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1351



A

CRITICAL HISTORY
OF THE *Sam. J. Miller.*
ATHANASIAN CREED.

REPRESENTING THE OPINIONS OF
ANTIENENTS AND MODERNS
CONCERNING IT:

*With an Account of the MANUSCRIPTS, VERSIONS, and
COMMENTS, and such other particulars as are of moment
for the determining the Age, and Author, and Value of it,
and the Time of its Reception in the Christian Churches.*

By DANIEL WATERLAND. D.D.

CHANCELLOR of the CHURCH of YORK, and Chaplain
in ordinary to His MAJESTY.

C A M B R I D G E,

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i. 2

To His GRACE,
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP
OF
YORK,
PRIMATE of ENGLAND
and METROPOLITAN.

MY LORD,



I AM desirous of sending these Papers abroad under your GRACE'S Name, in confidence you will be a *Patron* to Them, as you have been to the *Author*. I would make their way short and easy to the *publick* Esteem, by introducing them first into your
* 2 GRACE'S

The DEDICATION.

GRACE'S Acquaintance, and good Opinion: Which if they have once the Honour to obtain, I may then be assured that they will be both *useful* to the *World*, and acceptable with all *good Men*; the Height of my Ambition.

THE *Subject*, my Lord, is the *Athanasian Creed*, the most accurate System of the *Athanasian*, that is, the *Christian Faith*: Of which your GRACE is, by your Station and Character, by Duty and Office, and, what is more, by Inclination and Principle, and real Services, the watchful *Guardian*, and *Preserver*.

THE Happy Fruits of it are visible in the slow and inconsiderable Progress that the *New Heresy* has been able to make within your *Province*; where it died, in a manner, as it first arose, and no sooner began to lift up its Head, but sunk down again in Shame and Confusion: As if the Plenty of *good Seed* sown had left
left

The DEDICATION.

left no room for *Tares*, or They could take no root in a *Soil* so well *Cultivated*.

WHILE your GRACE is promoting the Honour and Interests of our Holy Faith, in the *Eminent* Way, by the Wisdom of your *Counsels*, the Authority of your *Precepts*, and the Brightness of your *High Example*; I am endeavouring, in such a way as I can, to contribute something to the same *Common Cause*, tho' it be but slight and small, tho' it be only reviewing the *Fences*, and surveying the *Outworks*; which is the most I pretend to in the *History* here presented.

WHAT Advantage *Others* may reap from the *Publication*, will remain in suspense: But I am sure of One to *my self*. (and I lay hold of it with a great deal of pleasure) The *Opportunity* I thereby have of returning my *publick* Thanks to your GRACE for your *publick* Favors.
Tho'

The DEDICATION.

Tho' This, my *Lord*, is but a scanty Expression for them, and far short, where the engaging *Manner* and *Circumstances*, known but to *Few*, and not to be understood by *Many*, make so considerable an Addition in the whole, and almost double the Obligation upon

My LORD,

Your GRACE's most obliged,

most dutiful,

and most obedient Humble Servant,

DANIEL WATERLAND.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

WHAT I here present the Reader with, will not require much Preface. The Introduction intimates the Design, and Use, and Partition of the Work. The Appendix, which is an additional Inlargement beyond my first Design, gives account of it self. I subjoin Two Indexes, for the Ease and Convenience of such Persons as may be disposed, not only to read these Sheets, but to study the Subject. I should scarce have thought of making Indexes to so small a Treatise, had I not found the like in Tentzelius, upon the same Subject, and to a smaller Tract than This is. His were of considerable use to Me, as often as I wanted to review any particular Author, or Passage, or to compare distant Parts, relating to the same Things, one with another. The Benefit therefore which I reap'd from his Labours, I am willing to pay back to the Publick by mine.

As to the Subject of the following Sheets, I make no question of its well deserving the Thoughts and Consideration of every studious Reader; having before pass'd through the Hands of many the most learned, and most judicious Men, and such as would not misemploy their Time, and Pains upon a Trifle. As to the present Management of it, it must be left to the Reader to judge of, as He sees Cause.

I should throw in a few previous Hints about the Chronology of the several Parts, and the Rules I have set to my self in it. For our Saxon Kings; where I have occasion to mention them, I
content

The P R E F A C E.

content my self with Tyrrell's Tables, printed at the end of Dr. Hicke's Thesaurus. They are the best for giving a short and succinēt view of the whole, and are accurate enough for my purpose; tho' They may sometimes differ a little from the other, and perhaps truer, Accounts. However, now I have given this previous notice of it, there will be no danger of leading any Person into mistakes on that Head.

For the Chronology of the other Parts, I have consulted the best Authors; endeavouring to fix it with as much Accuracy as I could. Wherever I could certainly determine the Age of any Tract, printed or manuscript, to a Year, I set down That Year: Where I could not do it (as in Manuscripts one seldom can) I take any probable year within the Compass of Time when an Author is known to have flourish'd; or for a Manuscript, any probable year within such a Century, or such a King's Reign wherein the Manuscript is reasonably judged to have been written: And I generally chuse a round number, rather than otherwise, in such indefinite Cases and Instances.

Thus for example, first in respect of Authors: There is a Comment of Venantius Fortunatus, upon the Athanasian Creed, which I have reprinted in my Appendix. I cannot fix the Age of it to a Year, no nor to 20 Years. All that is certain is, that it was made between 556 when Fortunatus first went into the Gallican Parts, and 599 when He was advanced to the Bishoprick of Poitiers. Within This wide compass, I chuse the year 570. If any one shall rather chuse 580, or 590, I shall not dispute it with Him, nor doth any thing very material depend upon it: But if any good reason can be given for taking some other year rather than 570, I shall immediately acquiesce in it.

I shall

The P R E F A C E.

I shall mention one Instance more, where the Compass of Time is not near so wide. In fixing the Date of one of the Pieces of Ratram, which I refer to in page 21, I guide my self by the Pontificate of Pope Nicholas I. who sat in the See from 858 to 867: And so I place Ratram in 864, upon probable presumption, which may suffice. But if it be certain that Pope Nicholas's Letter to the Gallican Bishops bore date so low as 867 (which I have since found reason to believe) then Ratram ought to be placed rather in 868; which I here intimate in the way of Correction.

As to Manuscripts, it is well known there is no fixing them precisely to a Year, meerly from the Hand, or, Character: And there are but few, in comparison, that carry their own certain Dates with them. The best Judges therefore in these matters, will think it sufficient to point out the King's Reign, or sometimes the Century, wherein a Manuscript was written: And in the very antient ones, above 1000 years old, They will hardly be positive so much as to the Century, for want of certain discriminating marks between Manuscripts of the Vth, VIth, and VIIth Centuries.

It may be ask'd then, why I pretend to fix the several Manuscripts, hereafter to be mention'd, to certain years in the margin; those that carry no certain Dates, as well as the other that do? I do it for order and regularity, and for the more distinct perception of Things; which is much promoted and assisted by this orderly ranging them according to Years. At the same time, the intelligent Reader will easily understand where to take a thing as certain, and where to make Allowances. It is something like the placing of Cities, Towns, Rivers, &c. in a Map, or a Globe: They have all their certain Places there, in such or such precise
* * * Degrees

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Degrees of Longitude, and Latitude; which perhaps seldom answer to the strict Truth of Things, or to a mathematical exactness. But still it serves the purpose very near as well as if every thing had been adjusted with the utmost nicety: And the Imagination and Memory are mightily relieved by it. Thus much I thought proper to hint in vindication of my Method, and to prevent any deception on one Hand, or misconstruction on the other. I have, I think, upon the whole, generally gone upon the fairest and most probable presumption, and according to the most correct Accounts of the knowing, and most accurate Men. But if I have any where through inadvertency, or for want of better information, happen'd to mistake in any material part, the best way of apologizing for it, will be to correct it the first opportunity, after notice of it.

As to meer Omissions, They will appear more, or fewer, according to Mens different Judgments, or Opinions what to call an Omission. I might have enlarged, considerably, the first Chapter, which treats of the Learned Moderns: Tho' some perhaps will think it too large already, and that it might better have been contracted. I omitted several Moderns mention'd by Tentzelius, whose profess'd Design was to take in all: Mine was only to take the principal, or as many as might suffice to give the Reader a full and distinct Idea how this matter had stood, with the learned Moderns, for 80 years last past. However, I must ingenuously own, that Some were omitted purely because at That Time I had not met with Them: Otherwise Ruelius of the year 1675, who has spent above 20 Pages, in 4to, particularly upon the subject (Concil. Tom. 2. p. 646. to p. 670) had certainly merited a place in my Table of Moderns. Nevertheless there is scarce an observation of any moment, or so much as a Thought in
all

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all his Pages, but what may be found, with improvements, among Those whom I have mention'd: which, I believe, will prove equally true of any other whom I have not taken into my List.

There may be Omissions of another kind, which really render the work in some measure defective, and which I could not help. There are undoubtedly several useful materials, concealed in Libraries, which, could I have come to the knowledge of them, might have contributed to the perfection of the following Treatise. I would have waited some Time longer for Things of That kind, but that I thought, the surest and the shortest way to draw out those hidden Stores, was first to show by This, as by a Specimen, of what use They may really be when brought to Light. And now I shall be very glad if what hath been here done may but prove an useful Introduction to more, and larger Discoveries upon the same Subject. If Any thing considerable still remains, either in private Hands, or publick Repositories; Any thing that may be serviceable to clear up some dark Part, or to correct any Mistake, or to confirm and illustrate any important Truth relating to the Subject; I shall be very thankful to the Person that shall oblige either Me with private notice of it, or the Publick with new Improvements on This Head.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line	For	Read
6.	4.	704.	703.
9.	24.	Vith.	Vth.
22.	10.	Adelbertus.	Adalbertus.
39.	8.	N.	N. 2339.
44.	13.	<i>confidently averred</i>	<i>said</i>
53.	31.	deauratum.	deauratum.
58.	36.	describentur.	describuntur.
87.	33.	Ballario.	Ballario.
103.	37.	negata.	negata.
109.	ult.	104.	124.
164.	9.	contente.	content.
Index		Riculphius.	Riculphus.
		Julianus. 168.	72.

