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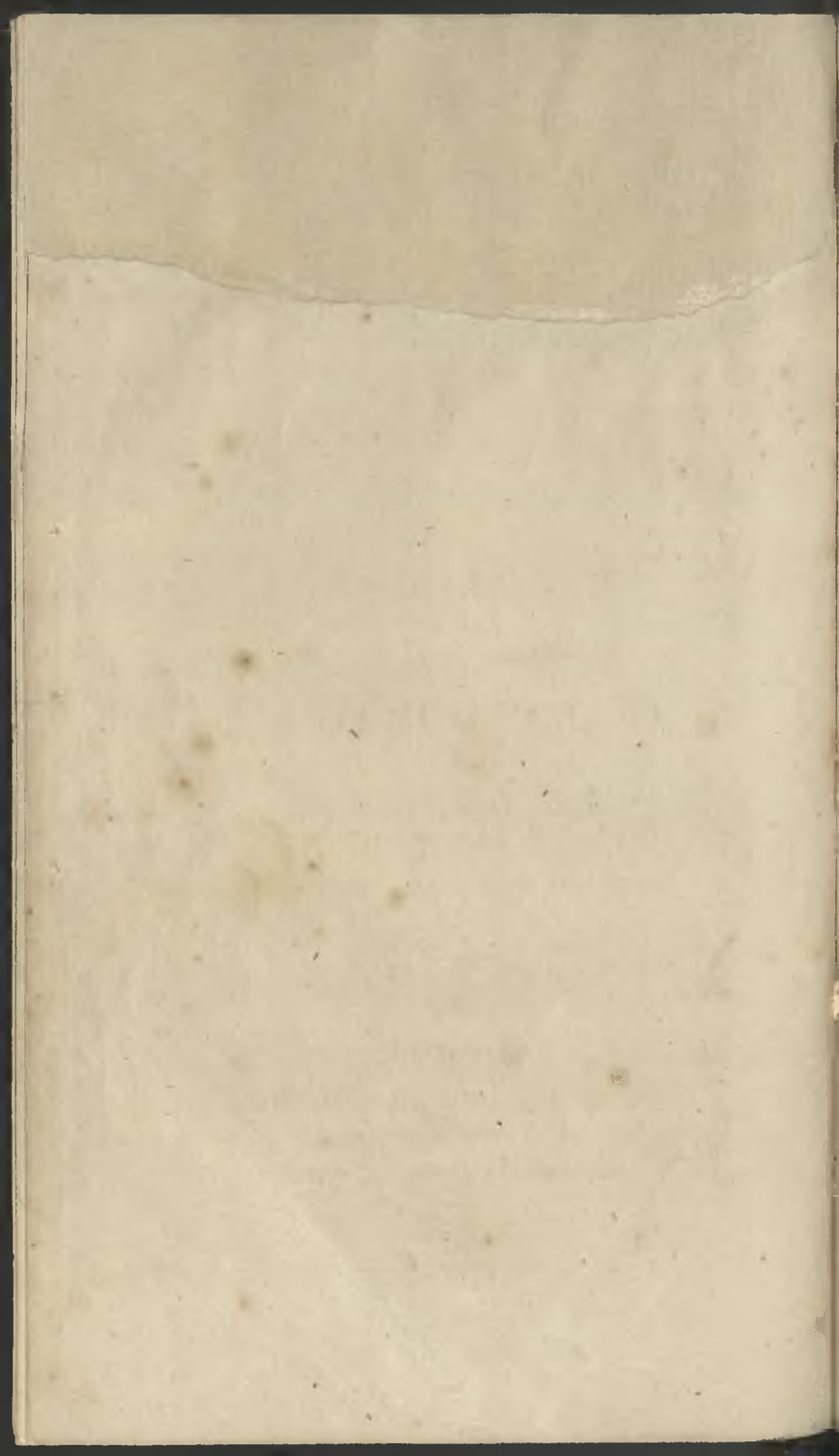
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**R E P L Y**  
**TO THE**  
**SECOND POSTSCRIPT**  
**IN THE**  
**SUPPLEMENT**  
**TO**  
**PALÆOROMAICA.**

**BY W. G. BROUGHTON, M.A.**  
**CURATE OF HARTLEY WESPALL, IN HAMPSHIRE.**

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

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**1825.**



REPLY

TO THE

SECOND EDITION

OF THE

SUPPLEMENT

TO

PALAEONTOLOGY

BY W. G. BRIDGES, M.A.

LONDON

PRINTED FOR C. AND J. HAYDON

25, FLEET STREET, LONDON.

1847

Printed by R. Gilbert, St. John's Square, London.

HAVING drawn up these observations at a distance from books, and under circumstances which prohibited my going elsewhere in search of them, I have been obliged to make most of my references at second hand. Many of them however have been previously verified, and in the rest I have no reason to suspect any inaccuracy ; but this is stated in order that, if any should be discovered, the error may be imputed to its true cause.

*November 29th, 1824.*





## R E P L Y,

&c.

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THE judgment of sober-minded critics on the merits of the present controversy, and on the part which I have taken in it, will not, I am persuaded, be greatly influenced by the feeble attempt at recrimination contained in that part of the *Supplement to Palæoromaica* which is termed, "A Second Postscript." (*Supp.* pp. 104—121.) But while the proposer of this strange hypothesis condescends to reply to scarcely any of the arguments by which its falsehood and futility are exposed, he clings, with all the pertinacity of a drowning man, to its shattered fragments, and seeks to involve me in the same troubled waters with himself. Were the inferences even true which the Author of the *Supplement* attempts to deduce from certain expressions in my former work, it is not evident in what manner, or in what degree, the cause of *Palæoromaica* would be assisted. Had I been betrayed into admissions

which the adversaries of religion might convert to the advantage of their cause, this might reflect upon my judgment, but could not in any degree shake those direct and independent arguments by which the originality of the present Greek Text of the New Testament was defended. In my remarks upon this part of the *Supplement*, I shall endeavour to use that brevity which is consistent with my persuasion that, even to those who regard the general question with interest, nothing can be of less importance than my defence of myself against imputations merely personal.

The sum of those imputations, then, as the margin will shew, is this. I am accused of having given an unfavourable picture of the Hebrew language, and of having spoken of its defects as adapting it to the purposes of Providence<sup>a</sup>; of having described the Jews as willing to be deceived in questions relating to their Sacred Books<sup>b</sup>; and of representing the Apostles as oc-

<sup>a</sup> " This is a pretty picture of the Hebrew language. And what can be more dangerous than to assert that its want of precision *adapted it* to the purposes of Providence in making a revelation to his creatures?" (*Supp.* p. 106.)

<sup>b</sup> " From the Hebrew let us now pass to the Septuagint. ' The truth appears to be (says Mr. B. p. 141.) that the Philadelphian translators executed their task with sufficient correctness which Aristeas magnified into an undeviating conformity with the original; and his statements, being adopted without examination by Philo, contributed to propagate the persuasion among the succeeding Jews, *who in questions of this nature were*

asionally employing a Greek word in a signification which no native Greek would have recognized°.

With respect to the first question, that concerning the genius of the Hebrew language, it is one upon which I write with unfeigned diffidence, from a consciousness of my imperfect attainments in this branch of learning. It is unnecessary, however, to enter deeply into a consideration of the defects of the Hebrew, because it does not appear that the justice of the charge is denied by my opponent; only he maintains that “nothing can be more dangerous than to assert that its want of precision adapted the language of the Jews to the purposes of Providence in making a revelation to his creatures.” The *defects* of the Hebrew were certainly described as adapting it to the purposes of Providence; and *among* those defects *want of precision* was no less certainly reckoned. But the only purposes of Providence which I had in view, and which the nature of the Hebrew language was

*sufficiently willing to be deceived:* that is in questions relative to their Sacred Books.” (*Supp. ib.*)

° “This author is indignant at the author of *Palæorom.* for conjecturing that (St.) Mark addressed the Romans in their own language (that of the Capital of the world), and supposes that he wrote in a *patois* unintelligible to the Greeks themselves, and to well-instructed Jews, and which could only be understood by the lower orders among the Evangelist’s own countrymen.” (P. 107.)



represented as forwarding, were its purposes of deterring other nations from an intercourse with the Jews, and of preserving the latter as a distinct and peculiar people until the fulness of time should come. If nothing then could so effectually preserve the separation of institutions between Jew and Gentile, as the want of a common language; and if such a separation of languages were mainly kept up by the Hebrew being in its construction such as to deter other nations from cultivating an acquaintance with it, then I conceive the *defects* of the Hebrew, and among the rest its want of precision, *did* adapt that language to the purposes of Providence, “so long,” I repeat, “as it was designed to confine the light of revelation to the narrow limits of a single territory.” (*Exam. of Palæor.* p. 15). If indeed I had affirmed, and this is the invidious turn which is sought to be given to my words, that the want of precision in the Hebrew was such that every writing in that language must necessarily be ambiguous, then indeed I might have been justly charged with maintaining dangerous opinions. But no one who has read what I have really written, can suspect me of holding such an opinion, nor will my expressions admit of that construction. There is evidently a very wide difference between the assertion, that a language has such defects as to discourage foreign nations from acquiring it, and the assertion that it is so

defective as to be unqualified for conveying a certain and definite meaning. The first of these propositions, which I maintained, is proved to be true, with respect to the Hebrew language, by the fact, that it never extended itself except within a very confined district; and was never understood or spoken, except by the Jews themselves, in any nation to the westward of Palestine. The second proposition, which I did not maintain, could be advanced by no one who knows how various are the independent translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, and how nearly identical is their representation of the sense of the original. Let me add one remark respecting the assertion, which has given so much offence, that the *defects* of the language adapted it to fulfil the purposes of Providence. The general and ordinary course of Providence, acting by secondary causes, is to bring to pass its own all-perfect designs by the intervention of imperfect agents. If even the vices of men are made to fulfil the purposes of God, the defects of a language may justifiably and innocently be spoken of as conducing to the same end<sup>d</sup>. With an

<sup>d</sup> The pride of the Jews and their contemptuous opinion of all other nations, which must be reckoned among the vices of their character, prevented them from studying foreign languages until the later periods of their history. Thus the faults of the people, which kept them at a distance from others, and the faults of their language, which kept others at a distance from

especial view to the completion of his own designs, God gave to his chosen people "statutes which were not good<sup>e</sup>;" and made with them a "first covenant," which an inspired Apostle declares to have been "not faultless<sup>f</sup>." And if the final cause of this were His design of fulfilling through their means a special purpose of his own, I cannot see why His wisdom may not, with the same intention, have suffered them to employ a language, the character of which was in unison with that of their institutions.

As to the second charge, respecting the readiness of the Jews to be deceived upon the particular point which I had in view, it is impossible to disguise my persuasion, that the insinuation conveyed in the explanation affixed to my words is a wilful misrepresentation of their meaning. In how liberal a spirit, and with what honourable views, such a mode of controversy was resorted to, I leave others to determine; and shall confine myself to observing, that I have neither made, nor purposed making, any assertion like that which is imputed to me. The words "*In questions of this nature,*" do not and cannot mean, "*in questions relating to their Sacred Books,*" (*Exam. of Pal.* p. 141. *Supp.* p. 106.), but, *in questions which concerned, or were thought by the Jews to concern, their national credit.*

them, combined to preserve them a separate people so long as such a distinction was necessary.

<sup>e</sup> Ezek. xx. 25.

<sup>f</sup> Heb. viii. 7.



Their pride induced them readily to acquiesce in the representation which was given them of the undeviating accuracy of the Septuagint, and which few among them were capable of examining for themselves. Their Sacred Books, in the original dialect, were in the custody of their appointed guardians, the Priests and Doctors of the Law. Their claim to the title of Sacred was at all times determinable upon its own proper evidence; and could neither be advanced nor annulled by the fidelity or inaccuracy of the Septuagint or of any other translation. Still the Jews appear to have thought, that, since they could no longer generally read the Hebrew, their reputation, as a people, was interested in shewing that they possessed an unexceptionable representation of it in Greek. Upon this ground they were too willing to believe what they desired to be true, and to acknowledge in the Septuagint a scrupulous fidelity which is now found not to exist; and which, I believe, never did exist, even in the Pentateuch, to the extent which Philo and other Jewish writers have reported. The true enquiry here, however, is not concerning the *merit* but the *age* of the Septuagint. Be its character what it may, still if that version existed in the age of the Apostles, we are at once supplied with the source from which the greater part of the peculiarities of their style must have been derived. It will then be convincingly shewn

that a style similar to theirs had been already employed in the service of religion, which it is therefore most natural that the writers of the New Testament, Jews by birth, should have adopted and continued. If the author of *Palæoromaica* could have examined this part of the question with a mind unbiassed by any previously imagined system, and had had the courage to follow, to their natural limits, the conclusion to which such an examination must have led, he would have wanted no farther persuasion to abandon, in despair, an hypothesis pressed by such insurmountable objections\*.

