been privileged against the common fate. and exempted from all slips and errors whatever. Which of these our writer

and his new sect will close with, I cannot foresee : there is in each of them such a gust of the paradox and perverse, that they equally suit with a modern Free Thinker's palate : and therefore I shall here bestow a short reflection on both.

If all the old authors are abandoned by him, there is one compendious answer to this discourse of Free Thinking. For what becomes of his boasted passages out of Cicero, Plutarch, and his long list of antient Free Thinkers, if the text of each is precarious? Those passages, as they came from the author's hands, might be for superstition, which are now cited against it. Thus our writer will be found *Felo de se* ; unless the coroner to save his effects favours him with his own titles of fool and madman.

But I have too much value for the antients to play booty about their works and monuments, for the sake of a short answer to a fool according to his folly. All those passages, and all the rest of their remains are sufficiently pure and genuine, to make us sure of the writer's design. If a corrupt line or dubious reading chances to intervene, it does not darken the whole context, nor make an author's opinion or his purpose precarious. Terence, for instance, has as many variations as any book whatever, in proportion to its bulk ; and yet with all its interpolations, omissions, additions, or glosses (chuse the worst of them on purpose) you cannot deface the contrivance and plot of one play ; no not of one single scene ; but its sense, design, and subserviency to the last issue and conclusion, shall be visible and plain through all the mist of various lections. And so it is with the sacred text ; make your 30,000 as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum : all the better to a knowing and serious reader, who is thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool ; and yet with the most sinister and

absurd choice he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter; nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will still be the same.

And this has already prevented the last shift and objection; that sacred books at least, books imposed upon the world as divine laws and revelations, should have been exempted from the injuries of time, and secured from the least change. For what need of that perpetual miracle, if with all the present changes the whole Scripture is perfect and sufficient to all the great ends and purposes of its first writing? What a scheme would these men make? What worthy rules would they prescribe to providence? That in millions of copies transcribed in so many ages and nations, all the notaries and writers, who made it their trade and livelihood, should be infallible and impeccable? That their pens should spontaneously write true, or be supernaturally guided; though the scribes were nodding or dreaming? Would not this exceed all the miracles of both Old and New Testament? And pray, to what great use or design? To give satisfaction to a few obstinate and untractable wretches; to those who are not convinced by Moses and the Prophets, but want one from the dead to come and convert them. Such men mistake the methods of providence, and the very fundamentals of religion: which draws its votaries by the cords of a man, by rational, ingenuous, and moral motives; not by conviction mathematical; not by new evidence miraculous, to silence every doubt and whim that impiety and folly can suggest. And yet all this would have no effect upon such spirits and dispositions: if they now believe not Christ and his Apostles, neither would they believe if their own schemes were complied with.

But Dr. MILL is not yet dismissed: for he has discovered a passage very little known before;* with which this au-

* Page 90.

thor hopes, not to do any good, but a great deal of mischief. But why, I pray, discovered? And why very little known? Has not the passage been twice printed in Victor above a hundred years? And a third time above half a hundred? And over and over in Isidorus's Chronicon? We will allow it was very little known to this author and his sect before: but let them not measure all others by their own narrow and partial inquiries.

Nay, but even father Simon,* who has laboured so much to prove the uncertainty of the Text of Scripture, did not light on this passage. Our writer has found out, you see, father Simon's covered design; a true piece of Popish priestcraft, to confound the Reformation by labouring to prove the Sacred Text precarious: and this avowed enemy to all priests and Priestcraft concurs openly with that papist in his pious intention. Now what shall we say or think of this conduct? you that live upon the spot, pray inquire into the men. Was not one of the heads of them a papist, in the time of your late king James? Such a story goes here at Leipsic: and really a stranger would be tempted to think that popery rather than Atheism is the secret Cabbala of this new sect. For why such zeal for bare Atheism, if nothing more was behind the scene? there is no principle, no spur in mere Atheism, to make any man act as they do. They confess that the modern* Free-thinkers are sure to be hated by 999 out of a 1000. Why then must this universal hatred be voluntarily incurred by an Atheist? why must he expose himself by his talking and printing? to do himself good? the very contrary: for if your Priests were really such as this writer has described them, his very life would not be worth a month's purchase. Or to do others good? nothing less: for what harm in his scheme if men live and die Christians? he cannot tell them they will be damned for it after death:

* Pag. 90.

† Pag. 120.

he can only aim, if men live not wickedly enough already, to invite and encourage them to live worse. A mighty friend this to himself and to human society.

But take now a mixture of Popery into the scheme of this new sect, and all their odd steps may be accounted for. It is most certain in fact, that to propagate Atheism in Protestant countries has been a method prescribed and made use of by Popish emissaries. For they do no evil by it in their notion; the men that would have been damned for Heresy, are no worse damned for Atheism: but the good of the thing lies open to full view; when infidelity and an indifference to all religion (and some there must and ever will be) must needs pave a plain way for the return of Popery; while zeal and flame are all on one side, and coldness and mere ice on the other. Let these authors look to it then; and let your government look to them. They may take their option of one of their own epithets; if Popery is the drift of their sect, (as they really serve its interests) they may claim the favour to be placed among the designing and artificial knaves; but if naked Atheism is all they aim at, they are certainly turned over without benefit of clergy to the crazy, crack-brained and idiots.

And now for the passage in Victor's Chronicon with our author's faithful translation:—

MESSALLA V. C. Coss. Constantinopoli, jubente Anastasio Imperatore, Sancta Evangelia, tamquam ab idiotis Evangelistis composita, reprehenduntur et emendantur.

In the consulship of *MESSALLA*, at the command of the Emperor *ANASTASIUS*, the Holy Gospels, as written by Idiot Evangelists, are corrected and amended.

Our writer introduces this passage with a triumphant remark; that it was done in the 6th century, and recorded by one who flourished in that very age. Now this is to possess the unwary reader that Victor reports this matter, as within his own knowledge and memory. But *Messalla* was Consul in the West, A. D. 506; and this

little Chronicon of a dozen pages, which might be written in as short a time as my letter here, ends A. D. 566. So that this might be nothing but a hear-say about a business supposed to be done three score years before.

Ab Idiotis Evangelistis, by Idiot Evangelists, says our author ; who, if he is sincere in this version, proves himself a very Idiot in the Greek and Latin acceptation of that word.* Ἰδιώτης, Idiota, illiteratus, indoctus, rudis. See Du Fresne in his Glossaries ; who takes notice, that Idiota, for an Idiot or natural fool, is peculiar to your English law ; for which he cites Rastal. Did Victor therefore mean Idiot Evangelists in your English sense ? No : but illiterate, unlearned. What then must we think of our author for his scandalous translation here ? Whether imputation will he chuse to lie under ; that he knew the meaning of Victor, or that he knew it not ?

As for the fact itself, a general alteration of the four Gospels in the 6th century ;* though I have no high opinion of our author's penetration, I dare venture to say, he himself does not believe it. Dr. MILL has taught him better ; whose words he has honestly suppressed here, he that makes it one article against your clergy, their stifling of passages, and mangling of books.† It is as certain, says the doctor, as certain can be, that no such altered gospels were ever made public. What tumults, what tragedies would they have raised ? They would have cost that hated Emperor his crown and his life. The fact would have been spoken of and detested by all the Historians, and not to be found only (as it is : for Isidore professes to take it from Victor) in one blind passage of a puny Chronicle.‡

Add to these reasons of my dead friend ; that we have plain demonstration no such altered Gospels obtained in the world : as this writer would insinuate. For we have the fathers of four whole centuries before that time, both

* Pag. 90.

† Pag. 95, 96.

‡ Millii Proleg. p. 98.

in the Greek and Latin church ; among all whom there is scarce a verse in the New Testament uncited : the agreement of which with the MSS. yet extant does fully evince, that the copies continued the same after Anastasius's time as before. Add the intire commentaries of Austin, Jerom, Chrysostom, Cyrill, Theodoret and More, all dead before the 6th century commenced : and yet their Text is the same as now ; and their explications so confirm and fixed, that That could not be altered in their books (as is supposed in the naked Scripture) without making the commentaries anew. Add again the Latin Italic and Jerom's Versions ; add others in the East, all before the date of this pretended general alteration ; and he must be a mere Idiot indeed, that can believe that story ; when he sees all those antecedent books so exactly agree with the subsequent.

That this general alteration is a mere dream and chime-
ra, may be known even a priori by any man of common sense. For if the thing was really effected, and the very Bibles of Victor and Isidore (with all the rest) were so altered and corrupted beyond retrieve ; what could those men mean to transmit that fact to posterity ? Or what copyer would not have stifled those passages in them both ? Suppose, in our Free Thinker's scheme, that all the world at that time were knaves and fools enough to comply with it : yet surely they would not have told it us ; they would not have branded themselves to all ages ; not so have abused the Evangelists, whom they looked upon as inspired ; not rooted up and destroyed that religion, which this very pretended fact designed to recommend.

Our modest writer, who affirms of himself that he must be one of the most understanding and virtuous men alive,* has given no good instance of either in his management of this passage : for he has left out a principal word, both in his Latin and English, and which MILL as well as Victor layed before his eyes, that will clear up this whole af-

* Pag. 120.

fair. Constantinopoli, at Constantinople, says Victor, the Gospels were amended. Was this a general alteration? Did this involve the whole Christian world? Would Theodoric, then reigning in the West, have submitted to this order of Anastasius; a weak and unpopular Prince, that was scarce obeyed by his own guards? But the story itself pretends to no more, than the city of the Emperor's residence: and if our author did not see this, where was his understanding? If he did, and stifled the word by design, where was his virtue?

You see the matter dwindles to nothing; even allowing the whole fact in Victor's meaning to be true. But I can never believe so wicked and senseless a thought, of that Emperor or any Christian whatever. He was hated indeed universally, for adhering to heretics, and for his ill conduct in civil government: and so any story was entertained with joy, that would make him still more odious, and blacken his character. But I fancy I can give you a clear account of the occasion and rise of this scandal out of Liberatus, the deacon, of the same age and country with Victor, in the 19th Chapter of his Breviarium.

Hoc tempore Macedonius Constantinopolitanus Episcopus ab Imperatore Anastasio dicitur expulsus, tamquam Evangelia falsasset, et maxime illud Apostoli dictum, *qui apparuit in carne, justificatus est in Spiritu*. Hunc enim immutasse, ubi habet ΟΣ, id est qui, monosyllabum Græcum; litera mutata Ο in Θ vertisse, et fecisse ΘΣ, id est ut esset, Deus apparuit per carnem. Tamquam Nestorianus ergo culpatus expellitur per Severum Monachum.

The editions of Liberatus, instead of Θ and ΘΣ, have Ω and ΩΟ: but it appears from Baronius, that the Manuscript had no Greek letters here at all; and that they were supplied by the first editor. I have not scrupled therefore to correct the place, as the Latin clearly requires; for DEUS answers ΘΕΟΣ, and the Greek monosyllable ΟΣ is in opposition to that dissyllable. And so

Hincmarus in his Opusculum, chap. xviii. where he recites the same story (without doubt out of Liberatus) has it plainly, as I have put it, O in Θ vertit et fecit ΘΣ.

The account is this : Macedonius Patriarch of Constantinople was charged by the Emperor Anastasius as a falsary, that had altered and interpolated several passages of the New Testament in the copies used in that city ; and particularly that in the I Tim. iii. 16. he had ordered ΘΣ to be written instead of ΟΣ : and for that crime of falsification he was deprived and banished.

Macedonius might really do this ; and where any copies had it ΟΣ, he might order to correct it ΘΣ by a small stroke of the pen. That the copies did vary here of old is most certain : and there is one in the Colbertin Library that has it ΟΣ at this day. But it is as certain that Macedonius was not the first introducer of that reading ; many ancient fathers citing and explaining it ΘΣ, before he was born.

Now any reader, I presume, even our author himself will grant me ; that if Macedonius was banished for falsifying those copies, Anastasius would give orders, to have the true readings (in his opinion) restored ; and that all the copies in Constantinople should be sought for and amended.

And here, if I mistake not, is the whole ground and rise of the story in Victor. For the true fact being no more than this, that Anastasius ordered the copies to be amended, *Tamquam ab Idiotis Librariis conscripta, as written by ignorant Scribes* ; the story grew in the telling, when it was got as far as Africa, on purpose to blacken him, that he ordered the originals to be amended, *Tamquam ab idiotis Evangelistis composita, as made by ignorant Evangelists*.

It does not lessen the probability of this, that Victor speaks only of Evangelia, the Gospels ; for that is the word both in Liberatus and Hincmar, *Evangelia falsasset,*

even where they specify the Epistle to Timothy. So that Gospels, in the common acceptations of those times, were meant of the whole New Testament. But I think the probability is much increased by this obvious reflection: that no one Author tells both these stories; Victor, who has transmitted down the greater reproach, says not a word of the less: and Liberatus, who has published the fairer story, is silent about the blasphemous one. So that in their first original, they were but one and the same.

LAURENCE'S REMARKS

UPON

GRIESBACH'S CLASSIFICATION

OF

Manuscripts.



LAURENCE'S REMARKS

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GRIESBACH'S CLASSIFICATION OF MANUSCRIPTS.

CHAP. I.

Griesbach's Edition of the New Testament—Effect produced by it.

No question, it is presumed, relative to the criticism of the Greek Text in the New Testament, the original language of that inspired volume, upon which our faith is founded can be considered by Christians of any denomination as wholly unimportant. The doctrine indeed of its miraculous identity seems now completely exploded ; for to suppose that a superintending Providence presided over the pen of every transcriber from the first to the fifteenth century, preventing the occurrence of those little lapses to which human transcripts are liable, is surely to suppose the existence of a miracle, not only against direct proof, but without an adequate necessity.

Of all the critical editions of the Greek Text, the most celebrated is that of Griesbach. The peculiar feature of his system, it is well known, consists in the arrangement of manuscripts under certain heads or classes. The accuracy of this arrangement it is the object of the following pages to examine.

But before I enter upon the investigation, I must be

permitted to make a few preliminary observations upon the effects which have been produced by his repeated labours to critical correction.

As it is an incontrovertible truth, that opinion must be regulated by the text, and not the text by opinion; when it was known that an author, so highly respected as Griesbach, was preparing a second edition of his New Testament, expectation was upon the tiptoe among those, who, conscious that the received text will not “without a little straining” satisfactorily entwine with their favourite tenets, are always anxiously anticipating the probable chances of relief, attainable by an unreserved use of the critical pruning knife. The Unitarians not only applauded and patronised his undertaking, but exerted every means in their power to carry the work with credit through the press, and to give it publicity in this country. But what has been the result? As far as relates to doctrinal points, the great object of their contemplation, their hopes have been completely frustrated; for nothing more was omitted in the second, than what had been exposed as illegitimate in the first, edition. If it be asked, what were the passages rejected, and what was the impression made upon the mind of him who rejected them; a better answer cannot be given than in the words of Griesbach himself, which occur in his preface to the Apostolical Writings, published in the year 1775. “Interim uni tamen dogmati eique palmario, doctrinæ scilicet de vera Jesu Christi divinitate, nonnihil a me detractum esse videri posset nonnullis, qui non solum locum istum celebratissimum I Joh. v, 7, e textu ejectum, verum etiam lectionem vulgarum loci I Tim. iii. 16. (ut et Act. xx. 28,) dubitationi subjectam et lectorum arbitrio permissam, invenient. Quare ut iniquas suspiciones omnes, quantum in me est, amoliar, et hominibus malevolis calumniandi ansam præripiam, primum *publice profiteor atque Deum testor*, nequiquam me de veritate istius dogmatis dubitare. Atque

sunt profecto *tam multa et luculenta argumenta et Scripturæ loca*, quibus vera Deitas Christo vindicatur, ut ego quidem intelligere vix possem, quomodo, concessa Scripturæ sacræ divina auctoritate, et admissis justis interpretandi regulis, dogma hoc in dubium a quoquam vocari possit. In primis locus ille Joh. i. 1, 2, 3, tam *perspicuus est atque omnibus exceptionibus major ut neque interpretum neque criticorum audacibus conatibus* unquam everti atque veritatis defensoribus eripi possit.”

From the preceding quotation therefore it appears, that Griesbach felt it necessary to apologize in his first edition for only three peculiar readings as affecting opinion, out of the immense number which he had collected; viz. the omission of 1 John v. 7, and the substitution of *ὁς* for *θεος* in 1 Tim. iii. 16, as well as of *αυτου* for *θεου* in Acts xx. 28; readings, he might have added, which had been again and again controverted before he himself was born. And what did he effect in his second edition? Nothing more than subsequently to extirpate that which he had previously marked for extirpation. Whether indeed the decision of his judgement in the three instances alluded to be correct or not, is a question which I do not undertake to investigate.

It seems then than no new weapon of Unitarian warfare has been obtained from the critical armoury of Griesbach, which once glittered in the latitudinarian eye with so much promise; but that the integrity of the Trinitarian text, in every undisputed passage of Scripture, remains precisely in its former state unattacked, and perhaps we must now presume unattackable. The ancient weapons however of the party, it may be remarked, have at least received a sharper edge: but those who may thus boast should recollect, that, in defence of the same hostile ground, which was originally assumed by Clark, Whiston, Wetstein, and others, they have merely acquired the additional support of

another individual : of one whom they hold in equal admiration and contempt ; admiration for his critical, and contempt for his theological, talents.

All men indisputably are not critics ; but all men, who feel a real attachment to the religion which they profess, are alike interested in the result of critical investigation, when applied to an object so important as the adjustment of scriptural readings. It is natural therefore to expect, that every novel mode of ascertaining the validity of a reading will be at first received with caution, and long watched with jealousy. And notwithstanding the ability which has been displayed in the support of Griesbach's theory, notwithstanding the high tone which it has assumed in the literary world, I must confess, that it is far from producing in my own mind complete conviction. I shall not however, I hope, be misapprehended, as arguing upon exclusive principles against the general doctrine of a classification of manuscripts, if indeed an accurate classification be attainable ; but shall only be understood as urging the propriety of circumspection upon the points of the practical conception and application of Griesbach's particular hypothesis. It is indeed true, that this even in his patient hands has produced effects only to the trifling extent alluded to :* but as it is extremely liable to be misconceived as well as misapplied ; is so intricate in its construction ; is so difficult to be detailed with precision, or even to be made out in its subordinate arrangements ; and is so readily convertible to party purposes ; surely we should again and again contemplate it, and that in every possible point of view, before we consent to admit the conclusions which have been deduced from it into general currency.

* Griesbach himself remarks in the Prolegomena to the first volume of his last edition : " Nulla emendatio a recentioribus editoribus tentata ullam Scripturæ sacræ doctrinam immutat aut evertit : paucæ sensum sententiarum afficiunt." P. xxxvii.

CHAP. II.

Origin of Griesbach's Theory. Bengel. Semler. Number of Classes Remarks upon their Limitation to three. Inadequacy of the result.

THE critical talents of Griesbach have long ranked high in the estimation of the public : and an implicit confidence seems to be placed in the rectitude of his judgement and in the accuracy of his statements. If I do not however mistake the character of the man from his writings, he is himself the last to claim infallibility in the one case, or impeccability in the other. He certainly may be and I believe he is, what Dr. Marsh denominates him, "the most consummate critic that ever undertook an edition of the New Testament."* But his perfection will still only be relative, upon a comparison with the merits of his predecessors in the same arduous department. Complete exemption from error either in hypothesis or in collation is surely what the vainest of verbal critics will scarcely venture to arrogate. Wetstein† accused Bengel of permitting

* Michælis Introd. vol. ii. p. 629.

† As the circumstance itself is curious, and not perhaps generally known, I shall subjoin it in the language of its author. In a criticism upon Heb. ii. 9, Bengel had remarked, "Hæc expositio non potuit placere iis, quos etiam firmiora pro Deitate Jesu Christi argumenta urunt." Wetstein, animadverting on this passage, among other severe censures has the following: "Quænam fuit ratio ex omni humano generi eos solos eligendi, quos etiam clariora de Deitate Christi argumenta urunt, nisi ut *animum malum proderes, et immerenti invidiam conflares?*—Hic nigræ succus loliginis, hæc est ærugo mera," And in the subsequent paragraph retorts upon Bengel in this singular and unexpected manner: "Bengelius nomen *Jesu*, si recte calculum

his theological prejudices to influence his criticism, while Wetstein himself was more perhaps than suspected of being biassed in a similar manner by theological prejudices of a very different tendency: but I do not think that this charge can be justly preferred against Griesbach.

Although it be true, as the Authors of the late Unitarian Version justly remark, that “of the hundred and fifty thousand various readings which have been discovered by the sagacity and zeal of collators, not one tenth, nor one hundredth part (and they might have conceded much more) make any perceptible, at least any material variation in the sense :”^{*} and although, with the exceptions before stated, these various readings are wholly unimportant in a theological point of view; yet the case is otherwise in a critical.

posui, minimum viciæ et quater contra plerosque codices scriptos et contra plerasque editiones, receptas, vel ex contextu sacro eiecit, vel in margine tollendum esse pronuntiavit. Quid erat, quæso, causæ, cur nomen *Jesu* virum doctum atque *pium* tantopere offenderet? Si quis illi sua verba hic regerret: *Hoc non potuit placere iis, quos etiam firmiora pro Deitate Jesu Christi argumenta urunt; nonne majori specie id faceret?* Absit autem a me, ut convicium convicio rependam. Alia, si quid video, ejus erroris fuit occasio. Vivit Bengelius inter eos, qui, quoties nomen *Jesu* vel proferunt vel proferri audiunt, *caput aperire* solent, hinc fit, ut concionatores eam vocem raro pronuntient, ne aut frequenti repetitione aliquid emphasi detrahatur, aut caput alternis aperiendo, et operiendo vel molestia auditoribus creetur, vel attentio minuatur. Huic mori a teneris aduetus cum videret, gesticulationem ecclesiasticam et contextum sacrum non convenire, imprudens contextum ex gestibus correxit, cum juxta regulas sanioris criticæ gestus potius ad voces contextus sacri accommodare debuisset.”^{*} What a whimsical display has Wetstein here exhibited of the *odium theologicum*, and the *nasus aduncus* of critical contempt!

^{*} Prolegomena, Ed Semleri, p. 415. Upon this conceit of Wetstein Semler remarks: “Ejus rei non arbitror esse hanc, quam proflit Wetstenius causam: Bengelius, ut alii, ducitur suo quodam sensu critico.” *Ibid.*

The editor of an amended text will not be biassed by the theological importance, but solely by the critical correctness, of a reading. And to the attainment of this object it is possible that a systematical classification of manuscripts may greatly conduce.

It is admitted that the first writer, who pointed out the utility of such a classification, was Bengel. In the *Apparatus Criticus* annexed to his edition of the New Testament he thus expresses himself upon the subject : “ Si quis omnem codicum varietatem probe secum reputaverit, librariorum Græcos in quasdam quasi *nationes sive familias* discessionem ante etiam fuisse, quam versiones, de quarum antiquitate mox agemus, extitissent, easque differentias semel ortas, alia super alia lectionum divortia, variis, ex causis, non uno tempore, cumulaverunt. Rursum ex codicibus ita diversis alii codices studio librariorum, quasi eclecticis, sunt propagati ; sic tamen ut *quælibet natio sive familia certis* originis suæ *notis* retineret. Tanta tamque confusa moles quomodo discriminabitur ? Id fiet si prius *versionum ac patrum superadditus erit cumulus.*” * Again : “ Tum videlicet *nationes codicum* quas § 31, discevimus, *Alexandriam, Antiochiam, Constantinopolim, Hierosolimam, Romam*, id est totum orbem Christianum complexæ potiore certe sui parte, in unum conveniunt, copiasque suas invicito robore conjungunt. Hoc *tutissimum* omnis decisionis compendium ; hoc *certissimum* sanæ lectionis criterium. *Unius* generis codices, quamlibet multi, sæpe aberrant. Non qualiscunque species codicum antiquorum, bonorum, multorum, in censum venit ; valet vero *diversitas* testium, qui a fonte, a prima manu, quam proxime absunt, et inter se quam longissime distant, adeoque *suo consensu* genuinam lectionem ostendunt, suoque comitatu semper et antiquitatem et bonitatem, et, exceptis singularibus quibusdam causis, pluralitatem complectuntur, vel ubi pluralitas deficit,

* Pars I. §. 31.

defectum, suppleant, ipsisque codicibus recentioribus et inconstantioribus robur addunt. Quo pacto plerisque in locis decisio eam firmitudinem nanciscitur, quæ fit pro natura rei, instar demonstrationis.”*

That Bengal indeed was the original projector of the system alluded to, Griesbach himself was too candid either to deny or to conceal. In a publication previous to his last edition of the New Testament, and professedly written to explain the principles of his criticism, he thus expresses himself: “*Palmam sine dubio omnibus quos modo laudavi, præripuit Johannes Albertus Bengelius, qui in Apparatu suo Critico præjudicatis opinionibus permultis mascule se opposuit, codicum, eorum præsertim, qui Epistolas Paulinas continent συζυγίας ac familias diligenter observavit, Africanæ recensione ab Asiatica discrimen primus fere indigitavit, et alia passim attigit, quæ si colligantur in unum, et apte inter se jungantur, quædam quasi rudimenta historiæ textus sacri continent. Attamen egregie affectum opus neutiquam perfecit vir sagacissimus, sed perfecisset forsitan si decem aut quindecim annos Wetstenii volumina diligentiori manu versare potuisset, et novis his subsidiis adjutus, præconceptas opiniones nonnullas exuisset, recensione diversas, quæ codices, Novi Testamenti omnes in classes aliquot sejungant, accuratius observasset, ac in primis ingens discrimen, quod inter Alexandrinam recensione et Occidentalem intercedit, perspexisset. Harum enim recensione omnium antiquissimarum et notatu dignissimarum, distinctionem, cum cæteris criticis, negligens Bengelius, in ipso Historiæ limine offendit, et quo minus pedem tuto promovere posset, sæpenumero impeditus fuit.*”†

But Bengel was not the only predecessor of Griesbach in the same path. The immediate author of apparently the precise plan adopted by him was Semler, one from

* Pars. I, † 32, Obs. 31.

