

THE
ANALYTICAL REVIEW,

OR
HISTORY OF LITERATURE,
DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN,

ON AN ENLARGED PLAN.

CONTAINING
SCIENTIFIC ABSTRACTS OF IMPORTANT AND INTERESTING WORKS,
PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH;

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF SUCH AS ARE OF LESS CONSEQUENCE,
WITH SHORT CHARACTERS;

AND
NOTICES, OR REVIEWS, OF VALUABLE FOREIGN BOOKS;

ALSO THE
LITERARY INTELLIGENCE OF EUROPE, &c.

“ At hæc omnia ita tractari præcipimus, ut non, Criticorum more, in laude et
“ censura tempus teratur; sed plane *historice* RES IPSÆ narrentur, iudicium
“ *parcius* interponatur.” BACON *de historia literaria conscribenda.*

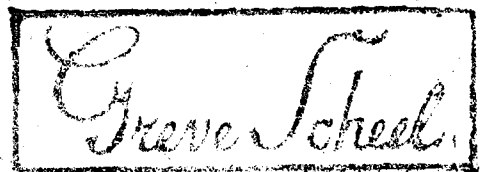
V O L. XX.

FROM SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE, 1794.

L O N D O N :

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M DCC XCV.



Of fondness and of love, crowd on my memory,
 Once my soul's dearest joy, now its despair,
 And fill my breast with woe unutterable.—
 Those arms which oft around my neck were thrown
 In playful tenderness, are gall'd by chains;
 That breast, the soft abode of filial kindness,
 Now pours, perhaps, the gushing tide of life.—
 Yet you're a parent.—Had I been a man,
 I would have rush'd on swords and pointed spears—
 This bosom should have stream'd one bleeding wound
 Ere thus abandon her.—

' *Duke.* O dry those tears—

What could I do—hemm'd in by warring thousands,
 Compell'd by duty to consult the safety
 Of those given to my charge,—to guard thee too.

' *Duch.* Perish such duty! perish too my safety!

Can I survive my daughter's death, or, worse,
 Her soul dishonour—for this public duty,
 'Tis a fine word ambition has invented
 To cheat mankind, to screen its selfish views
 Beneath the specious mask of patriot zeal,
 And blunt the feelings of humanity.
 But he whose stubborn breast is steel'd against
 The social charities of love and friendship,
 Whatever knaves pretend, or fools believe,
 Can never love his country.

' *Duke.* Peace, and hear me.

' *Duch.* I will not, cannot.—

O, I am deaf to every sound but sorrow's!—
 Matilda! O, my child! my bleeding daughter!

D. M.

T H E O L O G Y.

ART. IX. *A View of the Evidences of Christianity in three Parts.*
Part I. Of the direct historical Evidence of Christianity, and
wherein it is distinguished from the Evidence alleged for other Mi-
racles. Part II. Of the auxiliary Evidences of Christianity.
Part III. A brief Consideration of some popular Objections. By
 William Paley, M. A. Archdeacon of Carlisle. In three Vo-
 lumes. 12mo. price 10s. 6d. sewed. Faulder. 1794.

IN the present awakened and agitated state of society, in which ancient institutions of every kind are canvassed with greater freedom than ever before; in which people of all classes, not excepting the lowest, seem disposed to assert the natural right of rational beings, to judge for themselves in all points which concern their personal conduct, and affect their personal happiness;—it becomes more necessary than ever to furnish men with the means of forming a fair and satisfactory judgment, especially on such interesting subjects as those of morals, policy, and religion. The two former of these subjects have been so happily illustrated by Mr. Paley in his 'Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy,' that the public

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public will, of course, entertain high expectations from his exertions in the cause of religion, and will observe with satisfaction so able an advocate stepping forward in defence of christianity.