In my observations on the style of St. Mark I have affirmed, and am still of opinion, that this Evangelist has used *one* word (κεφαλαιω) in a sense which no native Greek would recognize, and which probably deviated from the usage of the better instructed ranks of his own countrymen, (*Exam. of Pal.* p. 84) and that perhaps many other such words had crept into ordinary use. My entire discourse, be it observed, was concern-

\* The writer of the *Supplement* has sometimes taken upon him to reply to my objections, without having given himself the trouble to ascertain in what they consisted. Usher does not say, nor do I quote him as saying, that *the best executed part* of the Septuagint was "done by some Jew," (*Supp.* p. 106) but that *the whole version*, executed in the reign of Philometor, was the work of that individual; and that this is the Greek version which we now possess. Neither of which opinions, it has been shewn, can be considered as well founded.

ing *single words* interspersed throughout the language of St. Mark. Now this is something very different from accusing him of "writing in a *patois*, unintelligible to the Greeks and to well instructed Jews." If it were my wish to take shelter under *authority*, I might refer to one which in *Palæoromaica* is generally held in high esteem; that of Markland. He observes that St. Luke has used a word (*αφύπνω*) in a sense *contrary* to its real signification in pure Greek; and this, with *many* other instances of the same nature, he suggests, may be "provincial and Antiochisms." (*Supp. to Pal.* p. 69.) His solution is, in effect, the same with that which I had proposed in the case of St. Mark; not knowing, at that time, that such an opinion had been advanced by this generally able critic. I prefer however a direct vindication of my sentiments to any defence of them which rests solely upon precedent. The author of the *Supplement*, in his observations on the respectable reviewer of his work in the *British Critic* and on myself, appears to think that we are under a continual apprehension lest too much of the truth should escape; and that certain facts are to be concealed, lest infidelity should profit by the disclosure of them. For my own part, I have no such feeling; but am persuaded that whatever can be said *with truth* concerning the deficiencies of the Apostles, as writers of Greek, may be said with safety, nay with advantage to their cause.



If it be no offence against Christianity, but rather one of its strongest recommendations, that its original preachers were poor and illiterate men, what just exception can be taken to the statement that, as far as purity of style was concerned, they wrote as poor and illiterate men must be expected to write? In the words of Salmasius already quoted (*Exam. of Pal.* p. 69) “*quales ipsi fuere tale et loquendi genus habuerunt.*” The objector urges that, according to my principles, we must admit that the Apostles neglected “propriety of words and perspicuity,” which, he contends, “are of the highest consequence to a teacher.” (*Supp.* p. 107.) I would undervalue neither; but the former at least may be bought too dear. If that propriety of expression, which education and good society alone confer, could have been introduced into the Apostolic style only by the Apostles themselves having been chosen from the well educated class of society, and if they could not have been thus chosen without detracting in some degree from the evidences of the religion which they preached, (inasmuch as it would have less manifestly appeared that the power was of God) then the wisdom of God is displayed in the choice which he *has* made. It is better that occasional improprieties of expression should escape them, as *writers*, than that, as Evangelists and teachers, they should be less effective in proportion as they were better instructed in human learning. This with

respect to *propriety* of expression. Concerning the other term, *perspicuity*, let me observe that the defects of style noticed in the New Testament are not of such a nature as materially to detract from it. The writers of that Sacred Volume employ occasionally impure and uncommon forms of speech, which, *separated from the context*, would not have been understood by the Greeks themselves ; but the greater part of the composition is Greek ; plain though not elegant Greek ; and there is a straight-forward simplicity of purpose and statement in all which the Apostles advance, contributing to bestow upon their writings a more essential perspicuity than could have been attained by a fastidious delicacy of expression, or a minute attention to mere verbal accuracy. Their writings possess moreover one property, which is very remarkable, and which, whatever verbal defects we puny critics may find in them, is beyond all others adapted to effect their purpose of sending forth “ their sound into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world<sup>h</sup>.” I mean *their uncommon aptitude for translation*. I call it *uncommon*, because it appears to me that no book was ever written which bore translation so well, or in every version of which so much of the spirit and force of the original could be preserved. As far as my knowledge extends,

<sup>h</sup> Rom. x. 18.

the New Testament, in every language, retains its native character in a degree which leaves those who know only their mother tongue, but little reason to regret their unacquaintance with the original. The same can be said of no other book. This then is a more beneficial, and, under the given circumstances, a more beautiful property than any other with which it could have been endowed; and, if the Evangelists have not expressed themselves in the style of Thucydides or Philo, it may be because, although their writings would then have been more delightful to the Greeks, they would have been less extensively useful to mankind at large.

These preliminary considerations being thus disposed of, we come to the immediate question raised in *Palæoromaica*, whether these writings, which so readily admit of translation into the various languages of the world, are themselves any thing more than translations or retranslations from originals, which have perished. I begin with the Greek Gospel which bears the name of St. Matthew, both because it stands first in order, and because this is the only book in the New Testament, concerning which there is any weight of evidence to countenance the belief that it was not originally written in Greek. Upon a question which has excited so much diversity of opinion, among men of such equal learning that it is impossible to say on which side the most respect-



able names appear, it becomes no one peremptorily to decide. Instead therefore of imitating the confident air with which the author of *Palæoromaica* cuts short all discussion, and at once pronounces for the existence of a Hebrew original, I shall rather examine the state of the evidence, and endeavour to shew that the question is not so certainly decided in his favour as he appears to imagine. In testimony that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, we have the declaration of Papias; (A. D. 118) in which opinion all the succeeding Fathers, who touch upon the subject, unanimously coincide. I am not disposed lightly to set aside a tradition supported by such evidence; but, in opposition to the argument derived from it, several things may be alleged. *First*, the evidence is scarcely to be regarded as the independent testimony of so many witnesses; because the expressions employed by ecclesiastical writers, in delivering this tradition, are so similar to, or even identical with, those which Papias employs, that it may well be doubted whether any of them had any separate source of information, or whether they did more than repeat what they found recorded in that writer's *Explications of the Oracles of our Lord*. *Secondly*, the unanimous consent of the Fathers does not afford indisputable evidence of the truth of the asserted fact; because, as Dr. Whitby justly observes, there have been "other things received from tradition, and

asserted by more testimonies of ancient Fathers than are avouched to prove that the Gospel according to St. Matthew was first written in Hebrew<sup>1</sup>. Yet many of these assertions were nevertheless not true; as that concerning the cells in which the *Seventy* were placed while they translated the Old Testament into Greek, and others which he mentions in the same passage. *Thirdly*, my chief reason for doubting the truth of the tradition is that it cannot well be reconciled with that state of things which, from Ecclesiastical History, we know to have existed, and which we will here briefly investigate.

It is certain that among the sects into which the Jewish converts to Christianity were divided, there were two which became the subjects of particular notice; the members of which were termed Ebionites and Nazarenes. The Ebionites are spoken of by *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius* as existing in their days under that denomination; the Nazarenes were still settled, in the age of *Jerom*, in Decapolis, Berœa, and other neighbouring towns. That a Gospel, written in Hebrew, or one of its dialects, had been from the earliest ages in use among the members of both these sects, is a fact so well authenticated as not to admit of dispute; whether or no the Nazarenes and Ebionites used the same Gospel, or whether, if there were two,

<sup>1</sup> (Prefat. Disc. to the Four Gosp. § 7. 2.)

either of them had any pretension to be considered as the original of St. Matthew, are points so controverted, and at the same time so important, as to require farther examination. Among the early writers there is the widest possible disagreement upon the question, whether or no the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes employed, or that called the Gospel of St. Matthew, to which the Ebionites adhered, were different compositions, or only the same under different names. *Irenæus* expressly affirms, twice over, that “the Ebionites used that Gospel *only* which is according to Matthew<sup>k</sup>,” while *Eusebius* declares that they use *only* that which is according to the Hebrews<sup>l</sup>. *Epiphanius* appears to reconcile these two accounts by informing us that the Gospel according to St. Matthew was in fact the same to which they gave the name of the Gospel according to the Hebrews<sup>m</sup>; in which *Theodoret* agrees<sup>n</sup>. *Jerom* also speaks of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and according to the Hebrews, as of one and the same work in use among the Nazarenes, who gave him an opportunity of transcribing it<sup>o</sup>. From these statements it would evidently appear that there was only one composition in use among the members of these two sects, although it had two different

<sup>k</sup> L. 3. c. 11. & L. 1. c. 26.

<sup>l</sup> H. E. 1. 3. c. 27.

<sup>m</sup> *Hæres.* 30. § 3.

<sup>n</sup> *Hæret. Fab.* 1. 2. c. 1.

<sup>o</sup> *Cat.* vv. *Matthæus* et *Jacobus.* *Adv. Pelag.* 1. 3.



names assigned to it. But, on the other hand, it is remarked by Mill<sup>p</sup>, that the fragments of these Gospels, preserved by the Fathers, differ so entirely as to prove to demonstration that there must have been two separate and discordant writings. It is not easy to reconcile these contradictory statements. It must however be observed that, although the disagreements to which Mill refers, prove that there was a time when the Gospels used by the Ebionites and Nazarenes were essentially different, they do not prove that there was not also a time when they were the same. If we suppose that the members of these sects brought with them from Jerusalem the same Hebrew document, but that additions and omissions were continually made by both, either to favour their own particular views, or in compliance with tradition, or to produce a greater conformity with the other Gospels, then it is possible that before the age of *Epiphanius* so great a variation may have been produced, that the books could no longer be recognized for the same. In this manner only, it appears, can the conflicting testimony of our witnesses, now confounding and now distinguishing between the writings, be brought to any agreement. The question then is whether, supposing only one Gospel to have originally existed in Hebrew, that were the work of St. Matthew ;

<sup>p</sup> *Prolegom.* p. 32.

or whether either of the two which we know the Ebionites and Nazarenes afterwards possessed, had any just claim to be so considered. To begin with the latter, the Gospel according to the Hebrews appears to be given up on all hands, at least in modern times. From the quotations preserved by *Jerom* it is evidently shewn that many passages which are found in the Greek were not contained in it, while many histories and sentiments were inserted, which from the earliest ages have been condemned as apocryphal. *Origen*, we learn from *Jerom*, while he spoke only traditionally of St. Matthew's writing in Hebrew, used the Gospel according to the Hebrews; yet, so far is he from considering it as the production of an Evangelist, that he speaks of it as being of no value or authority whatever<sup>a</sup>. The Hebrew Gospel employed by the Ebionites, and called by them the original Gospel of St. Matthew, appears to have been of a somewhat better character; that is to have approached nearer to an agreement with the Greek. But upon this point we possess very slight evidence, as it does not appear that this Gospel was ever seen by any Christian writer, except by *Epiphanius* in the fourth century; who, it is moreover to be observed, considers it the same with the Gospel according to the Hebrews. As far as it is now possible to form an

<sup>a</sup> *Orig. Tom. 1. Com. in Mat. Hom. 8. in Mat. Ed. Lat.*

opinion, there were many marks of correspondency between this Hebrew Gospel of the Ebionites and the Canonical Greek Gospel of St. Matthew; but there was, on the other hand, a continual intermixture of particulars contradictory to it, or in themselves ridiculous. This is admitted by Mill, who is one of its warmest advocates; he allows that it was not in a pure state, but interpolated by the Ebionites throughout<sup>r</sup>. But the existence of these *corrupted* copies, it may be said, implies the existence of an uncorrupted original, and may not that have been the production of St. Matthew? That there was a Hebrew Gospel originally in possession of the Jewish Christians, differing from both those writings, to which the Fathers allude, is very possible, but that it was, or could be, the work of an Apostle, is difficult to be conceived. If such an authoritative Hebrew writing ever existed, let us reflect in whose custody it must have been placed. In that of the church at Jerusalem. By whom then, or at what period, could it be suffered to perish? The Christians, who fled from Jerusalem a short time before its final destruction, must be supposed to have carried with them the genuine Hebrew which, it is assumed, was written by St. Matthew for their peculiar use not thirty years before. In answer to our enquiries, what became of this pro-

<sup>r</sup> *Prolegom.* p. 31.



duction, the only satisfaction we receive is the assertion that the Ebionites corrupted it. True ; the Ebionites, a *sect* of Jewish Christians, might corrupt *some* copies, namely, those which they themselves employed ; and the Nazarenes, another *sect*, might corrupt *other* copies, and probably to a greater extent. But what was the fate, then, of *the rest*? I will ask, not whether the Hebrew Christians were all Nazarenes or all Ebionites, which would be as reasonable as to enquire whether the early Christians in general were all Gnostics or all Marcionites, but were the first Jewish converts *all* corruptors? were they *all* interpolators? did they *all* acquiesce in the depravation of that pure Apostolical record which had been drawn up for their peculiar service, and which, if any such there were, they *must* have brought with them in their flight from Jerusalem? It is very evident that men, scattered over three quarters of the world, as these Jewish believers were, even though they had the will, could not have the opportunity to concur in so extensive and universal a depravation ; nor, on the other hand, if such a scheme could possibly have been proposed to all, is it conceivable that some from principle, and others even through perverseness, should not have decided on adhering to the unadulterated record. The genuine Gospel would thus have been preserved, as long at least as there existed a community speaking the language

in which it was written ; that is, as we have seen, until the age of *Jerom*. It is usual, I know, to account for the disappearance of St. Matthew's Gospel by saying, with Mr. Walpole\*, that a *Hebrew* history " was deemed perfectly unnecessary." But, though this might be satisfactory if *no* Hebrew Gospel had been preserved beyond the first century, it is not so under the stated circumstances ; because the Gospels of the Ebionites and the Nazarenes, both in Hebrew, and both so long in use, prove that there was an entire community to which a Hebrew Gospel was necessary ; and to the orthodox members of which, for they could not all be heretics, the original production of St. Matthew would have been an invaluable treasure. If they, or their predecessors, ever had such a production, how came they not to preserve it ; or what made them so much more careless respecting an inspired writing than the heretics were of their interpolated and mutilated copies ?