† Curæ in Epist. Paulinas, &c. A. D. 1777. sect. 1. † 9.

whose public instructions he professes to have derived much useful information, and whose writings he held in the highest esteem ; perhaps the more so, because that adventurous critic was certainly never suspected of treading in the beaten track of preconceived opinion. How highly indeed he esteemed the labours of Semler will appear from the following account which he gives of them : “*Longe quam alii luculentius recensio- num discrimina demonstravit, vanas plerorumque de codicibus Græco-Latinis, et aliis rebus ad crisin sacram pertinentibus, persuasiones impugnavit, versionis Latinæ vetustioris indolem curiose pervestigavit, aliaque innumera fere incredibili diligentia coacervavit, quæ ad illustrandam textus Græci historiam apprime faciunt.*”* And in the preface to his last edition of the Testament he thus distinctly points to the authors of his theory : “*Ego vero doctis nonnullis Bengelii observationibus admonitus eam viam, quam Semlerus ingredi cœperat, quamque diuturno studio edoctus unice veram esse perspexeram, longius et ad metam usque persequi me debere autumabam.*”† Before Griesbach undertook the task of correcting the received text upon the decisions of his own judgement, Semler had published a tract containing observations upon the critical principles of Wetstein and Bengel, and another upon what he termed “*The liberal Interpretation of the New Testament.*” In these, as well as in the third volume of his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, he distinctly characterized what he denominated “*varias recensioni.*” A few short extracts will shew how much Griesbach was indebted to him. Commenting upon a passage in Bengel’s *Apparatus Criticus*, he remarked : “*Codices nec sunt omnes ex una recensione Græca descripti, nec antiquioris recensio- nis (qua utebatur Origenes, Eusebius, et Latina Translatio ante Hieronymum, ex*

* *Curæ in Epist. Paulinas, &c. A. D. 1777, sect. I. § 9.*

† *Pref. p. v.*

qua et Copta fere est, et quæ ex Syriaca posteriori adnotatur) multa exempla ad nos venerunt."* Hæc fuit simplicior, rudior, antiquior recensio; brevior etiam et minus verbosa; ab ea recedit alia, quæ fere hoc eodem tempore Origenis sub initium certe seculi quarti in *Orientalis* provinciis solebant jam describi.† *Antiochiæ et per Orientem* seculo quarto obtinuerit *recensio* Græca alia, recentior, impurior. *Chrysostomus* et *seriores scriptores* hoc tantum textu utuntur, et differunt fere ab eo, quem secutæ erant vetustiores translationes.‡ Diversa Græca recensio, quæ olim locum habuit, pro *provinciarum* diversitate fere obtinuit; *Alexandrinam* facile distinguere licet, *Ægyptiacis* scriptoribus et *Origenis* discipulis fere communem, ad Syros Coptas Æthiops etiam vulgatam; alia per *Orientalis* (*Antiochiæ* atque inde *Constantinopoli* &c.) valebat; alia per *Occidentem*. Inde cum Origenis et Pelagii odium crevisset, ecclesiastica quædam et *mixta recensio* sensim orta est e plurium provinciarum codicibus, qua adhuc uti solemus."§

Such were the materials with which Griesbach erected the superstructure of his critical system. He distinguishes after Semler three *general texts*,|| the *Alexandrine*, the *Occidental*, and the *Byzantine* or *Oriental*. At the same time however he admits the propriety of a more extended division. For in his *Curæ in Epistolas Paulinas*, to which he often refers in explanation of his theory, he gives the following statement: "Detecta jam recensione una continuandum est illud, quod supra descripsimus co-

* Wetsteinii Libelli ad Crisin, &c. ed. 1766, p. 177.

† Ibid. p. 193.

‡ Ibid. p. 198.

§ Apparatus ad Liberalem N. T. Interpretationem ed. 1767, p. 45.

|| I use the word *text* for *recensio* as better expressing the sense of it than the word *edition*. Should we not rather term the corrected text of Horace published by Bentley *the text* than *the edition* of Bentley? And that of the New Testament published by Griesbach *the text* than *the edition* of Griesbach?

dicum examen, donec nullus supersit notatu dignus quin ad *certam* aliquam codicum classem relatus sit. *Quot* vero constitui possunt *classes*, tot numerari debent *recensiones*. Ne tamen præter rem augeatur recensionum numerus, eo, elaborandum est, ut codices omnes in *quinque* aut *sex* classes *generaliores* dispescantur, *totidem* *recensiones* insigniter inter se differentes, et tempore locove a se invicem sejunctas, repræsentantes. Quo facto classium singularum codices, si opus sit, in *duas pluresve familias* porro distribui poterunt, quarum quæque codices propinquitate proximos complectatur. Sæpe enim recensionis ejusdem plures et diversas *εκδοσεις* discernere licet in lectionibus maxime *χαρακτηριστικας*, quibus hæc recensio ab aliis distinguitur. plerumque consonantes sed multis tamen in locis ita inter se dissidentes, ut nova quadam distributione opus esse videatur.”* We here perceive, that he supposes the existence of *five* or *six* distinct classes; but, in an edition of the Gospels published the same year, he acknowledges the extreme difficulty of ascertaining their precise number, and of referring to each its appropriate manuscripts. “*Quot*,” is the language which he uses, “fuerint *recensiones*? *Ubi*, *quando*, et *quomodo*, quælibet earum orta sit? *Quantum pretium* cuius statuendum sit? *Quodnam pondus* habeant ejus additiones, omissiones, mutationes vocabulorum phrasiumque? Ad *quamnam* potissimum *recensionem* pertineat *antiquiorum codicum quilibet*? (nam recentiorum fere omnium textus æque ac textus receptus e pluribus recensionibus misere inter se mixtis compilatus est.) Ad *quamnam recensionem* referenda sit, *quælibet e lectionibus* ejus loci, de cujus genuina lectione quæritur? Per harum aliarumque similium quæstionum solutionem pervenietur demum ad eam viam, quæ ad accuratam atque certam sacri textus emendationem ducit. Sed hæc via (*quam unice veram esse* certissime mihi persuas-

* Sect. 1. † 19.

um est) *adeo est impedita hactenus, tantisque difficultatibus obstructa, ut aliam quærere invitus sæpe cogerer*”

Again: “Inter omnes recensioni Evangeliorum, (de quibus solis hic loquimur) forte *satis multas, &c.*”*

But, notwithstanding the conciousness of this variety, he confines himself solely to the triple division of an Alexandrine, a Western, and a Byzantine, text.

May we not therefore hence conclude, that, feeling the task of accurately fixing the true number of classes greater than he expected,† he satisfied himself with what he deemed an approximation to the truth, and was contented to finish, as he began, with only three? But does this approximation afford a sufficiently solid basis for a durable superstructure? Can it furnish any thing like complete satisfaction? It is admitted, that there exist more than three principal texts, perhaps five or six; but three only, from an avowed deficiency of materials, are brought under consideration. He states, that the “*only true way*” of proceed-

* Præf. p. xii.

† Indeed, in the first volume of his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, he unreservedly confesses, from a defect of materials, his inadequacy to the undertaking. He published in 1777, his *Curæ in Epistolas Paulinas*, of which he thus speaks in his preface to the second edition of the Gospels printed the same year; “*Primas hujus theoriæ lineas duxi in Curis meis in historiam textus Epistolarum Paulinarum Græci, quarum specimen prius nuper Jenæ 1777, prodiit, posterius mox sequetur.*” Præf. p. 15. But in the first volume of his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, which appeared in 1785, he thus apologizes for the non-appearance of the second part of his *Curæ* so long promised to the public: “*Morem sic geram, ex parte saltem, viris, doctis, a quibus jam sapius, publice etiam, admonitus fui, ut ad Curarum in historiam textus Græci, Epistolarum Paulinarum, quarum specimen primum ante plures annos edidi continuationem, me accingerem. Sed ingenue fateor. deesse mihi adhuc subsidia nonnulla, quibus carere non potest, qui discrimina non solum ac indolem, sed quod diuicilius est, historiam etiam, ac origines ac vicissitudines recensioni veterum omnium ita declarare vult, ut asserta sua peritis arbitris probaturum se esse sperare haud immerito queat.*”

ing with confidence and accuracy is to ascertain the number, antiquity, and value of all, and then to refer every manuscript to its appropriate text ; but that he was compelled, from the extreme intricacy and difficulty of the undertaking, to seek another path. Perplexed however and obstructed as the *true way* may prove, it seems necessary to trace and pursue it, if we are desirous of arriving at certainty in our speculations. A plainer and a shorter track may indeed be more practicable and less troublesome ; but how can we be assured, that it will not lead us into error and delusion ? How can we confidently determine the exact classification of a manuscript, when we have professedly omitted to take into our computation two or perhaps three texts, the existence of which we admit, but with the character of which we are unacquainted ? Were we to suppose the publication of six different editions of the same work, all from incidental causes frequently varying from each other, and that a copy had been taken from one of them, but from which of them we are ignorant ; should we, in ascertaining to which edition the copy belonged, think our investigation perfect or satisfactory, if we simply compared it with only one half of the number, neglecting altogether a comparison with the other half ? And would not the difficulty be considerably increased, if we found, that the copy to be compared (as is supposed to be the case in the particular instance under contemplation) was not taken from one of the six editions immediately, but mediately, through the channel of other copies, which had for a long period been successively transcribed from each other, and had strangely confused together the readings of one edition with those of another ?

But it may be said, that, although we possess not sufficient data to discover the precise text from which a manuscript was indisputably derived, it is at least of some importance that we are enabled to ascertain its proximate relation to one out of three. Theoretically perhaps this

species of comparative affinity may appear perfectly harmless ; not so the practical use to which Griesbach applies it. He every where enumerates its readings as evidences of the text to which he refers it, and employs them to supply the defect, or augment the weight, of more direct testimony. But will so loose a line of proceeding bear the touch of a rigid examination ? Can its proximate be correctly represented as its real affinity ? To prove that it cannot, I would argue in the following manner : Griesbach asserts, that the Alexandrine and Western texts have many readings in common. On the supposition therefore that a manuscript had one hundred readings common to both texts, besides fifty more peculiar to the Alexandrine, he would immediately pronounce it to be of the Alexandrine class. But put the case, that the hundred readings, which the Alexandrine text possessed in common with the Western, *where lost*, (and greater losses it is presumed have taken place,) what would then prove his conclusion ? He must upon his own principles assign it to the Western class ; because it would be now distinguished by one hundred peculiar readings of this class, and by only fifty of the other : and being thus arranged, it would side with the Western, even in direct opposition to the Alexandrine, text, to which it really belonged. If such a result accrue from a deficiency in our knowledge of a part of a text, less surely cannot be attributable to a deficiency in our knowledge of a whole one ; and not one only, but of two or even three.

Notwithstanding therefore the great respect which I entertain for the abilities of Griesbach, I must be permitted to enter my protest against the substitution of absolute decision for conjectural probability, and it is principally to this point that my observations are directed. If obstacles to a more complete investigation exist, we may lament, but cannot annihilate them : by shutting our eyes we shall indeed cease to behold, but do not surmount them.

The only true way of proceeding would be, as Griesbach himself admits, to establish a previous discrimination of *every* peculiar text; otherwise it is to be apprehended that we are treading not upon solid ground, but upon a critical quicksand.

I must not however be understood, either here or elsewhere, as expressing my own conviction relative to the existence of more texts than three, or even of that limited number. It is the hypothesis of Griesbach which I am discussing, and not my own. To that therefore, and to the tenor of his argument in defence of it, I necessarily adapt both my language and my reasoning.

CHAP. III.

Griesbach's Mode of Classification. No standard Text. Principle of Classification fallacious. Inaccuracy of his Calculations. Corrected Statement.

I HAVE remarked, that the three texts, to which Griesbach confines his attention, and to which he refers all Manuscripts, Versions, and Fathers, are the Alexandrine, the Western, and the Byzantine. Under the last he ranks the received text, which he considers as the most recent and least valuable of three.

In deciding upon the classification of a manuscript, he is guided by *its various readings*, or departure from the received text. *These* he compares with what he conceives to be the various readings, of the other texts, viz. the Alexandrine and the Western; and in whichever of the two he finds the sum of the agreements to exceed the sum of the differences, to that he assigns it. If the readings

are few and not generally coincident with either, of course it remains with the Byzantine.

An early and tolerably pure specimen of the Alexandrine text he supposes to exist in the quotations of Origen. These therefore, distinguishing their various readings even in the minutest points, he has taken the pains to collect, digest, and publish, as a general exemplar of that text, in passages where they occur. The Western he thinks discoverable in the Latin version, and several Greek manuscripts evidently conformable with it.

To point out the principal ground of his classification, it seems only necessary to give the following short extracts from his *Symbolæ Criticæ*. Comparing with the quotations of Origen the various readings of the manuscript denoted by the letter L, he thus expresses himself; *Quantus sit inter Origenem et codicem L consensus, inde patet, quod conveniunt inter se 519ies (saltem 481,) differunt autem non nisi 261 aut potius 202 locis. Hoc numero demto ab illo, supersunt consonantiæ 317. Eandem igitur recensionem exhibere codicem hunc atque Origenem, recte supra statuimus, præsertim cum consentiant non in solis minutis, id quod casu accidere potuisset, verum etiam in lectionibus gravioribus, et characteristicis: sed neque in his tantum, quod suspicionem interpolationis ex Origenis scriptis movere forte posset, verum in literarum quoque apicibus et minutissimis discrepantiis.** In proof also that the manuscript marked A belongs to the same class in the Epistles of St. Paul, he thus states the affinities of its various readings: “*E variantibus lectionibus e codice A decerptis, 110 consonant Origanianis, 60 autem ab his differunt.*”† Upon the excess therefore of the agreements above the disagreements discoverable in the *various readings* of a manuscript it is that his system is founded. Such

* Vol. i. p. 125, 126.

† Ibid. p. 135.

then being the groundwork of his system, let us now consider its accuracy.

The *various readings* of a manuscript in its departure from the received text might indeed afford the surest basis for a classification, were the received to be considered as *the standard text*, with which all manuscripts generally accorded, but from which they occasionally, and only occasionally, deviated. Upon this supposition the character of such occasional deviations would seem to form the sole object of investigation. But Griesbach allows the existence of no standard text, and argues that the received, as principally conformable with the Byzantine, is the worst of the three. When therefore he stepped out of the path trodden by preceding critics, and annihilated the credit of the received text as a common standard, even asserting its inferiority to every other, ought he not likewise to have departed from their accustomed mode of solely contemplating in manuscripts their variations from this; because the object of his research simply appears to have been, not *the character of particular deviations from any individual text*, but *the general coincidences of a manuscript with one text above another?*

Few writers express themselves more dispassionately than Griesbach, or more remarkably unite modesty of statement with confidence in opinion. If however my view of the subject be right, his must indisputably be wrong, and confidence itself should give way to conviction.

But I may be told, that by confining his calculations to the various readings of the received text, he did not mean to represent that text as a standard, and that the result would have been precisely the same, had he taken into consideration the various readings of any other text.

To this however I cannot assent. For, putting out of the question every idea of excellence in the use of the word standard, still I maintain, that had he limited his observations to the various readings of another text instead

of the Byzantine, the result would have been very different. Let us try the experiment with the Alexandrian, which, being in his judgment the most ancient and valuable, we might have presumed would have been originally selected for this purpose.

The manuscript marked A he represents as belonging to the Alexandrine class in the Epistles of St. Paul, because out of one hundred and seventy deviations from the received text, it agrees one hundred and ten times with Origen, and differs from him only sixty. Now let us turn the scale, and institute a comparison founded upon its variations, not from the received text, but from the Alexandrine, or the quotations of Origen. Griesbach states, that the manuscript A differs both from Origen and from the received text *sixty times*. He also informs us,* that it differs from Origen alone, when it agrees with the received text, *ninety-six times*. Adding therefore these numbers together, we perceive that the deviations of A from Origen, or the Alexandrine text, amount to *one hundred and fifty-six* in all. But is it not evident, that out of these it agrees with the received or Byzantine text, when it differs from Origen, *ninety-six times*, and dissents from

* "Origenes dissentit a textu recepto 57ies, ubi e codicibus A et C nulla profertur lectionis varietas. His tamen addi possunt lectiones 39, in quibus Origene sibi non constat. Inter has lectiones 96 sunt nonnullæ singulares, quas nusquam nisi apud Origenem invenire adhuc licuit: aliæ vero in aliis quoque codicibus, patribus et versionibus reperiuntur." *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. i. p. 134. I have taken into the computation the inconstant readings of Origen, in conformity with the example of Griesbach, for this plain reason; because, where he sometimes reads with and sometimes against the common text, it is most probable that the inconstancy arose, not from Origen himself, but from the circumstance of his transcribers or editors having been most conversant with the common text, and having therefore inadvertently, or perhaps from partiality, substituted it. Thus Griesbach remarks, "Si vero consentit cum textu vulgo recepto, a librariis aut editoribus operum Origenis, vulgato textui adsuetis, invito Adamantio, abtrusa esse judicatur." *Ibid.* p. 131.

it only *sixty*? The conclusion therefore is unavoidable, and we seem compelled upon this calculation to class the manuscript under the Byzantine text, as we were upon the other calculation under the Alexandrine; so that a diametrically opposite result takes place.

Nor is the case different under similar circumstances with the Ephrem manuscript marked C, which Griesbach represents as completely Alexandrine; This he states* to have one hundred and sixteen various readings in the Epistles of St. Paul, of which ninety-six accord with Origen, and twenty only dissent from him; an apparently strong and sufficient proof of its classification. But if we take the Alexandrine text for the standard, and add to the twenty readings, in which C dissents both from Origen and from the received text, ninety-six more already quoted, in which C as well as A dissent from Origen alone, when they agree with the received text, it will then follow, that out of one hundred and sixteen deviations of C from Origen, *ninety-six* accord with the Byzantine text, and *twenty* only dissent from it, the exact proportion which upon the adverse mode of calculation before proved it to belong to the Alexandrine, but which now consigns it to the Byzantine. And it should be particularly remarked, that these two are considered by Griesbach as the principal and least adulterated manuscripts of the Alexandrine class in the Epistles of St. Paul extant, and that by the degree of conformity with these he regulates the character of other manuscripts.

From the preceding observations therefore it appears, that the principle adopted by Griesbach can only lead to a fallacious conclusion, and that the same manuscript must

* E codice C laudantur lectiones 96 consonantes cum Origene, et 20 tantum discrepantes ab eo." Symbolæ, vol. i. p. 135. I am aware that this instance is not equally strong, because we cannot be so certain of the agreements of C with the received text, as of those ascribed to A; but it at least affords presumptive evidence.

by one mode of applying it be attributed to one class, and by another mode to another.

But it may be further remarked, that Griesbach himself seems not perfectly satisfied with his own manner of computation ; for in a subsequent part of his *Symbolæ Criticæ* he hints, that it would perhaps be proper to subjoin the differences of a manuscript, when it reads *with* the received text *against* the Alexandrine, to its differences when it reads against both, although in the instances given he uniformly limits his calculations to the latter. He is ascertaining the character of the Colbert manuscript marked 17; for which purpose he compares it, not as before with Origen, but with the readings of A or C, considered as genuine representatives of the Alexandrine text. After having drawn his conclusion in the usual manner, he adds : “ *Atque si posterioribus*” (that is, the peculiar readings of the Colbert manuscript, dissenting from both texts) “ *vel maxime addas lectiones cum vulgari textu contra Alexandrinos consentientes, nihilo tamen minus Alexandrinorum lectionum multo major est, quam dissentium ab Alexandrinis, numerus.*”* He does not indeed surmise that such an addition is absolutely necessary ; nor indeed is it : but appears at least to entertain a floating suspicion of its propriety. Here, it is true, it would not, if calculated according to his numbers, have altered the character of the manuscript immediately under consideration ; but apply it, even thus calculated, to the manuscripts A C, which, instead of being simply esteemed accessaries to Origen, are at once elevated into the rank of principals, and how will the case then stand ? The manuscript A, we have seen, has ninety-six readings differing from one text alone, and sixty differing from both texts. These numbers combined make *one hundred and fifty-six* readings, which, opposed to the *one hundred and ten* agreements, leave a bal-

* *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. ii. p. 135.

ance *against* the union with Origen of *forty* ! C also has ninety-six readings differing from one text alone, and twenty differing from both, which together make *one hundred and sixteen* readings, and these opposed to *the ninety-six* agreements leave a balance against the same union of *twenty*. Thus, upon ground which he himself considers as at least fairly admissible, he experiences another failure in the exemplification of his theory.

In all the preceding references I have presumed upon the accuracy of Griesbach, and considered the numbers which he assigns on every occasion as correct. I must now take the liberty of stating, that we must not place too much confidence in the supposed accuracy of his calculations. Far am I from suspecting his fidelity ; but I must confess, that I more than suspect him of inadvertency. As I certainly cannot hope, and indeed ought not, to be believed without proof, I will endeavour to substantiate the charge.

A circumstance upon which he seems to lay considerable stress, printing his account of it in italics, is the union of the manuscripts A C with Origen in seventy-five out of eighty-eight places ; but here he is indisputably inaccurate. His words are these : “*Inter lectiones illas 88, codicibus A et C communes, sunt 75, quibus suffragatur Origenes et 13 tantum, a quibus abhorret.*”* The thirteen differences alluded to he gives in detail ; but besides these, sev-

* Symbolæ Criticæ, vol. i. p. 136. The following are the 13 readings given by Griesbach. Romans xiv. 9, where A C have και εξησεν, Origen has και ανεστη. 1 Cor. i. 28. = και. ix. 20. Μη ων αυτος υπο νομον. x. 2. εξαπτισθησαν for εξαπτισαντο. Ibid. 33. συμφορον for συμπερον. xi. 5. αυτης for εαυτης. Ibid. 29. = αναζιως. xv. 54. θνητον τουτο ενδυσηται την αδανασιαν και το φαρτον τουτο ενδυσηται αφαρσιαν for το φαρτον τουτο ενδυσηται αφαρσιαν και το θνητον ταυτο ενδυσηται την αδανασιαν. Galat. ii 9. μεν. iv. 23. = της. v. 19. = μοιχεια. Ephes. iii. 6. Ιησου after Χριστω. iv. 8. = και.

enteen more at least appear to have escaped his eye, which I have subjoined in a note :* so that instead of only *thirteen* instances of discordance he should have given *thirty* ! Of the additional seventeen some indeed may appear unimportant, but they are not more so than several of those which he has himself noticed ; for what can be more trivial than the change of ε into ο in the word συμφερον. But it should be recollected, that he regards minutiae of this sort as sometimes strongly characterizing the country, age, talent, and fidelity of a transcriber, as well as the class of a manuscript. “ Hujusmodi minutiae,” he remarks “ utilissime a criticis in subsidium adhibentur ad investigandum librarii, qui codicem scripsit, ingenium, et ad indagandam ejus patriam, ætatem, peritiam, fidem, necnon ad cognoscendam

* The seventeen readings omitted by him are these: Romans vii.

14. σαρκινος for σαρκικος. xi. 21. = μηπως, Origen has ποσῳ μαλλον and ποσῳ πλσον. 1 Cor. i. 20. = σουτου. iv. 9. = ὅτι. Ibid 21. πρῶτου for πρῶτης. (A C Dam. in Wetstein. Woide Cod. Alex: unnoticed also by Griesbach. It occurs again, Coloss. iii. 12. A C F 31, 39: unnoticed also by Griesbach.) vii. 7, ὁ for ἕς twice. ix. 20 μηων αυτος ὑπο νομον. Ibid 21. κερδανω for κερδῆσω. xii. 6 = εστι. Ibid. 24. ὑστερουμενω for ὑστερουντι. xiii. 8. πιπτει for εκπιπτει. 2 Cor. i. 12. X σου before θεου. ii. 2. = εστιν. *Habet Or*: Note of Griesbach. Galat. iii. 10. X ὅτι. iv. 24. = αἰ. Philip. ii. 5. φρονειτε for φρονεισθω. Ibid. 9. X το. 2 Tim. ii. 21. = και. *Habet Orig. ter.* Note of Griesbach.

Besides the above there are nineteen more, in which Origen reads inconstantly, sometimes with A C. and sometimes with the received text. But Griesbach doubtless included these in the coincidences of A C with Origen; as he expressly states, that he included six others in the coincidences of A without C; “ Ex his 35 lectionibus sunt 6, in quibus Origines *inconstans* est.” Vol. i. p. 135.

The extreme toil and irksomeness of making extracts of this kind is so apt to confuse the eye, and weary the mind, that the inaccuracy of Griesbach is not perhaps so remarkable as it may at first appear. And as these discrepancies had escaped him, it is possible that others also may have escaped me. Nor will he be found always consistent with himself, if a comparison be made between the passages alleged, and the notes of his own Testament. Thus in his reference to Ephes.

exemplaris, e quo codex ductus est, indolem.”* Indeed it is the trivial character of the readings quoted which he himself labours particularly to point out, commencing with these words: “Pleræque lectiones, in quibus discedit Origenes a codicum A et C inter se consentientium lectione, *exigui aut nullius momenti sunt.*” This also may be the case with a few (I have remarked but one) of those, which are added as having escaped his observation: but certainly is not so with the remainder, most of which are readings common to A C with manuscripts of the Western text; and many of them readings which he himself deems preferable to those of the received text; and that no mistakes might occur in my extract I have taken care to verify them by the very text of Origen, which he selected and published in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*.

† To dwell minutely upon the inaccuracies of an author, engaged in so multifarious and perplexing an undertaking

iii. 6, he says in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*: “Post Χριστῶ adjicitur Ἰησοῦ in A C Copt. Vulg.” and ranks it among the disagreements of Origen with A C; but no such note occurs in either edition of his New Testament. In Wetstein however the circumstance is marked. I will add another instance: In his New Testament, Phil. ii. 9, he remarks, “τὸ A B C Orig.” but in his *Symbolæ Criticæ* he assigns no reading of the kind to Origen.

* *Symbolæ Criticæ* vol. i. p. 74.

† Accuracy however in collation, where it is easily obtainable, may be expected. Griesbach complains, and justly complains in this respect, of the mistakes of Wetstein: but is he himself altogether free from censure? The Boernerian manuscript was published by Matthæi many years before the appearance of his last edition, and he notices the publication of it in his preface. Yet have I observed, solely in those passages of St. Paul's Epistles to which the quotations of Origen are applicable, more than ninety omissions of its readings, many of which at least should have appeared even in a critical edition of the New Testament professedly abridged. At other times variations are marked, not to be found in the manuscript. Thus 1 Cor.

as Griesbach, may appear perhaps a little fastidious. I will therefore content myself with subjoining only one or two instances more, from many which I could collect, to prove how cautious we must be in too implicitly trusting in his statements. The article *αι* before *δυσ διαδραχαι* Gal. iv. 24. he rejects. In the first edition of his Testament he says, = A C D E F G &c. *Orig.* In the last edition it stands thus. = A B C D E F G &c. *Orig. MS.* but, in his published quotations of Origen, he marks *no* variation at all from the received text. Now it seems, that in his first edition he rested his assertion of the omission of *αι* by Origen upon the authority of Wetstein, whose words are, “Origenes contra Celsum, p. 193.” but, upon turning to the passage in Spencer’s edition, which Wetstein used, we nevertheless find *αι* inserted in the text. Before his second edition, we may presume, from the words *Or. MS.** that he

ii. 15. *τα* A D E F G &c. 2 Cor. iii. 10. *ου* for *ουδε* A C D E F G &c. But the manuscript G has no such readings. Both are blunders copied from Wetstein. I make no remark upon numerous omissions of G reading alone, or with F only; but why is G omitted in such readings as these; 1 Cor. v. 7. *ετυδη* for *εδυδη* A D E F I 7, &c. and vii. 13. *αρση* for *αρσει* A B D E F 21. 46? It certainly coincides here: nor perhaps can a sufficient reason be assigned, why Griesbach should adopt from Wetstein so insignificant a variation as this, *οι λεγομενοι* for *λεγομενοι* F G Mt. g; and yet reject the following more important one, where G equally appears, (important I mean as indicative of its class;) Galat. v. 25 *πνευματι ζωμεν* for *ζωμεν πνευματι* D E F G *Vulg.* unless indeed he overlooked it. But it seems probable that he never collated the MS. at all.