A
 CRITICAL HISTORY
 OF THE
 ATHANASIAN CREED.

THE
 INTRODUCTION
 SHEWING

The Design and Use of this Treatise: with the Method and Partition of it.



Y Design is, to inquire into the *Age, Author, and Value* of that Celebrated *Confession*, which goes under the Name of *The Athanasian Creed*. The *general* Approbation it hath long met with in the Christian Churches, and the *particular* Regard which hath been, early and late, paid to it in our *Own*, (while it makes a part of our *Liturgy*, and stands recommended to us in our *Articles*) will, I doubt not, be Considerations sufficient to justify an Undertaking of this kind: Provided only, that the Performance be answerable, and that it fall not short of its Principal Aim, or of the just Expectations of the ingenuous, and candid Readers. No one will expect more of me than my *present* Materials, such as I could procure, will furnish me with; nor any greater *certainty* in an Essay of this nature, than Things of this kind will admit of. If a reason-

The INTRODUCTION.

ble Diligence has been used in *collecting*, and due pains in *digesting*, and a religious Care in *building* thereupon (more than which I pretend not to) it may, I hope, be sufficient with all equitable Judges.

Many learned and valuable Men have been before employed in the same Design: But their Treatises are mostly in *Latin*, and some of them very scarce, and hard to come at. I know not that any one has hitherto attempted a just Treatise upon the Subject in our own Language, however useful it might be to the *English* Readers; and the more so at This time when the Controversy about the *Trinity* is now spread abroad among all Ranks and Degrees of Men with us, and the *Athanasian Creed* become the Subject of common, and ordinary Conversation. For these Reasons, I presumed, an *English* Treatise might be most proper and seasonable: Tho' otherwise, to avoid the unseemly mixture of *English*, and *Latin* (which will here be necessary) and because of some parts which none but the *Learned* can tolerably judge of; it might be thought more proper rather to have written a *Latin* Treatise, and for the use only of Scholars. However, there will be nothing very material but what an *English* Reader may competently understand: And I shall endeavor to lay before Him all that has been hitherto usefully observed, or discover'd upon the Subject, that He may want nothing which may be conceiv'd of any moment for the enabling Him to form a true Judgment. What I borrow from Others shall be fairly acknowledged as I go along, and refer'd to it's proper Author, or Authors; it being as much my Design to give an *Historical* Account of what others have done, as it is to supply what They have left undone, so far as my present materials, leisure, and opportunities may enable me to do it. Now, to present the Reader with a Sketch of my Design, and to show Him how one part is to hang upon another, my method will be as follows.

I. First, in order to give the clearer *Idea* of what hath been already done, and of what may be still wanting, I begin with recounting the several Conjectures, or Discoveries of the *Learned Moderns*.

2. Next

The INTRODUCTION.

II. Next, to enter upon the matter it Self, and the Evidence proper to it, I proceed to lay down the direct *Testimonies* of the *Antients* concerning the *Age*, *Author*, and *Value* of This Creed.

III. To these I subjoin an Account of the antient *Comments* upon the same Creed, being but another kind of *Ancient Testimonies*.

IV. After These follows a brief recital of the most antient, or otherwise most considerable, *Manuscripts* of This Creed, which I have either seen my self, or have had notice of from Others. This part, I fear, will be in some measure imperfect, for want of a fuller search into the many Excellent Libraries we have in *England*; tho' I have spent some pains in searches of that kind, and have been obliged to the kind offices of Friends in searching for me.

V. Next to the *Manuscripts* of the Creed it self, I shall inquire also into the antient *Versions* of it, printed, or manuscript; which will be also very serviceable to our main Design.

VI. I come in the next place to treat of the antient *Reception* of this *Creed*, or *Formulary*, in the Christian Churches; as being a Point of great moment, and what may be more *certainly* determin'd than the Time of its *Composition*, and may give great Light into it.

VII. These preliminaries settled, to introduce to what follows, I then fall directly to the darkeſt part of all; namely to the Inquiry after the *Age*, and *Author* of the *Creed*: which I dispatch in Two distinct *Chapters*.

VIII. Next, I lay before the *learned* Reader the Creed it self in its *Original* Language, with the most considerable *various Editions*; together with *select* Passages from antient Writers, either parallel to Those of the Creed, or explanatory of it. And lest the *English* Reader should appear to be neglected, I subjoin the Creed in *English* with a running *English* Commentary, serving much the same purpose with what is intended by the *Latin* Quotations going before.

IX. I conclude all with a Brief Vindication of our own Church in receiving, and still retaining This excellent Formu-

lary of the Christian Faith; answering the most *material* Objections which have been made against us, on that Account; and shewing the Expediency, and even Necessity of retaining This Form, or something equivalent, for the preservation of the Christian Faith against Heresies. The Reader, I hope, will excuse it, if in compliance with Custom, and to save my self the Trouble of Circumlocution, I commonly speak of it under the Name of the *Athanasian Creed*; not designing thereby to intimate, either that it is a *Creed* strictly and properly so called, or that it is of *Athanasius's* composing: Both which points will be discuss'd in the Sequel.

C H A P. I.

The Opinions of the learned Moderns concerning the Athanasian Creed.

A. D. 1642. **I**N reciting the Opinions of the learned *Moderns*, I need go no higher than *Gerard Vossius*: who in his Treatise *de Tribus Symbolis*, publish'd in the Year 1642, led the way to a more strict and critical Inquiry concerning This Creed than had been before attempted. The Writers before Him, most of Them, took it for granted that The Creed was *Athanasius's*, without troubling Themselves with any very particular Inquiry into it: And Those few who doubted of it, or ascribed it to Another, yet enter'd not closely into the merits of the Cause, but went upon loose Conjectures rather than upon any just Rules of true and solid Criticism. It will be sufficient therefore to begin our Accounts from *Vossius*, who, since the Time of his writing, has been ever principally mention'd, and chiefly quoted, by as many as have written upon the Subject, as being the first and most considerable Man that has enter'd deep into it, and treated of it like a Critick. He endeavour'd to sift the matter thoroughly, as far as He was well able to do from *Printed Books*: As to *Manuscripts* He either wanted leisure, or opportunity to search for Them. The Result of his Inquiries concluded in the following particulars, some of them dubiously,

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all of them modestly offer'd, or propos'd by Him. 1. That the *Athanasian* Creed is not *Athanasius's*. 2. That it was originally a *Latin* Composure, and of a *Latin* Author or Authors. 3. That it was made in the 8th or 9th Century, in the Time of *Pepin*, or of *Charles the Great*; and probably by some *French* Divine. 4. That the first Time it was produced, under the Name of *Athanasius*, at least, with any Assurance and Confidence of it being his, was in the Year 1233, when Pope *Gregory* the IXth's Legates pleaded it at Constantinople in favor of the *Procession* against the *Greeks*. 5. That it scarce ever obtain'd in any of the Christian Churches before the Year 1000. How far *Vossius* was mistaken in his Accounts, will appear in the Sequel. Thus far must be allow'd Him, that He managed the Argument with great Learning and Judgment, made a good use of such Materials as He was possess'd of; and tho' He was not very happy in determining the *Age* of the Creed, or the Time of its *Reception*, yet He produced so many, and such cogent Arguments against the Creed's being originally *Greek*, or being made by *Athanasius*, that they could never be answer'd.

The learned *Petavius*, who in the Year 1622 (when He publish'd *Epiphanius*) had fallen in with the Common Opinion of This Creed's being *Athanasius's*, did yet afterward in his Treatise of the *Trinity*, publish'd in the Year 1644, speak more doubtfully of it; in the mean while positive that it was written in *Latin*.^a

1644

The next considerable Man, and who may be justly called a *First Writer* in this Argument, as well as *Vossius*, was our learned *Usher*. He had a good Acquaintance with Libraries, and Manuscripts; and was able from Those Stores to produce new Evidences which *Vossius* knew not of. In the Year 1647, He printed his *Latin* Tract *de Symbolis*, with a prefatory Epistle to *Vossius*. He there appeals to the Testimonies of *Ratram* of *Corbey*, and *Aeneas* Bishop of *Paris*, neither of them at That Time made publick, as also to *Hincmar's* of *Rheims* (which had been publish'd but had escap'd *Vossius's* observation) to prove that This Creed had been confidently cited under the Name of *Athanasius* almost

1647

^a Petavius de Trin. l. 7. c. 8. p. 392.

400 Years before the Time of Pope *Gregory's* Legates, the Time set by *Vossius*. And further, by Two Manuscripts found in the *Cotton* Library, He thought He might carry up the Antiquity of the Creed to the Year 704, or even to 600. In short, He scrupled not to set the Date of it above the Year 447: For He supposes a Council of *Spain*, held in that Year, to have been acquainted with it, and to have borrowed the *Filioque* from it.* Thus far He, without any more particular determination about either the *Age*, or the *Author*.

1647 About the same Time Dr. *Jeremy Taylor* (afterwards Bishop of *Down* and *Connor*) publish'd his *Liberty of Prophefying*, wherein He expresses his Doubts whether the Creed be justly ascribed to *Athanasius*. But as He had never seen *Ushers's* Treatise, nor indeed *Vossius's*, nor was at that Time furnish'd with any proper Assistances to inable Him to make any accurate Inquiries into This matter; it may suffice just to have mention'd Him, in regard to the deserved Name He has since born in the Learned World.