Though many valuable works have been written in proof of the divine authority of the christian religion, there is still room for other elementary treatises upon the subject; and we have no hesitation in saying—for we are well assured of being supported in the opinion by the general voice of the public—that no popular view of the evidences of christianity has hitherto been given, at once so judicious in the selection and arrangement of materials, so happy in illustration, and so well supported by citations, as that which now comes under our consideration. Without spending more time in general commendation, we shall immediately proceed to give an analysis of the reasoning of this work, in order that our readers may be furnished with a concise view of the whole series of evidence for the truth of the christian religion. We shall, at present, state the direct historical evidence, reserving the more indirect proofs, with the author's replies to objections, to another article.

Preparatory consideration.—It is urged as an argument sufficient to supersede all further inquiry concerning the truth of christianity from the evidence of miracles, that no human testimony can, in any case, render miracles credible, because it is contrary to experience that miracles should be true, but not contrary to experience that testimony should be false.—To this it is replied, 1. If it be not improbable, that God should destine men for a future state of existence, and should acquaint them with this destination, it is not improbable, that he would authenticate this discovery by miracles. 2. The improbability arising from the want of experience is only equal to the probability, that, if the thing were true, such things would be generally experienced: but, supposing it to be true, that miracles were wrought at the first promulgation of christianity, it is not certain, or a probability approaching to certainty, that such miracles would be repeated so often, as to become objects of general experience. The course of nature may not be invariable; and, nevertheless, the variations may be so few as not to establish a general experience. 3. If we believe in God, miracles are not incredible; for there are sufficient power, and an adequate motive. 4. Cases may be put, in which united testimony to a miraculous fact, persisted in at the expence of life, would be irresistible.

Part I. Of the direct historical evidence of christianity.

Proposition 1. That there is satisfactory evidence that many, professing to be original witnesses of the christian miracles, passed their lives in labours, dangers, and sufferings, voluntarily undergone in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief of these accounts; and that they also submitted from the same motive to new rules of conduct.

First. The fact of the voluntary sufferings of the first christians is probable from the nature of the case, or from circumstances on all hands acknowledged. For, 1. Since the christian religion exists and was established, it is probable, that it's author, and his immediate

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immediate disciples after his death, exerted themselves in first publishing, and afterwards spreading this religion. 2. It is probable, that, in the prosecution of this purpose, they underwent the labours and troubles, which the propagators of new sects are observed to undergo. 3. It is probable, that the first propagation of christianity would be in a high degree dangerous; because it contradicted the popular expectation concerning the Messiah, and the jewish prejudices against other nations; because it disparaged those ceremonies which were in the highest estimation, and decried the merit of ritual zeal; because the first missionaries would necessarily offend the jewish rulers, by reproaching them with the murder of their master, and raise jealousy in the roman governors, by their profession of unqualified obedience to a master, foretold to the jews under the title of king; and because they had to oppose a priesthood possessed of municipal authority, and were under a foreign government constantly surrounded by their enemies. 4. It is probable, that, when the preachers of christianity turned themselves to the heathen public, they would meet with great opposition, because their religion was exclusive, and would accept no compromise with idolatry, herein essentially differing from the doctrine of the philosophers; that this opposition would subject them to great danger from private enmity, even where no public persecution was denounced by the state; and that they would find little protection in that general disbelief of the popular theology, which is then supposed to have prevailed, since (beside that unbelievers are not usually tolerant) the magistrates, who were also frequently officers of religion, were deeply interested in the continuance of the established system; to which may be added, that an ancient religion has always many votaries*, and a splendid and sumptuous religion would retain great numbers partly by fascination, and partly by interest. 5. It is probable, that the original teachers of christianity conformed themselves to the institution which they preached to others, and consequently made an essential change in their habit of life, attended with a considerable degree of self-denial.

Secondly, The fact of the sufferings of the first christians is established by direct testimony, both heathen and christian.