* For the manuscript as well as printed readings of Origen, he depends upon the Benedictine edition. “*Evolventi statim patet . . . utrum omnes operum Origenis editiones et manuscripti codices dictum biblicum, ab Origene excitatum, iisdem verbis exhibeant, an vero lectionis discrepantia in ipsis observata sit a Benedictines editoribus.*” *Symb. Crit.* v. ii. p. 231. But in the present instance at least he strangely mistakes the evidence of the Benedictine editors. On

more fully investigated the fact, and discovered that it was at least wanting *in manuscripts*. This we may presume, but the very reverse is the truth : for the passage is not only found in the edition of Origen, which he used,* *with α*, as he himself correctly quotes the verse in his Symbolæ, but a note also is added by the editors expressly stating that, although Tarinus omits it, it nevertheless *occurs in manuscripts* ; “ apud Tarinum desunt αὶ δύο, quæ habentur in MSS.” How could a writer of Griesbach's talent and diligence blunder so egregiously ! The reader perhaps will think a single instance more sufficient.

The preposition ὑπο is substituted for απο Romans xiii. 1, by A, and Griesbach in his first edition adds, by Origen ; but in his last he says, Orig. ap. Wetstein. Here is his authority. In examining however the passage as given in Spencer's Origen, p. 421, to which Wetstein refers, we perceive not the least colour for a various reading, it being clearly printed απο and not ὑπο, precisely as it is in the Benedictine edition, the Symbolæ of Griesbach himself, and the received text. It is the more singular, that he should have been misled by Wetstein in those instances in which he might have so easily corrected him, when he was conscious of that critic's inaccuracy on so many other occasions ; for in the readings of a single manuscript, he professes to have discovered numerous errors and omissions ;

another occasion also he gives their evidence, not indeed incorrectly, but partially. In Philip. iii. 10, on the word συμμορφουμένος he remarks, συμμορφωζόμενος A B D, Orig. MS. Now the Benedictines print it συμμορφουμένος, but add the following note : *Ita codd. Regius et Basiliensis . . . Duo codd. Anglicani et Hæschelius in textu συμμορφωζόμενος.* He notwithstanding takes no notice of the Paris and Basil MSS. but gives the reading of the two English ones, as that of the MSS *in general* without reserve, as well in his Symbolæ Criticæ as in his Testament,

* Vol. i. p. 171, and 537, where alone it is read.

“Correximus igitur non solum *haud paucos* Wetstenii errores, sed protulimus etiam *plus mille* lectiones, ab illo plane omissas.”*

Under the persuasion therefore of the little dependence to be placed upon Griesbach's calculations, I have taken the pains to go over the same heavy ground myself, and to compare the various readings of the manuscript A with the text of Origen published in the second volume of the *Symbolæ*; a text, he observes, “*præ aliorum patrum textibus dignum, qui quantum fieri potest accuratissime cognoscatur.*”†

These, with other various readings in illustration of the same argument, will be found in the Appendix; and from a computation with them we shall perceive, that a very different result, with respect to the amount of the numbers, will take place. Griesbach calculates the agreements of A and Origen in their deviations from the received text at one hundred and ten, and their disagreements at sixty, and therefore classes A under the Alexandrine text. I make the agreements one hundred and fifty-four, including forty-eight inconstant readings, and the disagreements one hundred and forty; so that thus, even according to his mode of investigating the class, there appears little or no preponderance of the Alexandrine. But if we shift the balance, there will be a very considerable preponderance of the Byzantine: for then the agreements of A with the received text in its deviations from Origen will be found to be four hundred and forty-four; (*i. e.* one hundred and ninety-nine constant, and two hundred and forty-five inconstant, readings :) and the disagreements will be only one hundred and forty, leaving an excess of three hundred and four in favour of the Byzantine, against the Alexandrine, text.

I have deemed it unnecessary to take similar trouble with

* *Symbolæ Criticæ*. vol. i. p. 73.

† Vol. ii. p. 229.

the manuscript C, because it is impossible to reason from it with any tolerable accuracy. Griesbach states it to be effaced in the extreme, the parts of it disorderly arranged, as well as miserably confused, and totally illegible many pages together; whence he concludes, that we can form no just inference respecting it from the silence of Wetstein.*

The difference between the amount of my enumeration and that of Griesbach, particularly in the passages where Origen reads alone in opposition both to the manuscript A and the received text, is remarkable. It is the more so, because he professes to have carefully marked the variations of Origen: "In primis vero lectiones, in Græcis Origenis operibus occurrentes, diligenter a me collectas, *sedulo notavi.*"† And that the source, from which he extracted these industriously noted readings, may not be mistaken, he refers in a note to the second volume of his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, which furnishes also the very materials upon which my extracts are founded.‡ In so dry and dull an investigation, error perhaps is more or less unavoidable. I trust however that it does not often, if at all, occur in my own case; and that, should it occur, the same apology will be admitted for me, which I am persuaded may with propriety be made for him, that it has not been intentional.

* "Quam ob causam, si quærat^rur cuinam inter plures lectiones discrepantes liber noster patrocinetur? ad Wetsteinii silentium provocare nunquam licet." *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. i. p. 5.

† Preface to the New Testament, p. 55.

‡ My numbers are indeed necessarily somewhat larger than his, because I have not omitted, as he has done, the consideration of passages, in which C, as well as A and Origen, is defective. C is stated to be defective from Romans ii. 5, to iii. 21. ix. 6.—x. 14. xi. 31.—xiii. 10. From 1 Cor. vii. 18, to ix. 6. xiii. 8.—xv. 40. From 2 Cor. x. 9. to Galat. i. 20. From Ephes. i. to ii. 18. iv. 17.—Philip. i. 22. From Philip. iii. 5. to the end. From 1 Thess. ii. 9. to the end. From 1 Tim. i. to iii. 9. v. 20. to the end.

CHAP. IV.

More correct Mode of ascertaining the class of a Manuscript. Comparison of A with Origen. With G or the Western Text. Affinity of A to the Byzantine greater than to the Western, or the Alexandrine.

HAVING endeavoured to prove, that Griesbach's mode of investigation is unsatisfactory, and his statement of the number of readings inaccurate, I might now close my observations, leaving to him or to others the task of discovering a better exemplification of the theory. But as I have proposed to subjoin in an Appendix a more correct statement of the number of readings, confining myself indeed to those of one, but that a very important, manuscript; I shall here also attempt to describe what appears to me a more satisfactory mode of investigation than that which he has prosecuted.

Upon the presumption of Griesbach's hypothesis, that other texts besides the three particularly pointed out by him have a real existence, although I do not admit even these, I have already remarked, that perfect conviction is unattainable. If we suppose the existence of five or six, but bring only three to a comparison, it is manifest, that we cannot possibly determine to which of the five or six any manuscript properly belongs; but merely, that it possesses a closer affinity to one, than to the other two, of the three compared. This will prove the utmost extent of our inquiry; but this perhaps we may consider as a sort of approximation to fact. I nevertheless doubt, whether so much can correctly be admitted: for if, after having thus partially classed a manuscript, we proceed to tread in the

steps of Griesbach, to use it, either alone or in conjunction with another of the same description, as an exemplar of its class for the comparison of other manuscripts; and to represent its readings, in the defect, or to the augmentation, of collateral evidence, as the readings of the text to which it is appropriated; I very much fear, that, instead of approximating to truth, we shall only be employed in propagating error. This too, it should be remarked, is most to be apprehended in Griesbach's favourite text, the Alexandrine; because, if it really be a distinct text, which I much doubt, it is the least complete of the three, the quotations of Origen, which are published in the *Symbolæ*, being only applicable to particular *parts* of the New Testament, and not to the whole.

With this caution therefore premised, that I do not attempt a perfect investigation, I proceed to detail what I conceive to be a more correct mode of ascertaining the relative classification of a manuscript, than that which Griesbach has adopted. And, in order to bring my remarks within a moderate compass, I shall limit them to the classification of the manuscript A* in the Epistles of St. Paul. I have particularly selected A, because upon this manuscript, in conjunction with C, (which I do not take into computation for reasons already assigned, viz. the very mutilated and illegible state of its copy,) Griesbach principally depends for Alexandrine readings of manuscript authority in St. Paul's Epistles, and because it therefore assumes a prominent rank in his development of the theory. I also confine myself, in imitation of his example, to its affinities *in the Epistles of St. Paul alone*, because it is only in this portion of Scripture that he represents it as Alexandrine, re-

* This manuscript is commonly called the Alexandrian, because it was brought into England from Alexandria: but even the knowledge of the country, in which it was originally written, is only attainable by conjecture.

ferring it in the Gospels to the Byzantine, and in the Acts, as well as Catholic Epistles, to the Western text. His words are : "In Evangeliiis exhibet recensionem *Constantinopolitanam* seu Asiaticam, recentiorem, multisque nullius pretii lectionibus refertam ; in Epistolis vero Paulinis repræsentat *Alexandrinam* recensionem, illa longe vetustiore et præstantiore ; in Actis denique et Epistolis Catholicis textum sequitur passim ad *Occidentalem* recensionem, Latinæ versioni simillimam, conformatum."*

And in addition, that I may likewise bring the Western text into some sort of comparison, I take into consideration the readings of the Boernerian manuscript marked G, which I have selected for the purpose, because it has been published throughout, and is consequently capable of a complete examination. From this, the alliance of which to the Western text may readily perhaps be admitted, as it is interlined with a Latin version, and bears internal marks of having been written in the west of Europe,† I have taken the pains to collect every peculiar reading which I could discover, and have inserted the whole in the Appendix. It cannot indeed be regarded as a pure specimen of the text to which it seems evidently to belong ; nor will this be said of the quotations from Origen : but each may at least serve for the purpose of a general comparison, in the defect of a better.

* *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. i. p. 9.

† "In the Latin translation the letters *r*, *s*, and *t*, correspond to that form, which is found in the Anglo-Saxon alphabet ; a proof, that this manuscript was written in the west of Europe." Note of Dr. Marsh to Michælis, vol. ii. part i. p. 676. It is indeed mutilated in a few passages, where A has the following four various readings ; 1 Cor. iii. 10. εδῆχα for σεδῆχα. Ibid. 13. ✕ αυτο. vi. 10. =ω. Coloss. ii. 8. εσαι ὑμας for ὑμας εσαι. But even upon the supposition that both manuscripts coincided in all these readings, the augmentation to the number of G would be very inconsiderable : a circumstance however not very probable.

Griesbach's mode of ascertaining the class of a manuscript is, as I have observed, to compute *its various readings* or deviations from the received text ; and if they prove numerous, to take it from the Byzantine, and to rank it under that text which appears principally to participate in them. The inadequacy of this mode to the end proposed I have sufficiently pointed out, and shall therefore take the liberty of suggesting another.

The object simply seems to be, to determine, with which out of three texts a manuscript has the greatest conformity. And this I presume can only be effected, not by considering *the character of its deviations from one particular text*, but *the separate sums of its agreements or disagreements with all three*, each contrasted with the other. If we possessed three different and dissimilar editions of the same book, and a copy taken from one of them, but from which we knew not, and were desirous of ascertaining the fact, how should we proceed? Should we not compare it with them all separately, and in whichever we found its affinities more or its differences less, to that assign it? The reasoning is so obvious, that I am at a loss to conceive how any other could have been adopted.

I use the words *agreements or disagreements*, because we shall perceive that both modes of computation lead precisely to the same result. I shall subjoin an example of both, by way of illustration in a comparison of A with the Alexandrine and Byzantine texts, according to the numbers of Griesbach.

The agreements of A with Origen, in passages where they deviate from the Byzantine text, are stated by him at one hundred and ten. The various readings of Origen, where A sides with the Byzantine text, or in other words the agreements of A with the Byzantine text, where both deviate from Origen, are stated at ninety-six. Now the latter sum subtracted from the former leaves a remainder of *only fourteen* in favour of Origen or the Alexandrine

text. Such is the result of the *agreements*. With respect to the disagreements an inverse mode of calculation must be pursued. The agreements of A with Origen, which are also *deviations from the Byzantine text*, amount to one hundred and ten. Besides these, A is said to *deviate* from both Origen and the Byzantine text sixty times. Now these deviations united make one hundred and seventy, which form *the disagreements of A with the Byzantine text*. In the same manner the agreements of A with the Byzantine text, which are likewise *deviations from Origen*, are stated at ninety-six. These added to the sixty *deviations of A from both texts* make together one hundred and fifty-six, which form *the disagreements of A with Origen or the Alexandrine text*. Now if we subtract the latter number from the former, that is, one hundred and fifty-six from one hundred and seventy, the remainder will be *fourteen*, exactly as in the preceding instance ; so that as before there appeared on the side of A with Origen fourteen more coincidences, so now there appears on the same side fourteen fewer discrepancies. Such is the result of the *disagreements* : and thus the agreements and disagreements are both found perfectly accordant with each other.

Plain and simple as this species of elucidation seems to be, it nevertheless escaped the penetrating eye of Griesbach, who, too much dazzled perhaps by the splendour of intricate and perplexing research, overlooked what lay immediately before him. When he threw his critical bowl among the established theories of his predecessors, he too hastily attempted to set up his own, without having first totally demolished theirs ; forgetting, that the very nerve of his criticism was a principle of hostility to every standard text.

Presuming then that the mode of comparison, which I have proposed, is the most correct, I shall enter upon an enlarged exemplification of it.

If I am told at the outset, that the exemplification will be needless, because an excess of fourteen still remains to prove that the manuscript A is of the Alexandrine class, my answer will be, that I am not contending for the alliance of A to one class in preference to another, but solely for the true method of classification. And even granting that I were, still might I remark, not only that there is some difference between the numbers fourteen and fifty, the opposite result of his method of calculation and mine, but that possibly a more accurate investigation of readings may produce a still greater difference.

In proof of which assertion I proceed to consider, according to the figures which will be found in the Appendix, the affinities of A first with the Byzantine and Alexandrine texts, and subsequently with the Byzantine and Western; and, in order that the correctness of the mode may more fully appear, I shall compare the manuscript both in its agreements and disagreements.

Upon the former species of comparison, the agreements of A with the Byzantine text, where Origen reads alone, will be found to be four hundred and forty-four, (reckoning, for reasons previously given, the inconstant readings.) On the other hand, the agreements of A with Origen, where the Byzantine text reads alone, are stated at one hundred and fifty four, which of course constitute the agreements of A with the Alexandrine text. Deducting therefore the later from the former, viz. one hundred and fifty-four, from four hundred and forty-four, the remainder will be *two hundred and ninety* in favour of the affinities of A with the Byzantine text. Nor will the result be adverse, if we calculate the disagreements. Here the deviations of A in conjunction with the Byzantine text from Origen will be, as before given, four hundred and forty-four; and if to these numbers we add the deviations of A alone in opposition to both texts, amounting to one

hundred and forty, they will combined make five hundred and eighty-four, which will be the disagreements of A with the Alexandrine text. After a similar mode the deviations of A in union with Origen from the Byzantine text will appear to be one hundred and fifty-four; to which if we subjoin the deviations of A alone in opposition to both texts, stated at one hundred and forty, the amount will be two hundred and ninety-four, and these form the disagreements of A with the Byzantine text. Now by subtracting one amount from the other, that is two hundred and ninety-four from five hundred and eighty-four, there will remain *two hundred and ninety*, exactly as in the case of the agreements.

From the foregoing comparison therefore of A with the Byzantine and Alexandrine text, it seems manifest that its affinity to the Byzantine is considerably greater than to the Alexandrine; namely, by the excess of two hundred and ninety-five coincidences or by the defect of the same number of discrepancies.

Having thus established its alliance in one instance, let us next turn to the other, and compare it in like manner with the Byzantine and Western texts.

The agreements in this case of A with the Byzantine text, where G or the Western reads alone, appear to be two hundred and eighty; while the agreements of A with G or the Western text, where the Byzantine reads alone, are one hundred and twenty-three, which sum subtracted from the preceding leaves a remainder of *one hundred and fifty-seven* in support of the alliance of A to the Byzantine. Upon a similar computation of the disagreements, the deviations of A in conjunction with the Byzantine text from G or the Western, amounting to two hundred and eighty, being added to the deviations of A from both, stated at one hundred and sixty-nine, make together four hundred and forty-nine. So also on the other side the deviations of A in conjunction with G from the Byzantine, amount-

ing to one hundred and twenty-three, subjoined to the deviations of A from both, stated at one hundred and sixty-nine, produce a total of two hundred and ninety-two; and this latter amount subtracted from the foregoing leaves, as before, a remainder of *one hundred and fifty-seven* in support of the same alliance.

From these remarks therefore it appears, that the affinity of the manuscript A is much greater to the Byzantine text, than either to the Western or to the Alexandrine. And from a general review of the whole we may conclude, that, in instituting a comparison of the kind, it is a point of indifference, whether we calculate by the agreements or the disagreements. The nature of the agreements cannot well be mistaken, and that of the disagreements will readily be comprehended, when we recollect, that what forms the agreements of the manuscript with one text, constitutes its disagreements with the other, the sums being only transferred from side to side; and that, although the amount of the deviations of the manuscript from both texts be subjoined, it is subjoined to each of the transferred sums respectively, augmenting indeed their numbers, but leaving their differences precisely as it found them.

Among the various readings which I have collected in the Appendix for the purpose of this examination, several perhaps may occur in appearance altogether unimportant. But, as I have already remarked, minutæ are by no means overlooked, but carefully enumerated by Griesbach himself, who on a similar occasion observes: "*Ne minutias quidem v. c. articulos additos aut ommissos, mutatum verborum ordinem, &c. negleximus, ut amoliremur suspicionem, quasi cupide in seligendis lectionibus egissemus.*"* Nor have I rejected any upon the presumption, that they were mistakes solely imputable to the ignorance or inadvertancy of the transcriber, because errors of the

* *Symbolæ Criticæ* vol. i. p. 123.

most trivial species by being copied acquire importance, and because it is as probable that they will be committed on one side as on the other, so as not to affect the general result ; that the transcriber of a Byzantine or a Western manuscript or Father is as likely to have transgressed in this respect, as the transcriber of an Alexandrine.

In computing the affinities of A to the Alexandrine text, I have, in imitation of Griesbach, adopted Origen for my exemplar. He however, for a reason not perhaps very obvious, unless indeed it be with a view of increasing the number of his readings, departs in the second volume of his *Symbolæ Criticæ* from his own rule previously proposed, and, abandoning Origen, takes A or C for his exemplar. The effect produced by this new mode of propagating classes from wildings, in contempt of established usage, I shall next proceed to consider, at the same time however entering my solemn protest against it.

CHAP. V.

Comparison of the Colbert Manuscript with A. Mistakes of Griesbach. Controverted Reading 1 Tim. iii. 16. Existence of the Alexandrine Text problematical. Conclusion.

So highly rank the manuscripts A and C, as exemplars of the Alexandrine text, in the estimation of Griesbach, that he represents the readings observable in each of them as readings peculiarly Alexandrine, and by them regulates the alliances of other manuscripts. He even proceeds further, and admits the weight of their testimony as Alexandrines in his calculation of *probabilities, improbabilities, and certainties*; for, notwithstanding his theory of classification, in deciding upon the purity of a reading, he seems principally guided by critical conjecture. Of the second volume of his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, he employs no less a portion than from page 89 to page 148, and from page 621 to page 640, in comparing the Colbert manuscript 17 with either A or C as representatives of the Alexandrine, and with either D E F or G as representatives of the Western text; endeavouring at the same time to point out, from general maxims of criticism, by investigating the internal marks of validity in their respective readings, the relative habits and value of both those texts. But, as I do not acknowledge his premises, I cannot subscribe to his conclusions.

Among the readings of A or C, described as peculiarly Alexandrine, occur occasionally some collected from the writings of the Western Fathers; yet is their Alexandrine peculiarity still maintained, because neither of the Western manuscripts D E F G is found in the catalogue. Thus

in 1 Cor. ix. 1, a transposition of the words ουκ ειμι ελευθερος ; ουκ ειμι αποστολος ; takes place in A B, in the Vulgate, and in the following *Western* writers, Tert. Ambrst. Aug. Pel. Cassiod. Beda ; but this reading is denominated peculiarly Alexandrine, because it is unsupported by every *manuscript* of the Western class. On the other hand, in 1 Cor. vi. 9, θεου βασιλειαν is put for βασιλειαν θεου in the manuscripts A D 17, 36, 37, without the concurrence of a single Father or version of any class ; but this is termed a reading *common* to both texts, because it has the manuscript D united to that of A. Surely, if the ground of his reasoning be inconsistent, the result of it must be unsatisfactory.

As Griesbach flatters himself that, in his comparison of the Colbert manuscript, he has fully illustrated the character and estimation both of the Alexandrine and Western texts, it may be presumed, that he has been correct in the number of his quotations. But to this presumption I cannot accede. He complains that the Colbert manuscript has been most negligently collated. In the eighteen first chapters of St. Matthew alone, he collected, he says, no less than three hundred readings omitted by Mill ; and adds, that it has been as carelessly treated in the Epistles. He had not himself time, he observes, to make a complete collation of it ; but he accurately examined the *first five* chapters of the Romans, and the *fifteenth* of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.* To these chapters alone therefore I will limit my remarks. Of the readings peculiar to the Alexandrine text, he enumerates *in these chapters* fif-

*“ Quinque priora Epistolæ ad Romanos capita, et decimum quintum prioris ad Corinthios, denuo *accurate* contuli.” Symb. Crit. vol. ii. p. 88. “ In iis utriusque Epistolæ captibus, quæ, dum codicem tractarum, *integra perlegi et curatissime excussi, &c.*” Ibid. p. 132. Of the remainder he only says, “ Reliqua utriusque Epistolæ capita *cursorim inspeci* ; posteriorem ad Corinthios et cæteras Paulinas *hic ibi tantum evolvi.*”

teen ; seven in which the Colbert manuscript agrees with A or C, and eight in which it dissents from them.* But this enumeration is strangely incorrect, as he omits *one* reading in the agreements, and not less than *eighteen* in the disagreements.† Besides the single agreement omitted, there is indeed another, which he has confused with the coincidences of the Western text. It is 1 Cor. xv. 51. where he notices the addition of the word *ἀδελφοί* in A G 17. &c. and accordingly represents the reading as common to both the Alexandrine and Western texts. But the truth is,

* The seven agreements are Rom. i. 24. = και A C. 17. Ib. 29. = πορνεία A C 17. ii. 2. γαρ for δε C 17. 1 Cor. xv. 5. επειτα for ειτα A 17. Ibid. 12. εν υμιν τινες for τινες εν υμιν A 17. Ibid. 38. διδωσιν αυτω for αυτω διδωσι A. 17. Ibid. 55. κεντρον and νικος change places C 17.

The eight disagreements are Rom. iii. 22. = και επι παντας A C. Ibid. 25 = δια της πιστεως A. Ibid 30. ειπερ for επειπερ A C. iv. 1. προπατορα for πατερα A C. Ibid. 11. περιτομην for περιτομης A C. Ibid. 19. = ου A C. 1 Cor. xv. 36. ζωογονειται for ζωοποιεεται A. Ibid, 54. the order of the passage reversed A C.

† The omitted agreement is Rom. i 27. αρθενες εν αρσει for αρσενες εν αρσει. A C.

The following are the omitted disagreements : Rom. i. 17. δε for γαρ A. Ibid. 28. = ο θεος A. ii. 1. κατακρινεις for κρινεις C. Ibid. 5. ανταποδοσεως for αποκαλυψεως A. Ibid. 14. ποιωσιν for ποιη A. Ibid. 16. η for οτε A. iii. 7. δε for γαρ A. Ibid. 22. εν Χριστω Ιησου for Ιησου Χριστου A. Ibid 29. μη for η A. iv. 11. = και. Ibid 15. δε for γαρ A C. Ibid 16. ζ η A. v. 2. ζ εν A. Ibid. 3. καυχωμενοι for καυχωμεθα C. Ibid. 13. ελλογατο for ελλογειτο A. Ibid. 17. = της δικαιοσυνης C. 1 Cor. xv. 17. ζ και A. Ibid. 13. ημετεραν for υμετεραν.

And yet of the reading Rom. ii. 14. ποιωσιν for ποιη Griesbach was aware, when he published his second edition of the New Testament ; because in the Addenda he states, upon the authority of Birch, that, in the manuscript under consideration, the word is not ποιη as the received text has it, nor ποιωσιν as the manuscript A, but ποιει.

that the manuscript G has *no* addition of the kind. It was a blunder of Wetstein, which Griesbach copied in the first edition of his New Testament, but very properly corrected in his second. In his reasoning however upon the validity of this addition it is remarkable, that he proves himself to have been aware of another reading in the same verse in which A and the Colbert manuscript 17 disagree, but which he has *not noticed* in the disagreements. His words are, “ Additum ut videtur ad declarandum ἡμετεραν καυχησιν, ne ἡμετερα et ἡμετερα confundentur. At nihilo tamen secus *codex Alex.* et Æthiops ἡμετεραν exhibent, etsi αδελφοι addunt.* By recurring to the omitted disagreements which I have given in a note, we find the substitution of ἡμετεραν for ἡμετεραν, which, like all the others, I will not say by design, because I do not believe it, but from haste or inattention, he neglected to notice! Adding then the whole together, we perceive, that, instead of *seven* agreements and *eight* disagreements, as he makes them, there are in fact *nine* of the former description, and *twenty-six* of the latter.

It is to be presumed, that the instances of omission, which I have referred to, could not have been overlooked by him as readings of little importance, and therefore not worth recording, because they are to be found in his own notes upon the New Testament; whereas two, † which he himself reckons among the seven agreements above alluded to, were deemed too insignificant for insertion in the same notes of either edition. The conclusion therefore seems to be, that all of mine are alike important, occurring in his own critical selection of readings; but that some of his are not so.

I have confined my remarks to the *five first* chapters

* Symbolæ Criticæ, vol. ii. p. 105.