1659 *Leo Allatius*, about This Year, printed his *Syntagma de Symbolo S. Athanasii*; which no Doubt must be a very useful Piece, especially in relation to the Sentiments of the *Greek* Churches, and the Reception of this Creed amongst them: But I have never seen it; only I learn from *Tentzelius* (who yet could never get a sight of it) and *Fabricius*, that such a Piece was written by *Allatius* in *Modern Greek*; in 12°. publish'd at *Rome* in 1658, or 1659. It appears to be very scarce, since none of the Learned who have since written upon This Creed have either referr'd to it, or given Extracts out of it, so far as I have observed: excepting only something of that kind at *Rome*, A. D. 1667, by The *Congregation for propagating the Faith*.^b

1663 Cardinal *Bona*, some Years after, in his Book *de Divina Psalmodia*, makes frequent mention of This Creed, touches but slightly upon the Question about its *Age* or *Author*, takes some

a *Usher: de Symbolis, p. 24.* N. B. *Usher* went upon the supposition that the Words, a *patrie filioque procedens*, were genuine; and not foisted into the *Confession* of That Council; as They now appear to have been, after a more careful view of the MSS. of best Note, and greatest Antiquity.

b *Vid. Tentzel. judic. &c p. 147.*

cursorfory notice of what *Voffius* had said, but nevertheless ascribes it to *Athanasius*, as being composed by Him while in the Western parts, *Teste Baronio*; resting his Faith upon *Baronius*, as his Voucher.^a

Our very Learned Bishop *Pearson* in his *Exposition* of the Creed, 1669 occasionally delivers his Opinion, that the *Athanasian* Creed was written in *Latin*, and by some Member of the *Latin* Church.^b

Our next Man of Eminent Character is *Paschasius Quesnel*, 1675 a celebrated *French* Divine. In the Year 1675, He publish'd his famous Edition of Pope *Leo's* Works, with several very valuable *Dissertations* of his own. His XIVth contains, among other matters, a particular Inquiry about the Author of this Creed. He ascribes it to *Vigilius Tapsensis*, the *African*^c; and so well defends his Position that He has almost drawn the Learned World after Him. He is look'd upon as the Father of that Opinion, because He has so learnedly and handsomly supported it: But He is not the first that espoused it. For *Labbe*, about 15 Years before, had taken notice of Some that had ascribed This Creed to *Vigilius*, at the same Time signifying his Dissent from Them^d

The Year after *Quesnel*, *Sandius*, the famous *Arian*, printed 1676 a Second Edition of his *Nucleus* &c. with an *Appendix*: Wherein He corrects his former Judgment^e of This Creed, taken implicitly from *Voffius*; and allows, nay contends and insists upon it, that This Creed was not only known, but known under the Name of *Athanasius*, as high at least as the Year 770^f. He ascribes it upon Conjecture to one *Athanasius*, Bishop of *Spire* in *Germany*, who died in the Year 642.

I ought not to pass over our very learned *Cudworth*, tho' He 1678 has entred very little into the point before us. He gives his judgment, in passing, of the Creed commonly called *Athanasian*; that it was written a long time after *Athanasius* by some other Hand.^g

a *Bona* de Divina Psalmod. Cap. 16. Sect. 18. p. 264.

b *Pearson* on the Creed. Articl. 8. p. 324. ed. 3.

c *Quesnel*. Dissert. XIV. p. 729. &c.

d *Labbæi* Dissert. de Script. Eccles. Tom. 2. p. 477.

e *Vid.* Sandii Nucl. Histor. Eccles. p. 256.

f Sandii Append. p. 35.

g *Cudworth* Intellect. Syst. p. 620.

- 1680 *Henricus Heideggerus* is a Writer whom I have not seen, but find mention'd with particular respect by *Casim: Oudin*; upon whose credit, I here take notice of his publishing at *Zurich* some *Select Dissertations*, and his ascribing this Creed to *Vigilius Tapsensis*, in his XVIIIth Dissertation. Tom. 2.
- 1681 *Wolfgang Gundling*, a *German* writer, the Year after publish'd a small Tract, containing Notes upon a little Piece relating to the Religion of the *Greek Churches*, written by *Eustratius Johannides Zialowski*. What is chiefly valuable in *Gundling*, is his Account of the *Greek Copies* of this Creed; (printed ones I mean) giving us six of them together. He occasionally expresses his Doubts whether the Creed be *Athanasius's*, or of some later Writer.^a
- 1683 I may next mention our celebrated Ecclesiastical Historian, *Dr. Cave*, who about this Time publish'd his *Lives of the Fathers*, and particularly of *Athanasius*. His account of This Creed is, that it *was never heard of in the World till above 600 years after Athanasius was dead; but barely mention'd then, and not urged with any confidence till above 200 years after, when the Legates of Pope Gregory the IXth produced and pleaded it at Constantinople.*^b The learned Doctor, it is plain, took this Account from *Vossius*, and had never seen *Usher's Treatise*; which one may justly wonder at. Five years after, in his *Historia Literaria*, He allows that This Creed had been spoken of by *Theodulphus*, which was within 436 years of *Athanasius*: But not a Word yet of any elder Testimony, or Manuscript, tho' Both had been discovered, and publickly taken notice of, before This Time. He still contends that the Creed obtain'd not in the Christian Churches before the Year 1000, nor became famous every where before 1233; but inclines nevertheless to ascribe it to *Vigilius Tapsensis*, who flourished about the Year 484.^c
- 1684 Doctor *Comber*, in his Book intituled, *A Companion to the Temple*, closes in with the old Tradition of the Creed being

a *Gundlingii notæ* in *Eustratii Johannidis Zialowski Delineationem Ecclesie Græcæ*. p. 68. &c.

b *Cave: Life of Athanasius*. Sect. VI. Art. 10.

c *Cave. Histor. Literar.* Vol. I. p. 146. 271.

Athanasius's; repeating the most considerable Arguments usually pleaded for that Persuasion.^a

To Him I may Subjoin Bishop *Beveridge*, who perhaps about 1684 This Time might write his Thoughts on the Creed, in his *Exposition of our Articles*, publish'd after his Death. He was so diligent and knowing a Man, that had He been to consider This matter in his *later* years, He would certainly have given a more particular and accurate Account than that which now appears. He ascribes the Creed to *Athanasius*, but with some diffidence; and thinks it might have been originally a *Greek* Composition, but that the old Greek Copies have been lost, and that the only remaining ones are *Versions* from the Latin.^b

Cabassutius, in his *Notitia Ecclesiastica*, hath a short Dissertation about the Author of This Creed.^c He contents Himself with repeating *Quesnel's* Arguments, to prove that *Athanasius* was not the Author of it, determining nothing farther, save only that it was originally a *Latin* Composure, known and cited by the Council of *Autun* about the Year 670. 1685

The celebrated *Dupin*, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, sums up 1687 the reasons usually urged to prove that the Creed is none of *Athanasius's*, and assents to them. He determines with confidence that it was originally a *Latin* composition, and not known till the VIth Century; repeats Father *Quesnel's* reasons for ascribing it to *Vigilius Tapsensis*, and acquiesces in them, as having nothing more certain in this matter.^d

About the same Time *Tentzelius*, a learned *Lutheran*, publish'd a little Treatise upon the Subject;^e setting forth the several Opinions of Learned Men concerning This Creed. He is very full and accurate in his Collection, omitting nothing of moment that had been said before Him by any of the learned *Moderns*, but bringing in some further materials, from his own searches, to add new Light to the Subject. He determines nothing; but 1687

a *Comber Companion to the Temple* p. 144.

b *Beveridge on the 8th Article*. p. 162.

c *Cabassutii Notit. Eccles. Dissert.* 19. p. 54.

d *Dupin Eccles. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 35.

e *Ernesti Tentzelii judicium Eruditorum De Symb. Athanasii studiose collecta. Gotbae. An. D. 1687.*

leaves it to the Reader to make a Judgment as He sees cause from a full view of the Pleadings.

1688 I may place here the learned *Pagi*, who in his *Critick* upon *Baronius* passés his judgment of This Creed: ^a which being the same with *Quesnel's*, and little more than Repetition from Him, I need not be more particular about Him.

1690 *Hamond L'Estrange*, in his *Alliance of Divine Offices*, falls in with the now current Opinion; ^b that The Creed is not *Athanasius's*, nor later than the VIth Century.

1693 *Joseph Anthelmi*, a learned *Paris* Divine, first began directly to attack *Quesnel's* Opinion; and to sap the reasons on which it was founded. He publish'd a particular *Dissertation* to That purpose, ^c of which I have seen several, and pretty large Extracts, but could never yet get the Book it self however desirous of it, or however serviceable it might be to my Design. He ascribes the Creed to *Vincentius Lirinensis*, who flourish'd in the Year 434.

1695 The famous *Tillemont* wrote after *Anthelmus*, for He makes mention of his Treatise, and examines his *Hypothesis*: And yet it could not be long after; for He died in the Year 1697. He commends *Mr. Anthelmi's* performance as a considerable Work; but inclines still rather to *Quesnel's* Opinion. All that He pronounces *certain*, is, that the Creed is none of *Athanasius's*, but yet as old as the *sixth* Century, or older. ^d

1698 In the Year 1698, *Montfaucon* publish'd his new and accurate Edition of *Athanasius's* Works. In the second *Tome*, He has an Excellent Dissertation upon This Creed; the best that is extant, either for *order* and *method*, or for Plenty of useful Matter. The Sum of his Judgment is, that the Creed is certainly none of *Athanasius's*, nor yet *Vigilius Tapsensis's*, nor sufficiently proved to belong to *Vincentius Lirinensis*; but probably enough compos'd about the Time of *Vincentius*, and by a *Gallican* Writer or Writers. ^e

a *Pagi*. Critic. in Baron. An. 340. n. 6. p. 440.

b *L'Estrange* Alliance of Divine Offices. Ch. 4. p. 99.

c *Josephi Anthelmii* Dissertatio de Symbolo Athanasiano. Paris. 1693. Svo.

d *Tillemont*. Memoires. Tom. 8. p. 667.

e Symbolum Quicumque Athanasio iucunctanter abjudicandum arbitramur

In the same year, *Ludovic: Antonius Muratorius*, an Italian 1698
 Writer, publish'd a second Tome of *Anecdota* out of the *Ambrosian* Library at *Milan*. Among other Manuscripts there, He had met with an Ancient *Comment* upon This Creed, ascribed to *Venantius Fortunatus*, who was Bishop of *Poitiers* in *France* in the VIth Century. He publishes the *Comment*, together with a *Dissertation* of his own concerning the Author of the Creed: concluding, at length, that *Venantius Fortunatus*, the certain Author of the *Comment*, might possibly be Author of the *Creed* too. He entirely rejects the opinion of Those that would ascribe it to *Athanasius*, and disapproves of *Quesnel's* persuasion about *Vigilius Tapsensis*; but speaks favourably of *Anthelmi's*, as coming nearest to the Truth.^a

Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Græca*,^b (highly valued by all Men 1712
 of Letters) gives a Summary Account of the Sentiments of the Learned relating to This Creed. His Conclusion from all is, that thus far may be depended on as *certain*; that the Creed was not composed by *Athanasius*, but long after in the Vth Century, wrote originally in *Latin*, and afterwards translated into *Greek*.