These remarks I propose not from any disrespect to the testimony of Papias, nor from any desire to get rid of it ; but when the question is, whether it is more probable that he was deceived, or that an entire community acted in a manner irreconcilable with the ordinary principles of human conduct, I cannot hesitate where to bestow

\* *Herculanens.* p. 88. *Palæor.* p. 10.

my assent. But the difficulty is said to be in conceiving how Papias could be deceived into a belief that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, if the assertion that he did so were utterly groundless. It may be replied, that there certainly did exist, among the Hebrew Christians, a Gospel in their own language, which *they called* the Gospel of St. Matthew. How then could it acquire that title, unless it were really written by that Evangelist? In the same manner, unquestionably, as other writings are known to have acquired the names of other Apostles who yet were not the authors of them. Thus *Tertullian* says the Gospel of St. Mark is called the Gospel of St. Peter, because it was collected from his preaching; and the Gospel of St. Luke, he adds, was attributed to St. Paul; evidently from a similar cause. Thus these very Ebionites published other books under the names of St. Matthew and other Apostles<sup>t</sup>; and the Hebrew Gospel which they used was sometimes called *the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*<sup>u</sup>; the only reason for which could be, that it was made up of particulars collected, or said to be collected, from the preaching of the Twelve. In accounting therefore for the name of St. Matthew being generally affixed to the Gospel now under review, we may suppose it to have been originally collected from his discourses, by some of his hearers desiring to

<sup>t</sup> Mill. *Proleg.* p. 32. Epiphan. *Hær.* 30. § 23.

<sup>u</sup> Mill. *Proleg.* p. 5. Orig. *Hom.* 8. in Luc.



preserve a permanent record for their own information and guidance. Additional particulars would probably be inserted upon the authority of other Apostles; and, when the Greek of St. Matthew came abroad, the collection in Hebrew might be enlarged and corrected from it. This would still increase its title to bear his name in preference to any other; and several reasons may be given why such augmentations would be translated from the Greek of St. Matthew rather than from either St. Mark or St. Luke: as, that his Gospel was the first published; that it made its first appearance in Judea, which neither of the others did; and, as the Greek text shews, was the best suited to the taste and comprehension of converts from Judaism.

To those able critics who have expressed their assent to the opinion of Papias, I would with the greatest deference submit whether they have sufficiently considered what explanation can be given of the very extraordinary fact that, while the supposed authoritative writing of St. Matthew cannot be traced beyond the first century, the corrupted Gospels which were used by the Ebionites and Nazarenes should have survived till the age of *Epiphanius* and *Jerom*. It cannot be maintained that the former perished in consequence of there being no persons interested in preserving it; because, as I have observed, it evidently appears that there was an entire community, by some of

whom, if it had ever existed, an inspired original in their own language must have been preserved. Upon the whole, therefore, the easiest and most reasonable solution of the difficulties attending this question appears to be found in the supposition that St. Matthew wrote no Gospel in Hebrew, but that the production of some unauthorized persons might, from the causes which I have described, have the name of that Evangelist affixed to it; and being thus in general estimation reputed to be his, may have given rise to the tradition delivered by Papias. It cannot with any justice be said that these causes are imaginary and invented solely for the purpose of explanation; because such causes are known, in other cases, to have been in actual operation, and to have produced effects precisely similar to that which is here attributed to them.

That which induced the succeeding Fathers more readily to adopt the statement, that the first published Gospel was written in the language of the Jews, and for their peculiar use, may have been an opinion entertained by them, as it has been by many modern divines, that such a course is conformable with the distinction with which we know them to have been favoured, of having the Gospel preached to them exclusively by our Saviour, and before all other nations by his Apostles. To this it may be replied, that, as to the generation contemporary with our Lord,

they enjoyed, as is here asserted, the advantage of the personal ministry of Christ and his Apostles, and were, or might have been, witnesses of his astonishing miracles. If then they believed not these things when transacted before their eyes, in their very streets, it was not likely that they would be persuaded by a written description conveyed to them in their own, or in any other language. The continued residence of the Apostles in Judea, after the Ascension of their Divine Master, and their personal exertions among their countrymen, lead rather to the inference that, as the unbelieving Jews had no claim to expect such an indulgence, the converts to Christianity from among them stood in little need of a Gospel in Hebrew. An observation of Dr. Lardner, though made without any view to this question, is deserving of notice. "Written histories of Jesus" he says "could be little wanted by the Jewish believers in Judea, whilst all the Apostles were still in that country, and there were still living among them many sincere followers of Jesus, and eye-witnesses of his person and ministry<sup>x</sup>." When such histories were at

<sup>x</sup> Lardner *Hist. of the Apostles*. Ch. vi. § 8. Watson's *Theol. Tr.* Vol. II. p. 57. Clemens Alexandrinus relates, that the command given to the Apostles was *Μετα δωδεκα ετη εξελθετε εις κοσμον, μη τις επιγ, Ουκ ηκωσαμεν*. *Strom.* L. 6. vid. Euseb. *H. E. L.* v. c. 18. It is very manifest from *Galat.* ii. 1—9. that, "Fourteen years after his conversion, when St. Paul, with Barnabas and



length published, it does not appear that there was among the Jews any such prevailing unacquaintance with Greek as to prevent the contents of a Gospel, in that tongue, from becoming competently known; especially while the events recorded in it were recent, and subjects of general remark and recollection. In the last place, as to any Gospel for the peculiar use of the Jewish Christians, or of their descendants, the purpose of Divine Providence appears manifestly to have been to put an end to all distinctions of this kind. In Christ Jesus there was to be neither Jew nor Greek; but the middle wall of partition was to be broken down between them,—“to make of twain one new man; so making peace.” As far, therefore, as antecedent probability may be relied on in such a case, (though I never adopt this line of reasoning without trembling to think how soon we may be carried beyond our depth) but, as far as, in all humility, we may venture on such observations, it seems to me that we have stronger reasons for thinking that God would not direct one Gospel to the Jews and another to the Gentiles, even though the difference extended to language alone; inasmuch as this would have

Titus, went up to Jerusalem, he *then* found James, Peter, and John, still abiding and declaring their intention to persevere in preaching to the circumcision,” Note from *Lampe* in *Lardner*.  
ub. sup.

<sup>7</sup> *Ephes.* ii. 14, 15.

tended to keep up a distinction which was rather with all speed to be for ever abolished.

They then who admit the justice of these observations, will hardly be convinced, by the assertion of Papias, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew; but even they who think, with the author of *Palæoromaica*, that he did, need not, on that account, dispute that he wrote also in Greek, and that the existing Gospel is his production. He may have translated his own work. "Perhaps he did" observes the author of the *Supplement* (p. 109.) "and into *Latin*, for the use of his old employers." These flippant remarks are easily made, but they are as easily answered. St. Matthew was certainly employed by the Romans; but this does not render it probable that, even if he did translate his Gospel, he would translate it into their language. Josephus was not the servant only, but the very humble servant of the same people; yet, as has been more than once remarked in the course of this controversy, with all his desire to flatter the prejudices of the Romans, and to court their favour, he translated his Chaldaic history, especially destined for Roman information, not into Latin but into Greek.

The next enquiry is whether the Gospel by St. Mark were originally written in Greek or in Latin. That Latin was the language employed by this Evangelist, is an opinion which rests chiefly on an inference drawn from his having written at

Rome, and for the use, primarily, of the inhabitants of that city. "Can we suppose," says Baronius (*Palæor.* p. 67.) "that it would be written in any other than the language of the place?" and, adopting the same argument, the author of *Palæoromaica* urges, that "the same natural probability which led to the inference, that a Gospel or Epistle, addressed to the Hebrews, would be written in *Hebrew*, seems (on a review of the facts and arguments in our first Disquisition) to lead us to infer, that a Gospel or Epistle, delivered to Romans, would be written in *Latin*" (*Palæor.* p. 65.) These natural probabilities are dangerous things to be meddled with by the unskilful. To those who have made no very profound enquiry into the constitution of the universe, it seems self-evident that the sun revolves, and that the full moon is a plane surface; just as to one, who, like Baronius, "knows but little Greek," it may appear an incontrovertible truth, that a Gospel for Roman use must have been written in Latin. The only cure for both errors is a more perfect acquaintance with the subject. Now how stands the case with regard to the employment of the Greek language by profane authors, inhabitants of Rome, and publishing their works in that city? From the age of Polybius (B. C. 140,) to the removal of the seat of empire from Italy, we meet with a constant succession of philosophers, historians, and poets, treating upon every subject



which could interest the curiosity of Romans, often indeed writing avowedly for their especial information, and the greater number of them inhabiting the city of Rome itself, yet employing the Greek language in their works, instead of that which, under such circumstances, it is argued St. Mark must naturally have adopted. The greater number of these authors were foreigners, like the Evangelist; and most of them, probably, were, with Plutarch, imperfectly acquainted with Latin; and it may be said that, unless they had written in Greek, they could not have written at all. This is certainly true; but the question is whether it can reasonably be supposed that they *would* have written at all, unless they had been perfectly sure that their employment of the Greek language would be no bar to the perusal of their works by the Romans; in the midst of whom, and for whose use and information, they were written and published.

Yet, it is argued, “ what should we think of a Frenchman, who should write to the people of Liverpool and Birmingham, an Epistle in German for their general edification?” (*Palæor.* p. 181.) We should think it strange, *because* it would be *singular*. But suppose it were not so; suppose that there were now, and had been for the last hundred years, *many* Frenchmen in the habit of doing the same thing; that is, of composing books and writing letters in German for

the people of those towns. Then, the *singularity* being done away, this act of the foreigner would excite no greater surprize than it need do to find that St. Mark wrote Greek to the Romans. The only question then is, how far such a course would tend to "general edification;" and in the supposed case of Liverpool and Birmingham, this would be very little consulted, because not one among ten thousand, probably, of the inhabitants of those towns is acquainted with German. But in respect to Rome, without recurring to the dispute, how widely Greek was understood there in the Apostolic age, one thing is very clear, that *the greater number* of those who read at all read *Greek*<sup>2</sup>. The ability of people of education in general to do this is evidently implied in Plutarch's description of his own situation and employment when at Rome. "I had not leisure," he says, "to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to be instructed by me in philosophy<sup>3</sup>." As the master,

<sup>2</sup> It may be thought worthy of remark, that the opinion of Dr. Bentley, with respect to the prevalence of the Greek language in Rome, was decidedly the reverse of that which is maintained in Palæoromaica. "Neque enim eximia quædam Mæcenatis laus erat Græcæ Latinæ que scire, cum Romæ ea tempèstate quivis Senatoris Equitis ve filius imo et de plebe innumeri, libertini etiam servi, Græce loquerentur." In Hor. Carm. iii. 8, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Vit. Demos. Proëm.*

by his own confession, knew no Latin, there was but little prospect of his numerous pupils being greatly benefited by his instructions, unless they were acquainted with Greek. That the higher classes of Romans usually understood that language, is admitted indeed by the author of *Palæoromaica*; together with the very important fact that they were *the only readers* in that age<sup>a</sup>. If this be true, and I believe that it is pretty nearly so, then, as far as his purpose of spreading immediate information was concerned, the object of St. Mark would be as effectually answered by the course which he pursued of writing in Greek, as it would have been by the publication of a Latin Gospel<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> "The only readers of those days were people of rank and learning, by whom Greek was usually learned." *Palæor.* p. 23. Plutarch, arguing against the reasonableness of the apprehension felt by Cato, that an addiction to the study of Greek would enervate the Roman character, observes that "Rome was most perfect in Grecian learning when she was at the highest point of political greatness:" (*Vit. Caton.*) that is about the time at which St. Mark wrote.

<sup>b</sup> I might use even a stronger expression, and say that Roman readers in that age were *more* likely to be attracted by a Greek narrative than by one in their own language; for in looking through only a single treatise in Cicero, I have noted the following passages, as proving not only that the Romans were accustomed to write in Greek, but that the readers of those days were disposed comparatively to neglect those authors who used their native language. Even the great work of Cato, it is more than hinted, fell into oblivion from this very cause.

"Jam vero *Origines* ejus quem florem aut quod lumen clo-



But St. Mark, it is objected, did not write for the use of the higher and learned classes. Not of these exclusively, but for these among the rest, and, in the first instance at least, for these principally: because any *writing*, in whatever language, would have been of little avail to the lower classes; few of whom possessed such a knowledge of letters as to be able to read even their own language. This state of things, it is admitted,

quentiæ non habent? Amatores huic desunt—in nostris inscitia est, quod ii ipsi qui in Græcis antiquitate delectantur, eâ que subtilitate quam Atticam appellant, hanc in Catone non noverunt quidem. Sed cur nolunt Catonis? Attico genere dicendi se gaudere dicunt—cur igitur Lysias et Hyperides amantur cum *penitus ignoretur Cato?*” (*Brutus* 17.)

“Filius quidem ejus, (Africani) si corpore valuisset, in primis habitus esset disertus. Indicant tum oratiunculæ, *quæ historia quædam Græca, scripta dulcissime.*” (*Ib.* 19.)

“Vivo Catone—A. Albinus qui *Græce scripsit historiam*, qui Consul cum Lucullo fuit, et literatus et disertus fuit.” (*Ib.* 21.)

“Hujus (M. Scauri) orationes sunt, et tres ad L. Fufidium libri scripti de vita ipsius acta: sanè utiles, *quos nemo legit.* At *Cyri vitam et disciplinam legunt*, præclaram illam quidem, sed neque tam nostris rebus aptam, nec tamen Scauri laudibus anteponendam.” (*Ib.* 29.)