† Viz. the transposition of σives εν ἡμιν in 1 Cor. xv. 12, and that of αυτω διδωσι in 1 Cor. xv. 38.

of the Romans, and the *fifteenth* chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, because he represents these as the only chapters in which he had made himself *certain*, by a personal and accurate inspection, of the readings attributed to the Colbert manuscript. He has indeed himself, notwithstanding this assertion, grounded a calculation upon the general readings of the manuscript in every part of the Epistles alluded to; but it appears a loss of time and labour to follow him step by step into so wide a field, where complete conviction must be impossible, as certainty, according to his own statement, would be unattainable. In the Colbert manuscript he takes precisely what position he best approves; but this is not the case with respect to the manuscripts A and G, because both of these have been fully and faithfully published.

It may perhaps be thought, that the assumption of any manuscript as an exemplar of the class, to which it is supposed to belong, can prove a circumstance of no great importance. This may in some measure be true, when the object is simply that of a general comparison with another manuscript; but it is by no means a point of indifference, to assume its individual readings as characteristic of its class, *in the absence of more direct testimony*. Griesbach however hesitates not to adopt so bold a measure. Generally indeed the result is of little consequence, not even in the slightest degree affecting the sense of the passage; but in one instance at least it is otherwise. I allude to the celebrated, the often discussed, and the long tortured reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16, in which he proposes to substitute $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ for $\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.

It is admitted, that *all* known manuscripts, *with the exception of four*, which have $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, read $\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. The readings of three more, A C D, have been controverted: but Griesbach states, that A and C *originally* read $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, and D neither $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ nor $\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, but $\acute{\omicron}$. With this persuasion is he so strongly impressed, that he gives the following as the

manuscript authority, by which he is guided in the formation of his decision : “ A C F G 17, 73 legunt $\epsilon\zeta$, D* habet δ , cæteri, quos novimus omnes, etiam Matthæiani 13, Alteriani 8, et Birchiani 32, exhibent $\xi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.” And of the deductions, which from hence he draws, this is the sum : “ Tuentur hanc lectionem (viz. $\epsilon\zeta$) *antiquissimi* omnium classium testes.—Contra vero vulgatum $\xi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ nec Alexandrinæ, nec Occidentalis recensionis primitiva lectio fuit, —sed juniorum tantum codicum, ad Constantinopolitanam potissimum recensionem, pertinentium.”

It would be foreign to my purpose, were I to enter at large into the prolix disputes which have taken place respecting the true readings of A and C in this passage ; or even to particularize the arguments, by which each party believes that it has rendered its position impregnable. Griesbach discusses the question at much length in his *Symbolæ Criticæ* ; where, although his own opinion remains by no means problematical, he nevertheless so expresses himself, as if he were contented to rank the manuscripts A and C as mere neutrals in the contest. He observes : “ Certe opponi nobis nullo modo potest hic codex (A), sed nisi a nostris partibus stare judicetur, saltem *neutrarum partium* esse censendus est. De codice C supra jam vidimus, si vel maxime ad argumentum ab omnium ejusdem familiæ testium consensu ductum plane non attendatur, tamen, propter varia indicia in codice ipso obvia, *probabilius* et tribui $\epsilon\zeta$ quam $\xi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.”* In his notes however to the New Testament, he admits neither neutrality in one case, nor probability in the other ; but assumes certainty in both.

Let us now take a summary view of his argument. Every manuscript which he classes as Byzantine uniformly has $\xi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, F and G Western manuscripts have $\epsilon\zeta$, and D has δ ; but A C 17, 73 all have $\delta\zeta$ and three of these he con-

* *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. i. p. 29.

templates as more or less Alexandrine. The affinity indeed of 17 he does not place in the highest rank ; but that of A and C he regards as a very close approximation. The proof therefore that his adopted reading belongs to the Alexandrine text rests upon the classification of these manuscripts ; and, pronouncing them to be Alexandrine, he concludes that their reading also must be Alexandrine. Doubt, however, but the legitimacy of his classification, and his conclusion instantly falls to the ground.

To the Byzantine and Western Fathers, in corroboration of their respective readings, are made many satisfactory references ; but in his appeal to the *direct* testimony of the Alexandrine, Griesbach is not merely scanty, but defective. Athanasius and others, he states, are silent. Clemens says, *μυστηριον μεθ' ημων ειδον οι αγγελοι του χριστου* : therefore it is to be supposed, that Clemens *certainly* did not read θεος,* because he substitutes χριστου for θεου. Not that it would have been conclusive had he read θεος, because Gregory Thaumaturgus, or rather Apollinaris, uses indeed θεος, (his words being θεος εν σαρκι φανερωθεις,) but is notwithstanding represented as meaning χριστος. It is on Cyril, however, that Griesbach principally depends, who indisputably quotes the passage more than once ; yet although the printed copies of that Father's works have θεος, it is maintained that the context requires a different reading. If we do not perceive a little wire-drawing in this species of proof, which, being ingeniously deduced from the very materials furnished by the adverse party, was commenced by Wetstein, and completed by Griesbach, we cannot surely admit it as *direct and decisive* evidence of a reading attributable to the Alexandrine Fathers. And not thus admitting it, where among the Alexandrines are we to look for the reading in question, except it be in the

* "Nonnulli Patres Græci certe non legerunt θεος. Clem. Alex. &c."

manuscripts A C 17* previously referred to, of which only one,† and that but generally allied certainly reads *os*, while the other two, whatsoever their affinities may be, are at least doubtful? But this is not all. Suppose but the neutrality of A and C, and the preponderance of manuscript authority on the side of the Alexandrine text will be thrown into the scale of the Byzantine, which invariably reads *Σεος*: for then there will remain only the manuscript 17 for the reading *ίς*, while that of *Σεος* will be supported by every other manuscript of the same class. Of these he enumerates the following: 6, 10, 23, 31, 37, 39, 46, 47, “qui omnes,” he says, “cum nostro (viz. 17,) cognati sunt,”‡ particularly distinguishing the manuscript 31 as being intimately related, “*Admodum enim similis est codici 17.*”§ Now these, and all others of the Alexandrine class, if others exist attributable to it, read, with the Byzantine text, *Σεος*, while only the Colbert reads *os*. It is unnecessary to point out the consequence.

But it may be objected, that I forget to mention the Alexandrine *versions* as affording corroborative evidence. I answer, that I do not forget their evidence, but that I cannot subscribe to the propriety of its admission; for although I am aware that the classification of certain versions,

* The Upsal manuscript 73 Griesbach does not any where rank as Alexandrine. He only says, that it sometimes coincides with the *best* manuscripts, “Interdum cum optimis libris consentit Act. xx. 28.” but of its general readings he speaks slightly.

† Of the Colbert manuscript 17 he gives the following description: “Codex 17 Alexandrinis sæpissime se adjungit in lectionibus characteristicis aliisque, ut interdum tamen ad alios, præsertim ad Occidentales, nonnunquam etiam ad Constantinopolitanos se inclinat. Quamobrem ubi cum cæteris Alexandrinis consentit, pro Alexandrino habendus est; ubi vero *ab iis discrepat*, dissensus ejus *cæterorum consensioni opponi non debet*, sed a recta via deflexisse censetur.” Symb. Crit. vol. i. p. 26.

‡ Symb. Crit. vol. ii. p. 134.

§ Ib. p. 150.

as Alexandrine, has been asserted, I know not that it has been proved: and, were it even more probable than it seems to be, I do not see how it could amount at best to any thing more than mere presumptive testimony. Besides, I am not convinced that any of them read $\acute{\iota}\varsigma$; but rather that all of them, in concurrence with the whole stream of Western authorities, read $\acute{\iota}$. The following is the statement of Griesbach: *E versionibus Arabica polygl. et Slavonica MS. et ed. exhibent solæ $\acute{\iota}\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$, cæteræ omnes non $\acute{\iota}\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$, sed pronomem $\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ sive $\acute{\iota}$ exprimunt. Nempe Copt. Sahid. et Syr. p. in m. $\omicron\varsigma$ qui: Vulg. vero et It. (clar. Boern.) \omicron quod; Syr. utr. Erp. Æthiop. et Armen. alterutrum legerunt pronomem sive qui sive quod.*” He here distinctly states, that the *Coptic*, *Sahidic*, and *Philoxenian* versions (the latter indeed only in its margin) read $\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ or *qui*: and that *the Syriac*, the *Erpenian Arabic*, the *Æthiopic*, and the *Armenian* all read either $\omicron\varsigma$ or \omicron , *qui* or *quod*. But on the other hand I contend, in the first place, that neither the Coptic, the Sahidic, nor the Philoxenian necessarily read $\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, but more probably use a relative connected with an antecedent expressive of the word *mystery*, in precise conformity with the Vulgate: for, in both the Coptic and Sahidic, the word *mystery* is decidedly proved to be *masculine* by the definitive article masculine being prefixed, so that the subsequent relative occurs of course in the same gender. A similar remark, respecting the Philoxenian version, is made by its Editor, whom Griesbach very properly terms “*Whitius vir doctissimus*,” and who correctly translates the passage “*mysterium pietatis, quod manifestatum est in carne.*”

Having thus proved that the Coptic, the Sahidic, and the Philoxenian versions do not necessarily read $\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, but most probably \omicron ; I shall now show, that the Peshito, or vulgar Syriac, the Erpenian Arabic, and the Æthiopic, do not

indifferently read $\delta\epsilon$ or δ , but indisputably δ . If $\delta\epsilon$ be the reading, it is evident that the following clauses of the verse *cannot* be grammatically connected *by a copulative*, but that the passage must be translated as the Unitarians translate it, “*He, who was manifested in the flesh, was justified, &c.*” But, in all the versions alluded to, the subsequent clauses *are* grammatically connected *by a copulative*, that is, by the same letter *waw* in the different characters of the different languages expressive of the same conjunction *and*; so that the passage must unavoidably be rendered, “*which was manifested in the flesh, and was justified in the Spirit, &c.*”

But I may be reminded, that I have forgotten the Armenian version. I have not forgotten, but purposely omitted to mention it: and that for this plain reason; because it reads neither $\delta\epsilon$ or δ but, in conjunction with the Byzantine text, $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon$. For proof of this I refer to the edition published by Uscau at Amsterdam in 1666, the princeps editio, and to a subsequent one in duodecimo by another editor at the same place in 1698; all, except the octavo edition of 1668, (merely a republication of Uscau)* with which we are acquainted. Now in both of these the reading certainly is God. This blunder is not solely imputable to Griesbach. It seems to have been first made by Kuster, who, I apprehend, attempted no new collation of the versions, but simply republished that of Mill. Mill however does *not* name the Armenian version in his note upon the passage; but Kuster *does*, probably inserting it by mistake from the hurry of transcription. Wetstein appears to have copied from Kuster, and Griesbach from Wetstein. Had Griesbach depended upon manuscript and not printed authority, it is presumed that he would have quoted it as such, precisely as in his note upon 1 John v.

* Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. p. 103.

7. But in which way soever the blunder be accounted for, the fact of the reading is incontrovertible: and it is equally incontrovertible, that the anxiety of accommodating their version to the Vulgate, which has been attributed to the Armenians, to Uscau in the seventeenth, as well as to Haytho, a king of Armenia, in the thirteenth, century, whatsoever effect it might have elsewhere produced, assuredly did not operate here. Of every version therefore thus quoted, Griesbach's statement is incorrect: for one, instead of reading $\delta\varsigma$ or δ , reads $\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$; three others, instead of necessarily reading $\delta\varsigma$, probably read δ ; and the remaining three, instead of indifferently reading $\delta\varsigma$ or δ , indisputably read δ .

I have been the more particular in my remarks upon the celebrated passage from Timot'y, because it is one, in which the consequences, deducible from Griesbach's theory of the classification and comparison of manuscripts, are most conspicuous. He is deficient in the direct testimony of Fathers, and even upon his own statement but partially supported by the collateral one of versions; yet he pronounces $\delta\varsigma$ to be the Alexandrine reading, principally influenced by the presumed authority of certain supposed Alexandrine manuscripts: then, annihilating the Western reading δ , which is, in his judgement, a mere corruption of $\delta\varsigma$, (the very reverse of Wetstein's argument,) he represents $\delta\varsigma$ as common to both the Alexandrine and Western texts, and thus establishes a preponderance of classes against the Byzantine. Yet even admitting his principle, but correcting his inaccuracy, ought we not to draw a very different conclusion? Should we not rather say, that, because the Byzantine text, with an infinity of manuscripts and Fathers, reads $\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, and because eight (viz. 6, 10, 23, 31, 37, 39, 46, 47.) out of eleven Alexandrine manuscripts coincide with it, while only one *certainly* opposes it, the other two being doubtful, therefore the preponderance of classes is against the Western; and that $\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, not δ or $\delta\varsigma$, seems to be

the genuine reading? I shall of course be understood as confining my observations solely to the doctrine and efforts of Griesbach's classification. To discuss also the deductions of his conjectural criticism* would be irrelevant to the subject before me.

* To one point however I must be here admitted slightly to allude. Griesbach supposes that $\Theta\Sigma$ was mistaken for $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$, because the transcriber knew that the passage was usually interpreted of God, the Word. "Nimirum $\Theta\Sigma$ facile transit in $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$, cum librarii non ignorarent, locum hunc vulgo de $\Theta\varepsilon\omega$ λογω intelligi." But surely transcribers by profession (and such, before the invention of printing, where those who transcribed manuscripts) are never in the habit of reasoning upon the sense of what they copy. Ask a low stationer of the present day, after he has engrossed the conveyance of an estate with a long description of the title, whether that title accrued by descent or purchase; and he will perhaps be puzzled to answer the question. A transcriber therefore, in the case under consideration, having his attention rivetted to words and not to things, would be more likely, I apprehend, to commit an error by *omission* than by *addition*; to *overlook* the horizontal lines which distinguish $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$ from $\Theta\Sigma$, than to *supply* them.

I cannot help adding another remark with respect to the particular reading of the manuscript A. Mill states, that at first he suspected the reading of $\Theta\varepsilon\omega$ assigned to it; but that afterwards he clearly distinguished the ancient traces of the horizontal line which formed the Θ : "Verum postea perlustrato attentius loco, lineolæ, quæ primam aciem fugerant, ductus quosdam ac vestigia *satis certa* deprehendi, præsertim ad partem sinistram." Wetstein however conceives that Mill deceived himself, mistaking, for the horizontal line of the theta, that which belongs to an epsilon in a word on the opposite side of the leaf, Prolegomena, p. 22. But Woide maintains this to be impossible, because the line of the epsilon in question is not precisely *at the back* of the theta, but *a little below it*. Not. Cod. Alex. t. 37. The veracity of Mill, (to omit the testimony of others,) that he saw a line of this description, seems unimpeachable. Can it be deemed remarkable, that it should have disappeared, after so long a lapse of years, in a manuscript perpetually examined in this particular place and injuriously treated, when it is considered, that Griesbach admits the possibility of the evanescence even of whole letters

Upon the hypothesis therefore under consideration, which represents the Alexandrine text as the most ancient and most valuable, common prudence requires, that no manuscript be admitted into an alliance with that text, except upon the most indisputable proofs of affinity. If an improper one be incautiously ranked with it, the confusion introduced must be incalculable; for the single testimony of this manuscript, will then be regarded as outweighing that of an hundred others belonging to the Byzantine class. And if it moreover happen to be supported by another of the Western, (no uncommon occurrence,) its readings, as far as the preponderance of classes is to be regarded, will be deemed extremely probable: if supported by one or two more of its own class and of the Western together, indisputable. “*Quotquot enim ad eandem recensionem pertinent, testes inter se consentientes, pro unico haberi debent. Usu venire potest ut duo tresve codices tantundem valeant, quantum alii centum.*”* Indeed the principal use to be derived from the establishment of different texts, as laid down by Griesbach, is professedly the defence of readings, approved by critical conjecture, but discoverable in only a few manuscripts, against those of an almost innumerable crowd of later and inferior ones. “*Præcipuus vero recensionum in criseos sacræ exercitio usus hic est, ut earum auctoritate lectiones bonas, sed in paucis libris superstites defendamus adversus, juniorum et vulgarium codicum innumerabilem pæne turbam.*”† It seems evident then, that the arrangement of classes is not

in the Ephrem manuscript (sleeping quietly in the royal library at Paris without molestation) between the short period of Wetstein's time and his own? “*Immo vocabula nonnulla, quæ ego legere haud potui, assecutus erat ille, sive armatis oculis ea perlustraverat, quod equidem haud feceram, sive literarum ductus, ut credibile est, inde a Wetstenii tempore magis evanuerint.*” *Symb. Crit.* vol. i. p. 6.

* Prolegomena, p. 79.

† *Symbolæ Criticæ*, vol. i. p. 122.

intended to supersede, but to act in subordination to conjectural criticism. Thus we perceive in John vii. 8. the word *οὐκ* substituted for *οὐπω* (*εγω οὐπω αναβαινω εις την εορτην ταυτην*) upon authority in this respect inferior; while in John i. 18. the word *θεος* is *not* substituted for *υιος*, (*ο μονογονυης υιος*) or even consigned to marginal probability, although countenanced by authority of the kind every way superior.

But how is this design of Griesbach, particularly in the Epistles of St. Paul, to be carried into full effect, if he be precluded from his appeal to the Alexandrine text by a defect of evidence? Or rather perhaps, when the appeal solely applies to manuscripts, from all evidence whatsoever? Yet this, if my statement and mode of reasoning be more accurate than his, appears to be the unavoidable result of my inquiry; for, if A and C are not Alexandrine, the class of the others, determined only by a comparison with them, falls to the ground instantly.

In all the preceding observations I have adopted, after Griesbach, the supposed existence of three texts at least; the Alexandrine, the Western, and the Byzantine; but I must add, that the existence of the Alexandrine seems to me very problematical. That there is a frequent diversity of readings between the Latin version and the received text is unquestionable; and that this diversity is sufficient to constitute a distinct classification of readings may fairly perhaps be presumed. That there are also many Greek manuscripts generally coinciding with the Latin version (whether derived lineally or collaterally from the Greek original of that version, or from some other Greek copy or copies subsequently rendered conformable with it, I do not apprehend makes any great difference in the question) will, I doubt not, be readily granted. Nor will the argument be affected by the presumption, that the Latin version and its relatives are nothing more than illegitimate branches of an ancient Greek text; because, whatsoever

credit we may attach to their peculiar readings, they nevertheless still afford us a separate classification: but that there exists an Alexandrine text, more valuable as well as more ancient than either the Byzantine or the Western, has in my judgement been never proved. There is certainly no manuscript to be referred to as containing any thing like a clear specimen of such a text. And what is the testimony of the Alexandrine Fathers? Do they all accord in appropriate readings of their own? Or do even two of them thus accord of any one century? They indeed often coincide with the readings of the Western text; but do they often read against it? I do not mean simply against three or four Western manuscripts; but also against the Latin writers and the Latin versions.* For it seems not sufficient to demonstrate, that Origen, or any other

* The possibility that manuscripts written in Alexandria might have been adapted to the Latin text, is thus stated by Michaelis in his remarks upon the manuscript A commonly called the Alexandrian: "I confess that I am of the same opinion; because the inquiry turns not so much on the Codex Alexandrinus as on the more ancient manuscript, of which this is a copy. For if this ancient manuscript latinized, the Cod. Alex. must do the same, in whatever country it was written: and since it was by no means necessary, that books constantly remain in the same country, and they may be transferred from one library to another, it is possible, *that latinizing copies were brought from Italy or the west of Africa into Egypt or Greece*; a faithful transcript therefore from any one of these would likewise latinize, though written in Constantinople, Greece, or Egypt." Vol. ii. part i. p. 196. The following is the note of Dr. Marsh: "The possibility that *Greek manuscripts in Alexandria were altered from the Latin*, no one can deny. Even so early as the time of Origen single alterations might have taken place; for the learned Father, in a passage quoted by Wetstein in his note to Matt. viii. 28. complains of erroneous readings *εν τοις ελληνικοις αντιγραφοις*, which clearly implies the use of manuscripts written in some other language than the Greek: and, as he spent some time in Rome, it is not impossible that he made use of the *established version of a church, which at all times maintained the highest authority.*"

Alexandrine Father, has numerous variations from the Byzantine text: but also that these variations from the Byzantine do not coincide with the Western, that mighty rod of Aaron ever prepared to swallow the feebler rods of Egypt; nor even to shew, that there are occasionally unconnected as well with the Western as with the Byzantine, unless it can be proved, that their irregularities in this respect are constant and peculiar; not mere anomalies arising from accidental causes, and common to both the other texts. At present we can only presume upon the frequent recurrence of characteristical readings, until a collection of them be made and published from the joint writings of the Alexandrine Fathers. This however is a task which has never been attempted, although it seems to form an absolute preliminary to decision; and which, I apprehend, if ever undertaken, will at least prove as difficult in its accomplishment as hopeless in its effect.

I am aware that the reflections which I make run counter to public prejudice, to the opinion of many whose literary talents conciliate my esteem, and whose critical acumen command my respect. But, in the republic of letters, no supremacy is admissible but that of truth; and I flatter myself, that I possess the same claim to the candour of others, which Griesbach has to mine. I shall not therefore, I trust, be misconstrued as wishing unnecessarily to diminish the number of classes adopted by him, from an overweening fondness for any pre-conceived system of my own, to which his allotted number might be deemed inimical. On the other hand, I sincerely wish that it could be augmented, convinced that the rule of classification would afford no inconsiderable advantages to textual criticism, could it be in more instances satisfactorily exemplified. I have nevertheless censured what appears to me an important oversight in his argument; the presumption of five or six classes, but the investigation of only three, and that with the persuasion of as decisive an issue as if a per-

fect knowledge of the whole had been attained : for I cannot admit the accuracy of that reasoning, which, from defective premises, attempts to draw complete conclusions. Instead of establishing five or six classes, I confess that I see not good ground for the admission of even three. I do not however deny, that these, or more than these, exist, because their existence is possible ; but I contend, that it has not been sufficiently proved.

The idea of a classification of manuscripts on an extended scale is doubtless captivating, fraught with hope, and pregnant with promise : but the moment we commence its reduction to practice, difficulties start up on every side, and conjecture begins to supply the place of conviction. By an intricate and involved analysis we are tempted to exalt possibilities into probabilities, and probabilities into certainties ; we raise class over class in our system, as children picture castle rising over castle in a stormy cloud, soon to be immersed in gloom and obscurity. But, although the prospect before us affords enough to satiate, there is, I fear, little in it to satisfy. We find ample scope for the sportive gambols of imagination, but no very solid footing for the soberer exertions of reason : while we fancy ourselves to be walking in the broad light of day, we may prove to be but wildly wandering in the dark, and stumbling at every step.

[In the APPENDIX the author exhibits—

1. The Readings of Origen alone, where the manuscript A agrees with the received Text. These he represents as amounting to 199.
2. The Inconstant Readings of Origen alone, where A agrees with the received Text, amounting to 245.

3. Agreements of A with Origen, where the received Text reads alone : amounting to 53,
4. Agreements of A with Origen, where Origen reads inconstantly, agreeing both with A and the received Text. 29.
5. Agreements of A C, with Origen, where the received Text reads alone. 53.
6. Agreements of A C with Origen, where Origen reads inconstantly agreeing both with A C, and the received Text. 19.
7. Deviations of A alone, in opposition both to Origen and the received Text. 110.
8. Readings of the Boernerian MS. G. where A agrees with the received Text. 234.
9. Agreements of A with G, where the received Text reads alone. 123.
10. Deviations of A alone, in opposition both to G and the received Text. 169.

He then concludes his discussion with the following Remarks.]

In the preceding extracts from the Boernerian MS. many readings will occur not to be found in Griesbach. I have already observed, p. 41, that more than *ninety* omissions are discoverable even in the limited portion of St. Paul's Epistles under consideration. He probably contented himself with the references of Wetstein without revision or augmentation, although the manuscript had been previously edited by Matthæi. The numerous errors indeed of Wetstein, in reference to the MS. A, he seems to have carefully corrected ; but Woide, in his publication of that MS. had given a separate collection of all its readings under the arrangement of chapter and verse, in which

Wetstein's notices were marked, and the word *malè*, in italics, affixed to every inaccuracy. Matthæi did not take the same trouble with the Boernerian: and Griesbach's avocations, it is to be presumed, prevented him from accomplishing the task himself. The deficiency however is here supplied in a part, at least, of St. Paul's Epistles.

In order to form an exact parallel to the comparison of A with Origen, as an exemplar of the Alexandrine text, I have thus subjoined a comparison of A with the Boernerian manuscript, as an exemplar of the Western: but I am nevertheless, far from considering either comparison as complete, either in its principle or application; nor do I think that absolute conviction is attainable with our present defective and undigested materials of investigation.

I have remarked, that the very existence of the Alexandrine text is at best but problematical; and so, I apprehend, it must continue to be, until the contrary position be proved by a characteristic collection of Alexandrine readings, contradistinguished from these, not only of the Byzantine, but also of the Western, text. When Griesbach undertook the arduous task of preparing a critical edition, and even a corrected text, of the New Testament upon a novel hypothesis, he ought surely to have placed its accuracy beyond the possibility of objection, before he attempted its reduction to practice as an unerring rule of textual criticism; not to have proceeded upon the bare probability of conjecture, but to have previously grounded himself upon sure demonstration. The Alexandrine text constitutes the main pin, which holds together the complicated machinery of his system. This therefore he should have first incontrovertibly established; but the position still remains exposed to many great and serious objections. When undertaking to confirm it, what is the species of proof which he adduces? He appeals not to the joint readings of Alexandrine writers characteristically distinguished, but principally to the joint readings of A and C, in conjunction

with those of Origen. Matthæi had denied the existence both of an Alexandrine and a Western text. The former Griesbach attempts to prove by a comparison and from a calculation which has been sufficiently detailed : and then subjoins the following result : “ Quæ cum ita se habeant *extra omnem dubitationis aleam* positum esse videtur ; —Lectones, quas A et C *unanimes consensu* exhibent, *jure meritoque Alexandrinis* et vetustis (donec contrarium probetur) *accenseri.*”* And again, “ Codex C : Descriptionem ejus dedimus, tom. i. p. 3. Ibidem etiam p. 133. disputavimus de indole textus ejus in Epistolis Paullinis, atque ostendimus, *mirifice* consentire hunc librum cum Origine et codice A, *adeoque* eum exhibere Alexandrinam recensionem, ab Occidentali omnino diversam.”†

Convincing, however, as this supposed wonderful coincidence may have appeared to him, when we recollect that the reality of an Alexandrine text is the point *to be proved* and *not to be presupposed*, we shall have reason to suspect, and even more than to suspect, the accuracy of his conclusion. He enumerates seventy-five joint readings of A or C common to Origen : I have myself been able to collect only seventy-two, ‡ which I have already given sep-

* Symbolæ Criticæ vol. i. pp. 137, 138.

† Symbolæ Criticæ, vol. ii. p. 31.