In the same year, the learned *Le Quien* publish'd a new E- 1712
 dition of *Damasceus*, with *previous Dissertations* to it. In the first of these, He has several very considerable Remarks, concerning the *Age*, and *Author* of the *Athanasian* Creed. He appears inclinable to ascribe it to Pope *Anastasius I*, (who entred upon the Pontificate in the year 398) because of some ancient Testimonies, as well as Manuscripts, carrying the Name of *Anastasius* in the Title of the Creed: But He is positive that the Creed must be set as high as the Age of *St. Austin*, *Vincentius*, and *Vigilius*.^c And, as *Anthelmus* before had made light of the suppo-

Afro itaque *Vigilio* nihil est quod symbolum *Quicumque* tribuatur. — non ægré quidem concesserim *Vincentii* ætate editam fuisse illam Fidei professionem. — Haud abs re conjecant Viri eruditi in *Gallis* illud (*symbolum*) fuisse elucubratum. *Montf. Diatrib. p. 723.*

a Hæc & similia pluribus pertractavit eruditissimus *Anthelmus*, cujus opinioni, quorumnam eruditorum suffragia accesserint, me penitus fugit: Fateor tamen ad veritatem omnium maxime illam accedere. *Murator. Tom. 2. p. 222.*

b *Fabricii Biblioth. Græca, Vol. V. p. 315.*

c Omnino fateri cogor *Augustini, Vincentii, & Vigilii* ætate extitisse expositionem latianam Fidei, quæ postmodum *Athanasio Magno* attribui meruerit. *Le Quien Dissert. t. p. 9.*

sition that the *internal Characters* of the Creed show it to be later then *Eutyches*; He makes as light of the other supposition of the *internal Characters* setting it later than *Nestorius*.

1714. *Natalis Alexander's* new Edition of his *Ecclesiastical History*, bears Date A. D 1714. He had examin'd into our present Question some years before (about 1676 when his first Edition came abroad) subscribing to the Opinion of *Quesnel*: And He does not appear to have alter'd his mind since. He takes notice of *Anthelmi's* Opinion, and speaks respectfully of it, as also of the *Author*; but prefers the other Hypothesis.^a

1715 I ought not here to omit the very worthy and learned Mr. *Bingham*, to whom the *Publick* is so highly indebted for his *Origines Ecclesiasticae*, collected with great Judgment, and digested into a clear Method. He had a proper Occasion to say something of the *Athanasian Creed*, in passing, and very briefly. He observes, that it was not composed by *Athanasius*, but by a later and a *Latin* writer; and particularly *Vigilius Tapsensis*; referring to such learned Moderns as I have above mention'd, for the proof of it; and giving no more than short Hints of their reasons.^b

1719 The learned Dr. *Clarke* of *St. James's*, in his second Edition of his *Scripture Doctrine*,^c gives us his last Thoughts in relation to This Creed. Referring to Dr. *Cave*, He informs us, that *This Creed was never seen till about the year 800, near 400 years after the Death of Athanasius* (They are his own words) *nor was received in the Church till so very late as about the year 1000*. Yet Dr. *Cave* does not say, *was never seen* (for He Himself ascribes it to *Vigilius Tapsensis* of the 5th Century) but only that it was not *quoted* before the year 800, or nearly; which yet is a very great mistake. What the learned Doctor intended by saying *about the year 800*, and yet only *near 400 years after the Death of Athanasius*, or, as He elsewhere^d expresses it, *above 300 years after the death of Athanasius*, I do not under-

^a Natal. Alexand. Eccl. Hist. Tom. IV. p. 111.

^b Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*. Vol. IV. p. 118. &c.

^c Clarke's *Script. Doctr.* p. 379 2d. Ed.

^d Clarke's *Script. Doctr.* p. 447. 1st. Ed.

stand; but must leave to Those that can compute the Distance between 373 (the latest year that *Athanasius* is ever supposed to have lived) and the year 800. I am perswaded, the Doctor was thinking, that if *Athanasius* had lived to the year 400, then the Distance had been just 400 years; but as he died 27 years before, the Distance must be so much the *less*, when it is quite the *contrary*.

The last Man that has given his Sentiments in relation to This Creed, is *Casimirus Oudinus*, in his new Edition of his *Supplement* 1722 (now called a *Commentary*) to the *Ecclesiastical Writers*. I need say no more than that He does not seem to have spent much pains in re-examining this Subject, but rests content with his first Thoughts; ascribing the Creed, with *Quesnel*, to *Vigilius Tapsensis*.^a

These are the principal *Moderns* that have fallen within my Notice: And of these, the most considerable are *Vossius*, *Usher*, *Quesnel*, *Tentzelius*, *Anthelmus*, *Tillemont*, *Mountfaucon*, *Muratorius*, and *Le Quien*; as having particularly studied the Subject, and struck new Light into it, either furnishing fresh *materials*, or improving the old by *new* Observations. Some perhaps may wish to have the several Opinions of the *Moderns* thrown into a narrower Compass: For which reason I have thought it not improper to subjoin the following *Table*, which will represent all in one view, for the ease and convenience of every common Reader.

^a Vid. Oudin *Commentarj*, de *Scriptor. Eccl.* Vol. I. p. 245. 1248. 1322.

A. D.	Writers	Author of the Creed.	what Century composed in	What Year composed.	When reciev'd.
1642	Vossius	A Latin Author		not Before 600 ^a	A. D. 1000
1644	Petavius	Doubtful			
1647	Bishop Usher		Vth	Before 447	Before 852
1647	Bishop Taylor	not Athanasius			
1659	Leo Allatius				
1662	Card. Bona	Athanasius Alex.	IVth	340	
1665	Bishop Pearson	A Latin Author			
1675	Paschal. Quetnel	Vigilius Tapfenfis	Vth	484	Before 670
1676	Sandius	Athanas. of Spire	VIIIth	Before 642	Before 770
1678	Dr Cudworth	not Athanasius	After the IVth		
1680	Heideggerus	Vigilius Tapfenfis	Vth	484	
1681	Wolf Gundling	Doubtful			
1682	'n Cave	Vigilius Tapfenfis	Vth	484	1000
1684	Dr Comber	Athanasius Alex.	IVth	336	
1684	Bishop Be. endge	Athanasius Alex.	IVth		Before 850
1685	Caballutius	A Latin Author			Before 670
1687	Dupin	Vigilius Tapfenfis	Vth	484	
1687	Tentzelius	Doubtful			
1687	'agi	Vigilius Tapfenfis	Vth		
1696	Sim. L'Estrange	not Athanasius		Before 600	
1693	Arhelmius	Vincentius Lirinens.	Vth	Before 450	
1695	Tillemont	not Athanasius	Vth. or sooner		
1698	Montfaucon	A Gallican writer	Vth		Before 670
1698	Ant. Muratorius	Venant. Fortunat.	Vth	570	800
1712	Fabricius	A Latin Author	Vth		663
1712	Le Quien	Anastatus I.	IVth, or Vth	Before 401	
1714	Natal. Alexander	Vigilius Tapfenfis	Vth	484	
1715	Mr Bingham	Vigilius Tapfenfis	Vth		670
1719	Dr Clarke	Doubtful	VIIIth. or VIIIth		1000
1722	Oudin	Vigilius Tapfenfis	Vth	484	

a According to Vossius's last Thoughts, in a posthumous Work: Neque ante annum fuisse Sexcentimum, tunc ostendimus in libro de Symbolis. Voss. Harm. Evang. l. 2. c. 13. p. 215.

C H A P. II.

Antient Testimonies.

HAVING taken a view of the *Moderns*, in relation to the Creed, we may now enter upon a Detail of the *Antients*, and their *Testimonies*; by which the *Moderns* must be tried. My Design is to lay before the Reader all the *Original Evidence* I can meet with, to give any Light either into the *Age*, or *Author* of the Creed, or its *Reception* in the Christian Churches; that so the Reader may be able to judge for Himself concerning the *Three* particulars now mention'd, which are what I constantly bear in my Eye, producing nothing but with a view to one, or more of them.

Antient Testimonies have been pretended from *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Gaudentius Brixienfis*, *St. Austin*, and *Isidorus Hispalensis*, of the 4th, 5th, and 6th Centuries. But they have been since generally, and justly exploded by the *Learned*, as being either *Spurious*, or *foreign* to the Point; and therefore I conceive it very needless to take any further notice of them. As to *Quotations* from our Creed, or *Comments* upon it, falling within the compass of the Centuries now mention'd; if there be any such, They shall be consider'd under other Heads, distinct from That of *Antient Testimonies*, properly so called, to be treated of in This Chapter.

The oldest of this kind, hitherto discovered, or observed, is 670
That of the Council of *Aulun* in *France*, under *Leodegarius*, or *St. Leger*, the Bishop of the Place in the VIIth Century. There is some Dispute about the year when the Council was held, whether in 663, or 666, or 670. The last is most probable, and most generally embraced by learned Men. The words of this Council, in *English* run thus: "If any *Presbyter*, *Deacon*, *Subdeacon*,

a Si quis Presbyter, Diaconus, Subdiaconus, vel Clericus Symbolum quod Sancto inspirante Spiritu Apostoli tradiderant, & Fidem Sancti Athanasii Praesulis irreprehensibiliter non recenserit; ab Episcopo condemnatur. *Augustodun. Synod.* Harduin. Tom. 3. p. 1016.