“Jam Q. Catulus,—multæ literæ; summa non vitæ solum atque naturæ sed *orationis etiam comitas; incorrupta quædam Latini sermonis integritas*; quæ perspicui cum ex orationibus ejus potest, tum facillime ex eo libro; quem de *consulatu et de rebus gestis suis* conscripsit, *molli et Xenophonteo genere sermonis*;—qui liber nihilo notior est quam illi tres, de quibus ante dixi, Scauri libri.” (*Ib.* 35.)

did not long continue ; the publication of the Gospel, as it influenced in a variety of ways the character and pursuits of all ranks, quickly awakened a spirit of enquiry in entire classes, which had before been utter strangers to any such feeling. At Rome, therefore, as soon as Christianity reckoned many adherents, there must have been a continually increasing number of persons anxious to read an account of our Saviour's ministry, to whom a Greek Gospel would be a sealed book. Thus precluded, they must have recourse to a translation, and we have accordingly reason to believe that a translation of the New Testament into Latin was made at a very early period<sup>c</sup>. To those " who indulge themselves in vain and idle speculations how" the Gospel might possibly have been preached otherwise than it was, " and, upon supposition that things *might*, in imagining that they *should*, have been disposed and carried on after a better model than what appears in the present disposition and conduct of them<sup>d</sup>," it may seem that this was a complex and inartificial mode of proceeding : and that it would have been *better* to write in a language which all the Romans would immediately understand. But before we accede to this conclusion, it may be proper to consider how the employment of Greek affected,

<sup>c</sup> See (in note 30 *Palæor.* p. 68.) the quotation from Simon. *Hist. Crit. des V. du N. T.* p. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Butler *Anal.* Introd. p. ix.

first, the Romans, and secondly, the people of other nations. As to such of the former as were unacquainted with Greek, their case was in no respect worse than that of the greater number of Christians in all countries, even at the present day, who cannot refer directly to the original, but must be contented to read a translation; or, more frequently, to hear a translation read to them by others. As far therefore as the Romans themselves were concerned, the resulting evil, if unacquaintance with the original can be termed an evil, was no other than one which Providence appears to have designed to permit, and which it does still permit to exist; and which exists without prejudice to the salvation of the many millions who are, and ever will be, subject to it. Let it even be admitted that, if the Roman people alone had been interested in the information conveyed by St. Mark, it might have been a disadvantage *to them* that he wrote in Greek, and there might therefore in that case be some reason for thinking that under the direction of the Spirit he would hardly have done so, yet when we extend our views from Rome to the world at large, and consider *all* the purposes which were to be accomplished, there is absolutely no reason for thinking so at all; because any partial inconvenience might be compensated by some superior advantage in a different part of the dispensation. Christianity is to be considered as a connected scheme, in which all the



means are made subservient to one great end. The immediate purpose of the Evangelist was to inform the *Romans*; but the Providence, which directs all human acts to the accomplishment of its own designs, had a nobler and more extensive view of the object which his undertaking was to accomplish; namely, the instruction of the Christian Church, throughout the world and until the end of it. The case resembles that of a prophecy of double accomplishment; where the first fulfilment is kept subordinate to that full and final completion in which all the Divine purposes are terminated. We are therefore, in the case before us, not to *confine* our attention to the wants and circumstances of one particular age or nation, but must consider how the eternal interests of *the greater number upon the whole* may be most effectually consulted. That is to say, while the purpose contemplated by the writer is competently effected, (as St. Mark's purpose of instructing the Romans was by his writing to them in Greek) purposes which he did not and could not contemplate, may be put into a train of certain, though distant, accomplishment. Now, whatever may have been the prevalence of the Greek tongue in the age of St. Mark, it cannot be disputed that, in the ages immediately following, the predilection for Greek literature was carried to a singular height, and the diffusion of the language was proportionably great. In the eastern parts

of Europe, as well as in Egypt and Asia, in particular, the predominance of Greek was resistless and unquestionable; and it deserves to be particularly noticed, that this was most apparent among those, who, during the infant struggles of Christianity, exercised the most powerful influence both in opposing and promoting its progress, and by whom its civil establishment in the world was finally effected\*. If then it were important that

\* I allude here to the successors of Constantine on the throne of the Eastern Empire; for at Constantinople, and not at Rome, the final struggle between Paganism and Christianity was decided. With respect to Constantine himself, I cannot admit the validity of the inference (*Palæor.* p. 39.) that "he was not a great proficient in Greek, because he addressed the Council of Nice in Latin, and an interpreter turned it into Greek." Woide appears in a certain degree to have adopted the same opinion; for referring to Sozomen's account of what passed at this Council, he says "Constantin. Imperat. qui linguæ Græcæ non *penitus* ignarus erat." (*Not. Cod. Alex.* p. 131. ed. Spohn.) The only edition of Sozomen, to which it is in my power to refer, is the Latin translation of Musculus; but from this I collect that after the Emperor had delivered his sentiments in Latin, as before stated, he listened to the debate which followed, and moderated between the disputants; "for," the historian adds, "*neque Græcæ linguæ ignarus erat,*" the word *penitus* not being used. (Sozom. H. E. l. 1. c. 20.) That all public addresses from the chief magistrate, written or verbal, should be composed in the Latin language, even when none of the auditors understood it, was a part of the Roman policy too long established and too highly esteemed to be speedily laid aside. With respect to any hint from Constantine (*Pal. ub. sup.*) that he was unable to read in the original Greek, Eusebius's Paschal Treatise, I have failed

any part of the original Scriptures should be as intelligible as possible to the inhabitants of a single city, and that, to this end, the Gospel of St. Mark should be written in Latin, the argument may be retorted by observing, that there is a still stronger reason to be assigned why the *whole* New Testament should be in *Greek*; for it was surely of infinitely greater importance that, during a very critical and trying period, the entire records of Christianity should be most widely unfolded to the view of those, on whose acquaintance with its real character and acknowledgment of its divine authority, the extension of the religion itself, and the safety of its professors, so greatly depended.

From these general views it is necessary now to return to the less attractive pursuit of minute verbal criticism; and once more to consider briefly a few of the internal peculiarities, in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, which have been brought into notice and discussion.

I scarcely know whether it can be necessary that any notice should be taken of the sophism by which it is sought to confine, to the exclusive case of St. Mark, an observation which was obviously made by me with reference to the Apostles in general; namely, that they “thought in Latin.” It is no less evident that it could not be my in-

to discover it; on the contrary, he says, “et librum tuum ipse cupidè legi, et ut pluribus qui sincerè sunt erga divinum cultum propensi exponatur præcepi.”



tention by this to assert that all, or even any one of them, did this at all times, for this would have given uniformity to their manner of expression; whereas it was my declared opinion that their's was "a *mixed style*:" (*Exam.* p. 256.) Greek in the main, but tinged with Hebrew idioms, as was naturally to be expected from Jewish writers; and with an incorporation of Latin terms and phrases, such as could scarcely have been avoided by the natives of a country of which the Romans had so long held civil and military possession. These causes, I contended and still urge, are sufficient to account for *all* the peculiarities of style exhibited by our Greek text, and to remove all ground for doubting, on the score of such peculiarities, whether it can have been the actual production of the Apostles. That any of them, or St. Mark in particular, made a mental reference, *at all times*, to Latin forms of expression, no one is so visionary as to affirm; but that they made, and could scarcely avoid making, such a reference *on very many occasions* is very evident; when for instance, as in the case of St. Mark, (xv. 15.) they had to report an expression actually uttered in Latin, or when, as is probable in the case of St. Luke, a long familiarity with the Latin language, and with those who spoke it, habitually influenced their mode of expression in whatever other language they had occasion to employ.

But to continue the case of St. Mark. The author of *Palæoromaica* has commented on his occasional annexation of a *Latin* word in Greek characters, as explanatory of a pure *Greek* term ; and has chosen to consider this as a proof that this Evangelist wrote his Gospel in Latin. In reply to this argument, by courtesy so called, I have shewed that *Stephanus Byzantius* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* employed a mode of expression which to me appeared precisely analogous. Unless therefore it were to be argued from this that *Stephanus* and *Dionysius* wrote in Latin, I could not see upon what principle this conclusion could be maintained in the instance of St. Mark. The writer of the *Second Postscript*, attempting to turn my argument against myself, says, “ I would put it to those who are most strongly prejudiced against *Palæoromaica*, whether it be possible to bring stronger analogies than the above in proof that Mark wrote in Latin. *Stephanus Byzant*, writing in *Greek*, explains to his *Greek* readers a Phrygian word in *Greek* ; *Dion Halicarnass*, writing also in *Greek*, explains to his *Greek* readers the familiar Latin word *Plebeii* by a *Greek* word. What then can be the conclusion but that Mark wrote in Latin, since he explains to his *Latin* readers a *Greek* by a *Latin* word ?” (*Supp.* p. 112.) If the author of *Palæoromaica* designs to give us this as his own conclusion, he is most welcome to continue in possession of it ; but others will

examine, a little more closely than he has done, how it agrees with the premises. St. Mark “explains to his Latin readers a Greek by a Latin word.” In this we are agreed. But, before I admit that this affords even the slightest ground for surmising that he wrote in Latin, I must desire to be better informed whether, in that case, it would have been necessary for him to introduce the Greek word at all, and, if he wrote in Greek, what other course he *could* have taken than that which we suppose him to have adopted; how *else* he was to explain to the Romans that the place which he called *αυλη*, was in fact the same with that which they called *Prætorium*, or that the coin termed *λεπτον*, approached most nearly in value to their well-known *Quadrans*? *Dionysius*, it is true, explains to his *Greek* readers a Latin by a *Greek* word; and St. Mark to his *Roman* readers a *Greek* word by a *Latin*; so that, whatever difference there may be in their practice, it evidently arose not from their having written in different languages, but from their having written with reference to people of different nations. In both instances, as well as in that from *Stephanus Byzant*, the *explanation* is in the language of the people to whom the writing was particularly addressed, and to whom *the thing to be explained* was foreign, and, without such an expedient, unintelligible. In all these cases,



therefore, and they might if necessary be multiplied, the *principle* is the same ; and *mutatis mutandis*, the practice of the profane writers furnishes a perfect parallel to that of St. Mark : so that, unless it is hence to be argued, that they wrote in Latin, and that their existing Greek texts are only translations or re-translations from that language, the existence of this peculiarity affords no support to such an hypothesis in the case of the New Testament.

Upon the writings of St. Luke but one remark is called for. I had observed (*Exam.* p. 121.) that *τον μοδιον* was the Latin *modium* in Greek letters ; but that *εις κρυπτην* was good Greek. But, replies the objector, if *μοδιον* be *modium* “ there is nothing extraordinary or heretical in supposing that *κρυπτη* may also be a Latin word in Greek characters.” (*Supp.* p. 114.) What is meant by heretical, or what that has to do with the question, it is not my business to conjecture, but I certainly do deem it extraordinary that he should persist in identifying *κρυπτη* with *crypta*, after what has been before observed upon this very point. (*Exam. ub. sup.*) But thus it is ; the greatest stress is laid, by the fabricator of this hypothesis, upon fanciful analogies, and the most remote resemblances of sound, while critical reasonings are to him “ as dust in the balance, without weight and without regard.” The assumption

made in *Palæoromaica*, (p. 422.) and repeated in the *Supplement* (p. 114.) with respect to this word *κρυπτην*, is that “in the greater number of cases in the New Testament, where the Article appears redundant, the words to which it is prefixed are such as differ in gender from their corresponding words in Latin. Hence they were either inserted by grammarians for the use of the Latins—or what is still more probable, may, in such cases, have been prefixed by the translators for the purpose of fixing, by habit, the gender of the substantive, in a language different from that from which they were translated.” With respect to the alleged redundancy of the article in the New Testament, my own persuasion is, that it is unjustly imputed: for that, *in every instance* which has been objected against, a sufficient reason may be assigned for its insertion, and in the greater number of instances the sense would suffer by its suppression. The apparent redundancy arises only from our not sufficiently entering into the purpose of the writer. In most of the passages referred to in *Palæoromaica*, this has been so convincingly shewn by the late Bishop of Calcutta, that I think it necessary to make only a very small addition to his learned and ingenious observations.

*Του νομου*, Rom. ii. 13. Dr. Middleton here, from philological considerations, would retain the

article, which the most esteemed MSS. twice omit; and their authority is admitted by Griesbach. My reasons for uniting in opinion with the latter are fully stated elsewhere.

ἡ ἁμαρτία, Rom. v. 20. 'H is right. The sin here spoken of is the sin of Adam, which just before he had called ΤΟ παραπτωμα: that is a particular and specific offence, of which mention had also before been made. On both these accounts the article would be prefixed to ἁμαρτία. "Where the sin of the first man hath abounded, the grace of God (before spoken of v. 15.) hath superabounded. That, as *this* sin hath reigned by death, so *that* grace might reign by justification unto eternal life."

ὁ ἐπαινος. 1 Cor. iv. 5. ἐπαινος here evidently does not betoken *praise* absolutely, since that will *not* be given "to every man:" but it signifies "*the due degree* of praise" ὁ οφειλομενος, or ὁ προσηκων being necessarily to be supplied. Plato uses both these words in the expression of a very corresponding sentiment, Διενόητο μὲν γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτ' εἰη δίκαιον, τὸ προσηκὸν ἑκάστῳ ἀποδιδόναι· τοῦτο δὲ ὠνόμασεν οφειλομενον. (*de Repub.* 1.)

Ἄι ἑπτα βρονται ἐλαλησαν τας φωνας αὐτων. Rev. x. 3. Properly so: because the reference is to φωναὶ καὶ βρονται, which had been mentioned before, c. iv. 5.

δύο πτερυγες τοῦ αἵτου τοῦ μεγάλου. Rev. xii. 14.

\* See Appendix.



—“ Here” says Dr. Middleton (*Doctr. of Gr. Ar.* p. 668) “ it may be asked why ΤΟΥ αετου ΤΟΥ μεγαλου? or why not ΑΙ δυο πτερυγες ?” I reply, because neither of the phrases δυο πτ. αετου μεγαλου, nor αι δυο πτ. του α. του μ. would convey the writer’s meaning. It is somewhat surprising that neither this able critic nor Michaelis, whom he quotes, should have perceived that the Eagle here spoken of had been already mentioned (c. iv. 7, 8.) St. John, therefore, could not consistently have said “ two wings of A great eagle.” Neither would “ THE two wings of THE great eagle” be proper; but it was reasonable to say δυο πτερυγες του αετου, because his meaning was “ two wings out of the number belonging to that great eagle which had *six*.”