‡ It is possible that I may have overlooked three instances of agreement observed by Griesbach, but I do not think it probable. I have however observed three instances of agreement *incorrectly* marked by him in his notes to the New Testament. The first is Galatians vi. 15, εστιν for ισχυσι A B C D E F G Or. but Origen has *no such verse*. The second is Phillippians ii. 9. ✕ το A B C 17. Or. but no addition of the kind occurs in the Symbolæ Criticæ. The third is Titus i. 15 = μεν, A C D E F G Orig. || γαρ Syr. Or. Here is a *double* reference ; but the last is the true one, as γαρ is substituted for μεν, so that the first must be deemed incorrect : nor is the verse quoted more than once by Origen.

rately, with the principal references to other manuscripts and Fathers annexed. From a particular inspection of these it will appear, that, out of the whole number of seventy-two, there are not more than seven readings which do not coincide as well with the Latin versions, or some Western manuscript (viz. D E F G) or writer, as with A, C, and Origen. The seven exceptions are Romans iii. 30. I Cor. ii. 3. iii. 13. x. 32. xii. 3. 2 Cor. i. 12. Philip. 1. 24. Of these the first occurs in Clemens and Cyrill, the second and third in no Alexandrine Father whatsoever except Origen, the fourth in only Cyrill, the fifth in only Cyrill *occasionally*, the sixth in Clemens only, and the seventh in both Clemens and Cyrill in conjunction with Byzantine MSS. and Chrysostom. While such is the character of the seven readings which do *not* coincide with the Western text, the *sixty-five* others, which *do* coincide with it, will be found generally in alliance not with one version, manuscript, or Father only, but with more, and frequently with versions, manuscripts, and Fathers united.

From these premises, it seems not very difficult to draw a satisfactory result, but it is one diametrically opposite to that of Griesbach. Instead of contemplating a great majority of the readings as peculiarly Alexandrine, because they are found in the manuscripts A and C in conjunction always with Origen, and sometimes with one or two more Fathers of the same description, (which by the way is also improperly representing the classification of A and C, not, as in truth it is, the final object, but the legitimate means of investigation,) should we not rather contend, that they are more probably *Western*? They are certainly common to both classes, and seem likely to have been adopted by one of them from the other: but as the existence of an Alexandrine class has not been proved, and as the stream of evidence is far greater on the side of the Western, it ap

pears, I apprehend, not unreasonable to conclude, that the latter exhibits the original, and the former the adopted, readings. The respect paid to the Western text was always considerable, and the sphere of its action extensive; rather therefore should we conceive, that, instead of gravitating towards another, it attracted every thing within its influence towards its own centre. If A and C as well as Origen on most occasions coincide with the Western text, why are their individual coincidences in any number of instances to be considered as almost miraculous? Is it not better to subtract the miracle, and to say, that it is usual for those things, which generally participate in a common resemblance, to be found particularly conformable with each other.

But it may justly be remarked, that, in order to ascertain the true character of the readings of Origen, the whole of them together, and not a partial selection, should be examined. With this impression, I have given all which a diligent investigation enabled me to discover, in the Epistles of St. Paul, and have noted those which agree with other Alexandrine authorities, or with the Western, or with both. The total amount of his readings is *six hundred and nine* out of which are *two hundred and twenty-six*, which coincide with either Western or Alexandrine authority, or with both. Of the remainder, many indeed, not unfrequently accord with the Byzantine, but many more are perfectly insulated. The number however of the latter may doubtless be very considerably reduced, by making due allowances for the freedom of quotation, and for the errors of transcription. And perhaps a still farther reduction, if not an almost entire annihilation, might be effected by our acquisition of completer collations of Fathers, manuscripts, and versions, than we at present possess. How numerous the collateral readings of this kind are,

with which we are yet unacquainted, may be conjectured from the many additions not long since made by Matthæi to those of Chrysostom alone; and even by the very quotations of Origen under consideration, of no contemptible part of which we were altogether ignorant, until they were brought to light by the laborious scrutiny of Griesbach. But, notwithstanding the great amount of this incongruous remainder, there are found a sufficient number of congruous readings for the purpose at least of a comparative examination.

There occur *two hundred and twenty-six*, which coincide with one or both of the classes alluded to. Of these, *one hundred and eighteen* are supported by Western authority alone, *ninety* by both Western and Alexandrine united, and *only eighteen* by Alexandrine alone. Supposing the existence of an Alexandrine text, we may presume, that Origen would frequently have associates of the description in *peculiar* readings; but this presumption is far from being warranted by fact. For in truth, the very reverse takes place; as out of *two hundred and twenty-six* readings, Origen has but *eighteen* distinguishable from the Western text, in which he is joined by any other Alexandrine Father. Nor even in this limited number, of *eighteen*; does he read in conjunction with more than *one* Alexandrine, (sometimes with Clemens, and sometimes with Cyrill,) except in the following five instances; Rom. iii. 30. 1 Cor. iv. 13 viii. 8. Ephes. v. 25. Philip. i. 24. in which he receives a double support. On the other hand, his alliance with Western authority, in exclusion of the Alexandrine, is so intimate, that he reads with that alone, not *eighteen* but *one hundred and eighteen times*, a full moiety of the whole amount. Neither does he here often read with one or two, but generally (the source indeed being

more prolific) with numerous associates. The conclusion deducible from this general statement seems obvious.

That Origen should occasionally depart from a text, with which he usually accords, cannot be deemed remarkable. It is precisely the case with other writers, confessedly participating in the peculiarities of the Western, or of the Byzantine. An exemplar, indeed, of neither text exists in its original purity; for the current of each has become turbid from the soil over which it has passed, during the lapse of so many centuries, and not unfrequently have their devious streams been united. Chrysostom sometimes departs from the received text, in conjunction with other Fathers of a similar description; but will any one on that account maintain, that the writings of Chrysostom afford a new classification? Accidental varieties necessarily occur; but the species still remains distinct and appropriate.

If country is to be esteemed the true criterion of classification, and the existence of separate texts in every considerable district to be presumed, I see no reason, why the number should not be augmented; why Syria, for instance, and Asia Minor, should not have their separate texts, as well as Byzantium, Rome, and Egypt. Cappadocia alone produced three writers of distinguished character and credit, Basil with Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nysa;* and these have not only common, but peculiar read-

* If these writers really followed a text different from that which has been denominated the Byzantine, it is evident, that they cannot be properly taken into the computation of Byzantine authority. So also, if Eusebius and Damascenus, one of Cæsarea, the other of Damascus, be considered as adherents to the text of their own country, viz. the Syrian, and not, as Griesbaeh supposes, to the Alexandrine, their testimony cannot be correctly classed under the latter text, and, if so classed, can only lead to a fallacious result. Griesbaeh, it is true, represents Eusebius as an admirer of the reasoning, and therefore a copier of the quotations, of Origen; but admitting his premises, I cannot subscribe to the legitimacy of his conclusion. Nor even,

ings : why do we not form another text from their quotations? Basil, it is true, travelled to Egypt, but so did Origen to Rome ; yet the latter is regarded as having been still attached to the characteristic text (if such there were) of his own country. Ought we not then, if the principle be at all admissible, to assert the same also of the former?

But, in truth, the existence of even three texts has never been proved analytically. Transported with the love of synthetical combination, and with the pride of conjectural talent, we may give loose to unbridled Criticism, and pursue a favourite track, disdainful of the rugged path, and the terrific precipice ; and may astonish the world with intricacy of research, and with boldness of enterprise : but the credit of our discoveries will scarcely be permanent, unless the road, which leads to them, be secure and certain. Synthetical reasoning, how speciously soever it may dogmatize, seldom convinces, being too often founded upon the unstable basis of mere gratuitous presumption. Instead of pointing out the deductions of incontrovertible truth, it not unfrequently indicates consequences deducible only from preconceived error. It is by analysis alone, that we arrive at satisfactory conclusions ; and, when the hypothesis of an extended classification in manuscripts is, not synthetically presumed, but analytically demonstrated, I shall myself be the first to adopt, and the last to relinquish it.

admitting both, should I be warranted in ranking Eusebius on the Alexandrian side in my calculation of testimonies ; for my argument applies not to writers, who *repeat*, but to those, who, *corroborate*, the evidence of Origen.

STORR ON THE WORD ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ.



§ I.

In many places in the New Testament, and especially in the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, the chief difficulty to interpreters, has arisen from this word, whose meaning for this very reason, we have determined to investigate with considerable care. We shall in the first place make some general remarks concerning the word, and then proceed to examine the particular places in the New Testament in which it occurs.

§ II.

Verbal Nouns ending in *μα*, as they are derived from the preterit tense passive, have generally a passive signification. But as the preterit passive is sometimes to be understood *actively*, or rather, as the *passive* form of the *preterit*, like that of the *imperfect* and *present*, may be used for the middle, as in *δεδεκται*, Act. viii. 14, *προσκεκληται*, xiii. 2, xvi. 10, *δεδωρηται*, Gen. xxx. 20, (in the LXX.) *δεδωρημενης*. 2 Pet. i 3, where the Obs. Krebsii. e Fl. Josepho ought to be consulted, we are not to wonder that verbals in *μα* also assume an active signification. Just as *ακεσμα* and *ιαμα*, a cure (*θεραπεία*) by metonymy, denotes a *medicine, that which cures*; *παρηγορημα* *consolation, that which consoles*: *κριμα*, judgement or decision, becomes equivalent to *κατακριμα* *condemnation*. We find several words of this kind in connexion, Rom. v. 16. For to *κριμα* and *κατακριμα*, in this place *condemnation*, are

opposed *χαρισμα* which here signifies not that which is *given*, but a judgement different from condemnation (*κριμα*), το *χαριζεσθαι*, Eph. iv. 32, *forgiveness*; and *δικαιωμα*, which denotes the opposite of *κατακριμα*, that is, *absolution*, *δικαιωσιν της ζωης*, Rom. v. 13; where the Apostle makes mention, verse 14, of the *similitude* between Christ and Adam, which is explained more fully in verse 17; and also their *dissimilitude* in verses 15, 16, and that in two respects. The first difference he places in this, that the things for which we are indebted to Christ are totally different from those things which we have received from Adam. For Adam brought *death*, that is *misery*, upon a great multitude, but Christ, the grace and gift of God propitiated, that is *life* or *felicity*, verses 17, 21, vii. 23. Another difference consists in this, that *condemnation* arose from *one sin*; *pardon* relates to *many*, verse 16, which may be thus expressed, “And not as it was by *one sin** so is the gift, which divine grace has conferred (Rom. v. 15), on account of the favour of one man, Jesus Christ, towards us (compare 2 Cor. viii. 9.) For the (*κριμα*) judgement, in which we are held on account of Adam, is *εις κατακριμα*,† that is, condemns; but the *forgiveness* (*χαρισμα*) which is by another Adam, after *many sins*, is (*εις δικαιωμα*) to *absolution*, that is *absolves*. Nor is the word *δικαιωμα* used

* The words *εξ ενος* which follow, seem to demonstrate that the reading of *αμαρτηματος* is to be preferred to the common reading of *αμαρτησαντος*; which also appears from the opposite expression *εκ πολλων παραπτωματων*. It is therefore to be taken as if we read *εξ ενος παραπτωματος*. Nor can the passage be understood unless *αμαρτηματος* precede, to which the word *ενος* can refer.

For the meaning of *δια* in ver. 16, *δι' ενος*, examine Rom. ii. 27. iv. 11. 1 Tim. ii. 15, and *ב* in Deut. i. 32, Psalm. lxxviii. 32.

† *εις κατακριμα* and *εις δικαιωμα* we suppose to be a Hebraism, and of the same import as *κατακριμα* and *δικαιωμα*. See a similar expression Heb. vi. 3, where *εις καυσιν* is used for *καυσις*: also (Rom. vi. 19.)

otherwise in verse 18, where we read : “ as by the παραπτωμα (fall) of one man, judgment has come upon all men εις κατακριμα, to condemnation; so also by the righteousness, δικαιομα, of one, has forgiveness come to all men unto justification of life, εις δικαιοσιν ζωης.* In this place δικαιομα, appears to be the δικαιοσις of Christ, who in the spirit εν πνευματι, that is in a condition opposed to τη σαρκι his humility, (Heb. v. 7. 2 Cor. v. 16), and thus in that better condition in which, his life being restored, was declared just, δικαιος, by God, 1 Tim. iii. 16. That *very glory*, to which he is advanced, is an evidence that he has perfectly obeyed all the laws which, for the sake of our salvation, were imposed upon him, and especially that one which demanded an expiatory death, to be undergone on the cross, (Rom. v. 8, 10; Heb. x. 11, 18; John x. 17.) But the same δικαιοσις of Christ also became ours (Rom. iv 25.) when, in the divine counsel concerning making expiation for man by the δικαιοσυνη of Christ, that is, in this place, his obedience even unto death, satisfaction could not be made without our being declared atoned for, that is, δικαιοι, or free from punishment and made partakers of salvation. Nor does the opposite word παραπτωμα oppose this, which not only signifies an offence or sin, but also after the Hebrew manner, punishment and misery conjoined with it. For if παραπτωμα were παρακοη itself and δικαιομα υπακοη itself, then verses 18 and 19 would hardly differ from each other. But the one illustrates the other, if you translate the former; “ as by the fall παραπτωμα of one (Adam) condemnation, or sin and misery, came upon all men ; so

* This expression is similar to Ps. lxxv. 6, God of our salvation, that is, the Author of our salvation ; also Sirac xlv. 6. νομος ζωης και επιστημης, that is, the law that bringeth salvation and knowledge. Rom. viii. 2, νομος τῆς πνευματος τῆς ζωης is the dominion or rule of a life-giving spirit, or if we refer ζωης to νομος, a life-producing command or influence of the spirit. In Heb. ii. 14. κρατος εχων τῆς θανατος denotes one that has a death-bringing command.

by the righteousness of one, (Christ,) righteousness (δικαιωμα), came to all men; bringing salvation" which sentence is explained by verse 19; since the causes of the condemnation of Adam and the righteousness or absolution of Christ, namely of the former παρακοη of the latter υπακοη, are more expressly mentioned, and a great number of men, on account of the δικαιοσυνην or υπακοην, not of themselves, but of Christ, are said not less to be constituted δικαιοι. that is, not less to obtain δικαιωσιν ζωης than on account of disobedience, παρακοην, not their own, but Adam's, to be constituted αμαρτωλοι,* that is, said to be obnoxious to κατακριμα (verse 18.) The same meaning of παραπτωμα is found in verse 15, where it is opposed to χαρισμα; and a little after is explained more clearly by κριμα substituted in its place, which in verse 16, answers oppositely to χαρισμα. In like manner passing by verse 20, in which we find παραπτωμα to be αμαρτια, but in 21, connected with θανατος, (vide vii. 10, 13), we also find the same word, xi.11, signifying not only the impiety of the Jews but also, το πιστεειν, their misery, to be opposed to σωτηρια. For in verse 12, παραπτωμα is explained by the word ηττημα, as κοσμος is by the word εθνεα. See § vii.

* Αμαρτωλοι κατασταθησαν, *were constituted sinners*, that is, were brought into the condition of sinners and treated as such and punished, (see 1 Kings, i. 21,). So also the opposite phrase δικαιοι κατασταθησονται denotes *constituted righteous*, treated as righteous. But that those who have not committed Adam's act of disobedience; nay those who have not had the divine law expressed in words, as those that lived before Moses, [Rom. v. 14,] and Gentiles, and those who do not at all know the divine will, as infants, are notwithstanding on account of Adam's disobedience, παρακοη, numbered among sinners and under the same condemnation, κατακριμα, as Adam [ver. 18,] the proof of which is before us constantly in the universality of death, appears more fully in verse 12, to which verse 13 subjoins a further illustration, where by one man, or by the disobedience of one [ver. 19,] sin, or corruption αμαρτια, [Com.vii.3, and ver. following] is said to have been introduced into the world and by it *death*, which for this

§ III.

But we proceed now to the word *πληρωμα* itself, to which also we see a *passive* signification attached, as many interpreters* explain it, in Eph 1. 23, as meaning that *which is filled*, namely the church, which is filled by Christ, who fills all the members of his body with gifts of every kind; or as the very learned Teller prefers, the church which is *dwelt in* by Christ or God. But it is allowable for us to doubt altogether about any *passive* signification, because neither in that place nor in the rest (Rom. xi. 25, xv. 29, Mark viii. 20; Matth. ix. 16.) mentioned by Grotius or W. A. Teller, has it necessarily a *passive* signification, as we shall attempt to demonstrate, (§ xii. xiv. viii. vi.), it is therefore assumed, whilst it cannot be established by other proofs. Nor is there much assistance to be derived from the phrase *πληρωματα υδατων* which is the version in the LXX. of אֲפִיקֵי מַיִם, Cant. v. 12. For it is by no means clear that channels filled with water are here meant, since the LXX. take אֲפִיקֵים as denoting fountains, (Ps. xviii. 16.) or a rivulet, (Ps. c. xxvi. 4.) which, rather than the water, fill the land. Finally, the authority of the Valentinians,† if any one be disposed to use *it* to pro-

reason, that is, the introduction of sin, has come upon all men, because all have sinned, ημαρτον, that is, because all equally with Adam *have been brought into the condition of sinners*. Because all are partakers, not less of the condemnation, κατακριμα, than of the corruption αμαρτια of Adam, communicated to all through the one parent of all. Moreover all must *die*, as Adam, although there be no sin committed by them [verses 13, 14,] for which specially *death* as a penalty was appointed as for Adam's first disobedience, and for various offences interdicted by the Mosaic laws.

* See Grotius, in his two Comments on Eph. i. (both of which have been translated into English).

† That *Cerinthus* used the word *πληρωμα* in this sense is to me doubtful.

duce conviction, is by no means to be received, since no one is able to prove that, that lucid space, which they feigned* to be inhabited by the thirty æons† was on that account called by the name of πληρωμα, which word, was used before them to designate a place occupied, including that which occupies it. Further, since the place which Tertullian calls (adv. Valent. c. xiii. p. 251.) Pleromatis Coetus, or, the thirty æons, is called by the same name, πληρωμα, it is very probable that the plenitude of the tricenarian divinity, that is, the cœtus αιωνων, of which God himself is the head or chief, and the rest embraces those natures next to God in excellence, (a notion derived from a perversion of Col. ii. 9,) was first and properly called πληρωμα; but that the seat or abode of this Pleroma, by metonymy, was called at length by the same name. In this way the sect of the Valentinians did not adopt the *passive* but the *active* signification of πληρωμα as denoting multitude, cœtus, and from this, by the same word they name the abode of the æons, not because it was *filled* or *inhabited*, but because it was the *abode* of the Pleroma.

* Compare Pseudo-Tertullianum de præscript. adv. hæret. c. xlix. p. 216. ed. Franek. A. 1597.

† See Irenæus L. 1. c. iv. § i. p. 13, [ed Massueti] where beyond φως και πληρωμα there are said to be σκιαι και κενωματος τοποι, or, to use the translation of Turtullian [contra Valent. c. xiv. p. 251.] loca luminis aliena, quod (lumen) Pleromatis res sit, vacuum atque inane illud Epicuri. It is manifest that they used πληρωμα to denote a *place* to which they oppose τον της μεσοτητος τοπον and this πληρωμα they called τον νυμφωνα, bride's chamber. [See Irenæus l. c. vii. p. 32.]

§ IV.

The *active* force therefore remains; which is double. For as things are said to be *full*, as well those which are *filled*, as those which are *perfect*, *entire*, and *absolute*, so also πληρωω (I make full) means both *to fill*, *replenish*, (γεμιζω,)* and *to make perfect*, *to supply*, *to finish*, (τελειωω). Whence it happens that πληρωμα signifies, either, the *perfection*, *consummation* of a thing, and by metonymy of effect for the cause (see § ii.) *that which perfects* and *makes entire* any thing, or finishes it, that is, a *supplement*, or *complement*, *boundary*; or the *impletion* of a thing, and by metonymy, *that which fills*. This latter meaning is very common in the Greek writers, among whom the πληρωματα νεων are those things which *fill* ships; which are *in* ships, especially the *rowers*, † *marines*, and those things which pertain to fitting out a ship. In like manner also Aristides, (see Elsner upon Eph. i. 23) calls that which is in a city, namely, its inhabitants, πληρωμα της πολεως, and the LXX. translate the Hebrew word נ'ל' very frequently by πληρωμα, and use the expressions πληρωμα πης γης, Ps. xxiv. 1, οικουμένης, Ps. l. 12, θαλασσης, xcvi. 11, to denote that which inhabits the land and the sea. But which meaning is best adapted to the several places in the New-Testament is to be ascertained only from a more accurate examination of the individual expressions. To these we now come.

* See John. iii. 29, xv. 11; Col. iv. 12; and compare Dan. x. 3, in version Theodoton, εως πληρωσεως τριων εβδομαδων, with the LXX. εως τε συντελεσαι τας τρεις εβδομαδας.

† Suidas, and after him, Phavorinus, affirms that not only the men on board of a ship, but also the burthen or cargo, is called πληρωματα. But as Kuster well remarks, no more is established by the examples adduced by Suidas than that the sailors and marines are called by this appellation.

§ V.

Galatians, iv. 4.

In *Galatians*, iv. 4, we find the signification of *complement*, derivative from the idea of consummation, where Paul compares the ancients under the law of Moses to children under guardians, [Schoolmasters, iii. 24,] and subject to their power ἀχρι της προδεσμιας τῆς πατρὸς iv. 2, 3. But when the πληρωμα, the *fulness*, the termination, of the time pre-appointed by the Father came, God is said to have sent his son to free the sons of God from the power of the law, that they might attain υιοθεσιαν, *adoption*, see ver. 4, and those following. In like manner Herodotus calls an advanced termination of life ζοης πληρωμα μακροτατον.

§ VI.

Matth. ix. 16. *Mark*, ii. 21.

In *Matth.* ix. 16, and *Mark* ii. 21, the word πληρωμα manifestly has the meaning of *supplement*. No one, says our Lord, sews a piece of new, or undressed cloth, which the fuller has not rendered smooth by scouring it, to an old garment. For if he does otherwise, το πληρωμα, *the part added*, that which is new, taketh something away from the old garment, and the former rent is made worse.

§ VII.

Eph. i. 10. *Rom.* xi. 12. *Eph.* iv. 13.

When two parts make a whole, one may be said to be a *supplement*, πληρωμα, to the other, because there is need of its accession before the thing can be entire and perfect. From this it happens that the word *remainder* sometimes

answers to πληρωμα, as for instance Eph. i. 10. οικονομια* τῆς πληρωματος των καιρων appears to be the dispensation, or administration, of the times which remain, or of the affairs to be accomplished in future times. The whole passage seems to denote this, namely, *that the hidden* counsel of God, according to his most gracious decree, is made known to us, in which he determined within himself [Col. i. 27, and Eph. ii. 4. i. 20, in which compare ἴν for καὶ ἴν] to commit, in relation to the administration of things in future times, that is, the times of the dispensation of the new covenant, the chief authority† over all things that are done either in heaven or earth to Christ, which is very fitly said in that place [compare Matth. xxviii. 12. and fol. Is. liii. 10.] in which [see Eph. i. 9, 11, 14,] the subject is the salvation both of the Jews and Gentiles, (Mark xvi. 20, Eph. iv. 10, i. 22,) which would be effected by the gospel.

* Οικονομια, which properly denotes the administration of family affairs, (Luke xvi. 1, 4,) and also from that, the administration of other things, the office or management of any thing (Col. 1, 25, 1 Cor. ix. 17. iv. 1. &c.), sometimes is used in a general sense to denote the constitution and nature of a thing, as Eph. iii. 2, 3, whence in the place under consideration it may mean the manner and nature of the time to come, unless the word ανακεφαλαιωσασθαι compel us to prefer the meaning of dispensation.

† Κεφαλαιω [Sirac, xxxii. 8.], ανακεφαλαιω, Rom. xiii. 9. and συγκεφαλαιωμαι [vide Raphelii Annot. ed Polybio ad I. n.] signify to comprehend summarily. Thence συγκεφαλαιωσθαι τας πραξεις, that is, to reduce to a summary, things to be done, [vide Raphelii Annot. ex Xenophonte] is said to be done by one, who, that he may not himself manage things, commits them to others, and making known to them his will in a summary manner rests secure about the details of his affairs. From this form of expression might arise the custom of using συγκεφαλαιωσθαι or ανακεφαλαιωσθαι τας πραξεις εν τινι, as equivalent to giving the chief authority to some one, to appoint some one over affairs; although as is usual in other forms of speaking, the etymology and origin of the form of expression are not considered.

The passage in Rom. xi. 11. 12, may be thus paraphrased: Have they therefore stumbled, or offended, namely by unbelief v. 20. 23. ix. 32. that they might fall, [might perish, might fall into punishment and misery, xi, 9, 10, 22.]? May it not be so! But out of the very evil into which the Jews fell, by their own fault, divine benignity has brought blessings as well for the Gentiles as for the Jews themselves. For through their *παραπτωμα* (fall and ruin conjoined, *απειθειαν* ver 30, and punishment following v. 15, 17, com. § II.) *salvation* has happened to the *Gentiles*, (com. Acts xiii. 46) that they also (the Jews) may be provoked to jealousy with the Gentiles, and to the same desire of salvation. But if the fall of them (the Jews) has turned to the riches (Com. 2 Cor. viii. 6; James ii. 5,) of the rest of the world, and their destruction, to the riches of the Gentiles, how much more will the *πληρωμα*, (remainder) of them (the Jews) turn to the riches of the Gentiles. That is, if the very ruin of the unbelieving part of the Jews gave an opportunity for the promulgation of the Gospel among the Gentiles; or, if the Gentiles owe something to the unbelieving Jews and their fall as the *occasion* of their own salvation, how much more will they owe to the *remaining part* of the Jews, by whose accession the nation is made entire? How justly may it be said that this *remnant* (Rom. xi. 5. 7,) which stumbled not, but remained free from the unbelief and misery of the rest, have enriched the Gentiles whom they have blest with the Gospel! (Rom. xv. 27. 2 Cor. vi. 10.) There arises also a commendation of this interpretation from the ready connexion between verse 12th, when explained in this manner, and the 13th. The Apostle, that I may repeat the narration more from the beginning, is occupied in reprimanding the arrogance, ver. 20, 25, of the Gentiles who were taking an insolent and invidious pleasure from the miseries of the Jews; and with this design, he commands them to consider the present condition of the

Jews, and foretells the very joyful change of things which awaits them. In verse 23d and those following, he makes use of another argument. But he so treats it that he, *in the first place*, shows that the Jews ought to have the pity and love of the Gentiles, if they were viewed with a proper eye, rather than their contempt and indignation. For whether we consider the greater and worse part of the nation, *they* certainly gave an opportunity to adorn the Gentiles with the benefits of the Gospel, ver. 11: or if we consider the less and better part (πληρωμα των πεσοντων) they performed an acceptable service to the Gentiles teaching them the Gospel of salvation, ver. 12. For it was proper for himself, a Jew, ver. 1, to bring back the minds of the Gentiles to a remembrance of the benefits they have received, and to boast of the merits of himself and his nation towards the Gentiles, ver. 13, that he might in this way excite some of his own nation, ver. 14, to the benefits of the Gentiles, which would be attended with their own salvation, rather than that they should be merely the joyful occasion of blessedness to the Gentiles, com. verse 11. For if the very rejection, ver. 15, of the Jews, there being few comparatively that have believed, has conferred such blessings on the world, that a large multitude of Gentiles should believe the Gospel, and return to favour with God, [com. 2 Cor. v. 18, 20,] we may form some opinion of the great facilities, which the restitution of the greater part of the Jews to Christ would bring, that is, *what life to the world*, blessedness and vigor, com. Luke xv. 32; 1 Thess. iii. 8, the turning of so great a multitude to the propagation of the Gospel, with a life corresponding to this rule, would occasion, by their proclaiming the Gospel. Whence it happens that all the favours conferred upon the Gentiles are derived from the Jews. They have no ground therefore, for treating the Jews with insult. In the *last place*, the Apostle shows that the rejection of the Jews,

although it was the occasion of salvation to the Gentiles, which however, gives them no suitable matter of boasting, should strike them with tear, that, since God did not spare the unbelieving Jews, who refused, ix. 30, x. 3, to acknowledge his free grace and unmerited pity, they should much less expect that their exultation, so contrary to a deep sense of the divine grace, would be unpunished, xi. 20. 22.