“ or Clerk, doth not unreprovably recite the Creed which the
 “ *Apostles* deliver’d by Inspiration of the Holy-Ghost, and also
 “ *The Faith of the holy Prelate Athanasius*, let Him be censured
 “ by the Bishop.”^a By *The Faith of Athanasius* is here meant what
 we now call the *Athanasian Creed*; as may be reasonably pleaded
 from the *Titles* which This Creed bore in the earlier Times,
 before it came to have the name of a *Creed*: which *Titles* shall
 be exhibited both from Manuscripts, and written evidences
 in the Sequel. Yet it must not be dissembled that *Papebrochius*,
 a learned Man, and whom I find cited with Approbation by
Muratorius,^a is of opinion that the *Faith of Athanasius*, here men-
 tion’d, means the *Nicene Creed*, which *Athanasius* had some Hand
 in, and whereof He was the great Defender. I can by no means
 come into his Opinion, or allow any force to his reasonings. He
 asks; why should the *Nicene Creed* be omitted, and not men-
 tion’d with the *Apostles*? And why should the *Athanasian*, not
 then used in the *Sacred Offices*, be recommended so carefully,
 without a word of the *Nicene*? I answer, because it does not
 appear that the *Nicene Creed* was so much taken notice of at That
 Time in the *Gallican Churches*, while the *Apostolical*, or *Roman*
Creed, made use of in Baptism, in the *Western Churches*, in-
 stead of the *Nicene* (which prevailed in the *East*) in a manner
 superseded it: Which no one can wonder at who considers how
 prevailing and universal the Tradition had been in the *Latin*
Church, down from the 5th Century at least, that the *Apostoli-
 cal Creed* was composed by the 12 *Apostles*, and therefore as
sacred, and of as great Authority as the inspired writings them-
 selves. Besides that it appears from *Hincmar*, who will be cited
 in his place, that it was no strange Thing, even so low as his
 Time, about 850, to recommend the *Athanasian Creed* along
 with the *Apostles*, without a word of the *Nicene*. And why

^a Atqui, ut eruditissime adnotavit Cl. P. Papebrochius, in Respons. ad exhibitionem Er-
 ror. par. 2. Art. 13. n. 3. verbis illis *Fidem S. Athanasii*, minime Symbolum *Athana-
 sianum* designatur, sed quidem *Nicanum*, in quo elaborando plurimum infudasse *Athana-
 sium* verisimile est. Etenim cur *Apostolico* Symbolo commendato *Nicanum* prætermis-
 sent *Augustodunenses* Patres? Cur *Athanasiani* Symboli, cujus tunc nullus erat usus in sa-
 cris, cognitionem exegissent, *Nicanumque* ne uno quidem verbo commemorassent? *Mu-
 rator.* Anecd. Tom. 2. p. 223.

should

should it be thought any objection against the *Athanasian Creed*, that it was not at That Time received into the *Sacred Offices* (supposing it really was not, which may be question'd) when it is certain that the *Nicene* was not yet received into the *Sacred Offices* in *France*, nor till many years after, about the Time of *Pepin*, or of *Charles the Great*? There is therefore no Force at all in the Argument of *Papebrochius*: But there is this strong prejudice against it, that the *Title* there given is a very common *Title* for the *Athanasian Creed*, and not for the *Nicene*. Nor would the Fathers of that Council have been so extravagantly fond of the name of *Athanasius*, as to think it a greater Commendation of the Creed of *Nice* to call it after Him, than to call it the *Nicene*. There is then no reasonable Doubt to be made but that the Council of *Autun*, in the *Canon*, intended the *Athanasian Creed*; as the best Criticks, and the generality of the Learned have hitherto believed.

But there are other Objections of real weight against the Evidence built upon This *Canon*. 1. *Oudin* makes it a question whether there was ever any Council held under *Leodegarius*, a Suffragan Bishop under the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, having no *Metropolitica* Authority.^a But it may suffice, if the Council was held at *Autun*, while He was Bishop of the place, a good reason why He should be particularly mention'd; especially considering the worth and Fame of the Man: To say nothing of the dignity of his *See*, which from the Time of *Gregory the Great*, had been the *Second*, or next in dignity to the *Metropolitica* See of *Lyons*. Nor do I perceive any Force in *Oudin's* objection against *St. Leger's* holding a *Diocesan* Synod (for a *Provincial* Synod is not pretended) tho' He was no *Metropolitan*. 2. A stronger Objection is, that the *Canon* we are concern'd with, cannot be proved to belong to the Council held under *Leodegarius*. It is not found among the *Canons* of that Council publish'd by *Sirmondus* from the Manuscripts of the Library of the Church of *Angers*, but it is from another Collection, out of the Library of the Monastery of *St. Benignus* of *Dijon*, with This Title only; *Canones Augustodunenses*: So that one

^a Oudin. Comment. de Script. Ecclef. Tom. 1. p. 348.

cannot be certain whether it belongs to the Synod under St. *Leger*, or to some other Synod of *Autun* much later. It must be own'd that the Evidence can amount to no more than probable presumption, or conjecture. Wherefore *Dupin*,^a *Tentzelius*,^b *Muratorius*,^c and *Oudin*^d do not scruple to throw it aside as of too suspected credit to build any thing certain upon: And even *Quesnel*^e expresses some dissatisfaction about it; only, in respect to some great Names, such as *Sirmondus*, *Peter Le Lande*, *Godfr. Hermantius*, &c. He is willing to acquiesce in it. To whom we may add *Labbe*^f, *Le Coint*^g, *Cabassutius*,^h *Pagi*,ⁱ *Tillemont*,^k *Montfaucon*,^l *Fabricius*,^m *Harduin*,ⁿ and our learned Antiquary Mr. *Bingham*.^o who all accept it as genuine, but upon *probable* persuasion, rather than *certain* Conviction. Neither do I pretend to propose it as clear and undoubted Evidence, but probable only, and such as will be much confirm'd by other Evidences to be mention'd hereafter.

760. *Regino*, Abbot of *Prüm* in *Germany*, an Author of the 9th, and 10th Century, has, among other Collections, some *Articles of Inquiry*, supposed by *Baluzius* the Editor to be as old, or very nearly, as the Age of *Boniface* Bishop of *Mentz*, who died in the year 754. In those Articles, there is one to this purpose: "Whether the Clergy have by Heart *Athanasius's Tract upon The Faith of the Trinity*, beginning with, *whosoever will be saved*^p &c. This Testimony I may venture to place about 760, a little after the Death of *Boniface*.

a Dupin. *Eccl. Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 35.

b Tentzel. *Judic. Erud.* p. 61. &c.

c Murator. *Anecd. Ambros.* Tom. 2. p. 223.

d Casim. *Oudin.* Vol. 1. p. 348.

e Quesnel. *Dissert.* XIV. p. 731.

f Labb. *Dissert. de Script. Eccles.* Tom. 2. p. 478.

g Le Coint. *Annal. Franc.* ad Anno 663. n. 22.

h Cabassut. *Notit. Eccl.* *Dissert.* 19. p. 54.

i Pagi *Crit.* in *Baron. Ann.* 340 n. 6.

k Tillemont *Memoires.* Vol. 8. p. 663.

l Montfaucon. *Diatrib.* p. 720.

m Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* Vol. 5. p. 316.

n Harduin. *Concil.* Tom. 3. p. 1016.

o Bingham. *Origin. Eccl.* Vol. 4. p. 120.

p Si *Sermonem Athanasii Episcopi de Fide Sancte Trinitatis*, cujus initium est, *Quicumque vult Salvus esse*. memoriter teneat. *Regin.* de *Discipl. Ecclesial.* 1.

The Council of *Frankfort*, in *Germany*, in their 33d Canon give orders, that "The *Catholick Faith of the holy Trinity*, and " *Lord's Prayer*, and *Creed* be set forth and delivered to all.^a 794

Vossius^b understands the *Canon* of the Two Creeds *Nicene* and *Apostolical*. But I know not why the *Apostolical*, or *Roman*, Creed should be emphatically called *Symbolum Fidei*, *The Creed*, in opposition to the *Nicene*; nor why the *Nicene* should not be called a *Creed*, as well as the other, after the usual way. Besides, that *Fides Catholica* &c. has been more peculiarly the *Title* of the *Athanasian* Creed: And it was no uncommon Thing, either before or after This Time, to recommend it in this manner together with the *Lord's Prayer*, and *Apostle's Creed*, just as we find here. And nothing could be at that Time of greater service against the Heresy of *Felix* and *Elipandus* (which occasion'd the calling of the Council) than the *Athanasian* Creed. For which reasons, till I see better reasons to the contrary, I must be of opinion that the Council of *Frankfort* in their 33d Canon intended the *Athanasian* Creed, which *Charles the Great* had a particular respect for, and had presented in Form to Pope *Adrian I.* above 20 years before; as we shall see in Another Chapter.

Theodulphus, Bishop of *Orleans* in *France*, has a Treatise of the Holy-Ghost, with a Preface to *Charles the Great*, written at a Time when the Dispute about the *Procession* began to make Disturbance. He brings several Testimonies in favor of the *Procession from the Son*, out of *Athanasius*; and, among others, a pretty large part of the *Athanasian* Creed, from the words, *The Father is made of none* &c. to, *He therefore that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity*,^c inclusive. 809

An Anonymous Writer of the same Time, and in the same Cause, and directing himself to the same Prince, makes the same use of the *Athanasian* Creed, in the following words; 809
" *St. Athanasius*, in the *Exposition of the Catholick Faith*, which
" That great master wrote Himself, and which the Universal

a Ut *Fides Catholica Sanctæ Trinitatis*, & *Oratio Dominica*, atque *Symbolum Fidei* omnibus prædicetur, & tradatur. *Concil. Francf. Can. 33.*

b *Vossius* de tribus *Symb.* *Dissert. 3. c. 52. p. 528.*

c Item idem — *Pater a nullo est factus* &c. usque ad *Qui vult ergo Salvus esse* &c. *Theodulph. apud Sirmundum. Oper. Tom. 2. p. 978.*

“Church professes, declares the Procession of the Holy-Ghost “from the Father and Son, thus saying; *The Father is made of none*” &c.” This I cite upon the credit of *Sirmondus* in his Notes to *Theodulphus*.