την λιμνην. Rev. xix. 20. means *that* pool of fire which the writer had seen in his vision. It is very natural in a person, describing any event of which he had been an eye-witness, to imagine that his auditors have as perfect an acquaintance as himself with the appearances which are so vividly impressed upon his recollection; and hence arises his more frequent use of the definite article. It is besides to be remembered, that the pool, here spoken of, was not an ordinary pool: but one of such a peculiarly terrific character as deservedly to be called “ *the lake*.” λιμνη, in truth, is here a Monadic noun.

With respect to the assumption that the article in the Greek Testament has no intrinsic power, but is to be considered as a mere grammatical symbol for the instruction of ignoramuses in Greek, it is of so wild a character, that I am surprised it should ever have proceeded from any man pretending to ordinary habits of research, or the least power of judgment. Much greater is my astonishment, that a person professing to reverence the Christian Scriptures, should promulgate an opinion, so little calculated to challenge respect to them or to their authors, without having taken some little pains to ascertain whether it had any foundation in reality. If the supposed translators of the New Testament into Greek, or their employers, had been of such a rank of intellect as to occasion a necessity for their acting at all upon the ridiculous principle imputed to them, must they not have acted upon it in *every* instance? Such a device for marking the gender of words would evidently avail nothing unless it were *uniformly* practised. The case is thus stated. The article was prefixed to certain words, in order to shew that the genders in Greek and Latin were different; and for no other purpose: so that when the article was *not* prefixed, it was to be concluded that the genders were the same. Consequently, if the article were sometimes inserted, for the purpose as-

cribed, and, at other times, when *the same reason for its insertion* existed, were omitted without any notice being given, this happy device for fixing the gender “by habit” must have been the source of nothing but eternal confusion and mistake. There is not, however, one single chapter in the New Testament which will not suffice, on the most cursory examination, to overthrow this pretended principle ; brought forward with so much ludicrous parade, and with so solemn an assumption of critical importance by a person who piques himself on the accuracy of his researches. I will confine myself to this single eleventh chapter of St. Luke. If to mark the difference of gender were the sole purpose with which the article was introduced in the places where it is represented to be redundant, why was it not introduced upon the same principle before such words in this chapter as *πειρασμον* (v. 11.) for *tentationem* ; *σκοτος* (v. 35.) for *tenebræ* or *caligo* ; *οικος επι οικον* (v. 17.) for *domus adversus domum* ; and *τοπων* (v. 24.) for *locA* or *locOS* ? It is impossible to refrain from observing that the last instance is a little inconsistent with the ingenious idea, that the Evangelist used *TON μοδιον*, because the Latins had *modiUS* and *modiUM* ! The proposer of such puerilities may affect a lofty air, and talk of *descending beneath himself* ; but, he must allow me to say, there are some things beyond his power, and *this* is among the number.



To return, however, to *τον μοδιον*, the reason of the insertion of the article is to shew that *the measure* so called, and not the *content* of it, was here spoken of. Thus *μοδιον αλευρος* is *a bushel of meal*; but *τον μοδιον* is *the bushel itself*. In the same manner the widow of Sarepta says to Elisha (1 Kgs. xvii. 12.) *Ζη Κυριος ὁ Θεος σς ει εστι μοι εγκρουφιας αλλ' η ὅσον δραξ αλευρου εν τη υδρια και ολιγον ελαιον εν τω καψακῃ*.\*

\* Where (ver. 14. 17.) *ἡ υδρια* and *ὁ καψακης* are used for the contents of those vessels, the articles, it is plain, serve only to mark *renewed mention*. We find (xix. 6. ejusd.) *καψακος υδατος*. The usage of the Septuagint, however, is not perfectly uniform in this respect. I will take this opportunity of adding to my former observations on St. Paul, one only in vindication of my proposed interpretation of the words of the chief captain. (Acts xxi. 37.) "Canst thou speak Greek? Art thou not then that Egyptian which?" &c. From which I thought it reasonable to infer that the faculty of speaking Greek must have been very common among the Egyptians of that age. "This view of the matter" replies the author of the *Second Postscript* "would—shew that the Egyptians were the *only people* who in the days of the Apostles spoke Greek, and that a person who spoke that language could neither be a Jew, nor a Syrian, nor an European, nor an Asiatic Greek, but must needs be an Egyptian." (*Sup.* p. 114. n. 4). It might be thought impossible that any except the wilfully blind, should fail to observe, that it was a *combination* of circumstances which excited the suspicions of the chief captain; *first*, the Apostle was accused of exciting a *tumult*, for which the Egyptian also was notorious, and *secondly*, he also spoke *Greek*, which being generally done by the natives of Egypt, rendered it still more probable that he might be one

In these observations, though adhering closely to the *Supplement*, we have nearly lost sight of *Palæoromaica* and its hypothesis. We come now however to a very important consideration; namely, the degree in which the sense of the Sacred Writings might, and probably would, be affected by its establishment. To its proposer the hypothesis appears harmless, at least, if it be not even serviceable to the cause of orthodoxy; and he had it in contemplation, he tells us, "to challenge his opponents to point out one doctrine that has been perverted, one precept which has been weakened by any critical emendation in that work." (*Sup.* p. 119.) Two very important texts had, however, been specified in the *Examination*, by the newly-proposed interpretation of which it appeared to me, that part of the evidence in behalf of a fundamental doctrine of

of them. By itself, the latter circumstance would have led to no certain inference with respect to the country of the speaker; but in putting the two together, and in finding them concur in the same person, the Roman officer appeared to make a discovery, which he hoped the answer to his question would confirm. Although, therefore, this shews that the Egyptians very commonly, or in general, spoke Greek, (for otherwise there would be a strange *non sequitur* indeed) it does not prove that other nations did not do the same, but only that no native of any *other* country had lately excited such public attention as to occasion every appearance of tumult to be connected with his name, and naturally to revive the remembrance of it.

Christianity was in danger of perversion. "With regard to the first of these texts ('No man hath ascended up to heaven but He that came down from heaven; even the Son of man which is in heaven')" the writer of the *Supplement* observes, "Markland (*Pal.* p. 187.) owns that he could make no sense of it, and I believe he is not singular; since our Saviour, who spoke this on earth, certainly as *Son of man*, was not at that time in heaven." (*Sup.* p. 121.) If the author of these observations, or his favourite critic Markland, suppose that our Lord, by using the title Son of man, designed to speak of Himself here with reference to his human nature alone, it is not surprising that they fail to discover the sense of his words. But it is plain that he did not; for he says "The Son of man *which came down from heaven*;" an expression evidently not descriptive of his human nature. "Son of man" says Bishop Horsley "is a title which belongs to the Eternal Word, describing that Person of the Godhead who was made man, by uniting himself to the man Jesus." (*Sermons*, Vol. I. p. 187.) As the Eternal Word, therefore, He described Himself as being in heaven, even while he held conference with Nicodemus upon earth; just as to his disciples, speaking of what should happen *after* his ascension into heaven, he gave the promise "Lo, I am with you always, even



unto the end of the world." (*Luke* xxvii. 20.) Though now in heaven, the Son of man is, and ever will be, present with his faithful followers upon earth; as, while conversing with Nicodemus upon earth, he gave to Himself the title of "The Son of man which is in heaven." Can the author of *Palæoromaica*, then, not yet discover "what injury he has done to our holy faith?" The Socinian would gladly embrace an explanation which he might easily interpret in a manner suitable to his own views, provided that he could thereby get rid of a text, which, as now read and interpreted, ascribes, in the plainest terms, to our Blessed Lord, *Omnipresence*; the attribute of God alone.

The other text which I accuse him of perverting is (*John* xiv. 1.) ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΤΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΕΜΕ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΤΕ. "Ye *believe* in God; *believe* also in Me." This it is proposed to render by "Confide in God, *confide*, (or *trust*,) also in me." (*Palæor.* p. 188.) In the *Supplement* (p. 121) the subject is thus noticed. "The author of *Palæoromaica* would merely request Mr. B. to enquire of his coadjutor Mr. Todd, whether *trust*, or *confidence*, or *belief* imply most?" To my misfortune the excellent person here spoken of is placed at a distant extremity of the kingdom, and I have therefore no opportunity, in compliance with the advice so kindly given, of consulting him upon this point; otherwise there is no man living better qualified

to decide it. In fact, but for an accidental meeting during the past year, I should not have received from him that information which has obtained for me the honour of being named in the same paragraph with him<sup>b</sup>. In this instance,

<sup>a</sup> As the name of Mr. Todd has been introduced into the discussion, he will excuse me, I trust, for pointing out to the notice of my opponent the following extract from a Sermon, preached by him before the Official of the Archdeacon at Scarborough, June 26, 1821. "To the unsettled mind, or feeble understanding, we know that infidelity often presents itself in the engaging dress of liberality or free inquiry; first entangling the victim in some curious and sceptical dissatisfactions, which gradually are resolved into absolute hostility to the Christian faith. We know that books of *reported* learning, sometimes insidiously dispersed and sometimes in a regular manner, not *seeming* to espouse dangerous opinions, but masking them under the forms which I have named, have thus drawn the easy-hearted man, even of respectable education, into the snares of moral and religious death;—To counteract designs of this kind, to expose the plausibility, and to suppress the boldness, with which the unbeliever scatters his poison in various ways, under an expectation of subverting all the laws of truth and evidence, this also will be our earnest endeavour." (Todd's *Sermon*, p. 16.) Did not the date shew that the discourse was preached and published before the appearance of *Palæoromaica*, the above passage might be taken for a description of that work. As it is, it can be regarded only as the sentiment of a man of strong discernment, attentively marking the signs of the times, and thereby enabled to describe beforehand the character of books, which being of the same spirit and tendency may be all comprised in one class, and characterized by the same definition:—

"Old experience doth attain

To something like *prophetic strain*."

however, I shall less regret the want of his able advice; because the question proposed for his solution has really nothing to do with the question in debate between the author of *Palæoromaica* and myself. “Whether trust, or confidence, or belief imply most,” we are not called to decide; but whether the proposed English translation, “*Confide in God, &c.*” or the Latin, on which it is supposed to be founded, duly represent the meaning of the Greek. Now I affirm, with the most perfect confidence, that they do not. The Greek expression which, both in the Old and New Testaments, corresponds with “*trust, or confide in God,*” is ἐλπίζειν, or πεποιθότες εἶναι εἰς τὸν Θεόν, or ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν, or ἐν τῷ Θεῷ<sup>1</sup>. But these modes of expression are not employed solely to describe confidence in God or Christ; for we have instances to the contrary in both the Testaments: as ἠλπίσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐνεδρὸν “they trusted unto the liars in wait<sup>k</sup>,” οἱ ἐπὶ πόλεσι καὶ χρημασι πεποιθότες “they who trust in cities and in wealth<sup>l</sup>” ἠλπίκεναι ἐπὶ πλῆθι ἀδικῶν “to trust in uncertain riches<sup>m</sup>” πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ παντὶ “having confidence in you all<sup>n</sup>.” The word πιστεῦω, on the contrary,

<sup>k</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 5. xix. 10. Ps. xxv. 2. Isa. xi. 10. John v. 45. Rom. xv. 12. 1 Cor. xiii. 19. 2 Cor. i. 10. 1 Tim. iv. 10. v. 5. 1 Pet. iii. 5. Matt. xxvii. 43. Phil. ii. 24. 2 Thess. iii. 4.

<sup>l</sup> Judg. xx. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Job vi. 20.

<sup>m</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 17.

<sup>n</sup> 2 Cor. ii. 3.



followed by a preposition and its substantive, bears no meaning but that of *believing* in the person to whom reference is made : and it is deserving of the most serious attention, that in the Gospel by St. John, where this mode of expression occurs above thirty times, in every instance the object of belief is either God the Father, or Jesus Christ°. By thus appropriating, as it were, this form of words, the Apostle seems to me clearly to intimate that the belief which we are called to repose in Them is such as no created being can share in ; or that They and Their acts are to be equally the objects of our faith. “ Ye believe in God ; believe also in Me.” According to every rule of just interpretation, the word “ *believe*,” in the two clauses of this sentence, must bear the same signification ; and, to preserve this equality, the Humanitarian must either narrow the meaning of the word, as applied to God, until it becomes applicable to the Son, whom he conceives to be unequal to the Father in nature and dignity ; or, if he attributes to the word “ *believe*” that exalted meaning which it confessedly ought

\* The only apparent exception, though it is obviously nothing more than apparent, is (c. xii. 36) πιστευετε εις το φως. In the First Epistle of St. John (v. 10) we find the phrase πιστευκεν εις την μαρτυριαν : and (13) πιστευουσιν εις το ονομα του υιου. St. Paul and St. Peter observe the same limitation in the application of the formula πιστευειν εις. See Rom. x. 14. Galat. ii. 16. Phil. i. 29. 1 Pet. i. 21.

to bear when the Supreme God is the object of it, then he will have a difficulty in accounting for that same word, and that identical form of expression, being applied in so pointed a manner to the Son; if the Son be, as he asserts, a created and finite being. To *believe* in God, and to *confide* in God, are not the same acts of the mind; but they differ inasmuch as one is the groundwork of the other. To believe in God is to acknowledge all His divine perfections. To believe in the Son, is “to descry the same divine perfections through the veil of humanity<sup>v</sup>.” The conjectural reading of the passage proposed in *Pæloromaica* enervates or perverts its meaning; and I must persist in my recorded opinion, that it has a manifest tendency to favour the views of those who deny that the Son is “in glory equal, in majesty co-eternal with the Father.”