Finally, since the body is the supplement of the head, which being added, the man is entire ;* and since in this Fourth Chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, [see ver. 4, 12, 15, 16, compared with Col. ii. 19,] the church is compared to a *body*, the head of which is Christ, it may be believed that πληρωμα τῶν χριστῶν Eph. iv. 13, is that *body*, which with Christ as its head, forms something entire, that is, a *church*, which in verse 12 had been called the σωμα τῶν χριστῶν. In the time of Paul, our Lord appointed heralds of the Gospel endowed with extraordinary gifts, ver. 11, that by their ministry other Christians also might be prepared for assuming the office of teachers at a future time, that the church might greatly increase, ver. 12, *until*, which are the words of the Apostle, *we all arrive at the unity of the faith and knowledge of the Son of God*,† until we all arrive so far that we become a *grown* man, one perfect of years, who has maturity of age, visible in the perfection of his strength ; that is, that we may be a church perfect in number and all parts, [com. V. 27,] worthy of a perfect Christ ; until we, who form the body of Christ, all

* Chrysostom [Homil. iii. upon the Epistle to the Ephes. i. 23,] says πληρωμα κεφαλῆς σωμα, πληρωμα σωματος κεφαλη.

† That this was not yet the case, is fully proved from the dissension in their minds concerning the Son of God. But as long as there is not one faith [Col. i. 9, 10.] and living knowledge of Christ, as there will be in another world, the ministration of the Church ought to continue. The word *faith* may here mean *persuasion* concerning Christ, [Rom. xiv. 22.] in opposition to false opinions and doubts.

together* arrive at the measure of mature and grown age τὸ πληρωματος τὸ χριστῶς, that is, of the body, which is the supplement of Christ, and which ought to attain a maturity corresponding to his greatness, ver. 13, *that there may be no longer any, as there are of us, (us by participation, for you), even many who, like children, fluctuate in their minds, and are driven about as by a wind, by every doctrine invented through the fraud of men, through a cunningness, not commendable, but devoted to seductive arts.* Afterwards, ver. 14 and 15, the apostle fully treats of the admonition, concealed in verse 14th, and goes on further; “let us, by being more studious of *holding fast the truth*, than of admitting error, and of *charity* rather than mutual dissension which may be cherished either by our own error, ver. 14, or an unbecoming reprehension of others ver. 2, leave the childish age, ver. 14. 1 Cor. iii. 1—3, and *let us grow.* &c.”

§ VIII.

1 Cor. x. 26. Mark viii. 20.

We have considered *one* class of the meanings of πληρωμα, that of *consummation, supplement, termination* (sections V.—VIII;) the others, which contains those meanings which are derived from the idea of *filling up, or repletion*, remain. Of this class τὸ πληρωμα τῆς γῆς, 1 Cor. x. 26, *which fills the earth*, that which is *in* it, (com. §. iv.), and σπυριδων πληρωματα, Mark viii. 20, *those things which fill the baskets.* But the following genitive κλασματων is in *apposition*; whence the whole sentence means this;—“The fillings of how many baskets, namely, fragments, took ye up? or how many baskets which the fragments *filled* took ye up?”

* The word ἡλικία is oftensaid, by way of eminence, of adult and perfect age which is equally removed from puerile and senile imbecility. See Lysias, Demosthenes, Philostratus quoted by Wetstein, and the celebrated Læsnier upon John ix. 21.

§ IX

But since *properties* are said to be *in* any thing, it ought not to appear strange that they also should be called the πληρωμα of the thing, and that in a two-fold manner. For as *corporeal* things have the word πληρωμα applied to them, whether they more or less fill the place, so also *properties*, which are called by the name of πληρωμα are either simply *in* the thing, or so *fully in* it, that the thing is thought to be *full* either of certain virtues or vices; just as we say to *fill* the mind with *superstition*, that is not only to tincture the mind with superstition, but to fill it completely. So also in common language we blame the man that is *full of perjury*, and praise him that is *full of genius, duty, affection, &c.* Examples of this may be found in Rom. xv. 13; Col. i. 9; Rom. i. 29; Acts xiii. 10; vi. 5, 8; ix. 36. Phil. i. 11; Rom. xv. 14.

§ X.

Col. ii. 9. i. 19. Eph. iii. 19.

Consequently, from what has been said, το πληρωμα της θεοτητος signifies *that which is in the divine nature*,* when we read Col. ii. 9. εν χριτω κατοικειν παν το πληρωμα της θεοτητος σωματικως, *whatever is in the divine nature, every divine attribute, or that we may say with Tittman (in his work on the traces of Gnosticism sought for in vain in the New Testament,) the divine essence is said to dwell, that is, to be in Christ σωματικως,†* which meaning well agrees

* Jamblicus, or whoever was the author of the book on the Mysteries of Egyptians, calls those things which are *in the Gods* τα πληρωματα των θεων.

† We doubt whether we should translate this word or not, be-

with the design of Paul. For his design has this end, namely, that the Colossians, *as* they had known Christ Jesus the Lord,* should so live, adhering constantly to

cause we hesitate between the explication of those interpreters who interpret the word, to denote *really* and *truly*, and another, which explains it to mean in a *corporeal, visible manner*. Ver. 17, of Chap. ii. seems to favour the former of these explanations. And indeed, the *perfect* inhabitation of the divine nature in Christ might very properly be opposed to that temporary and less perfect manifestation of the divine glory in the temple of old, which the Jewish teachers appear to have boasted of in favour of the Mosaic institutions. But the other sense also disquiets these same men. For if the sum or essence of the divine nature dwells in Christ in a *bodily manner*, so as to *imbue* and *pervade* as it were the very body of Jesus, with what propriety could they despise the human body, which he did not contemn, so that they might be reproached with *neglect of the body* [ver. 23] And if the essence of the divinity is in Christ in a *bodily manner*, why should they seek other mediators who are not only destitute of those divine attributes necessary to bring us assistance, but do not approach us with that *nearness* with which *he* approaches men in whom the essence of divinity is, but in such a manner that he has truly a human body, and can be numbered amongst us his kindred? It cannot be denied indeed, that it is an unusual expression, to say that the divine nature dwells *bodily* in Christ. But the union of the divinity with *human nature* of Christ, including *soul and body*, is also a singular and unheard-of thing: such, and so great is this union, that the λογος, who is God, [Joh. i. 1.] *was made* man, invested with a body ver. 14.

* Παραλαμβάνειν is the same, Cor. xi. 23, as μανθάνειν Eph. iv. 20, which when said of a *person*, signifies *to know that person*, as Raphelius shows from Xenophon [in his Annot. from Polybius, upon Eph. iv. 20.] For neither in this place, Col. ii. 6, is the discourse solely about the *doctrine* of Jesus Christ, *whom*, and whose *dignity*, ver. 9, 10, the Colossians are said to have acknowledged, and whom as their future master, they are commanded to worship, by rightly esteeming his majesty and forming their lives according to his will; nor in the other passage, Eph. iv. 20, is χριστος put for the *doctrine of Christ*. The Ephesians had, from the evangelical history, far otherwise known Christ than to hope that he, whose life and pre-

him, not following other teachers that would lead them away from Christ. For a teacher could not be found greater than he, *in whom is the essence of the divine nature*, (com. Heb. i. 1—ii. 3, John iii. 31,) and adhering to whom, or through whom, (*ἐν αὐτῷ* Col. ii. 10.) the Colossians are made complete, (*πεπληρωμένοι* com. iv. 12.) so that they need no other discipline, and nothing is wanting to their perfect salvation. And now they have no need of the worship of Angels, which foolish teachers insist upon (ver. 18.) but ought to flee to him, whom, under the instruction of Epaphras, they had known as the Lord, as to their *head*, ver. 19, who, since the essence of the divine nature is in him, ver. 9, is the *head* and Lord, Col. ii. 10, of all created things, also of all authority and power, even of Angels of the highest order, Eph. iii. 10.

From what has been said, it is manifest that in the similar passage of Col. i. 19, *το πληρωμα* means *το πληρωμα της θεοτητος*, that is the *fulness* of him whom it hath pleased that *παν το πληρωμα (αυτου)* should dwell in Christ. It hath pleased the Father, (com. John xvi. 15,) or God, that whatever is in Himself, that is, every divine excellence, should dwell in Christ. And from this is learned, *in the first place*, the reason wherefore (com. *ὅτι* Col. 19.) Christ, al-

cepts had been so holy, could approve, ver. 17., of a wicked manner of life. Certainly verse 21st does not oppose our interpretation. For the message of salvation is often attributed to the *Lord himself*, by his servants, ii. 17. Acts xxvi. 23., and an Ephesian Christian might be said to have heard *him*, and to have been taught by him, [Com. *ἐν* Phil. ii. 5. and *ἔν* Num. xxxvi. 2.] That the word *ακσειν* should be construed with an accusative of a person, by a Hebraizing writer, [Com. Rev. v. 13 with xvi. 5. Acts vi, 11. 14.,] is not to be wondered at. For writers of that class also in turn often use the *genitive of a thing*, where Greek writers seldom use it [consult Vigeris de præcipuis Gr. dict. idiotismis, p. 219.] instead of the accusative. [Compare Mark xiv. 64. John v. 28. x. 16, 27. with Matt. xxvi. 65. John v. 37. Rev. v. 11.]

though a man, and in this respect *κτισίς*, takes precedence of every creature, and may be called the perfect image of the invisible God, (ver. 15, and has obtained the supreme authority in all things, ver. 18, and still more, may be called the author and preserver of all things (verses 16 and 17). All these things belong to Christ, not because he is a man, but because he is *that man in whom the fulness of the divine nature dwells*. In the second place, we are informed *with what design* (ver. 20.) it hath pleased God that every divine excellence should dwell in Christ, viz., *to reconcile through him, all things which are in heaven or earth to himself, making peace through the blood of his cross,—through him that poured out his blood upon the cross*. Christ had procured again for us the good will of God (Eph. ii. 16. 2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. v. 10,)* whilst his justice is safe (Rom. iii. 25,) and has effected peace between the Judge of the universe and men deserving punishment, so that he has procured the pardon, or justification, of sinners (*δικαιώσιν* Rom. iii. 26 v. 1,) whilst the dignity of the divine laws has remained unimpaired. To accomplish this it was necessary that he should be a man, that he might pour out his blood on the cross, and also *the man in whom was every divine attribute*. But whilst he obtained the favour of God for the inhabitants of the earth, he in the same way reconciled all the inhabitants of heaven to us, so that we are freed from the *worship of angels* (Col. ii. 18). And when he restored all men equally to the favour of God, and united them in one family of God, he also determined to bind together mankind by mutual benevolence, and by this divine

* *Καταλλαγῆναι τινι*, and similar forms of expression, are equivalent to the expression, *to recover the good will of any one*. See Matt. v. 24. 1 Cor. vii. 11. In Rom. v. *καταλλαγῆναι τῷ θεῷ* verse 10, is explained by *λαβεῖν τὴν καταλλαγὴν*; that is, in ver. 1. *δικαιώσιν*, justification.

and human reconciliation he abrogated (Eph. ii. 13.) or annulled the law (ceremonial) which had separated the Jews from the Gentiles, and had been a barrier to the union and harmony of men. But seeing that the fulness of the divine nature dwells in him, he is a fit person to govern the universal family of God, whether in heaven or earth (Eph. iii. 15). And since he has effected a reconciliation betwixt the *sons of God*, it is becoming that they should be reconciled to *him* (Col. i. 20, that is, that *they should become subject to him*, and become his people, whom he should govern, that at the same time he should have supreme authority over all things, Eph. i. 10, 20, that he might the more perfectly consult for the interests of this divine family. Therefore having undergone death, Acts ii. 24. iii. 15, which it was necessary he should undergo in effecting this peace, but in which he could not be held, inasmuch as the fulness of the divinity dwells in him; and having himself first obtained a glorious life, which he has made accessible to men by his own death, he now presides over the whole family of God, and especially the church, Eph. i. 22. Therefore also for two causes, (Col. i. 19, 20. ver. 19, *ὅτι*.) Christ is Lord of the Church, namely, because every divine attribute dwells in him, so that he possesses the *power* of governing the universe, and because what he has done for the church gives him the *right* to preside over it. He also ought to be the *first* to obtain a glorious resurrection from the dead, since among the number of those whom this glory awaits, he is incomparably the most *eminent*, whether we consider the *dignity* of his person, or his *claim* as founded on his merits Col. i. 18, 19, 20.—For in him dwells the perfection of the Deity, and those who shall obtain a glorious resurrection of the body, are indebted to him, its author and finisher.

The same signification do we attach to the phrase *παντος τῶν πληρωματος τῶν θεῶν* in Eph. iii. 19. The Apostle had been supplicating great blessings for the Ephesians, which he

particularizes in verses 16 and 18; and subjoins this general petition, viz., “*that ye may be filled* εἰς παν το πληρωμα τῶ θεου.” The expression *to fill any one*, sometimes means *to satiate any one*, (com. Phil. iv. 18, and מלא Jer. xxxi. 2,) and that not so much with food or drink, which properly fills, as, metaphorically, *by satisfying the desires*. And as in Eph. iv. 10, the expression, *that he might fill all things*, means *that he might fill all things with gifts*, so the phrase which we are considering, denotes a petition that the Ephesians, in addition to the great blessings just before supplicated, might all be filled with good things, according to (εἰς) *that which is in God*, that is, *according to the divine attributes of benignity, wisdom and power*. With this explanation the two following verses coincide very beautifully, in which the Apostle proceeds to laud Him whose favours exceed our highest conceptions.

§ XI.

The preceding passages compared with Eph. i. 23.

He must be guilty of deliberate obstinacy who refuses to hear Paul who is the best interpreter of his own language, and understands him as speaking of the church in the passages just treated (§ X.) which, however, the Apostle himself, Eph. i. 23, declares to be το πληρωμα τῶ τα παντα εν πασι, πληρωμενῶ. If with the most of criticks we should say that it is *Christ* that *fulleth all in all*, we must, with Chrysostom, Zegerus and others, understand πληρωμα as denoting the *supplement* of Christ, whom, as the *head*, the church, which is his body, supplies and renders perfect. But the church cannot be called the supplement of God; for it is not usual to call it the body of God. Nor therefore does it follow, that the church is meant in those places (§ X.) which speak of the *fulness of God*, or, of

the divine nature, although we should take the expression *fulness of Christ*, (Eph i. 23,) as referring to the church. But if the word *πληρωμα*, Eph. i. 23, refers to the church, it must be taken in the sense of supplement; for this meaning of the word can be supported by authorities (see § VI. & VII). But if any one thinks that *το πληρωμα*, in this place, denotes that *which is filled*, that is, *filled with good things*, or *inhabited*, we readily concede that the church may be called, in this sense, the *πληρωμα* of Christ, and also of *God*; but we deny that this meaning of the expression is either confirmed by a customary mode of speaking (com. § III.), or is assisted by the analogy of the other significations of the word, all of which we think to be *active* (§ IV.) We are utterly unable to perceive how the expression *πληρωμα της γης*. in the LXX, which does not denote *that which is filled*, but *that which fills*, can lead any one into that opinion. The opinion of Koppe, who thinks that *πληρωμα* in Eph. i. 23, is simply synonymous with the word *πληθος*, is more probable. For this signification of the word can be clearly established by examples (§ XIV.) And although the genitive case when added to the word *πληθος*, in by far the majority of passages in the LXX, Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and also the New Testament, usually designates the subject concerning which the idea of the multitude is predicated, yet it cannot be denied that it is sometimes used to denote those that are appointed over a multitude, or army. See Ez. xxxi. 2, 18. xxxii. 32. xxxix. 11, 12. But since these passages when compared with those that convey the idea first mentioned are very few, and since the *people of God*, of whom there is frequent mention both in the Old and New Testaments, are not called *πληθος θες*, we very much doubt whether *πληρωμα τς θες* can with propriety be interpreted to denote the *numerous people*, or *church of God*. But granting that *πληρωμα*, &c. in Eph. i. 23, is the *church*, and that, be-

cause it is *adorned* with gifts, or is *inhabited* by God; the *form of expression*, in the passages explained in section X, is not adapted to denote the church. If we take Eph. iii. 19, for instance, we shall find that the *idea* of a church is not suitable to the passage. For if, with Teller, we translate πληρωθῆναι εἰς παν το πληρωμα τς θες by the phrase, *to be fully united into one family of God*, that is into *one* church, the word παν is converted into ἐν, which we confess to be necessary, yet only that it may not be apparent now destitute of meaning the expression of the Apostle is, when thus rendered. For who can endure such an expression as, *to be perfectly united into all the church, or the whole church?* Nor is the place freed from difficulty, if with the learned Koppe, we translate the expression πληρωθῆναι εἰς, &c. by the phrase—*to be received into the universal church*, that is, *into the universal kingdom of God*. For it is much to be doubted whether πληρῶσθαι ever has that meaning. For neither do πληρῶσθαι Gal. v. 14, and ἀνακεφαλαιῶσθαι Rom. xiii. 9, necessarily mean the same thing; since the former passage may be properly translated,—*for all the law is fulfilled in one command* (§ IV.) Again, if the words were usually synonymous, so that each of them might denote, *to be summarily comprehended*, yet it would not necessarily follow that the unusual signification of ἀνακεφαλαιῶσθαι in Eph. i. 10, could interchange with πληρῶσθαι; since in that passage the word does not mean *to embrace in a common dominion*, but has another sense, and one that is more similar to the ordinary use of the word. It remains therefore, that the phrase πληρωμα τς θες (Col. ii. 9. i. 19. Eph. iii. 19.) does not relate immediately to the church, although the other πληρωμα, &c. in Eph. i. 23, may; nor is the idea of a church suitable to the passages explained in Section X. Notwithstanding however, we have not said that the sentence under consideration Eph. i. 23, does certainly re-

late to the church.* For we see nothing that compels us to follow the received punctuation which joins το πληρωμα τα τα παντα εν πασι πληρουμεν with the words τη εκκλησια, ητις εστι το σωμα αυτης immediately preceding. For in the very similar connexion of words in 1 Tim. iii. 15, scarcely any one now hesitates to separate the words στυλος και εδραιωμα της αληθειας from the preceding ητις εστιν εκκλησια δεσζωντος. But the subsequent context, in the second chapter (Eph. ii.) seems to demand that we should make some remarks upon it, beginning with the controverted clause. The arrangement of these sentences appears to us to be exceedingly intricate ;—

1. Και υμας οντας νεκρους τοις παραπτωμασι και ταις αμαρτιας, (verse 1st.)

2. εν αις ποτε περιεπατησατε, and what follows, verses 2d and 3d, to be considered as parenthetical.

3. ο δε θεος, πλυσισιος ων εν ελθει, δια την πολλην αγαπην αυτης, ην ηγαπησεν ημας.

4. και οντας ημας νεκρους τοις παραπτωμασι συνεζωοποιησε τω χριστω. verse 5th.

For it is manifest that the words which we place in the 3d paragraph (ver. 4,) are to be placed at the beginning, if we would make the discourse complete. But it will read smoothly, if a nominative belonging to the 1st paragraph answer to ο θεος in the 3d, as the similar expression in the

* This also interpreters who differ among themselves deny ;— both those that strenuously insist upon connecting το πληρωμα as well as κεφαλην to εδωκε, and also Bengelius who separates the words under examination from εδωκε. This we acknowledge might be done by supposing the words ο εστι to be understood, as they are before το μαρτυριον (1 Tim. ii. 6.) and ενδειγμα (2 Thess. i. 5, compared with Phil. i. 28.) see also Heb. viii. 1.

1st answers to that in the 4th. Now we suppose το πληρωμα τς τα παντα εν πασι πληρουμενς to be that nominative. But the meaning of this whole passage we shall presently investigate more particularly.

§ XII.

John i. 16. Eph. i. 23.

We understand the word πληρωμα in Eph. i. 23, as denoting *that which is in God*, as we have explained the passages in § X, only with the additional idea that πληρωμα in the text before us denotes that which may be said to be *abundant* in God. The same idea we also find in John i. 16, where the πληρωμα, or fulness, of Christ means that with which he abounds, (see ver. 14,) namely, grace and truth,* “And of his fulness, says John, have all we received grace for grace,” that is, grace upon grace in abundance.

In the same way the Apostle Paul in Eph. i 23, appears to speak of some divine quality which is so abundantly in God, that it may be called το πληρωμα τς θες. What this quality is, we readily ascertain from the additional phrase τς τα παντα εν πασι πληρουμενς; just as we learn from verse 14 of Joh. i., what πληρωμα αυτς in verse 16 denotes, namely, grace and truth. Truly, no one can comprehend

* χαρις και αληθεια may be considered as meaning *true grace*. Certainly in Eph. v. 9, αγαθωσυνη και δικαιοσυνη και αληθεια denotes goodness and *true piety* (της αληθειας iv.24.) Rom. ii 20, γνωσις και αληθεια, as Bengelius suggests, is *true knowledge*, orthodoxy. John iv. 23, εν πνευματι και αληθεια is equivalent to εν πνευματι αληθινω. And many other places are more readily understood when attention is paid to the Hendiadys. For instance, there is no difficulty in Phil. i. 19, if we render it thus, “Through the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, supplicated for me by you, by which being aided I shall be able εν παση παρερησια to defend the honour of Christ.”

the *abundance* of the *divine benignity and grace* which the Apostle most expressively calls the fulness of him that completely filleth,* or satisfies, all with his blessings. Nor can a nominative, (§ XI), be found which could either more beautifully correspond with the other nominative (ὁ θεὸς πλουσιος, &c. ii. 4.) which continues the train of discourse after the parenthesis contained in verses 2d and 3d is ended, or could better suit the whole context, both the preceding, [i. 3—14,] and the succeeding [ii. 4—10.] That we may see this fully, let us examine the whole passage from the 1st to the 10th verse of the 2d chapter. “*The abundant grace of Him that filleth all things with blessings*, as it raised up Jesus from the dead, and exalted him to heaven, i. 20, hath in like manner raised up *you also*, who are descended from Gentiles, *who were dead in sins many and great*,† *in which ye lived according to the example* (com. κατὰ 1 Pet. i. 15, Eph. iv. 24, with Col. iii. 10,) *of this world* (τον αἰωνα τῆς κοσμοῦ τουτῆς,)‡

* The verb πληρῆσθαι, in the middle voice, is used in the same sense as the active voice of that verb in Eph. iv. 10, see also its passive form in Eph. iii. 19. (§ X.) The words ἐν παντι may be translated *in all places, every-where*; or, *in all times, always*; since neuters are used to denote both time and place. See 2 Cor. iv. 8, where ἐν παντι is a little afterwards explained, (ver. 10, 11,) by the words παντοσε and αει; and Phil. iv. 6, where ἐν παντι is equivalent to ἐν παντι καιρω.

† The words Παραπτωματα and αμαρτιαι, here used in the original, do not differ in meaning, [com. Eph. ii. 1. 5,] but are used to strengthen the expression, as the conjunction of synonymous words has this effect.

‡ The expression ὁ αἰων ἔτος and ὁ κοσμος ἔτος are synonymous [1 Cor. i. 20.] The *former*, metaphorically denotes the men who live in this *world or age*, and especially those men of the present times who live as the most are in the habit of living [Rom. xii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 4. &c.]; the *latter* denotes those that live *on the earth*, and after

according to the will of that powerful Prince (κατα τον αρχοντα της εξουσίας)* of darkness,† the spirit that, (as formerly in you that are rescued from this misery), even now

the manner of the majority [Joh. xvi. 11. xiv. 30. xv. 18.] In the passage before us the Apostle uses a manner of speaking which is well suited to the nature of his subject, and to express in the strongest manner the greatness of our misery, and the greatness of the grace of God which rescued us from it, makes use of the genitive of apposition [§ VIII.] The words του αιωνα τς κοσμου τουτς mean, *after the manner of the age, namely, of this world; or if any one prefer, the manner of the age, or this world.* In like manner, Eph. ii. 14, το μεσοτοιχον τς φραγμας may be translated *the wall of partition, or the partition;* for the latter word explains the former, which is less usual. And indeed generally the *genitive of apposition* serves to add an explanation, as for instance, to the words οικοδομης [Eph. iv. 29.] αφης [ver. 16,] ανιμς [ver. 14,] used metaphorically, are subjoined in the genitive, χρειας, επιχορηγιας and διδασκαλιας. Sometimes an ambiguous word is defined by the addition of the genitive, see Eph. iv. 23. Luke iv. 33, compared with Mark i. 23, also Joh. xi. 13. Similar to this form of expression is that in which a word in the genitive case is added, signifying nearly what the former does, but with an additional idea. For instance Col. i. 22, εν τω σωματι της σαρκος αυτου, *through his body, or his flesh,* see also Col. ii. 11, where σωμα της σαρκος is used for σωμα. In Rom. viii. 13, the word σαρχ teaches us that the Apostle is speaking of the σωμα rendered corrupt by it, namely, the σωμα της αμαρτιας. Whence also in Col. ii. 11, the words των αμαρτιων were written in the margin as explanatory of the words της σαρκος, and afterwards slid into the text.

* This is again a genitive of apposition, and is equivalent to της εξουσιαν. The genitive τς πνευματος has the force of the accusative, being like the word εξουσιας, in apposition with του αρχοντα.