1. *Heathen.* Tacitus, who wrote about seventy years after Christ's death, speaking of the fire which happened at Rome in the time of Nero, relates (Annal. l. xv, c. 44) that this emperor, to put an end to the report of his having ordered the city to be set on fire, laid the guilt, and inflicted the most cruel punishments, upon a set of men, who were held in abhorrence for their crimes, and called by the vulgar *christians*. The founder of that name, he adds, was *Christ*, who suffered death in the reign of Tiberius, under his procurator Pontius Pilate. He goes on to relate, that this pernicious superstition, thus checked for awhile, broke out again, and spread not only over Judea, where the evil originated, but through Rome also—where a vast multitude were apprehended, who were convicted, not so much of the crime of burn-

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ing Rome, as of hatred to mankind;—that their sufferings, at their execution, were aggravated by insult and mockery;—that some were disguised in the skins of wild beasts, and worried to death by dogs, some were crucified, and some set on fire, when the day was closed, that they might serve as lights to illuminate the night;—that Nero lent his own gardens for these executions, and exhibited at the same time a mock circensian entertainment, being a spectator of the whole;—and that this conduct made the sufferers pitied, so that, though they were criminals, and deserving the severest punishment, yet they were considered as sacrificed, not so much for the public good, as to gratify the cruelty of one man.—This happened thirty-four years after the death of Christ.—Suetonius, a writer of the same age, says, (Nero, c. xvi) ‘The christians, a set of men, of a new and mischievous (or magical) superstition, were punished.’—Juvenal probably refers to these executions, sat. i, v. 155. A celebrated letter of Pliny to Trajan speaks of many christians of every age, and of both sexes; and says, that the contagion of this superstition had not only seized cities, but smaller towns, and the open country. From the same letter it appears, that trials were and had been going on against them in the provinces over which he presided, and that in consequence of anonymous informations, sent in writing, many had been apprehended, some of whom had died in the cause, while others abandoned it. This letter, and also a rescript of Adrian to the proconsul of Asia, which takes notice of tumults raised against the christians, show, that christians were exposed to sufferings without any public prosecution.—Martial ridicules the *voluntary* sufferings of the christians; Epictetus (l. iv, c. 7) imputes their constancy to madness, or a kind of fashion or habit; M. Aurelius (Medit. l. xi, c. 13) ascribes it to obstinacy.

2. *Christian.* We have four histories of Jesus Christ, a history taking up the narrative from his death, for thirty years, and a collection of letters written by principal agents, which attest the sufferings of the witnesses of the history, directly and indirectly, by recital, allusion, and discourse.—These books relate, that Jesus, the founder of the religion, was in consequence of his undertaking put to death as a malefactor at Jerusalem;—that this religion was, *notwithstanding*, continued and widely propagated, by his disciples; and that Christ foretold the persecution of his followers, [see Matt. xxiv, 9; Mark iv, 7; Luke xxi, 12; John xvi, 4.] These books abound with exhortations to patience, and with topics of comfort under distress, [see Rom. viii, 35—37; 2 Cor. iv, 8—17; James v, 10, 11; Heb. x, 32—36; 2 Theff. i, 1—5; Rom. v, 3, 4; 1 Pet. iv, 12—19] which prove, that the circumstances of the times required patience and constancy.—Not in a professed history of persecutions, but in the course of a mixed general history, it is related in detail with the utmost particularity of names and circumstances, that Jesus commissioned twelve persons, to publish his gospel, and collect disciples, in all countries;—that they began their work at Jerusalem, and made many converts, but met with opposition from the jewish magistracy and priesthood, and suffered imprisonment; that the people at length