Here, then, might these observations be brought to a conclusion, with a reiteration of all the objections urged in my former publication; not one of which has received an answer. It may be useful, however, before I take my final leave of the subject, to set the tendency of the hypothesis in its true light, and to offer a few remarks on hypothetical reasoning in general; upon both which points the original and the supplementary work are filled with the most erroneous representations.

<sup>v</sup> Dean Stanhope.

My Examination of *Palæoromaica* was stated to be undertaken “for the use of that very numerous class of readers, who may be in danger of adopting an opinion urged with plausibility and a shew of learning, not being able, from want of leisure or other causes, to examine for themselves its true claim to acceptance.” (*Exam.* p. 228.) To this the author of the *Supplement* replies, “I may venture to assert that readers of this class are in very little danger of being led astray by *Palæoromaica*. Such persons care nothing for philological questions, or whether Mark wrote in Greek or Latin; and the only mischief done to them is by those who declaim without cause that the authority of the New Testament is called in question, and who thus infuse into their minds suspicions which otherwise they would never have entertained.” (*Supp.* p. 105.) I have not the slightest objection to admit that the interests of true religion are very little befriended by those persons, whether critics or divines, who declaim *without cause* that the authority of the New Testament is attacked; and I am as ready as the author of the above observations can be to acknowledge the mischief which they occasion. But if he designs, as he unquestionably does, to maintain that, in representing his hypothesis as, in its tendency, detracting from the authority of the New Testament, I have expressed an alarm without foundation, then he assumes in his own favour



a point which is not only not clear, but the very contrary to which may be demonstratively shewn. If, while the originality of the *Greek* text was disputed, the *genuine* original, if I may so express myself, were pointed out, it would be an act of injustice to charge such a system with attacking the authority of the New Testament. The Greek text, and the New Testament, would no longer be, as they now are, convertible terms ; but the authority of the first might be attacked while that of the latter remained unimpeached. It is, in fact, a matter of little or no importance whether the original or a translation be in general use, so long as the *existence* of the original enables us, in all cases, to verify the *fidelity* of the translation : but I think it quite unnecessary formally to prove that the authority of an original, and the authority of a translation, the original of which does not exist, are even less worthy to be compared, than the testimony of a contemporary and an eye-witness is to be placed on a level with the hearsay evidence of a person living at the distance of some centuries from the occurrence of a particular fact. If we were even permitted to indulge a general presumption that the supposed translators had faithfully performed their tasks, the authority of the surviving records would still be immeasurably inferior to that of the original records which have disappeared ; because, in forming a judgment of the meaning and views of

every writer, cases of difference in opinion must occur, which it would be useless to pretend to solve without a reference to the very words which the writer himself employed. And, if this be *desirable* in the case of even the least considerable of authors to assure us that we possess his true sentiments, I must think that, when inspired writings are in question, it is even *indispensible* for the security of our faith, that we should have the power of making such a reference<sup>1</sup>. But in the

<sup>1</sup> The inferiority of a translation from a lost original to the original itself, and the unavoidable uncertainties and mistakes as to the writer's true meaning, which must arise from a substitution of the former, are almost too evident to require confirmation. But as an example is generally more convincing than mere reasoning, I cite, out of innumerable instances which might be adduced, the first which occurs to me. In his *Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii. 16*. Berriman observes, "To this may also be added the testimony of *Æcumenius*, or rather of *Photius*, concerning a passage in a work of *Cyrl's* of Alexandria, (great part of the *original* of which *is lost*, and more particularly that part which contained the passage referred to;) where the text was cited *ὅς ἐφανερώθη*.—Whether *Photius* himself was mistaken in this reference, by any slip of memory, or by mis-reading *ὅς* for what had been originally written *θεός*, or whether *Cyrl* did once casually cite the text in this manner, *I am not able to determine*. But it is certain he might set down *ὅς ἐφανερώθη* without meaning to express the very words of the text; nor can a judgment be made of this, unless we know in what manner the words were introduced. No man would think, from the *Latin translation* of this work by *Marius Mercator*, that *ὅς* had been thus used by *Cyrl*." (P. 187—9.) Can it be supposed that, under similar circumstances, the criticism of the Greek Testament would not be in-

case of *Palæoromaica*, while the original is withdrawn from our inspection, we have not even that degree of assurance left which the presumed fidelity of the translation would afford. I am, therefore, at a loss to understand how I can be accused of asserting, *without cause*, that the authority of the New Testament is attacked by this hypothesis, since it must appear to every one capable of comprehending this statement, that the establishment of the hypothesis, and the maintenance of that authority, are irreconcilably at variance\*.

involved in similar difficulties, or that innumerable passages would not occur concerning the true sense of which *no judgment could be made, unless we knew in what manner the words were introduced*, or unless we had the *original* before us?

\* The original assumption certainly was, that the authentic writings of the Apostles are lost. What then can be the meaning of the writer of the *Supplement*, when he says, (p. 119.) "If the Apostles wrote in Latin, *the sacred text is to be found in the Latin Vulgate*, corrected by ancient Latin and Greek MSS. by the writings of the Fathers; and sound recognized critical canons?" If the writer of this sentence feels himself so beaten from his original position as to admit that the writings of the Apostles are any where existing, I am glad: but it will then be perfectly inexplicable that he should have thus recurred to the exact hypothesis of Hardouin, which he before termed absurd, and treated with every mark of ridicule and contempt. (See *Exam. of Pal.* p. 229.) With respect, however, to the Latin Vulgate, it may be feared that, in his hands, it would undergo such a metamorphosis, that even its foster-mother, the Church of Rome, would fail to recognize its identity. If we might take him at his word, that the corrections should be such



But I was far from affirming that any *consequences*, real or supposed, of this novel theory, were to be the criterion of its truth. On the contrary, it was my particular care to observe that, according to the laws of just reasoning, we were not at liberty to *assume* the authority of our present Greek text, or even of the New Testament, and thence to infer the falsehood of every supposition which appears to be inconsistent with it. The hypothesis in question, I argued, must be judged by its own merits, and admitted or rejected as it should be proved true or false; not as it bore favourably or unfavourably upon the interests of revealed religion. The *truth* of the hypothesis and its *tendency* are perfectly separate questions; and as such they were proposed and treated in my *Examination* of it. Having then recommended this mode of reasoning to others, and having myself adhered to it, having shewn, as far as a negative can be proved, that

only as are founded upon the authority of MSS. or of Fathers, we might dismiss our apprehensions: for, though we have MSS. and Fathers, both Greek and Latin, we have neither one nor the other in the *Palæoromaic* tongue; none which ever heard or dreamt of *acumen*, *porticus*, *peractus*, and other judicious emendations of the Apostolical phraseology which the penetration of our recent commentator has brought to light. With respect to "sound recognized critical canons," as they appear to have been wholly lost sight of in the original conception of the hypothesis, the more sparingly they are brought into notice, at this advanced period of its existence, the better.

the peculiar opinions of *Palæoromaica* have no foundation in either fact or reasoning, and having offered some direct arguments in vindication of the originality of the Canonical Greek text, I have a right to express my opinion on the other part of the subject, namely, the tendency of this new biblical system: nor shall I be deterred, by any imputation of raising a groundless alarm, from unveiling the sophistry by which it is attempted to persuade the world that this is a mere *critical* question, and that the admission of the proposed theory is compatible with an unshaken reverence for the written Word of God. I said, and I repeat, that the authority of the New Testament is attacked in *Palæoromaica*, and that it must be weakened in every mind which carries these principles to their natural limits. It was this consideration which, as the work was of some pretensions, occasioned my anxiety to shew to those for whom I professed to write, that the hypothesis which it promulgates, is “built on nothing firm.” In reply to this, the author of the *Supplement* says, that “persons of this class are in very little danger of being led astray,” because “such persons *care nothing* for philological questions; nor whether St. Mark wrote in Greek or Latin.” This is in perfect correspondence with the sophistical tendency of the entire work. The persons alluded to take no direct part in philological discussions for which they do not possess the ne-

cessary acquirements or the necessary leisure : but that they *care nothing* for them is no less certainly untrue. Christians in general may not be very nearly interested in the mere abstract question, whether the Apostles wrote in Greek, or Latin, or Hebrew, provided they have an adequate assurance that the original, in whatever language, is still in being ; and such an assurance cannot generally rest upon their own researches, so much as upon the confidence which they repose in the decisions of those who are qualified by their studies, and called by their profession, to examine such questions. Although, therefore, the persons of whom we are speaking may take no actual part in the conduct of such enquiries, yet in the results of them they are, and have a right to be, most deeply interested. No mistake can be greater than to suppose that the conclusions of critics, upon even the most abstruse points, terminate with their own class ; they have an influence upon public opinion wherever men reason or think at all, and arrive, after numberless reflections, within the sphere of those who are placed even at the remotest distance from the actual field of enquiry. The impieties of *Hobbes*, and the subtle insinuations of *Shaftesbury*, were called speculative reasonings in their own age, and were considered to be comparatively harmless, because, from their refinement and abstraction, it was supposed their influence would be con-



fined to the small number of persons who have minds fitted for such enquiries. But *we* have discovered the groundlessness of this expectation, and have felt the consequences of the mistake ; seeing, as we have done, the principles of these mischievous writers disseminated in every possible shape, and rendered accessible to the capacities of every class of readers. Whether the author of *Palæoromaica* intends it or no, he may be assured that, if the truth of his hypothesis were once conceded, it would not long be suffered to remain a dead letter. The restless activity of Deism would speedily be awakened to the advantage ; “philological questions” would quickly be made familiar to readers of every class ; and the different degrees of authority, due to an original writing, and to a translation of which the original has perished, would be blazoned forth by the numberless purveyors of irreligion, who at once endanger and disgrace a Christian country.

Upon no one subject, however, are more vague opinions advanced than on that of hypothetical reasoning and its employment for the discovery of truth. “The usual progress of knowledge” we are told “is as follows. A writer presents a hypothesis which is analyzed, attacked, defended, confirmed, rejected, or modified ; and it is only after such a process, suited to our weak and imperfect intellects, that we discover, if we at length discover, actual truth.” (*Pref. to Sup.*

p. xi.) On the contrary I maintain that if there be any practice especially calculated to spread and confirm erroneous opinions, it is that of resorting to hypothesis in cases where none is called for, or where the facts on which it is built have not been previously well examined. No employment is more captivating to minds of no great depth than that of making suppositions and fabricating systems. It is the vice of a vain and self-indulging age; fond of thinking that it sees the whole of every subject, and of hastening to conclusions, which gratify its thirst for novelty, but not very scrupulous in examining the steps by which they are reached. This love of system is the reigning fault of our own age and country; displaying itself in too many of our enquiries, political, moral, and religious, by such an unhappy disregard of the landmarks set up by our more cautious predecessors, as threatens to leave us, in the end, without either fixed principles or certain knowledge. It is only as a symptom or evidence of such an existing state of opinion that the reveries of *Palæoromaica* deserve any notice whatever. In that work great stress is laid upon the internal evidence, which, it is pretended, the Greek text of the Evangelical writings furnishes contradictory of its own originality. I have endeavoured, and I hope not unsuccessfully, to shew that this evidence is very trifling, or, rather, none at all: but it may still be of use

to consider *a priori* what weight should be attributed to evidence of this kind in the decision of such a question as this. Now it may very reasonably be doubted whether any degree whatever of internal evidence could be equal to the task of sustaining the hypothesis which is built upon it; because that hypothesis, at the utmost, could explain a part only of the attendant circumstances, while it involves many assumptions which are in themselves absurd. Thus, the supposition, that the Greek text of the New Testament is not original, presupposes that the original has totally disappeared, and that no mention of it was ever made, nor any tradition respecting its existence preserved, even in the very earliest ages of Christianity. The hypothesis of *Palæoromaica* does not even pretend to explain how this can have happened; nor can it be explained. I maintain that such an occurrence is impossible. If, therefore, the external evidence, as it is called, were as strong as, in reality, it is worthless, still the proof would be radically defective; because it *could* amount to nothing more than *probability*, and probability, even of the highest degree, can have no weight when opposed by an impossibility. Much less, then, can such probabilities as are detailed in *Palæoromaica*, affect a claim which, during eighteen centuries, has been but once before questioned; and that by a man concerning



whose sanity even the most charitable may entertain a doubt<sup>\*</sup>. With respect to the position, that the best, if not the only, mode of discovering truth, is, by throwing down an hypothesis to be bandied from side to side, until the combatants and the spectators are equally weary, no expectation can be more groundless than that of serving a good cause, or promoting a useful end, by such means. By a plausible man, the projector of a system, a thousand assertions may be made in support of it, the sophistry of which cannot be detected by multitudes of those whose principles it undermines; and thus, so far from the mischief terminating with the overthrow of the hypothesis, the evil effects continue to prevail long after the system, and the projector of it are alike forgotten. To give an instance from *Palæoromaica*. It is there represented to be as absurd to maintain, that St. Paul or St. Mark would write to the Romans in Greek, as to think that a Frenchman would address himself in German to the inhabitants of an English town. Now I have shewn, and all who are acquainted with literary history know, that in these two cases there is *no similarity*. But how is the unlearned reader, who meets with such an assertion, to detect its fallacy? *Hæret lateri*; he cannot shake

<sup>\*</sup> Harduin's *craziness* consisted in rejecting what all the world received. Jortin Rem. on E. H. Vol. I. p. 210.