† This translation of the word Αερας, which Wolfius, Koppe and Dæderlein have preferred, we adopt, because in vi. 12, Satan and his angels are described as the rulers of the darkness, τς σκοτους of this world. And this lamentable dominion which Satan holds

worketh (by means of his angels Eph. vi. 12,) *in those who do not believe and obey the Gospel ; with whom we also, although descended from the Jews, have had our conversation in the lusts of our flesh, doing what our carnal hearts desired, and were liable by nature,* [through the σαρκ above mentioned, with which we were born, John iii. 6, and which, in after life manifested its disposition, or nature, by many acts of wickedness] *to divine, (Eph. v. 6,) punishment as were others,* to whom the Jews so readily apply this sad description Rom. ii. 1. 17, Eph. ii. 1. 2, and to whom they consider themselves far superior even on account of their birth Gal. ii. 15. Matth. iii. 9, John. viii. 41. Rom. iii. 29 *But God, who is rich in pity, on account of his great love wherewith he loved us,* whether deriving our origin from Gentiles or Jews, not only raised up Christ, but *us also, who were dead in sins, to life with Christ, (by grace have ye received salvation,) that he might display to the ages to come, Col. iii. 4, the exceeding riches of his grace, through his benignity to us for the sake of Christ Jesus. For not by any merit of yours, Rom. iii. 22, but by the grace alone of God, have ye received salvation by faith yielded to the account of what has been done by others, namely God and Christ Rom. x. 6. 7, through confidence in the death and resurrection of Christ (verse 9. iii. 25, Eph. ii. 4, 6,) and*

over miserable men, who are called in this same Epistle to the Ephesians [V. 3.] σαρκος, as it is in many other places [2 Cor. iv. 4. Joh. xvi. 11. vii. 44,] so also in the passage before us [Eph. ii. 2,] is very strikingly described. Nor does the expression εν τοις επουρανις lead us to think that *air* is here the meaning of αερος [vi. 12,]. For this form of expression seems to be a circumlocution for the adjective *heavenly*. as in i. 3. Evil spirits are called *heavenly*, not because they dwell in Heaven, but because they are celestial in their origin, as are the good angels, to whom the epithet *heavenly* is applied, iii. 10. Matt. xviii. 10. xxii. 30. But the evil spirits are distinguished from good by the epithet της πονηριας.

that, viz. your receiving salvation by faith, was not attained of yourselves; not even your believing the evangelical history so mercifully made known to you, has left you room for boasting, for it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any one might boast. For we are his workmanship, created anew by Jesus Christ, that we might be qualified for those good works for which God alone prepared, or destined us when he created man."

§ XIII.

Rom. xiii. 10.

We come now to another place in which the word πληρωμα signifies *that which fills*, (§ IV.) or, by a metaphor similar to one in § IX, *that which is in*, the law, viz. the sum or the entire of the law. Unless that meaning of the word πληρωμα which denotes *satiety*, as the primitive word πληρωσν sometimes means § X, be preferred. In this case, the word would denote the *fulfilling* or *satisfying* of the law; just as we often speak of *fulfilling* a duty or office. *Love*, says the Apostle verse 10, *doth not injure another. Therefore love is the sum, or, substance of the law; or love is that which fulfills the law, that is, satisfies it.* But surely to do no injury to another* does not satisfy the *divine* law. The Apostle appears to be treating, in this place, of those duties which individuals owe to individuals

* That the law is fulfilled by love, is proved from this, *that love doth not injure any one.* From whence it appears, that the law concerning which the apostle is speaking cannot be the *divine* law, which requires the performance of *all duties*, positive as well as *negative*, but the *civil*, which as far as relates to the mutual duties of citizens, especially requires that *one shall not injure another.* But the meaning of Gal. v. 14, is different. For there the whole law is said to be fulfilled (§ XI.) by one precept, namely this—*thou shall love thy neighbour as thyself.* This certainly means more than *not to injure any one, and*

in society, and by the performance of which peace and harmony among men are promoted. For having spoken of the duties which men owe to magistrates verse, 1, he proceeds in verse 8, to treat of those social duties which would be discharged by owing no man any thing but the love which the law of Christ requires. Possessing this love, Christians at Rome would certainly fulfill those duties which, according to the civil law, they owed to their fellow citizens. For all the divine commandments, which have also the authority of civil law, as far as they relate to the publick good, and those statutes of the nation which contemplate the *mutual duties of citizens*, are contained in this one precept, *thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself* verse, 9. The requirements of the civil law amount to this, that one should do no injury to another. He therefore is certainly free from a violation of this law, who proceeds further, and endeavours to *love* others. It is plain then, that *love* satisfies the civil law which prescribes the mutual duties of citizens.

expresses the spirit of the law of Christ, (vi. 2). There are two things (v. 6. 1 John. iii. 23. Eph. i. 15, Col. i. 4,) which the Gospel requires;—*faith towards Christ and love towards men*. Gratitude for favours received and love towards a benefactor arise spontaneously [1 John. iv. 16, com. with 9, &c.]. But if together with faith, which the Apostles assume as the foundation, a man have love to God, he will not only be observant of those things which relate immediately to God, but he will endeavour to keep all the other commands of God. Whoever loves God truly, will study to do his will (1 Joh. v. 3,) nor can he be negligent of the duties which he owes to his neighbour, (iv. 29. ii. 9. iii. 10, 14, 17.)

§ XIV.

Rom. xi. 25. xv. 29.

Finally, since the word πληρωμα may be applied to a *multitude* of material things, or to any thing which occupies space, (§ IV, VIII); it may also be applied to a multitude of all other things. Accordingly we read in Rom. xi. 25, that blindness has happened, not to all Israel, but to a part, until το πληρωμα των εθνων, *the multitude of the Gentiles*, that is, *many Gentiles*, have come in, that is, into the society of that better part of Israel to which blindness has not happened, ver. 5, 7 Or, according to the metaphor here used by the Apostle,—until many Gentiles shall have been grafted into the good olive tree, some of whose branches have been broken off.

The same signification of the word πληρωμα appears in xv. 29, where the Apostle expresses a hope that he should come, with a *multitude* of the blessings εν πληρωματι ευλογιας, of the Gospel, to Rome; that is, that he should bring to them the richest blessings of the Gospel. We are not unwilling, however, that the word πληρωμα should here be considered as denoting a *supplement* (§ IV. VI), and should be thus interpreted;—I trust that when I come, I shall bring with me a *supply* of the blessings of the Gospel of Christ, that is, the *remaining* χαρισματα πνευματικα Rom. i. 11, which the Church at Rome, for the most part, needed. For the Church of Rome had not yet been visited by any one of the Apostles, whose peculiar office it was, as we learn from a few remarkable facts 2 Tim. i. 6, to impart extraordinary gifts.



ON THE
ANTIQUITY OF COINED MONEY,

FROM

CALMET'S

Preliminary Dissertations.



ON THE

ANTIQUITY OF COINED MONEY,

&c.

The most ancient manner of trafficking we know of, was that of exchanging one commodity for another. In the beginning, every one gave what to him was useless or superfluous, in lieu of something necessary, or convenient. But as it did not always happen, that what one had occasion for, another had by him ; or if he had, that he was willing to part with it ; men soon found themselves obliged to agree to make use of some precious metal, whose known and fixed value might serve to settle the price of things, and remove the inconveniences that attended the way of bartering. In process of time, they thought it expedient to put a public stamp upon this metal, in order to show its value, warrant its weight and goodness, and render it fitter for trade and commerce. The design of this impression at first was only to save the trouble of weighing the metal, and examining its fineness. The kings and heads of states, and commonwealths, reserved to themselves the prerogative of setting the stamp, of ascertaining the value, and of making the money pass current among the people ; but it must not be imagined, that all these things were done at once, or at the same time in the several nations of the world. Accordingly, we can trace out successively among the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, the original of coin in ages very distant from one another ; and several whole na-

tions are to be met with, who carried on the old way of trading by exchange, a good while after the invention of money.

At the time of the Trojan war, the use of money was unknown among the Greeks. Homer and Hesiod, who lived after that period, say not a word of gold or silver money; they express the value of a thing by saying it is worth such a number of oxen, or sheep: they denote the riches of a private man, by the multitude of his flocks and herds; and of a country, by the largeness of its pastures, and plenty of its metals. Homer* acquaints us, that Glaucus exchanged with Diomedes his golden arms, for the other's brass ones. Glaucus's were valued at a hundred oxen; and Diomedes's only at nine. The same poet† describing the manner of trafficking in the camp before Troy, says that they purchased Lemnian wines, in exchange for brass, iron, skins, oxen, and slaves.

The ancients and moderns are divided about the first invention of money among the Greeks. Lucan,‡ gives it for Ithonus king of Thessaly, the son of Deucalion: others will have it, that Erichtonius first taught the Athenians and Lycians the use of it. He was, as it is said, the son of Vulcan, and brought up by the daughters of Cecrops, king of Athens; from whence one may judge of his antiquity. Aglosthenes, as cited by Pollux,§ attributes the honour of his invention to the inhabitants of the Isle of Naxos; but the general opinion is, that Phido, king of Argos, who was contemporary with Lycurgus and Iphitus, introduced the use of money into the island of Æginus,|| to enable the people the better to get their livelihood by trade, the barrenness of the place not permitting them to do it any other way. Some of this Prince's coin is still in being;¶ on one side is represented an oval buckler

* Il. Z. 234.

† Luc. Pharsal. l. vi.

|| Strabo. l. viii.

‡ Il. H. 473.

§ Lib. ix. c. 6.

¶ Sperl. de Num. non cunis.

like the Roman ancile; on the other a little pitcher and a bunch of grapes, with this inscription ΦΙΔΩ. Lycurgus, on the contrary, to prevent the Spartans from having any dealings with foreigners, made a cumbersome sort of money, of iron, tempered in vinegar, to render it good for nothing else.* His desire was, says Trogus,† that trade should be carried on not with money, but by exchange of commodities. The use of gold and silver was prohibited at Sparta.‡ The widow of king Polydorus, who reigned about 130 years after Lycurgus, had a present of oxen made her to purchase an house with. After Lysander had pillaged Athens, the Spartans began to have gold and silver money; but it was expended only upon public occasions, private persons being forbid the use of it upon pain of death. The inhabitants of Clazomenes, like the ancient Britons, had none but iron money, as well as the Byzantines; who, as Aristophanes remarks,§ were wont to swear by their money.

As to the form of the ancient grecian money, Plutarch|| thinks it was like so many small spits or rods of iron and brass. Hence, says he, it is, that our smallest money is still called to this day Oboli (ὀβελος, signifying in Greek, a spit), and that the piece worth six Oboli, is termed drachma, (or handful), so many of these small rods being required to fill the hand. Some ancients affirm there was money in Lydia and Persia before there was any in Greece. Herodotus¶ assures us, that the Lydians were the first who coined gold and silver money, and made use of it in traffick. Xenophanes, as cited by Pollux,** says the

* Plut. in Lycurg.

† Just. l. iii. Emi singula, non pecunia sed compensatione mercium jussit.

‡ Athen. l. vi. c. 4.

§ Arist. Nubes, Act. i. Sect. 3.

|| Plut. in Lysand.

¶ Herod. l. i. c. 94.

** Polux. l. ix. c. 6.

same thing. But they do not tell us when the Lydians began to do this. In Cræsus's time, they do not seem to have had any coined money: the riches that prince was so famous for, consisted only of gold and silver bullion; as may be gathered from Herodotus's own words; who says,* that Cræsus having given Alcæon leave to take as much gold as he could carry off, Alcæon puts on a large suit of clothes, enters the treasury, and fills every place about him, even his shoes, and his Hair with small bits or Shavings (*Ψηφιατα*) of gold. The Ancients called gold in ingots, *Aurum factum*; but in the ore, as it came out of the mines of sands, *aurum infectum*.

Before the time of Darius Hystaspes,† it does not appear that the Persians had any money. This prince made an order, that the gold and silver he received for tribute should be weighed, the silver by the Babylonian, and the gold by the Eubæan talent. The gold and silver thus paid, he melted down separately in earthen vessels; and as he had occasion, he broke the vessels, and cut off as much of the metal as he wanted. Herodotus‡ remarks, that this same prince, desirous of rendering his memory immortal, caused medals to be struck of the purest gold, which had never been done by any King before him. These medals, as is said, were what they called *Darics*.

Other historians agree pretty well with Herodotus in this matter. Polycrites, as cited by Strabo,§ assures us that the Persian Kings laid up in their palaces and strong-holds, the silver they received for tribute, and made no more of it into money, than what served to defray their necessary expenses: and this is the reason that almost all their silver was in ingots, and so very little in specie. Diodorus Siculus|| confirms what Polycrites says; he observes, that

* Herodot. l. vi. c. 125.

† Herod. l. iii. c. 39, &c.

‡ L. iv. c. 166.

§ Strabo l. xv. ad finem.

|| Diodor. l. xv.

Alexander found at Susa above 40,000 talents of gold in ingots, which had been a long time lying up against the pressing occasions of the state, and but 9000 in Darics. Quintus Curtius makes it 50,000.* The kings of Persia at this day coin no gold money, except a few pieces to throw among the people at their coming to the Crown, which are not of a fixed and certain value. Justin† informs us, that the antient Parthians made no other use of gold and silver but to adorn their arms.

After the time of Darius Hystaspes, there was plenty of Darics in Greece. It appears from Plutarch,‡ that these pieces of money were stamped on one side with the effigies of an archer. Agesilaus, king of Sparta, being called home out of Asia, to the assistance of his own country, said he was driven thence by 30,000 archers, because Timocrates had distributed that number of darics among the Athenian and Theban orators, to get a war declared against the Lacedæmonians. Mardonius was left behind in Greece by Xerxes with a great quantity of gold and silver in ingots and money.§

What has been said of these Darics being first coined by Darius Hystaspes, is contradicted by some other writers, who will have an ancients Darius and not Darius Hystaspes, to be the inventor of this money. To confirm their opinion, they cite the Scholiast of Aristophanes, and Suidas, who say that the darics were made not by Darius the father of Xerxes, but by a more antient Darius, who is supposed to be the same with Darius the Mede|| in Scripture, and mentioned also in Æschylus by the same name.¶ It is pretended, that the Darkmonim and Adrakon of the

* Argenti non signati forma sed rudi pondere.

† Just. l. xli.

‡ Plut. Apop. Lacon.

§ Herod. l. ix.

|| Dan. v. 31.

¶ Æsch. in Persis,

Scriptures,* are the darics of this ancient Darius, which were in being from the time of the beginning of the reign of Cyrus. There are some that even assert, that these Adarkonim, (called Darkonorth by the Talmudists) were in use ever since the time of David: but others† are of opinion, they were only a plain bit of gold or silver of a certain weight without any stamp; and that they are derived from the Greek Drachma, and not from the term Daric.

However this be, there is at this time no ancient money, either of the Lydians, or Persians, in being. The oldest coined medals to be met with in the cabinets of the curious, are all Greek; and of these the most antient are those made in the reign of Amyntas, father of Philip King of Macedon, and grandfather to Alexander the Great. There is mention in history of Decaboei and Hecatomboei in the time of Theseus; but it is not certain whether they were a sort of coin, or no. Sperlingius takes them to be pieces of silver, without any impression at all, of a certain weight, and worth one, ten, or a hundred oxen.

We must not then imagine, when we hear of the antient Grecian money before Amyntas, that it was like ours or stamped with any symbolical or natural representation. If it had any mark, it was in all likelihood only to warrant its goodness, fix its weight, and save the trouble of putting it at every turn into the scales. I can hardly believe that the gold money of Phido, before mentioned, was coined in his time, or that any gold or silver coin was current in Greece before the Persian money came among them. It is surprising to think how extremely scarce gold and silver were formerly in that country. Athenæus‡ tells us, that Philip, king of Macedonia, every time he went to sleep, laid under his bolster a little gold-cup he had; so highly did he

* Ezra ii. 69, 1 Chri. xxix. 7. † Sperling, de Num. non Cusis.

‡ Athen l. vi. c. 4.

value it, because of the great scarcity of that metal. Anaximenes of Lampsacus, as quoted by the same author, says, that Eriphilus's golden collar became so very famous throughout Greece, only upon account of the rareness of gold; and adds, that they looked upon a silver cup at that time with admiration, as it was something very new and extraordinary. Gyges, king of Lydia was the first who sent presents of gold and silver to the temple of Delphos: they had never seen before that any thing but brass or copper, and instead of fine statues and other ornaments, had only trevets and kettles. The Lacedæmonians designing to gild the head of Apollo's statue, and finding they could get no gold in Greece, sent to consult the Oracle, where they might get some. They were directed to Cræsus king of Lydia, who supplied them. Hiero King of Syracuse, having a mind to present at Delphos a tripod of gold, sought throughout all Greece for some of that metal; at length he meets at Corinth with some at the house of one Architeles, who had by little and little amassed vast quantity. Architeles, over and above what was demanded of him threw in, as a present to the King, as much gold as he could hold in his hand. Hiero in return sent him a vessel freighted with corn and other things. Can it be supposed, after all this, that gold and silver money were at that time common in Greece, or the adjacent Islands? Lycurgus* and Plato† banished from their Commonwealth both gold and silver, thinking brass and iron were sufficient. Plutarch describes the ancient money to be like little brass or iron rods. And the Perouvians‡ heretofore made use of small spits of iron instead of money. I have already taken notice, and shall again hereafter, of several nations that had formerly no other sort of money.

* Plut. in Lycurg.

† Plat. l. v. de Legib.

‡ Latius ap. Horn. l. iii. de Orig. Gen. Amer. c. 3.

Some ancients* have affirmed, that Janus was the first who coined gold money in Italy. The image of that god on one side, and a ship on the other, which were to be seen on the oldest medals of Italy and Sicily, and of some cities of Greece, gave some weight to this opinion, which for all that has no solid foundation : for these pieces with the impression of Janus on them, were of a much later date than his time, and struck only to preserve the memory of his arrival in Italy. †

Although the Romans in the beginning made use of metals in commerce, their chief riches however lay in their lands and flocks. ‡ They did not count, but weigh their ancient money§ which consisted of rough bits of brass without any impression : *Æs rude*. King Servius first stamped on it the figures of sheep and oxen, whence it was termed *Pecunia*. || Varro¶ assures us, that the same Prince began to make silver money. Though Pliny asserts that no silver coin was made use of at Rome till fifty years before the first Punic war. They had nothing of this kind, says he, till after they had vanquished Pyrrhus. In all probability therefore Servius's silver money was not coined. Pliny adds moreover, that they did not till sixty-two years after begin to stamp any gold money.

In the time of the first Punic war, they made two sorts of brass money. The thickest and heaviest sort (*Æs grave*) was marked on one side with Janus's two faces, and on the other with the prow of a ship. On the *As* of two ounces were represented ships ; and on their silver coins were to be seen chariots with two or four horses, which for that reason were called *Bigati* or *Quadrigati*. Pliny, from

* Draco. Corcyr. ap Ath. l. xv. c. 14.

† At bona posteritas Puppim. signavit in *Ære* Hospitis adventum testificata Dei.

‡ Plin. l. lxxix. c. 3.

§ Id. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

¶ Id. l. viii. c. 3

whom I have taken these particulars, seems to think that the gold coins were stamped only with the figures of some domestic animal.

We have no proof of the Egyptians or Phœnicians having any coined money before the Grecian Monarchy was erected in the East. There are no antient coins or medals of these nations now extant.* The Gauls do not seem to have had any money till they were conquered by the Romans. The gold and silver found at Toulouze in the temple and sacred lakes, were without any shape or form,† Aurum atque Argentum in-laboratum. When Cæsar landed among the Britons they had no money but small plates of metal without any mark, Solinus assures us, they had neither markets, nor coins but trafficked by exchange.‡ Some antient nations of Spain, before the arrival of the Phœnicians, and even a long while after, traded in the same manner; they exchanged one commodity for another, or cut off a piece of a gold or silver-plate, in proportion to the value of the thing they wanted.§

The Scythians|| and Sarmatians¶ knew not what gold and silver meant; they carried on their trade by way of exchange. The Albanians and those who inhabited along the Araxis had neither money, nor weights nor measures, and never reckoned above an hundred, says Strabo.** At this time the Circassians and Avocassians had no money. Bernier tells us, there is no coin in Ethiopia; and that at Bengal†† they make use of little shells found on the Maldivian sands, instead of small money. The whole trade of

* In the cabinet of M. Girardon is a sort of leaf of gold, like a rose leaf, said to be found in the mouth of an Egyptian Mummy. Lucian says, they put an Obolus under the tongues of the dead, to pay Charon for their passage.

† Strabo l. iv.

‡ Solin c. xxxv.

§ Strabo l. iii.

|| Id. l. vi.

¶ Mela l. xi. c. i.

** Strabo l. xi.

†† Bern. Tom. II. et Lettre de l'Etat d'Indoustan.

Mingrelia* is carried on by exchange of merchandizes; silver has no settled price among these people, and all the money they have is foreign. In Tartary† they make their money of the middlemost bark of the Mulberry Tree, which they harden and stamp with the seal and arms of the king: strangers can put off no other money in the territories of the Great Cham. Haiton says, in the kingdom of Catbay the money is made of square bits of paper or paste-board, on which is the impression of the king's arms.

The Chinese money are small pieces of bars of gold and silver, whose value depends upon their weight. For which reason, they wear at their girdles a pair of scales to weigh their money with. They have only brass farthings marked with the arms of their country; or a sort of rings, which they carry about them upon strings. In the kingdom of Siam and Japan the money is not stamped like ours. In Mexico the fruit of the cacao-tree, of which chocolate is made, serves for money. It is not above an hundred years ago, that the Laplanders first made use of money. In Ethiopia their money is made of gold and salt: the gold is in ingots, and the salt is in pieces of a foot long, three inches thick, and of the same breadth. The money of the kingdom of Lar‡ conquered about 150 years since by the Persians, was a small round silver rod about the bigness of a goose quill, bent two double, and an inch in length. There are some to be seen still in that country.

After all that has hitherto been said concerning the origin of coin among the Persians, Lydians, Greeks, Romans, and other nations, it will be a difficult matter to believe that the Hebrews had any money like ours, at a time wherein the use of it was most certainly unknown to all the world besides; and if it be true, that neither the Phœ-

* Chardin. Voyage de Perse.

† Id. T. II.

‡ See Tavernier and Paul of Venice.

nicians nor Egyptians, who bordered upon the Jews, and had the greatest dealings with them, had no money before the use of it was introduced by the Persians and Greeks, we may venture to affirm the same thing of the Hebrews. Ezechiel, in his long description of the trade and riches of Tyre, says not a word that intimates the use of coined money; he mentions only gold and silver, tin and lead, brass and iron, that were exposed to sale in their fairs.*

But it will not be sufficient in this case to make use of negative proofs, since the Scriptures frequently speak of the traffick and silver of the ancient Hebrews. The question is, to know whether this silver is to be understood of coined money or no. Moses informs us, that Abraham was exceeding rich, not only in cattle, but in gold and silver.† The same Abraham purchases a cave to bury Sarah in, for 400 shekels of silver, current money with the merchant.‡ Abimelech King of Gerar made him a present of a thousand pieces of silver;§ Joseph was sold by his brethren for twenty pieces of silver;|| Jacob sent his sons into Egypt to buy corn, and gave them money to pay for it;¶ and the Egyptians themselves bring to Joseph all their money to buy bread during the famine.** All these passages evidently prove, that they traded with silver, and even with silver money. But what sort of money was this? Was it stamped and of an uniform weight like ours, or was it only of a good fineness and a certain weight, without any mark or impression?

If this question was to be put to the vote, the opinion, that coined money was in use in Abraham's time, would no doubt have the majority on its side; but in matters of this nature, not the numbers, but the reasons are to be considered. We must examine the original text itself, and

* Ezek. xxvii.

† Gen. xiii. 2.

‡ Gen. xxiii. 16.

§ Gen. xx. 16.

|| Gen. xxxvii. 16.

¶ Gen. xlii. 43.

** Gen. xlvii. 14.

see how far these expressions of Moses do naturally lead us. We find in the Hebrew text, the names of gold and silver, their weight and fineness, and their passing current with the merchant: but all this amounts not to the least proof of their having any mark or stamp; there is not so much as one word that intimates the impression, shape or form of this money. The terms Shekel, Talent, Gerah and Bekah, are all names of weights, and not of coins. The passing of silver among the merchants, is no argument for its being stamped or coined, since there are whole nations at this very day, who trade with uncoined gold and silver. We may conclude then, that the passages of Scripture above mentioned do not prove that the Hebrews had any silver coin in the time of Abraham and the other Patriarchs.

The expression of weighing the money made use of in some places of Scripture, is a farther proof of this ancient custom of paying the pieces of silver by weight, before the value of each piece came to be ascertained by its mark; Abraham weighs* the 400 Shekels he paid for Sarah's burying place. Joseph's brethren brought back the money they found in the mouths of their sacks in full weight.† The shekel and talent were the common weight for all sorts of things. Moses‡ says, the bracelets Eliezer gave Rebecca weighed ten shekels, and her ear-rings half a shekel. The Lord commanded Moses§ to take 500 shekels of myrrh, and 250 of cinnamon, after the shekel of the sanctuary, to make an holy ointment. Elsewhere it is said,|| that the brass of the offering was seventy talents now it is well known, brass was not used in commerce. We read in 2 Sam. xiv. 26. that the hair Absalom cut off yearly from his head, weighed 200 shekels.¶ Zechariah,

* Gen. xxiii.

† xxiv. 22.

|| Exod. xxxviii. 29.

‡ Gen. xliii. 21.

§ Exod. xxx. 23, 24.

¶ Zech. v. 7.

instead of saying a lump of lead, says a talent of lead, because that term was general, and did not signify any sort or sum of money in particular.

In the books of Scripture written after the time of Moses we find the same expressions in the payments of money. *Isaiah** represents the wicked weighing their silver in the balance to make an idol of it. *Jeremiah*† weighed in the balance seventeen shekels he paid for a field he had purchased. To weigh their money, I am apt to believe, they generally carried about them at their girdles a balance and stones of a certain weight; or it may be copper or lead weights, termed stones in Scripture. *Moses*‡ forbids them to have in the same bag divers weights (in Hebrew, a stone and a stone) a great and a small. The covetous man in *Amos*§ is brought in saying, when will the moon be gone that we may sell corn, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances.

In order to prevent these and the like impositions, there were weights and measures laid up in the temple, as standards. The Scriptures, to denote a perfect and just weight, make use of this expression : the shekel of the Sanctuary. In 2 *Sam.*|| mention is made of the King's weight, because to him belonged the regulation of the money, weight and measures, and every thing relating to public trade and commerce. *Sperlingius* imagines, that the King's weight and that of the Sanctuary are put in opposition to the foreign weights of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Canaanites. The Hebrew shekel, say they, was heavier than the weight of those other nations, the Hebrews were concerned with. The generality of commentators give into the notion, that the Hebrews had two sorts of weights. The one holy, or of the sanctuary ; the other profane, or

* *Isaiah* xlvi. 6.