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joined their superiours, and a general persecution commenced with stoning one of the community; that this persecution, after a short intermission, the cause of which is not certainly known, was renewed under the government of Herod Agrippa; and that the violence of this persecution was particularly experienced by St. Paul, who, nevertheless, persevered in the propagation of christianity. The latter part of this account is corroborated by letters, written by St. Paul himself on the subject of his ministry, which correspond with the history in many circumstances, relative both to his own sufferings and those of his fellow-labourers.—The suffering state of the original teachers of christianity is further confirmed by the testimony of the immediate followers of the apostles. Clement speaks of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, and of many others. Hermes, Polycarp, Ignatius, attest the same.—These writings, without at present regarding the miraculous part of the narrative, afford abundant proof, that the original followers of Christ exerted great endeavours to propagate his religion, and underwent great labours, dangers, and sufferings, in consequence of their undertaking; and the details which they give, on this head, are perfectly agreeable to what might reasonably be expected from the nature of their undertaking, compared with the character of the age and country in which it was carried on.—These records also supply evidence to prove another part of the general proposition, that the primitive followers of Jesus assumed a new and peculiar course of private life, and became eminent for piety, purity and benevolence. See Acts i, 4; ii, 46; xii, 12; Eph. ii, 1—3; Tit. iii, 3; 1 Pet. iv, 3, 4; 1 Cor. vi, 11; Rom. vi, 21. And this agrees with the character afterwards given of the christians by Pliny.

Thirdly. There is satisfactory evidence to prove, that the original teachers of christianity voluntarily underwent the sufferings which they have been proved to have undergone, in attestation of the miraculous history recorded in our scriptures.

I. It is very manifest, that they underwent these sufferings for a miraculous story of some kind or other; because they could have nothing else, upon which to rest their claim to attention. A galilean peasant was announced to the world as a divine lawgiver. Without some proofs of his mission, the pretension could claim no credit. It could only be supported by miraculous evidence. A young man, calling himself the son of God, could not have excited so much as a doubt among the jews, whether he was their Messiah, without miraculous tokens of his divine mission: or could his followers, without an appeal to such tokens, have had any ground to stand upon, in attempting to propagate his religion.

II. The miraculous history, recorded in the scriptures now in the hands of christians, is that which the original teachers of christianity delivered, and for which they acted and suffered as they did.

This appears, first, *from general considerations.* 1. There exists no vestige of any other story. The remote, brief, and incidental notices of christianity, which are found in heathen writers, agree

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in substance with our history. The jewish writers of that period advance no other history of the transaction, than that which we acknowledge. Josephus mentions John the Baptist, and Herod, with circumstances agreeing with the christian story; and, though the genuineness of the passage in which he speaks of Jesus as the Messiah is much controverted, it is certain that he does not contradict the christian account.—2. The whole series of christian writers, from the first age of the institution down to the present, in their discussions, apologies, and controversies, proceed upon the general story which our scriptures contain, and no other. The remaining letters of the apostles, though written without the remotest design of transmitting the history of christianity to future ages, incidentally mention many circumstances recorded by the evangelists. The epistles of Barnabas, Clement, and Polycarp; the remaining works of Ignatius; a fragment of Quadratus; the writings of Justin Martyr; all attest the christian miracles, and particularly the resurrection of Christ. After this time, that is, after the middle of the second century, the history, as given by the evangelists, occurs in ancient christian writings, as familiarly as in modern sermons. Even in the spurious or doubtful writings of the early age of christianity, the leading facts are preserved, though mixed with fable. 3. The religious rites and usages, that prevailed among the early christians, were such as belonged to, and sprang out of the narrative now in our hands. 4. It appears from the gospels themselves, that when they were written, the christian community was already in possession of the substance and principal parts of the narrative. Luke i, 1—4; John i, 40; iii, 13, 24; xvi, 28; xx, 17; xxi, 24.

That the history of christianity now in our hands is that which was delivered by the first teachers, appears, secondly, from various proofs, presumptive and direct, of the genuineness of the books in which this history is recorded.—Before these proofs are stated, it must be premised, (1.) That if any one of the four gospels be proved genuine, this is sufficient to establish the identity of the history. If the first gospel were written by Matthew, we have the narrative of an eye-witness and apostle, to judge what miracles were attributed to Jesus: if the gospel of John alone were genuine, we have the same degree of evidence: if both these were spurious, yet if the gospel of Luke, or that of Mark, were written by the person whose name it bears, or by any other person in the same situation, we still have the account of a contemporary and associate of the apostles, on the lowest supposition, compiled from memoirs at that time in high esteem among them; and therefore have strong reason, from the character and situation of the writer, to believe that we possess the report, which the original emissaries delivered. (2.) That the books of the New Testament are not a solitary testimony, but a *collection of proofs*, a cumulation of testimony, with the value of which we may be strongly impressed, by considering them as communicated to us in succession: and this written evidence is of such a kind, and comes to us in such a state, as the natural order and progress of things, in the infancy of the institution, might be expected to produce; writ-