off the impression : common sense tells him that it *would* be absurd for a Frenchman to act in the manner stated, and therefore, he concludes it must be equally so to believe that the Apostles did not address themselves to the Romans in their own language. Thus he may be led on from difficulty to doubt, and from doubt to unbelief ; and, if we now look to the real author of the mischief, we are entitled, I think, to retort the charge of “ infusing suspicions which otherwise would never have been entertained.” The above is but one example out of many hundreds which *Palæoromaica* might furnish. Were it therefore even to happen that in the demolition of the hypothesis some truth should be by chance struck out, or set in a clearer light than before, we should have no greater reason to consider ourselves indebted to the author for it, than a successful general has to express his obligations to a defeated antagonist for affording him an opportunity of gaining a victory. In his professed fondness for hypothetical reasoning, and in his expectation of advantage to the cause of truth to be derived from it, the author of *Palæoromaica*, I must observe, stands directly opposed to the great master in the science of tracing effects to their causes. Sir Isaac Newton appears to have entertained no such partiality for hypothetical reasoning, unless the hypothesis grew as

it were out of a sufficient number of previously established facts. On the contrary, describing his own method of philosophizing, he says somewhat bluntly, *Hypotheses NON fingo*<sup>n</sup>: and a philosopher worthy to be the successor of Newton, makes some observations which bear very closely upon the present discussion. “La methode la plus sure qui puisse nous guider dans la recherche de la vérité, consiste a s’élever par la voie de l’induction, des phénomènes particuliers, à des rapports de plus en plus étendus, jusqu’à ce que l’on arrive enfin à la loi generale dont ils dérivent.—Mais l’histoire des sciences fait voir que cette marche lente et pénible de l’induction n’a pas toujours été celle des inventeurs. L’imagination impatiente de remonter aux causes, se plait à créer des hypothèses; et souvent elle dénature les faits pour les plier a son ouvrage: alors les hypothèses sont dangereuses<sup>o</sup>.” I intreat then all who are yet hesitating in their judgment concerning the *Palæoromaican* hypothesis, to reflect on these judicious observations; and to consider whether the denial of the wide extension of the Greek language in the age of the Apostles, with the assertions that St. Paul came to Jerusalem only after the Ascension of Christ, that the Septuagint was translated from the Latin, and many

<sup>n</sup> *Scholium generale.*

<sup>o</sup> Laplace *Essai Philosoph. sur les probabilités*, p. 88.



others of the same kind, do not savour of that *distortion of facts*, by which, in the judgment of the great philosopher of France, hypotheses are rendered dangerous.

If more time and attention have been bestowed upon this hypothesis than its intrinsic value or the ability with which it has been supported appear to justify, the cause must be sought in the importance of the interests which are affected by it. This has excited attention towards the enquiry, and has occasioned this book, as the author exultingly remarks, to make some noise in the world. But let him be assured that if his hypothesis had been applied to any *other* book than the New Testament, if he had attempted, for instance, to shew that the Greek texts of *Arrian* or *Polybius* were translations from the Latin, he would speedily have been convinced how little the world cared for his speculations. As they affect the credit of the Sacred Writings, they attract notice and reply; if they had related to any other book in the universe, they would have been placed on a level with the late lamented Mr. Coneybeare's burlesque conversion of the opening lines of the *Prometheus Vincit*, which, in reality, is much more ingenious and *quite as convincing*.



## APPENDIX.

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"It must indeed be admitted," observes the late Bishop Middleton, "that there is scarcely in the whole New Testament any greater difficulty than the ascertaining of the various meanings of *νομος* in the Epistles of St. Paul.—It had indeed been very early remarked that where the Law, as promulged in the Pentateuch, is spoken of, and even where the whole body of the Jewish Scriptures is meant, there *νομος* for the most part, but not without exception, has the Article prefixed. See *Macknight* on Rom. ii. 12. and on vii. 1. Now it is obvious that, were this rule *without exception*, an important step would be gained; for at least we should know when the Jewish Law is meant by the Apostle which is, now so often, even among the best Commentators a subject of dispute." (*Doctr. of Gr. Art.* p. 439.) Agreeing with this distinguished critic that the establishment of the rule of which he speaks would tend greatly to the elucidation of St. Paul's writings, and at the same time thinking that he admits many *exceptions* which are not so in reality, I am induced to consider at some length the practice of St. Paul in employing or omitting the article before *νομος*, and to review the principal of those passages in which the Bishop of Calcutta thought that *νομος without the article* signified *the Law of Moses*.

To determine this point satisfactorily, it will be necessary to look back and consider what is the original and



most extended meaning of the word νόμος or Law. "That," says the judicious Hooker, "which doth assign unto every thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and measure of working, the same we term a *Law*." (*Eccles. Pol. B. 1. § 2.*) The existence of God then being supposed, that of *Law* necessarily arises; because the nature of God must lead him to will and to do every thing which in itself is best; or to observe that rule of perfect wisdom and justice which may be termed Law in the abstract. "All things," says the matchless writer whom I have just quoted, "do work, after a sort, according to a Law: all other things according to a Law whereof some superior, unto whom they are subject, is Author; only the works and operations of God have him both for their worker, and for the Law whereby they are wrought. The Being of God is a kind of Law to his working; for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that He doth." (Hooker. *Ib.*) The scheme of the Universe, as originally framed in the Divine Counsels, must therefore have been perfect in itself, and every agent created for the purpose of carrying that economy into effect must have been endowed with those original properties which would enable it to contribute most effectually to the perfection of the general system. If then the original properties of every agent were the best which, in its allotted station, it was possible to assign to it, it follows that they were the only properties by which it could preserve its due relation to God and the rest of his creatures, or fulfil the purposes for which itself was caused to exist. It follows also that, by any change in those properties, the order of the universe is interrupted in two ways. First—certain parts of the scheme which were designed to be executed are not executed; because the agent by which they were to have been performed no longer exists; that

is, by the change of its original properties is become a different agent, and therefore incapable of executing those purposes which were contemplated in its original production. Secondly—not only does the agent, thus changed, fail to sustain its proper part in the connected scheme of God's government, as it would do if reduced to absolute inaction, but, its agency still continuing, effects are produced by it which were not designed in the original scheme; and, that scheme comprising all perfection in itself, every operation which takes place, not having been contemplated by it, must be imperfect, and therefore evil.

To apply these observations to the case of our own nature, it appears that man must have been created to sustain a part in the universe, for the due fulfilment of which it was indispensable that he should preserve unchanged the original properties of his nature. From the essential relations then of the creature to the Creator there arise certain claims on the part of God for reciprocal duties on the part of man; which claims collectively form, what has generally been termed, *the Law of Nature*. As however inconveniences and mistakes have arisen from the employment of this expression, it will be better perhaps to term it (as I shall henceforward do) *the Law of original obligation*: because it is the complex of the obligations which result from man's being what he is, and originates, *ipso facto*, with his existence.

This Law it is then which by St. Paul is called ΝΟΜΟΣ simply, without any article prefixed; and in the annexation or omission of the article, I think it will be found, that he employs the nicest discrimination; so as by this single term νόμος to succeed in characterizing distinctly the different Laws, or rules of moral conduct, whereof he has occasion to speak.

His practice, it appears to me, may be reduced to the following heads.

I. *νομος*, without the article prefixed, means, as has been already stated, the law of original obligation.

II. Indefinitely, *a* Law of any kind; but particularly such as is the subject of special revelation.

III. *Once alone*, and then only by implication, the Law of Moses \*.

Again 'Ο *νομος* is used to signify—

I. The Law of Moses κατ' ἐξοχὴν.

II. Renewed mention of any Law which had been previously named.

I shall proceed then to offer a few remarks on each of the instances which Bishop Middleton considers as violating the uniformity of the Apostle's practice, and as constituting *exceptions* to the rule which I desire to establish.

Ch. ii. ver. 13. "It is remarked that A. D. G. and two others omit *τε* in each place; but it is more remarkable that Griesbach has prefixed to each his mark of probable spuriousness: for the form *οἱ ακροαται νομου*, as I have repeatedly observed, is not admissible." (*Doctr. of Gr. Ar.* p. 438). The rule of Apollonius that nouns in Regimen must have articles prefixed to both of them, or to neither, is, in general, unquestionably correct; and would doubtless have been observed here, but that the expression *οἱ ακροαται του νομου* would not convey the writer's real meaning. Dr. Middleton admits that when any other usage, or any thing extraneous, interferes with the ordinary idiom, there may be a deviation from the rule. (*Gr. A.* p. 54.)

\* II. 23, *ὃς ἐν νομῷ κανχασαι, δια της παραβασεως του νομου του θεου ατιμαζεις*; Thou that makest thy boast of a Revelation, by breaking the Law dishonourest thou God?



In fact, it is evident that no rule can be so strict as to compel a writer, for the sake of technical exactness, to express himself in terms which involve a different meaning from that which he had in view. Now in the case before us, *του νομου* must have implied either the Law of Moses, or some Law previously mentioned, or else Law in its most abstract sense; neither of which was in the contemplation of St. Paul. By *νομος* he here appears to mean simply a Law given by direct revelation; and this sense makes the whole scope of his reasoning very clear. "There is no respect of persons," he says "with God." (ii. 11.) The deduction which he makes from this that the Greek, as well as the Jew, might become an object of God's favour and acceptance, was sufficiently opposed to all the established opinions of the latter; but, to shew them how completely erroneous those opinions were, he adds this universal truth: "As many as have sinned without a law *specially revealed for their instruction*, shall perish without *being judged by* a revealed law; but as many as have sinned under a special law, shall be condemned by a special law: for not the hearers of a law are just before God, but the doers of a law shall be justified <sup>b</sup>." He does not

<sup>b</sup> This is to be considered as a mere abstract proposition designed to contradict the opinion that the possession of a revealed law was, independently of obedience, a recommendation in the sight of God. To effect this, it was not necessary, nor is it designed, to assert that there is any such thing as justification for man by the way of strict merit, or by the performance of any law. St. Paul here speaks hypothetically, "the doers of a law," if any such there be, "shall be justified;" nor can these words be taken in any sense contradictory of his former distinct assertion that "by works of law shall no flesh be justified." "Docet hic solummodo Apostolus quæ sit *ratio* justificationem apud Deum obtinendi per legem. An ea obtineri *possit* per legem, hic non examinat Apostolus: voluit tantum inanem Judæorum confidentiam retundere, et ad id sufficiebat ostendisse quid requireretur ut quis

confine his attention to any one law, nor does he name any law in particular; but he argues that, since the object of *every* law is to produce obedience, they who are well instructed in *any law whatever* but do not fulfil its precepts, cannot be acquitted by it; but that they who act up to a law, whether they have heard of it or not, must be considered as better fulfilling the intention of the law-giver, and therefore as more entitled to his favour. This universal truth he then proceeds to apply more directly to the case of the Gentiles, saying "For when nations which have not a revealed law (νομον) do by nature the moral precepts of the Law (του νομου<sup>c</sup>) these not having a law, are a law unto themselves, who are inwardly shewn<sup>d</sup> the substance<sup>e</sup> of the Law written on their hearts; their

juxta legem a Deo justus haberetur, eo que Judæos esse destitutos." Limborch *Comment. in Epis. ad Rom. ii. 13.*

<sup>c</sup> του νομου here may possibly signify Law in its most abstract sense. (See *Doc. of Gr. Art.* p. 123 sq.) If so τα τ. ν. will mean things positively and essentially right in themselves; according with the fixed unchangeable law of morality. The word which I would supply is δικαιωματα (from v. 26.) and, as the general precepts of moral law must be the same with the moral enactments of the Law of Moses, and indeed of every revealed law, the argument will be much the same whether we take του νομου in this sense, or suppose it to mean the Law of Moses. But as the Apostle puts his observation in the form of an *argumentum ad hominem*, to prove to the Jew the invalidity of his objection against the Gentiles, by shewing that, so far as they fulfilled the precepts of it, they had a law, to all effectual purposes, no less than the Jews themselves, I think it more reasonable here by του νομου to understand the Law of Moses.

<sup>d</sup> ενδεικνυνται is here translated in a passive sense corresponding with the Hebrew *Huphal*. ενδεικνυμι in *Hiphil* is equivalent to *videre facio*, *Ex. ix. 16* (quoted in this *Ep. ix. 17.*) as δεικνυμι is to *scire facio*, *Gen. xli. 39* et al; see Schleusner *Lex. V. T. s. h. vv.* The passive διδασκομαι is used in a similar manner by Pausanias; παρα τον εριον ελθοντες διδασκονται την αλωσιν της Σπαρτης.

<sup>e</sup> εργον τε νομυ. "Opus legis propriè est discrimen inter honestum et

conscience agreeing with its testimony; and the conclusions established by reasoning<sup>f</sup> among themselves being *that which* will condemn<sup>g</sup>, or, it may be, plead for them in the day when God will judge the hidden dispositions of men according to my Gospel, by Christ Jesus." Not only therefore does there appear to be no necessity for supposing that by *νομος* without the Article, St. Paul here means to denote the Law of Moses, but his reasoning is rendered more general, more distinct, and more conclusive, by attending to those modifications of the meaning of the word *νομος* which he has so carefully made to depend on the insertion or omission of the article.

V. 13 *αχρι νομου*. "Here" says the same eminent critic, "as in an instance already noticed on ii. 13. *νομος* is equivalent to *τε νομου*." (*Gr. Ar.* p. 445). To this I cannot accede; nor is the connection of the words, with those which precede, very evident as explained by Mac-

turpe. Id enim est opus legis, seu id quod lex facit, discernere inter honestum et turpe, illud præcipere, hoc vetare." Limborch. *εργον* seems to signify the *substance* or *reality* of any thing; that wherein its essence consists. *εργον* says Stephens "includitur alicubi *veritatis* quædam significatio." See also Porson ad *Phæniss.* 512.