809 It was in the same year that the *Latin* Monks of *Mount Olivet* wrote their apologetical Letter to Pope *Leo III*, justifying their Doctrine of the Procession *from the Son*, against one *John of Jerusalem*, a Monk too, of another Monastery, and of an Opposite persuasion. Among other Authorities, They appeal to *The Faith of Athanasius*, that is, to *The Creed*, as we now call it. This I have from *Le Quien*, the learned Editor of *Damascen*, who had the Copy of that Letter from *Baluzius*, as He there signifies.^b

820 Not long after, *Hatto* otherwise called *Hetto*, and *Ahyto*, Bishop of *Basil* in *France*, composed his *Capitular*, or Book of *Constitutions*, for the regulation of the Clergy of his Diocess. Amongst other good Rules, This makes the 4th; “That They “should have the *Faith of Athanasius* by Heart, and recite it at “the *Prime* (that is, at 7 a Clock in the Morning) every Lord’s Day.^c

820 *Agobardus* of the same Time, Archbishop of *Lyons*, wrote against *Felix Orgelitanus*; where He occasionally cites part of the *Athanasian Creed*. His words are: “St. *Athanasius* says, “that except a Man doth keep the Catholick Faith whole and “undefiled, without doubt He shall perish everlastingly.^d

852 In the same Age, flourished the famous *Hincmar*, Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*; who so often cites, or refers to the Creed we are speaking of, as a standing Rule of Faith, that it may be need-

a Incertus Autor quem diximus, hoc ipso utens testimonio, *Beatus*, inquit, *Athanasius*, in *Expositione Catholice Fidei*, quam ipse egregius Doctor conscripsit, & quam universalis confitetur Ecclesia, Processionem Spiritus Sancti a Patre & Filio declarat, ita dicens: *Pater a nullo est factus* &c. *Sirmond. Op. Tom. 2. p. 978. Conf. p. 967.*

b In *Regula Sancti Benedicti* quam nobis dedit Filius vester *Domnus Karolus*, quæ habet Fidem scriptam de Sancta & inseparabili Trinitate; *Credo Spiritum Sanctum Deum verum ex Patre procedentem & Filio*: Et in Dialogo quem nobis vestra Sanctitas dare dignata est similiter dicit. Et in *Fide S. Athanasii* eodem modo dicit. *Monachi de Monte Oliv. apud Le Quien Dissert. Damasc. p. 7.*

c IVto. Ut *Fides Sancti Athanasii* a Sacerdotibus discatur, & ex corde, Die Dominice ad *Primam* recitetur. *Basil. Capitul. apud Harduin. Tom. IV. p. 1241.*

d *Beatus Athanasius* ait; *Fidem Catholicam nisi quis integram, inviolatamque servaverit; usque dubio in æternum peribit.* *Agobard. adv. Felic. c. 3. ed. Baluz.*

less to produce the particular Passages. I shall content my self with one only, more considerable than the rest for the Use that is to be made of it hereafter. He directs his Presbyters, "to learn *Athanasius's Treatise of Faith* (beginning with *whosoever will be saved*) to commit it to memory, to understand its "meaning, and to be able to give it in *common* words; that is, I suppose, in the *vulgar Tongue*. He at the same Time recommends the *Lord's Prayer*, and (*Apostle's*) *Creed*, as I take it, without mentioning the *Nicene*: Which I particularly remark for a reason to be seen above. It is farther observable, that tho' *Hincmar* here gives the *Athanasian* Formulary the name of a *Treatise of Faith*; yet He elsewhere^c scruples not to call it (*Symbolum*) a *Creed*: And He is, probably, as *Sirmondus* observes,^d the first Writer who gave it the name it bears at This Day. Which, I suppose, may have led *Oudin* into his mistake, that *no writer before Hincmar ever made mention of this Creed*;^e a mistake, which, tho' taken notice of by *Tentzelius*^f in the year 1687, He has nevertheless again and again repeated in his last Edition, the Year before This.

864

About the same Time, and in the same Cause, *Ratram*, or *Bertram*, Monk of *Corbey* in *France*, made the like use of This Creed, calling it *A Treatise concerning the Faith*.^g

865

In the same Age, lived *Anscharius*, Monk also of *Corbey*; and afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Hamburgh* and *Breme* in *Germany*. Among his dying Instructions to his Clergy, He left This for one; that they should be careful to recite *The Ca-*

a Unusquisque Presbyterorum Expositionem Symboli, atque Orationis Dominica, juxta Traditionem Orthodoxorum Patrum plenius discat — Psalmodum etiam verba, & Distinctiones regulariter, & ex corde, cum Canticis consuetudinariis pronuntiare sciat. Necnon & Sermonem Athanasii de Fide, cujus initium est, Quicumque vult Salvus esse, memoriae quisque commendat, sensum illius intelligat, & verbis communibus enuntiare queat. Hincm. Capit. 1. Tom. 1. p. 710, ed. Sirmond.

b Vid. Hincm. Opusc. ad Hincmar. Laudunensem. Tom. 2. p. 475.

c Athanasius in Symbolo dicens &c. de Prædestin. Tom. 1. p. 309.

d Sirmond. Not. in Theodulph. p. 978.

e Oudin. Commentar. Vol. 1. p. 345. 1322.

f Tentzel. judic. Eruditor. p. 144.

g Beatus Athanasius Alexandrinus Episcopus, in Libello de Fide quem edidit, & omnibus Catholicis proposuit tenendum, inter cætera sic ait; Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus &c. Ratram Contr. Græcor. Oppos. l. 2. c. 3.

tholick Faith compos'd by *Athanasius*.^a This is reported by *Rembertus*, the writer of his *Life*, and Successor to Him in the same See; who had been likewise Monk of *Corbey*: so that we have here Two considerable Testimonies in one.

868 Contemporary with These was *Æneas* Bishop of *Paris*, who, in his Treatise against the *Greeks*, quotes the *Athanasian* Creed under the name of *Fides Catholica*,^b *Catholick Faith*, producing the same Paragraph of it which *Theodulphus* had done 60 years before.

871 *Adelbertus* of This Time, upon his nomination to a Bishoprick in the Province of *Rheims*, was obliged to give in a Profession of his Faith to Arch-Bishop *Hincmar*. Among other Things, He professes his great regard to the *Athanasian* Creed (*Sermo Athanasii*) as a Creed received with great veneration by the *Catholick Church*, or being of *customary and venerable use* in it.^c This Testimony is considerable in regard to the Reception of This Creed; and not before taken notice of, so far as I know, by Those that have treated of This Argument.

889 This Creed is again mention'd in the same Age by *Riculphus* Bishop of *Soissons* in *France*, in his pastoral Charge to the Clergy of his Diocess. He calls it, a *Treatise*, (or *Discourse*) of *Catholick Faith*.^d This I take from Father *Harduin's* Councils, as also the former, with the Dates of Both.

960 *Ratherius*, Bishop of *Verona* in *Italy* in the year 931, and afterwards of *Leige* in *Germany* in the year 953, and restor'd to his See of *Verona* in the year 955, did after This Time write Instructions to his Clergy of *Verona*; in which He makes mention of all the Three Creeds, *Apostolical*, *Nicene*, and *Athana-*

a Cum instaret obitus, præcepit ut Fratres canerent *Fidem Catholicam* a Beato *Athanasio* compositam. *Anſchar.* Vit. apud Petr. Lambec. in Append. Lib. 1. Rerum Hamburg. p. 237.

b Sanctus *Athanasius*, sedis *Alexandrine* Episcopus &c. — Item, idem in *Fide Catholica*, quod Spiritus Sanctus a patre procedat & Filio, *Pater a nullo est factus* &c. *Æneas* Paris. adv. Græc. c. 19.

c In *Sermone Beati Athanasii*, quem Ecclesia Catholica venerando usu frequentare consuevit, qui ita incipit; *Quicumque vult Salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam Fidem.* Professio *Adelberti* Episcopi *Morinensis* futuri. *Harduin.* Concil. Tom. V. d. 1445.

d Item monemus, ut unusquisque vestrum *Psalms*, & *Sermonem Fidei Catholica*, cujus initium, *Quicumque vult salvus esse*, & *Canonem Missæ*, & cantum, vel compotum, memoriter, & veraciter, & correcte tenere studeat. *Riculph.* Const. Vth. *Harduin.* Concil. Tom. VI. p. 415.

ſian; obliging his Clergy to have them all by Heart: Which ſhows that they were all of ſtanding uſe in his Time, in his Dioceſs, at leaſt.^a

Near the Cloſe of this Century lived *Abbo*, or *Albo*, Abbot 997 of *Fleury*, or *St. Benediſt* upon the *Loire* in *France*. Upon ſome Difference He had with *Arnulphus* Biſhop of *Orleans*, He wrote an *Apology* which He addreſs'd to the Two Kings of *France*, *Hugh* and *Robert*. In that *Apology* He has a paſſage relating to our purpoſe, running thus. "I thought proper, in the firſt place, to ſpeak concerning *The Faith*: which I have heard variously ſung in alternate Choirs, both in *France* and in the Church of *England*. For ſome, I think, ſay, in the *Athanaſian* Form, *The Holy-Ghoſt is of the Father and of the Son, neither made, nor created, but proceeding*: Who while they leave out, *nor begotten*, are perſwaded that They are the more conformable to *Gregory's Synodical Epistle*, wherein its written, that the *Holy-Ghoſt is neither unbegotten, nor begotten, but proceeding*."^b I have taken the liberty of throwing in a word or two to make the ſentence run the clearer. What the Author intends, is, that ſome ſcrupulous Perſons both in *France* and *England*, recited the *Athanaſian* Creed with ſome Alteration, leaving out two words, to make it agree the better, as They imagined, with *Gregory's Synodical Inſtructions*. As to their *ſcruple* herein, and the ground of it, I ſhall ſay more of it in a proper place. All I am to obſerve at preſent is, that this Teſtimony is full for the Cuſtom of alternate ſinging the *Athanaſian* Creed, at this Time, in the *French* and *English* Churches. And indeed we ſhall meet with other as full, and withal earlier

a Ipſam Fidem, id eſt Credulitatem, Dei, trifarie parare memoriter feſtinetis: Hoc eſt, ſecundum *Symbolum*, id eſt, *Collationem* Apoſtolorum, ſicut in *Pſalteriis* correctis invenitur; & illam quæ ad *Miſſam* canitur; & illam *Sancti Athanaſii* quæ ita incipit; *Quicumque vult ſalvus eſſe*———— *Sermonem*, ut ſuperius dixi, *Athanaſii Epilcopi de Fide Trinitatis*, cujus initium eſt, *Quicumque vult*, memoriter teneat. *Ratherii Synod. Epilſt. Harduin.* Con. Tom. VI. p. 787.