† *Deut.* xv. 13.

|| *Am.* viii. 5.

‡ *Jer.* xxxii. 10.

§ *Deut.* xxv. 13.

¶ *xiv.* 16.

for common use : and that the first was as heavy again as the second. But the reasons made use of to support this opinion, do not seem at all convincing. M. Pelletier, in his dissertation on Absalom's hair, will have it, that by the king's weight was meant the Babylonian weights used by the Jews during the captivity, or in a very little time after.

The ancient Jews trade only with gold and silver : we meet with some of their medals in brass ; but they are either counterfeit, or struck in the time of Simon Macca-bæus. The Turks, Arabians, Egyptians, and the other eastern nations in general, have at this day none but gold or silver money.*

I am apt to believe, that the ancient gold and silver money consisted of bars, ingots, or small rods like the Chinese money before mentioned. We read in the Psalmst of bits or pieces of silver, which may be understood as cut off from the Ingots. We meet likewise with this expression in Scripture, bundles, of silver, † which possibly may denote the small rod, or spits of silver bound up together, as Plutarch describes the oboli, a handful of which made a drachma. It must however be owned, that to bind up silver signifies sometimes to put it into a linnen cloth or purse, or in their girdles ; but this contradicts not my conjecture. Achan§ found among the spoils of Jericho, a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, and 200 shekels of silver besides. David leaves Solomon nothing but gold and silver and brass in ingots and lumps. The gold Aaron made the calf with, and what was offered for making the Tabernacle, and what the people gave in Josiah's time for repairing the Temple, was none of it in coined money.

Although the ancient Hebrews carried on their trade

* Bellon. Observ. I. ii. c. 193.

† Ixviii. 30.

‡ Gen. xlii. 35. Prov. vii. Hos. xiii. 12.

§ Josh. vii. 21.

mostly with silver, yet they continued to traffic likewise by exchange. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and Chaldee paraphrase assure us, that Jacob bought of the children of Homar, a parcel of a field for 200 kesitaths. This term is very unknown. But if any one will insist upon it, that kesitath means a piece of money stamped with the image of a lamb, and in use in Abraham's time, he is too absurd to be seriously reasoned with, and must be left to enjoy his own fancy. Jacob demands of Laban for the reward of all his labour, nothing but cattle ;* and makes no other present to his brother Esau.† The author of the book of Job,‡ alludes to the way of trafficking by exchange in these words : skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life. The Prophet Isaiah§ plainly expresses the way of trafficking both with silver and by exchange : Come, says he, buy wine and milk without money, and without price (or exchange). Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread ? and your labour for that which satisfieth not ? Judah only offers Tamar a kid from his flock.¶ Solomon in return for the timber and workmen he was supplied with from Hiram, sends him only corn and oil.¶ Hosea** purchases a wife for fifteen pieces of silver, and an homer and a half of barley.

The credit of certain pretended ancient shekels, supposed to have been coined in Judea in the reigns of David, or Solomon, is very much lessened among the learned. And although these pieces, in comparison of the times of Moses and the Patriarchs, are of a late date, yet would they be good proofs of the antiquity of the Hebrew money above that of the Grecian or Persian. These sheckels being stamped with Samaritan letters, it was concluded they were made before the Babylonish captivity, it being the com-

* Gen. xxx. 33.

† Gen. xxii. 13.

‡ Job. ii. 4.

§ Isai. lv. 1, 2.

¶ Gen. xxxviii. 17

¶ 1 Kings v. 10. 11.

** Hos. iii. 2.

mon opinion that the old Hebrew letters were entirely laid aside after that time; and as these coins had on one side, "Jerusalem the Holy, and on the other the shekel of Israel; it was inferred, they must have been made before the separation of the ten Tribes under Jeroboam, because after that, Jerusalem was not looked upon by the Israelites any longer as the Holy City.

But it is an easy matter to show the weakness of these arguments; the very supposition they are built upon, namely that the Samaritan characters were never used by the Jews after the captivity, is contradicted by a plain matter of fact, for the Hebrew money coined in the time of Simon Maccabæus, is marked with Samaritan, (or rather Phœnician, or old Hebrew letters) and Antiquaries are agreed, that all the coins with Chaldean characters, such as are now in the Hebrew Bible, are counterfeit. The same may be said of the medals which are put upon us for David's or Solomon's: they carry with them the marks of their being forged; the metal they are made of, is modern, the impressions are often trifling; some of them are of brass, and I have shown the ancient Hebrews made use of no such thing in commerce. Sperlingius assures us, that it is not above a century or two since these pieces appeared in the world, and that he knew a man in Holstein, that had a forge where he privately coined them.

M. Patin says, that among the vast number of collections of medals he has had a sight of, he never met with one true ancient shekel. M. Morel owns, there are true Shekels, but avers they are no older than the time of Simon Maccabæus; and this is the opinion of all the great Antiquaries I have consulted in this matter. Accordingly, I reckon among the false ones, the medals of Abraham, with an old man on one side, and a calf on the other; the medals of Moses, whereon he is represented with horns like Alexander the Great, and some of his successors, with these

words on the other side, thou shalt have no other Gods but me. In the same class are to be put the medals of Joshua, stamped on one side with a bull, and on the other with a unicorn ; of David, with his scrip, and a tower ; of Mordecai, with sack-cloth and ashes, and a crown. I reject also the shekels that are shown in some of our ancient Churches for the thirty pieces of silver Judas received for betraying our Saviour. These last are ancient Rhodian medals, with the head of the famous Colossus dedicated to the sun on one side, and a rose on the other.

As for the true shekels struck in the time of Simon Maccabæus, we read in 1 Macc. xv. 6, that Antiochus, king of Syria gave Simon the High-Priest leave to coin money of his own. But seeing it was unlawful for the Jews to make any images, Simon was satisfied with ordering to be engraved on his money some emblematical figure, or some vessel of the Temple ; for instance, a water-pot or a cup, or a Lyre, on one side, and on the other, a palm-tree, with its fruit, or a vine leaf, or a sheaf of corn, or some such thing : the inscription on one side, a shekel, or half shekel of Israel, according to the value of the price ; on the other, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, or 5th year of the deliverance of Sion. Though Simon was High-Priest above eight years we do not find any of his money for more than four or five years of that time ; and we meet with none at all of his successor Joannes Hircanus, though he was High-Priest twenty years. It is supposed, that the Jews in all likelihood represented to Simon, that these impressions on his money, were no less contrary to law, than the figures of men, or animals ; and therefore he was forced, upon that account, to desist from making any more money.

There are some who are of opinion, it was not in Judea, but in some Samaritan cities under his obedience, that Simon caused these medals to be struck ; because, as they think, the Samaritan characters, with which they are mark-

ed, were disused by the Jews, and because he durst not stamp on his money any figures or images within the bounds of Judah. But as he might be told, that the doing that in a Samaritan city, which he would not venture to do in a Jewish one was a mere evasion of the law, Simon entirely dropped a privilege he could not make use of without infringing the law of the land. All this indeed is but conjecture, but then these conjectures are not without some grounds. It is well known, what a stir the Jews made to oblige Pilate to erect without the city, the images of the emperor he had brought into Jerusalem.* Vitellius going to wage war with the Arabians, and designing to pass through Judea, the Jews went to petition him not to spread, as he marched, the Roman ensigns, on which was represented the effigies of the emperor.

Herod the Great having placed, by way of ornament, some trophies in the Theatre he had built at Jerusalem, the people mutinied, taking them for armed statutes, and would not be appeased till by taking off the arms they were satisfied they were nothing but trunks of trees dressed up in that manner.† Herod the Tetrarch having adorned his palace at Tiberias with several figures of animals, Josephus the Historian was deputed‡ by the Jews at Jerusalem, to go and persuade the people of Tiberias to pull it down to the ground. The same historian was of opinion, that Solomon acted contrary to law§ in supporting the vessel called the Brazen-Sea, in the temple, with the images of oxen. He takes notice in another place,|| of the great commotion the Jews were in at Herod's placing an eagle of gold over the gate of the temple. Tacitus tells us, the Jews were inflexible in the point of statues; that they would suffer none in their towns; that neither out of con-

* Jos. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 4 † Jos. ibid. c. 7. ‡ Lib. de vita sua-
 † Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. || Antiq. l. 17. c. 8.

sideration for their own kings, nor respect for the Roman emperors, could they be induced to receive them.* Ori-gen† assures us, there was not in the whole nation any carvers, painters, or statuaries.

Although the Jewish Doctors are not agreed concerning the meaning of the law, which forbids the making the representations, or images of things ; and although some hold it lawful to represent Enigmatical or Hieroglyphical figures, which have no real existence in nature ; yet is it matter of fact, that the greatest part of them maintain the utter unlawfulness of making any image of what kind soever, even of the very stars, though done merely for ornament's sake ;‡ and Leo of Modena§ affirms, that the modern Jews have no such thing as an Image, or statue, neither will they suffer any in their houses, much less in their Synagogues : but however, this does not hinder them from making use of coined money, and even of images or figures made by others, and that not only upon account of trade, but likewise for ornament ; and most certainly in the time of our Saviour|| in Judea, they made use of the Roman money with the impressions of the Cæsars.

Hence may be inferred the reason why Simon did not continue to coin money as he had begun. The Asmonean princes, who succeeded his son Joannes Hircanus, were not so scrupulous ; they were represented on their money with some mark of the fertility of Ju lea on the other side. This practice continued among the Jews till the entire ruin of their state and nation by the arms of Vespasian.

We meet in Scripture with several sorts of money ; for example, the talent, the shekel, the bekah, or half shekel, the gerah or obolus. Some more unknown pieces, as the kesitah, and the adarkonim, or darkmonim ; the mina, the

* Tatit. l. v.

† Lib. iv. contra Celf.

‡ Selden. de jur. Gen. l. ii. c. 6. § Leo Mutin. p. 1. c. 2.

|| Mat. xxii. 17.

denarius, the stater, which were foreign coins. The opinions of those who have written of the value and weight of the Hebrew money, are so very different, that it is a hard matter to be determined in this particular. The shekels of Simon Maccabæus, are not all exactly of the same weight, as I am informed by those who have weighed several of them.

ON THE GENUINENESS

OF

ISAIAH'S PROPHECIES;

EXTRACTED FROM

JAHN'S

Einleitung ins Alte Testament.



ON THE GENUINENESS
OF
ISAIAH'S PROPHECIES,
&c.

DODERLEIN, KOPPE, EICHHORN, and many others have disputed the genuineness of many of the Prophecies of Isaiah : especially of those relating to the foreign nations, and those of the second part from the Fortieth to the Sixty-sixth and for the most part they refer them to the times of the Babylonish captivity. That they have, to say the least, carried this matter too far, after renewed investigation, is admitted even by ROSENMUELLER in *Jesaiæ Vaticin.* 1791-1793, PAULUS in his *Clavis ueber Jesaia* 1793.—and by BAUER in *Schultzii Scholia*, in V. T. vol. VIII, & XI. 1794, 1795. Upon the other side HENSLE in his *Iesaia neu uebersezt* 1788, PIPER in his *Integritas Iesaiæ*, 1793, BECKHAUS *ueber die Integritaet der Prophetischen Schriften* 1796, and I myself in the first edition of this Introduction have defended the old opinion. *Beckhaus* however, towards the end expresses himself doubtfully, and I have often wavered in my frequently repeated studying of this Prophet, but still I believe that all these prophecies really proceeded from Isaiah. I will first present the grounds of my opinion, and then examine the objections to it. I premise a remark of *Cicero* Tusculan. Quest. ii. 1. “ Quamquam non sumus ignari, multos studioso esse contra dicturos, quod vitare nullo modo potuimus, nisi nihil omnino scriberemus.”

I. The style in all these prophecies is very much the same. Every where the analysis of the subjects is of the same kind. The same figures, drawn from trees; the Cedar, the Fig, the Oak; from the pains of birth, from history, from the happy age of the church, respecting which, the very same figure is used, *the wolf and lamb lying down together*, c. lxv. 25, as in the xith chap. 6; every where the commencement of the prophecies is abrupt; every where hymns are intermingled with the discourse—as in chap. iii. 1, xii. 1, xiv. 4, xxiii. 16, xxv. 1, ix. xxvi. 1, xxvii. 12, so also xlii. 10, xlv. 23, lii. 9, lxi. 10, lxiii. 7. There is every where also similar instances of obscurity and perspicuity, even the same kind of repetitions and euphony. The same expressions are common to all these prophecies, even such as seldom elsewhere occur as קָדֵשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל c. i. 4; v. 19; x. 17, 21; so in xl. 3, 14, &c. &c. תְּהוֹ which elsewhere in the whole Bible only occurs nine times, is to be every where met with in Isaiah, c. xiv. 29; xxiv. 10; xxix. 21; xxxiv. 11; xl. 17, 23; lxiv. 9; xlv. 18; xlix. 4; lix. 4. צִאֲזָאִים occurs in Isaiah xxii. 24; xxxiv. 1; xlii. 5; xlv. 3; xlviii. 19; lxi. 9; xv. 32; which never occurs elsewhere except in Job xxxi. 8; v. 25; xxi. 8; xxvii. 14. יָרֹן c. xxxiii. 9; xxxv. 2, and lxv. 10, which is seldom to be met with. Thus also יְהוֹה אֱמַר in c. xl. 1; xli. 7, 21; lxvi. 9, occurs as in c. i. 11, 18; xxxiii. 10; yet in the other prophets, the phrase is almost always אֱמַר יְהוֹה. Further of the Sabbeans, it is said in xlv. 14, that they were men of stature אֲנִשֵׁי כִדָּה, and in xviii. 2, the epithet מִיָּשָׁר *stretcht out*, is applied to them; a people of whom *Agartharcides* in *Bochart's Phaleg and Chanaan*, L. II. c. xxvi. says τα σωματα εἰ των κατοικωντων αξιολογωτερα, and *Solinus* even writes, c. xxx, Aethiopes duodecim pedes longi.

II. The sublimity of the style, is throughout these prophecies, as much the same, as could be expected from an author, writing at different times, and consequently under the influence of different feelings as was the case also with David, in his various Psalms. And there is nothing in the style of Isaiah which savours at all of the Babylonish captivity. It may indeed be said, that the style depends not merely upon the time in which a book is written, but also upon the talents of the author. But it only follows from this, that there is a possibility, that so polished a work as Isaiah might have been written during the Babylonish captivity, which from the circumstances of the times is very improbable; and without any historical evidence or even national tradition cannot be admitted; especially since in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who were certainly not deficient in talents, we find an entirely different style.

III. The language also, is not Chaldaic, and its character throughout is not such as we find in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. A Prophet could, indeed, during the captivity form his style upon the genuine parts of Isaiah, and upon other writings; but this again is only a possibility, and that this was in any instance actually done, is contradicted by all the later productions of the Hebrews. Even in Zechariah, who may be adduced as an example, the language and style are of a different character.

IV. In every part also the arrangement and manner is very similar. As in Chapter vii, an historical account of Ahaz is united with a prophecy respecting the Assyrians, succeeded in viii.--vii, by prophecies respecting the Assyrians without any inscription; so in c. xxxix, there is an historical account of Hezekiah, with a prophecy about Babylon, c. xlvi 66, without any inscription. As in the first part many prophecies occur relating to Sennacherib, (which indeed Eichhorn in part denies to be Isaiah's, though he has now no follower in this opinion,) so in the second part

there are many concerning the fall of Babylon, and the return of the Hebrews from captivity. Thus in chapter viii, it is said that the Prophet would secure no hearing for his discourses and exhortations, and that he would effect nothing; accordingly in the second part c. xl, 15, 23; xliii, 8, iv, 5, 4, and especially c. xl, 4, lix, 6, we find him mourning that his exertions were in vain.

V. The tone of reprimand which pervades many of these later prophecies c. vii. 9, lix, 2; lxxv, 11—16, and C. 66, 1—6, does not suit the latter times of the captivity, as is obvious from a comparison with Haggai and Zechariah, who urge to the rebuilding of the Temple. Much less could a Prophet say, in the captivity, as Isaiah has done, xlvi, 4—8, that the destruction of Babylon had not been previously foretold, when it is plainly and fully predicted by Jeremiah, c. l—li. A prophet also in the captivity could not have spoken merely of the Egyptians and Assyrians, as the oppressors of the Hebrews and pass over the Chaldeans in entire silence.

VI. The denunciation of the want of Pastors or kings, Isaiah lvi, 11, 12, does not correspond to the state of things during the last years of the captivity, when the Hebrews had already been long destitute of them; it better suits the age of Manassah, and must have been delivered when the Hebrews still had kings of their own. Thus also Idolatry, the immolation of children, and the great corruption of morals are described in a manner only suited to the reign of Ahaz or Manassah, and as they certainly did not exist during the latter part of the captivity. On the other hand, from the times of the captivity we should expect some mention of Jeremiah, such as we find in Daniel c. ix, 2: and more decisive traces of the doctrines of the Magi or the religion of Zoroaster, than are afforded by the single allusion to light and darkness, and the two fundamental principles of Zoroaster, Isaiah xl, 7, which are certainly older than he.

VII. An important fact is, that Jeremiah had read those parts of Isaiah which are called in question, which, consequently, must have been long in existence. That they did not first come into the hands of Jeremiah, after the destruction of Jerusalem, appears from his prophecies concerning Babylon c. l. and li. which according to his own declaration were published seven years before the destruction of Jerusalem. The relation of this prophecy of Jeremiah c. l. xli. to the contested portion of Isaiah cannot be questioned, and it is really strange that it has not been previously remarked. I do not arrogate to myself any thing on this subject, as I candidly confess, that I have been led to notice this resemblance only by a fortunate accident. The suspicion that the author of the disputed portions of Isaiah, had on the contrary read and used the writings of Jeremiah, is entirely without foundation; for these portions evince their author to have been an original and independent author (such as Isaiah in other parts of his prophecies, who has not founded his style, language, and mode of exhibiting his subject upon writings of others whereas of Jeremiah it is universally admitted, that he, especially in his prophecies against other nations than the Jews, has used the prophecies of others. And in the present instance this must have been peculiarly the case, as his prophecy c. l. xli. is a regular commentary on Isaiah's prophecy concerning Babylon, and Jeremiah c. xliii. is a commentary upon Isaiah xv. 16. Compare also Jer. xliii. with Isaiah xlv. 9; xlv. 8, and Jeremiah xxiii. 1, 2, with Isaiah lvi. 11, 12. We find also in Zephaniah c. ii. 14, 15, an imitation of Isaiah xliii. 21, 22, and so also in Ezekiel xxxix, an imitation of Isaiah xxvii. 10, in Ezekiel c. xxvi. 20; xxxi. 14—17; xxxii. 18—23, of Isaiah xiv. 9—28; in Ezekiel xxvi. 13, of Isaiah xxv. 15; in Ezekiel xviii. 30, of Isaiah lxvi. 19, 24. Of the Prophet Habakkuk it has long been remarked, that he had something in com-

mon with Isaiah, I remark only the striking peculiarity of his representing c. i. 6, the Chaldeans as a people just rising and seeking a place of abode which did not belong to them, just as Isaiah has done c. xxiii. 13.

[The author here collects from the prophecies of Isaiah respecting Babylon, numerous expressions which he compares with the similar passages in c. l. and li. of Jeremiah. But as he himself remarks that the impression made by the comparison of detached passages, is by no means as strong as that which is produced by a comparison of the two Prophets, they are here omitted.]

VIII. Finally, CYRUS says in the document, Ezra i. 20, that Jehova the God of heaven had given to him all the kingdoms of the earth, and had commanded him to build the Temple at Jerusalem. These words, and the very striking circumstance, of his favour to the Jews, which is put beyond all doubt, by the giving up of the numerous and costly vessels of the Temple, and the direction respecting the expense of rebuilding it, are unaccountable upon any other supposition, than that the prophecies of Isaiah, as Josephus states, had been previously shewn to him, and that these prophecies were then universally esteemed genuine. Cyrus was not so easily imposed upon, that any person would dare to palm on him a work just written for one of genuine antiquity. And a follower of the Magi, who had built no Tempel to his own God *Ormuzd*, would not be very easily excited to build a magnificent Tempel to Jehova.

It may be objected, that Isaiah never expressly predicted the Babylonish captivity, and yet c. xiii. 14; xxi. and xl. 52, is so full and explicit, respecting the return from this captivity. But this may be easily accounted for, as the prophecies of Isaiah have not all been preserved. Isaiah it is probable said more of this captivity than what we now find in his writings, as *Micha* had already plainly

predicted the carrying away to Babylon and the final destruction of Jerusalem. There would be no contradiction, as *Justi* in his *Miscellaneous Discourses* 176, 1 Th. s. 323, imagines, if Isaiah who had previously in his prophecies against Sennacherib promised to the kingdom of Judah, perpetuity and happiness, should prophecy the destruction of that kingdom; since Jeremiah, not only predicted the captivity but the happy condition the Hebrews in after times were to enjoy. If then the prophecies of Isaiah respecting the captivity were lost, it would be nothing peculiar, as it is certain that some of his discourses have perished. There are however, not only in c. xxxix. but also in c. xv. 5, 9; c. vi. 11, 13; xi. 11, 16, something which evidently refers to the entire desolation of the land, to the captivity and the return from it. The passage in c. xxxix. cannot relate to the Assyrians, whose capital was Nineveh, but must relate to the Chaldeans, since it was only their kings, who dwelt at Babylon, where the posterity of Hezekiah were to be used as servants.

That Isaiah, if he prophesied of the Chaldeans, must also have predicted the destruction of the Assyrian Monarchy, as *Justi* s. 342, supposes, can only be true upon the supposition that the Prophets must set forth the future in historical or chronological order. It is not for us however to prescribe to God, how he shall foretell events; but that he has not unfolded the future in the order of history, is proved by the whole contents of the prophets; in all cases we have only perspective views. To give a very appropriate example, Zechariah predicted to the High Priest, a kingdom, without mentioning the destruction of the Persian kingdom and the division of the Grecian monarchy. Isaiah himself foretold to the Israelites their return from the Assyrian captivity, without saying any thing of the intervening revolutions by the Chaldeans, the Medes and the Persians. A History must in essential particulars

pursue the order of events, but in prophecy they are represented as they appear at a distance, when the more remote are often brought into view, whilst the intermediate are not hinted at. This *Justi* has not remarked; he has made therefore in his Treatise on Isaiah xl.lxvi, many foolish mistakes, which it is here unnecessary to quote. The destruction of the Assyrian kingdom was not so interesting an event for the Jews, as the destruction of the Chaldean monarchy which occasioned their release, and therefore Isaiah speaks only of the latter.

Although the contemporaries of Isaiah might not live to witness the events which he predicted, and consequently could not profit by his prophecies, this does not prove, that these discourses are of later origin, since the Prophets have foretold much which was first fulfilled in after ages, as Haggai c. ii. 1—9, the revolution by Alexander and the consequent splendour of the Temple, from the gifts of other nations; Zechariah, the progress of Alexander, the kingdom of the High Priest, and the times of Maccabees; Micha, the final destruction of Jerusalem, and Isaiah himself, the return from the Assyrian Captivity, the extension of divine knowledge, &c. If we regard the Prophets as mere statesmen and teachers of the people, we shall indeed not be able to conceive why they should speak of events so far distant; but they were evidently something far more than this, they were the messengers of God, the King of the Hebrews, to his servants and subjects; they were teachers for their own age and for posterity, they spoke and wrote not merely for their contemporaries but for future ages.—If they be not regarded in the light, in which, by virtue of the constitution of the Jewish State, and according to the drift of their own writings they ought to be viewed, there is no wonder, that men find difficulties where none really exist.

It may be said, that it is contrary to the analogy of the

prophecies that they should extend to times so distant, as those of Isaiah from the Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, Cyrus and the return of the Hebrews to their own land.—But this analogy is by no means uniform as has already been shown. It is here also very improperly taken for granted, that the Chaldees, Medes, and Persians, in the time of Isaiah were entirely unknown : for the Medes under their King Arbaces and the Babylonian Governor Belesys destroyed the first Assyrian monarchy, 826 B. C. 149 after the Separation, and 100 before Isaiah and Hezekiah. They fell indeed into a state of anarchy after this for 79 years, but they then chose Dejoces king, 728 B. C. 257 of Separation, and consequently in the 10th year of Hezekiah, who, during his good reign of 53 years, built the splendid Ecbatana. His son Phraortes, 665—643 B. C. 310—332 of the Separation ventured himself against the new Assyrian empire, and perished before Nineveh. Under his successor Cyaxeres I. Zoroaster found in Media a flourishing kingdom.—Elam was from the earliest antiquity a distinguished nation. In Isaiah it always occurs, under the ancient name Elam אֱלָם, whereas in Daniel vi. 38; 2Chron. xxxvi. 22, and Ezra i. 1, 2, iv. 5, it appears under the more modern designation Persia פֶּרְסִיָּה. This people are mentioned even among the hosts of the Assyrians in Isaiah c. xxii. 6, a prophecy which is unquestionably to be referred to Isaiah, as appears from v. 8—11, compared with 2 Chron. xxxii. 2—5. Assarhadon had already, Ezra iv. 9, 10, sent Elamites with other people into Samaria. At a later date Jeremiah numbered Elam among the mightier kingdoms which should be conquered by the Chaldeans, c. xxv. 25, &c. and their kingdom with other famous empires is represented as already in the other world by Ezekiel xxxii. 24. Nations do not of a sudden, nor in a short period become so famous, that all writers, even those belonging to a different part of the world must necessarily often make mention of them.

Long before they attract this general attention they act a conspicuous part among those immediately around them ; and it is only as their victorious arms gradually extends their conquests. that their fame is widely disseminated, although it does not follow that immediately previous they were entirely undistinguished. The Chaldeans, the Medes, Elamites or Persians were in this situation, and before the erection of their great kingdoms were neither so little famous nor so little known, as they are commonly represented. When therefore Isaiah prophesied of the destruction of a Chaldee-Babylonian kingdom by the Medes and Elamites, it no doubt appeared strange, but it was as intelligible to his cotemporaries as when Zechariah, c. ix. 13, prophesied of the Greeks in Syria at the time of the Maccabees and of the wars of the Jews against them. Isaiah also might name Cyrus or Koresch, for the name imports nothing more in itself than king. It is in Persian Khor, *the Sun*, and Schid *brightness* ; hence Khorshid *brightness of the Sun* It is further compounded with Pae or Pai *a dwelling*. Khorschidpae, *the dwelling of the Sun's brightness* ; and this was with the Persians the common name of their kings. This name might and doubtless was known to the educated Hebrews in consequence of mercantile intercourse ; and thus Isaiah may have used the term subjectively, as an appellative for that king who actually was Koresch or Cyrus, and objectively as the proper name by which he was called, as he did not hesitate to call him מְשִׁיחַ, *anointed*.









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