<sup>f</sup> *λογισμος* is not merely *reasoning*, but the *conclusion* in which reasoning terminates. It is used by Aristotle as synonymous with *συλλογισμος* which last word he defines to be *λογον, εν φ τεθεντων τωνων, ετερον τι των κειμενων εξ αναγκης συμβαινει, τω ταυτα ειναι*. *Anal. prior.* I. 1. This very exactly describes the situation of the Gentiles in their moral enquiries, in which certain *data* or first principles being admitted, they were enabled to deduce many *conclusions*, which in reality were so many parts of the original law of morality.

<sup>g</sup> I make *κατηγορουντων* and *απολογουμενων* here to be *future* principles, designed to express what will take place at the last day as to the manner of judging those who have lived under no specially revealed law. *η και* is used here and elsewhere by St. Paul to qualify his assertion, where, of two events, he is not certain which will happen: as 1 Cor. xvi. 6. *τυχον παραμενω, η και παραχειμασω*.



knight and others. The sense will be made much clearer if νομου be supposed *not* to signify the Jewish Law, and the words ἀρχὴ γὰρ νομοῦ ἁμάρτια ἦν ἐν κόσμῳ, be read interrogatively. "Death," says the Apostle "passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." But here, after St. Paul's manner, an objector appears to be introduced, who, not contemplating the existence of any positive law antecedent to that which was given by Moses, is at a loss to account for the condemnation of those who lived from the fall till the delivery of the Law at Sinai. He therefore urges an argument to this effect. *But how can all have died because all have sinned?* "for was sin in the world until a law was given?" *The acts which we call sinful may indeed have been committed;* "but sin is not imputed where there is no law;" since therefore there was no law, whence the condemnation? This it appears to me is the nature of the objection. St. Paul replies to it indirectly but not less satisfactorily. He tacitly admits that sin is not imputed where there is no law; "still" he continues "death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression." His object is to shew that there *was* a law always in force, and his argument is this. The men of whom he is speaking sinned not against the law which Adam violated, for it was not proposed to them, nor against the law of Moses, for it was not yet given. Still they died, and therefore must have been *sinner*s, (for death is the wages of sin) and if sinners then offenders against some *law*; (for sin is a breach of law. 1 John iii. 4.) and the law which was thus proved to be in force from Adam to Moses must have been the law of original obligation. St. Paul affirms (ii. 32.) that the Gentiles knew that the violators of this Law were "worthy of death;" and his words, which I shall presently notice, seem to imply that all who examine their

own actions and attend to the voice of their conscience, must be aware of its existence, and of their own obligation to obey it.

Again it is observed "we have in this Epistle viii. 7. *δια νομου*" where, as it is rightly contended, the whole tenor of the passage requires us to interpret this of the Law of Moses." (*Gr. Ar.* p. 440.)—The seventh verse of this chapter begins thus: "What shall we say then? is the law (*ὁ νομος*) sin?" Here it evidently appears that the Apostle continues to speak of the same law to which he had made allusion in v. 1., and which, as far as I understand Dr. Middleton, is admitted by him to be Law generally; or the original and universal law of man's nature. Having then asked "is *this* law sin?" and replying "God forbid," St. Paul continues, "still I had not known sin," I had not known certain inclinations to be sinful, or myself culpable for admitting them, "except through law; for I had not known lust unless the law '*just mentioned*' had said thou shalt not covet." Now it is difficult to think that, when he says "I had not known sin except *δια νομου*," he means through the Law of Moses. He has been arguing that *all men* through sin were condemned to death; and in the concluding part of this chapter he appears to speak in his own person as the representative of the whole human race, as it was left from the fall of Adam until the death of Christ upon the cross. This argument would therefore have been grievously interrupted if he had on a sudden turned aside to ask "is the law of *Moses* sin?" or to say "I had not known sin except through the Law of Moses." This would have been to propose an objection quite out of place; which there was nothing in his discourse to suggest to his readers; and which it was therefore unreasonable that he should in this place take upon himself to answer. The law of Moses, it is true, has said

“thou shalt not covet;” but so also has that more ancient and more extensive law whereof the Jewish was but a partial re-establishment. There is not, nor in fact could there be, any *moral* precept contained in the Jewish code which was not also contained in the original law of man. The prohibition against *lust* or *covetousness* must therefore have existed from the beginning. St. Paul himself implicitly asserts this; for among the infractions of law which he reckons up in the first chapter, we find every sort of evil concupiscence which can be included under the generic name ἐπιθυμία: and among them πλεονεξία or the desire of having more than justly belongs to us. These therefore must all have been forbidden by the law of original obligation; because that was the *only* law which the Gentiles, to whom these offences are imputed, were charged with violating.

X. 4. “τέλος γὰρ νόμου. Νόμος is here plainly ὁ νόμος.” (Gr. Art. p. 464.) To consider νόμος as designed to stand for the Law of Moses would here, no less than in many former instances, fall short of the Apostle’s argument. His object in this (tenth) chapter, is to convince the Jews that in seeking justification by works of law they had acted in opposition to the direction of their own scriptures; and that according to the same scriptures, the Apostles were authorized in proclaiming salvation to the Gentiles who had embraced the tenet of justification by faith. Having cited the prophet’s declaration that God would lay a stumbling-stone in Sion, but that whosoever believed in him should not be ashamed, (ix. 33.) his object is next to shew that this was meant as a declaration that Jews as well as Greeks must seek salvation through faith in Christ. The former, he says, not knowing God’s mode of justification, but seeking to establish their own, have not submitted to the justification of God. Which indeed



is not founded in strict personal compliance with law, "for Christ is the fulfilment of law unto every one that believeth." Men themselves, he intimates, could not fulfil it in such a manner as to entitle them to expect salvation; for Moses describes justification by law in these terms; the man that *doeth* these things shall live by them. That is, the man who performs them without the omission of any one duty, or the infraction of even the least commandment. Having shewn the Jews, upon authority which they could not dispute, how little they had thus to hope from the mode of justification on which they relied, he contrasts with this, in the following verses, the mode of justification by faith; and then infers that the Jews themselves were designed to be included within it, because, he repeats, their own scripture tells them that "*every one* who believed in him should not be ashamed. (x. 11.) For" he continues "there is no difference between the Jew and Greek; because the same Lord is over *all*, rich unto *all* that call upon his name. For" appealing again to the Jewish Scriptures, "*every one* who shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." The repetition of the words *every one* by St. Paul, and the emphasis with which he dwells upon the expression, shew that his design was to establish this universal conclusion, that both Jews and Gentiles were to be justified by faith, because Christ had suffered for the guilty that penalty which the law of works imposed, and thus had *fulfilled* that law on behalf of all who believed in him. This argument would therefore fail in the fundamental point if νομος, as Dr. Middleton alleges, signified the Law of Moses, and no other. Whether τέλος νομου be translated the *fulfilment*, or whether it be translated the *end* of the Jewish Law, (meaning that Christ is the *sub-*

*stance* whereof that was the *shadow*, or that he has *abrogated* and *abolished* it) still it is not apparent in what way this can apply to the Gentiles who were in no respect subject to the Law of Moses. The law intended by *νομος* must be a law of more extensive obligation; a law by which Gentiles as well as Jews were originally bound, and for their violation of which both were exposed to condemnation; that is, the law of original obligation which extended to the entire human race. The fulfilment of this law, by him who is the same Lord of all, could alone put the whole race into a capacity of being saved by faith, without a rigid exaction of the works of that law from every individual:

Whatever disputes may have arisen, or may still subsist, as to the natural power of man to obey this original law of God, it is admitted I believe by all, that the light of reason and conscience may suffice to discover to him the existence of this law, even though the discovery, previous to the setting forth of an *atonement* for sin, serves only to give assurance of condemnation. It is of importance, however, to shew that all men *have* means afforded them of becoming acquainted with this law, and with their obligation to obey it; and this, it appears to me, St. Paul clearly explains in the Seventh Chapter, although, from the manner in which his words are generally translated, this is not perceptible. Having, in the character of the natural man, given a sad picture of the perpetual conflict between reason and appetite, and of the resistless though not unresisted dominion of the latter, he arrives in the twenty-first verse at this conclusion *εὕρισκω ἀρα του νομον τω, θελοντι εμοι ποιειν το καλον, οτι εμοι το κακον παρακει-ται*: the true meaning of which appears to be “consequently I discover the law (of which I have been treating)

by this; (τῷ)<sup>b</sup> that when I would do good, evil is present unto me." The existence of the law of original obligation, he says, is *discoverable* by every one who will attend to what passes in his own will and conscience. Every man, living in what is called a state of nature, commits some acts of which his conscience disapproves, and which he would willingly avoid; while there are other acts of which he approves as good, according to the judgment of the same inward witness. When therefore a heathen was thus impressed, when he avowed those feelings which Ovid describes, saying *Video meliora proboque, Deteriora sequor*, he discovered, or might discover if he would, that he was living under a law, or rule of life and manners. For, if an act approve itself to any sentient being as *bad*, (deterior), he must be aware, if he analyzes his own conceptions, that it is so to be esteemed because it is a *forbidden* act; or that the doing of it violates a rule of which he inwardly feels the force and acknowledges the justice. This rule in the natural man was his sense of the moral distinction between right and wrong. To this St. Paul appeals; arguing that when men do certain acts which they account evil, to the neglect of others of which they more approve, they *by this* give evidence against themselves that they are sensible of the existence of a law according to which their moral conduct ought to be regulated, and for their neglect of which they may be deservedly punished. To be strictly grammatical, the sentence in question should be perhaps of this form εὕρισκω ἀρὰ τον νομον τῷ, δελοντι εμοι ποιειν το καλον, το κακον παρακεισθαι: but, in a manner not unusual with him, St. Paul interrupts the regular course by an *Anacolouthia*, and finishes with οτι εμοι το κακον παρακειται.

<sup>b</sup> Port-Royal Gr. Gram. B. viii. c. 11.



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P. S. The author of *Palæoromaica*, whom it is impossible to compliment on his success in conjectural emendation, has however directed his attention to one passage with which nothing satisfactory has yet been done. (*Phæniss.* 861.) Having made some previous attempts of this kind, (See *Exam. of Palæor.* pp. 28. 200. 302.) I shall venture to devote another page to the restitution of a line which has baffled the sagacity of all succeeding editors, and still continues to offend every admirer of Euripides. In Porson's edition the verses (861, 2) are thus given—

ὥς πᾶς' ἀπήνη, ποῦς τε πρεσβύτου φίλει  
χειρὸς θυραίας ἀναμένειν κουφίσματα.

The opening words of which afford no meaning; none, at least, worthy of a great poet. Accordingly Pierson, Valckenäer, Jacobs, Musgrave<sup>1</sup>, Burges, the Quarterly Reviewer<sup>k</sup>, and the author of the *Supplement to Palæoromaica*<sup>l</sup>, have each proposed a different emendation. Porson, observing that Brunck had refrained from any attempt at improvement, himself does the same; adding “*Eligat lector quod optimum est, aut ipse melius aliquid excogitet;*” by which words I conceive him to intimate that he could make nothing of it. This is the more remarkable, because, the omission of the second **C** being accounted for by what the author of *Palæoromaica*<sup>m</sup> not unhappily terms “the parsimony of letters” in MSS. written without intervals between the words, almost precisely the same strokes of the pen which constitute

<sup>1</sup> Porson *Phæniss.* ad loc.

<sup>k</sup> Vol. iii. p. 183.

<sup>l</sup> P. 87.

<sup>m</sup> P. 287. Notes 201. 203.

ΤΤΑϞΑΤΤΗΝΗ, with the insertion of only two letters (M, C) will give us **CTTACMAΓΛΗΝΗC** which bears internal marks of being the true reading ;

ὥς σπᾶσμα γλῆνης, πούς τε πρεσβύτου φιλέι  
χειρὸς θυραϊᾶς ἀναμένειν κονφίσματα.

σπασμα γλῆνης, such a convulsive contraction of the muscles of the eye-ball as produces a permanent dilatation, appears very suitably to describe the blindness which, according to Apollodorus I think, was judicially and instantaneously inflicted on Tiresias in consequence of his having beheld a sight (Minerva bathing) on which no mortal was permitted to look. “ Mr. Home has observed that the most important and the most delicate actions are performed in the body by the smallest muscles : and he mentions, as his examples, the *muscles* which have been discovered in the *iris of the eye*.—The tenuity of these muscles is astonishing. They are microscopic hairs ; must be magnified to be visible ; yet they are real effective muscles : and not only such, but (one of) the grandest and most precious of our faculties, *sight*, depends upon their health and action.” (Paley’s *Natur. Theol.* ch. ix. p. 139. See also ch. iii. p. 24.)

“ Paulo Ægineta teste 4, 31. τα σπασματα γινεται διασπω-  
μενων τινων ινων.—Gorræo σπασμα est unitatis solutio in  
parte nervosa citra vulnerationem. Convelluntur enim  
quæ in ipsa sunt fibræ ; cum ex ictu aliquo violentiam  
patiuntur, aut subito et affatim intenduntur.” Stephens  
*Thesaur.* v. σπασμα. See also farther extracts from Gor-  
ræus sub v. σπασμος i. q. σπασμα. The expression here  
restored to Euripides seems to describe the loss of the  
visual faculty by Tiresias in terms somewhat similar to

those which Shakspeare has employed in depicting the appearances occasioned by a violent death ;

But see, his face is black and full of blood ;  
*His eye-balls farther out than when he liv'd*  
*Staring full ghastly, like a strangled man.*

Henry VI. Part ii.



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The figures which have *R* prefixed, refer to the pages of the *Reply* ;  
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