b Primitus de Fide dicendum credidi; quam alternantibus Choris & in *Francia*, & apud Anglorum *Eccleſiam* variari audivi. Alii enim dicunt, ut arbitror, ſecundum *Athanaſium*, *Spiritus Sanctus a Patre & Filio non factus, non creatus, ſed procedens*: Qui dum id quod eſt non *genitus* ſubtrahunt, *Synodicum Domini Gregorii* ſe ſequi credunt, ubi ita eſt ſcriptum; *Spiritus Sanctus nec ingenuitus eſt, nec genitus ſed procedens*. *Abbo Floriacenſ. Apol. ad Francor. Reges.*

Evidence of the same Custom, when we come to treat of *Manuscripts* in the following Chapters. To proceed with our antient Testimonies.

1050 In the next Century, we meet with *Gualdo*, a Monk of *Corbey*; who likewise wrote the Life of *Anscharius*, but in *Verse*, as *Rembertus* had before done in *Prose*. He also takes some notice of our Creed, ascribing it to *Athanasius*.^a

1130 In the Century following, *Honorius*, a Scholastick Divine of the Church of *Autun*, in his Book intituled *The Pearl of the Soul*, (which treats of the *Sacred*, or *Liturgick Offices*) reckons up the several Creeds of the Church, making in all *Four*: Namely, the *Apostolical*, the *Nicene*, the *Constantinopolitan*, and the *Athanasian*. Of the last, He observes, that *it was daily repeated at the Prime*.^b He ascribes it to *Athanasius* of *Alexandria* in the Time of *Theodosius*: Where He is undoubtedly mistaken in his Chronology. For, if He means the first *Athanasius* of *Alexandria*, He is too early for either of the *Theodosius*'s: And if He means it of the second, He is as much too late. But a Slip in Chronology might be pardonable in That *Age*: nor does it at all affect the Truth of what He attests of his own Times.

1138 *Otho*, Bishop of *Frisinghen* in *Bavaria*, may here be taken notice of, as being the first we have met with who pretends to name the *Place* where *Athanasius* is supposed to have made this Creed; *Triers*, or *Treves*, in *Germany*.^c I cite This Author on the credit of *Montfaucon*; who quotes from Him the words I have thrown into the margin.

1171 *Tentzelius* informs us of an Abbot of *Brunswick*, who attending the Duke of *Brunswick*, at This Time, in his journey into the *East*, had some Disputes with the *Greeks* there, upon the Article of *Procession*, and pleaded the usual passage out of this Creed; as did also the *Duke* Himself whose words are to be

^a *Catholicamque Fidem* quam composuisse beatus

Fertur *Athanasius*——Gualdon. Vit. Ansch. apud Lambec.

^b Quarto, Fidem *Quicumque vult*, quotidie ad *Primam* iterat, quam *Athanasius Alexandrinus* Episcopus, rogatu *Theodosii Imperatoris* edidit. Honor. Augustod. Gemm. Animæ. l. 2. c. 5. Bibl. PP. Tom. XX. p. 1086.

^c *Athanasius* manens in Ecclesia *Trevirorum*, sub *Maximo* ejus Ecclesiæ Episcopo, *Quicumque vult* &c. a quibusdam dicitur edidisse. Oth. Frising. apud Montfauc. Diatrib. p. 721.

seen in the Margin.^a What is most to be noted is the Title of *Symbolum Fidei*, which now began to be common to this Form, as to the other Creeds.

Robertus Paululus, Presbyter of *Amiens*, in the Diocess of *Rheims*, I 178 speaking of the *Offices* recited at the *Prime*, observes that the Piety of good Christians had thereunto added the *Quicumque vult*, that the *Articles necessary to salvation might never be forgotten any hour of the Day*.^b

Beleth, a celebrated *Paris* Divine, is the oldest Writer that I 190 takes notice of this Creed's being commonly ascribed to *Anastasius*; tho' He Himself ascribes it to *Athanasius*.^c *Tentzelius*^d marks some Differences between the *Prints* and the *Manuscripts* of This Author, and betwixt one Manuscript and Another. But as the difference, tho' in *words* considerable, is yet very little in the *sense*, it is not material to our present purpose to be more particular about it.

I must not Omit *Nicolaus Hydruntinus*, a Native of *Otranto* in I 200 *Italy*, who sided with the *Greeks*, and wrote in *Greek*, against the *Latins*. He understood Both Languages, and was often *Interpreter* between the *Greeks*, and *Latins*, in their Disputes at *Constantinople*, *Athens*, and *Theſſalonica*.^e He wrote several Tracts, out of which *Leo Allatius* has publish'd some Fragments. There is one relating to the *Athanasian* Creed, which must here be taken notice of; being of use for the certifying us that this Creed was extant in *Greek* at and before his Time. It is This: "They (*the Greeks*) do not know who made the Addition to "The Faith of *Athanasius*, filed *Catholick*; since the words, and "of the Son, are not in the *Greek* (*Form*) nor in the Creed (*of Constantinople*)."^f

a Unde *Athanasius* in *Symbolo Fidei* dixit: *Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens*. Henric. Brunſuic. apud Tentzel. p. 89.

b His addidit Fidelium devotio, *Quicumque vult salvus esse, ut Articulorum Fidei qui sunt necessarii ad Salutem, nulla diei Hora obliviscamur*, Rob. Paulul. inter: Oper. Higou. de S. Viator. de Offic. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1. p. 265.

c Quod ab *Athanasio* Patriarcha *Alexandrino* compositum est; plerique cum *Anastasio* fuisse falso arbitrantur. Joan. Beleth. de Divin. Offic. c. 40. ed. Antwerp.

d Tentzel. *Judicia Erudit.* p. 91.

e Vid. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* Vol. X. p. 392.

f "Οτι ε αυτοι αγνοουσι, πος ο προσθησας εν τη πιστει του υιου Αθανασιου, τη καθολικη λεγαμενη, ως εν τω ελληνικω εχει τειτο, οπιου εστι εν εν τω υιου, περιελαται, επι εν τω συμβολω. Leo Allat. de Confens. Eccl. Occident. &c. l. 3. c. 1. n. 5. p. 887.

From This passage we may learn, that there was a *Greek* Copy of the *Athanasian* Creed at this Time; that it wanted the words, *of the Son*; that it was look'd upon as *Athanasius's*; and that the Title was, *The Catholick Faith of St. Athanasius*; which is its most usual Title in the *Latin* Copies. I may just hint to the Reader, that tho' both $\pi' \tau \iota \varsigma$ in the *Greek*, and *Fides* in the *Latin* might justly be rendred *Creed* in English, rather than *Faith*, whenever it stands for a *Formulary*, or *Confession* of Faith, as it does here; yet because I should otherwise want another *English* word for $\sigma \acute{\upsilon} \mu \beta \omicron \lambda \omicron \nu$, in the *Greek*, and *Symbolum* in the *Latin*, I therefore reserve the word *Creed*, in this Case, for distinction sake, to be the rendring of *Symbolum*, or $\sigma \acute{\upsilon} \mu \beta \omicron \lambda \omicron \nu$, and nothing else. But to proceed.

1230 *Alexander* of *Hales*, in *Glocestershire*, may here deserve to be mention'd, as shewing what *Creeds* were then received in *England*. He reckons up *Three* only (not *Four*, as Those that make the *Nicene* and *Constantinopolitan* to be *Two*) namely; The *Apostle's*, The *Nicene* or *Constantinopolitan*, and The *Athanasian*.^a Where we may observe, that the *Athanasian* has the name of a *Creed*, which yet was not its most usual, or common Title in those Times: only the *Schoolmen*, for order and method sake, chose to throw it under the Head of *Creeds*.

1233 I am next to take notice of the famed Legates of Pope *Gregory* the IXth (*Haimo*, *Radolphus*, *Petrus*, and *Hugo*) who produced This *Creed* in their Conferences with the *Greeks*, at *Constantinople*. They asserted it to be *Athanasius's*, and made by Him while an Exile in the Western Parts, and penn'd in the *Latin* Tongue. They had not assurance enough, it seems, to pretend that it was a *Greek* Composition: There were too many, and too plain reasons to the contrary.

1240 In This Age, *Walter de Cantilupe*, Bishop of *Worcester*, in his *Synodical* Constitutions, exhorts his Clergy to make themselves competent Masters of the *Psalms* called *Quicumque* &c., and of

a Tria sunt Symboli: primum *Apostolorum*, secundum patrum *Nicensium*, quod canitur in *Missis*, tertium *Athanasii*. *Alexand. Alenf. Par. 3 Q. 60. membr. 5.*

b 'Ο ἄγιος Ἀθανάσιος ὅταν εὖ πῆς μέρισι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἕρωτος ἦν, εὖ τῆ ἐκείσε τῆς πίστεως, ἢ τοῖς λαϊκοῖς ῥημοσι διαπέφρατεν ἕως ἴφθι 'Ο πιστὸς ἀπ' ἐδνός ἐστὶ θεὸς. *Definit. Apocriph. Greg. IX. Harduin, Tom. VII. p. 157.*

the greater and smaller *Creed* (that is *Nicene*, and *Apostolical*) that They might be able to instruct their people.^a From whence we may observe, that at This Time the *Athanasian* Formulary was distinguish'd, here amongst us, from the *CreeDs* properly so called; being named a *Psalms*, and sometimes a *Hymn* (as we shall see from other Evidences to be produced hereafter) suitably to the Place it held in the *Psalms* among the other *Hymns*, *Psalms*, and *Canticles* of the Church, being also sung^b alternately in Churches, like the other.