ten evidence *succeeding* verbal, and regular historical details *succeeding* epistolary exhortations and detached memoirs. (3.) That, though it were not ascertained that the gospels are the productions of the persons whose names they bear, if it be known that they were received by early societies, which the apostles founded, as containing authentic accounts of the facts upon which the religion rested, this reception would be a valid proof, that these books must have accorded with what the apostles taught.

The *presumptive proofs* of the genuineness of the books of the New Testament are, 1. We are able to produce a great number of ancient manuscripts, found in different and distant countries, all anterior to the art of printing, some from seven hundred to above a thousand years old; together with versions of great antiquity, which prove, that the scriptures were not of modern contrivance, and were long ago much read and sought after. 2. The language of the New Testament is just such as might be expected from jewish christians, greek, abounding with hebrew and syriac idioms: this is not the language of the fathers, but of the apostolic age. 3. The miraculous relations contained in these books do not directly affect the question of their genuineness. 4. Had it been easy to forge christian writings, it is probable, that some would have appeared under the sanction of the name of Christ himself, as in the unsuccessful attempt of the epistle of Christ to Abgarus: see Euséb. Hist. Ec. l. i, c. 13. 5. If the ascription of the gospels to their respective authors had been arbitrary, it is probable they would have been ascribed to more eminent men, than the reputed authors of the first three gospels. 6. Christian writers and churches appear to have soon arrived at a very general agreement upon the subject, without authority. The first council, that declared the canon of scripture, was that of Laodicea, in the year 363.

The *direct proofs* of the genuineness of these books may be reduced to the following heads of testimony:

I. The historical books of the New Testament, namely, the four gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, are quoted or alluded to by a series of christian writers, beginning with those who were contemporary with the apostles, or who immediately followed them, and proceeding, in close and regular succession, from their time to the present.

In the epistles of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, and in the Shepherd of Hermas, short pieces which bear marks of having been written very soon after the time of the apostles, and which are mentioned by other writers before the close of the second century, various allusions to the gospels, or to the words of Christ, are preserved; and though seldom accompanied with marks of quotation, yet, from the manner in which many of them are introduced, and from the method of adopting the words of Scripture in general use among the most ancient christian writers, they may be fairly supposed to have been commonly borrowed from the places of Scripture in which we now find them.—Papias, a hearer of John, and companion of Polycarp, as Irenæus attests, and of that age, as all agree, in a passage quoted

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by Eusebius, expressly ascribes the respective gospels to Matthew and Mark, and says, that Matthew wrote in hebrew, and that Mark gathered his materials from Peter's preaching. Justin Martyr (A. D. 148) has frequent quotations from the evangelists, and though he does not mention the authors by name, he calls the books, 'Memoirs composed by the apostles and their companions.' In all his works, from which might be extracted almost a complete life of Christ, there are but two instances, in which he refers to any thing said or done by Christ, which is not related concerning him in our gospels; which shows, that these gospels, and these we may say alone, were the sources from which the christians of that day drew the information upon which they depended. The principal remaining testimonies within the second century are Hegesippus, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. Of these Irenæus (A. D. 178) is the most important. His explicit testimony to the gospels is as follows: VOL. I, P. 248.

'We have not received the knowledge of the way of our salvation by any others than those by whom the gospel has been brought to us. Which gospel they first preached, and afterwards, by the will of God, committed to writing, that it might be for time to come the foundation and pillar of our faith.—For after that our Lord rose from the dead, and they (the apostles) were endowed from above with the power of the Holy Ghost coming down upon them, they received a perfect knowledge of all things. They then went forth to all the ends of the earth, declaring to men the blessing of heavenly peace, having all of them, and every one alike, the gospel of God. Matthew then, among the jews, writ a gospel in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel at Rome, and founding a church there. And after their exit, Mark also, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter. And Luke, the companion of Paul, put down in a book the gospel preached by him (Paul). Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his breast, he likewise published a gospel while he dwelt at Ephesus in Asia.'

In other places, Irenæus limits the number of gospels to four; mentions how Matthew begins his gospel, and how Mark begins and ends his; enumerates the passages in Luke, not found in the other gospels; states the particular design of John's gospel; he speaks of the author of the Acts of the Apostles, as a writer of credit, who has related the truth with the greatest exactness. His works, as well as those of the other fathers last mentioned, abound with references to the New Testament. Irenæus refers to no apocryphal christian writing. Clement of Alexandria, as quoted by Eusebius, describes the order in which the gospels were written.—Matthew's and Luke's first, Mark's next, and John's last; and this account he tells us he had received from more ancient times: he appeals with confidence to the four gospels, and distinguishes them from that of the egyptians.—Tertullian, after enumerating many apostolic churches, says, that 'with them, and with all who have fellowship in the same faith, is that gospel of Luke received from its first publication, which we so zealously maintain;'

and adds, 'the same authority of the apostolical churches will support the other gospels, which we have from them, and according to them, I mean John's and Matthew's, although that likewise, which Mark published, may be said to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was :' he elsewhere affirms, that the three other gospels were in the hands of the churches, from the beginning, as well as Luke's.—Origen (A. D. 230) is equally decisive in his testimony to the four gospels and Acts, and censures certain apocryphal gospels.—From this time the works of christian writers are full of references to the New Testament, as Lardner has shown at large.

II. When the scriptures are quoted or alluded to, it is with peculiar respect, as possessing an authority belonging to no other books, and as conclusive in all questions and controversies among christians.—Beside the general strain of reference, which indicates this distinction, many specific testimonies occur, from the middle of the second century downwards, in which the gospels are spoken of, as written by inspired men—as divine scriptures—the sacred fountain—the heavenly scriptures, without which no article of faith ought to be delivered—the sacred volume, which is a perfect rule, &c.

III. The scriptures were, in very early times, collected into a distinct volume. The term *gospel* is probably used by Ignatius for a collection of writings, as opposed to the prophets. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, &c. speak of the christian scriptures under the general title of the gospel and apostles. Eusebius speaks of the order in which the books were arranged.

IV. Our present christian scriptures were soon distinguished by appropriate names, and titles of respect. Polycarp calls them the holy scriptures; Clement, the true evangelical canon; Origen, the New Testament.

V. Our scriptures were publicly read and expounded in the religious assemblies of the early christians. 'The memoirs of the apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read according as the time allows, and when the reader has ended, the president makes a discourse exhorting to the imitation of so excellent things.' *Just. Mart.*—'We come together to recollect the divine scriptures; we nourish our faith, raise our hope, confirm our trust, by the sacred word.' *Tertull.*—Many homilies of Origen upon the New Testament, delivered in the assemblies of the church, are extant.

VI. Commentaries were anciently written upon the scriptures; harmonies formed out of them; different copies carefully collated, and versions made of them into different languages.—Tatian (A. D. 170) composed a collation of the four gospels, entitled, *Diatessaron*. Pantænus, and Clement of Alexandria, wrote many explications of the scriptures. Tertullian appeals to the 'authentic greek.' An anonymous writer mentioned by Eusebius, and who appears to have written about the year 212, appeals to the 'ancient copies' of the scriptures in refutation of corrupt readings. In the third century, J. Africanus wrote upon the genealogies in Matthew and Luke; Ammonius wrote a harmony of the

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