We may here also take notice of a just Remark made by 1250
Thomas Aquinas of This Century; that *Athanasius*, whom He supposes the Author of This Formulary, did not draw it up in the way of a *Creed*, but in a *Doctrinal Form*; which however was admitted by the Authority of the *Roman Sec*, as containing a compleat System of Christian Faith.^c

In a Synod of *Exeter*, in this Century also, we have mention 1287
again made of the *Athanasian Creed*, but under the Name of a *Psalms*, and as such distinguish'd from the *Two CreeDs*^d properly so called.

William Durants, the elder, Bishop of *Menda* in *France*, re- 1287
counting the *CreeDs*, makes their Number *Three*; mentioning the *Athanasian* in the second place, between the *Apostles* and *Nicene*. He follows the same Tradition which *Otho Frisingensis* did be-

a Habeat etiam saltem quilibet eorum simplicem intellectum secundum quod continetur in *Psalms* qui dicitur *Quicumque vult*, & tam in *majori* quam in *minori* *Symbolo*, ut in his plebem sibi commissam noverint informare. *Walter. Wigorn.* Const. apud *Harduin.* Tom. VII. p. 337.

b In *John Wickliff's* Comment on this *Creed*, I find the following words:

It is said comunly that ther ben thre credis: the first is of *Apostlis*, that Men known comunly: the tothir is the *Crede* of the *Chirche*, that declarith the former *Crede*: This thridde *Crede* is of the *Trynyte*, the which is Sungum as a *Salm*, and was maad in *Greke* *Speche*, of oon that is clepid *Attanasie*, and astir turnid to *Latyn*, and Sum del *amenid*, and ordeynid to be seid at the first our. *Wickl. M. Bibl. Coll. Johan. Cant.*

c *Athanasius* non composuit manifestationem *Fidei* per modum *Symboli*, sed magis per modum cujusdam *Doctrinæ*: sed quia integram *Fidei* veritatem ejus *Doctrina* breviter continebat, auctoritate summi *Pontificis* est recepta, ut quasi *Fidei Regula* habeatur. *Thom. Aqu.* Secund. Secundæ Qu. I. Art. 10. n. 3.

d *Articulorum Fidei Christianorum* Saltem simplicem habeant intellectum, prout in *Psalms*, *Quicumque vult*, & in utroque *Symbolo* continentur. *Synod. Exon.* *Harduin* Concilii Tom. VII. p. 1096.

fore, that This Creed was made at *Triers*, or *Treves*.^a It is scarce worth noting that some Copies here read *Anastafius*, since the Circumstances plainly show that *Athanasius* is the Man intended, and that *Anastafius* can be nothing else but a corrupt reading.

1330 *Ludolphus Saxo*, the Carthusian, is cited by *Vossius*, as numbring Three Creeds, with very brief, but good Hints of their Uses respectively: The *Apostles*, useful for a short compendious *Instruction* in the Faith; The *Nicene* for fuller *Explication*; and the *Athanasian*, for *Guard*, or *Defence*^b against Heresies.

1337 *William* of *Baldensal*, or *Boldesale*, a German Knight, ought here to be mention'd; as being the first Writer extant that ascribes the Creed to *Eusebius* (of *Verceil*, in *Piedmont*) along with *Athanasius*. The reason, I presume, was, the better to account for the Creed's being originally *Latin*. *Baldensal's* Treatise, being the *History of Piedmont*, wherein He makes the remark, is not yet publish'd, I suppose: But Cardinal *Bona* informs us that the Manuscript was, in his Time, in the Library of the *Duke of Savoy* at *Turin*.^c

1360 *Manuel Caleca*, a latinizing *Greek*, wrote a Treatise upon the *Principles of the Catholick Faith*, publish'd by *Combesis*, in his new *Auctarium* to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tome the 2d. where we find some Passages to our present purpose; particularly This, that *Caleca* ascribes the Creed to *Athanasius*, and supposes it to have been presented by Him to Pope *Julius*.^d I know not

a Nota, quod triplex est Symbolum. Primum est Symbolum *Apostolorum*, quod vocatur Symbolum *minus*. — Secundum Symbolum est, *Quicumque vult salvus esse* &c. ab *Athanasio*, Patriarcha Alexandrino, in civitate *Treviri* compositum — Tertium est *Nicenum* quod — vocatur Symbolum *majus*. Gal. Durant. Rational. Divin. Offic. lib. IV. c. 25.

b Tria sunt Symbola: primum *Apostolorum*, secundum *Nicenum*, tertium *Athanasii*. Primum factum est ad Fidei *Instructionem*, secundum ad Fidei *Explanationem*, tertium ad Fidei *Defensionem*. Ludolph. Sax. de Vit. Christi. cap. 53. apud *Vossium* de Trib. Symb. Dissert. 1. cap. 1. p. 503.

c In hoc autem Symbolo, sive componendo, sive e *Græco* in *Latinum* traducendo, Adjutorem fuisse *Athanasio Eusebium*, *Vercellensem* Episcopum, refert *Guilielmus Baldesanus* in *Historia Piedmontana*, quæ Manuscripta *Taurini* asservatur in *Bibliotheca Ducis Sabaudie*, ex *Tabulario Vercellensi Ecclesiæ*. *Bona* de Divin. Psalm. c. 16. Sect. 18. p. 864.

d Ταύτην γὰρ ἔην ἡ πρὸς τοὺς πιστεύοντες, σωτηρία ἢ ὄθνατος, ὡς ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς ἱστορίᾳ πάντων Πάσης τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογία ἀποσέηκεν. Manuel. Calec. de Fid. c. 10. Confer *Kund. Contr. Græc.* l. 2. c. 20.

whether He be not the firſt writer that mentions That Circumſtance, nor whether He reports it from others, or from his own invention.

About the ſame Time *Johannes Cypariſſiota*, Surnamed *the Wiſe*, wrote his *Decads*, which are publiſh'd in *Latin*, in the *Bibliothèques*, of *Turrianus's* Verſion. What we are to obſerve from Him is, that He cites This Creed in the Name of *Athanaſius*, and as if it were made at the Council of *Nice*.^a It ſeems, after it once paſſ'd current that *Athanaſius* was the Author, there was great variety of Conjectures about the Place where, and the Time when, He compoſed, or preſented this Creed. 1360

I ſhall mention but one more, as late as the Council of *Florence*, or a little later; and That is *Johannes* (afterwards *Joſephus*) *Pluſiadenus*, a latinizing *Greek*, who wrote a *Dialogue* in defence of the *Latins*. What is obſervable in Him is, that He makes the Creed to have been preſented by *Athanaſius* to Pope *Liberius*, inſtead of *Julius*.^b 1439

I have now come low enough with the *Antient* Testimonies, if I may be allowed ſo to call thoſe of the later Times. A few of the firſt and earlieſt might have ſufficed, had I no other Point in view but the meer *Antiquity* of the Creed: But, as my Deſign is to treat of its *Reception* alſo, in various Places, and at various Times, and to lay together ſeveral kind of Evidences which will require others, both early and late, to clear up and explain Them; it was, in a manner, neceſſary for me to bring my Accounts as low as I have here done. Beſides that ſeveral inferior, incidental Questions will fall in our way, for the reſolving of which, moſt of the Testimonies I have here cited will be ſerviceable in their Turn; as will appear more fully in the Sequel. I have omitted ſeveral Testimonies of the later Centuries, ſuch as I thought might conveniently be ſpared, either as containing nothing but what we had before from others more

^a *Magnus Athanaſius*, in *Expoſitione Fidei*, in *prima Synodo*, ait &c. Joan. Cypariſſi Decad. 9. c. 3. Bibl. PP. Tom XXI.

^b Ὁ θεὸς τῶ ὄντι καὶ ἱεροῦς Ἀθηνάσιος, ἐν τῇ ἀπολογία τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πίστεως, ἣν ἐξήγητο πρὸς Ἀντιόχου Πάππυ, ἢς ἡ ἀρχὴ, ὅτις ἀν βέλῃται σαφῆσαι, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, φησὶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ &c. Joan. Pluſiad. apud Combeſiſ, no. in Calec. p. 297.

antient, or as being of no uſe for the clearing up any that we have, or for the ſettling any Point which will come to be diſcuſſ'd in the following Sheets. The Rule I have ſet my ſelf in making the Collection, and which I have been moſt careful to obſerve, was to take in all thoſe, and none but thoſe which are either valuable for their *Antiquity*, or ſomething *new*, and *particular* upon the Subject, or may ſtrike ſome Light into any *doubtful Queſtion* thereunto relating.

I ſhall ſhut up this Chapter, as I did the former, with a *Table*, repreſenting in one view the Sum and Subſtance of what has been done in it. The ſeveral Columns will contain the *Year* of our *Lord*, the *Authors* here recited, the *Country* where They lived, and the *Title*, or *Titles* by Them given to the Creed. The *Titles* ought to appear in their *Original* Language wherein they were written; which my *Engliſh* Reader may the more eaſily excuſe, ſince they have moſt of them been given in *Engliſh* above, where it was more proper to do it. The uſe of ſuch a *Table* will be ſeen as often as a Reader has a mind to look back to This Chapter, or to compare ſeveral Evidences of different kinds, proving the ſame Thing, one with Another.

A Table

A. D.	Authors	Country	Title of the Creed.
670	Council of <i>Aulun</i>	France	Fides Sancti Athanasii Præfulis.
760	Articles in <i>ja. Regno</i>	Germany	Sermo Athanasii Episcopi de Fide.
794	Counc: <i>Frankfort</i>	Germany	Fides Catholica Sanctæ Trinitatis.
809	<i>Theodulphus</i>	France	
809	<i>Anonymus</i>	France	Expositio Catholicæ Fidei. Athanasii.
809	Monks of <i>M. Olyvet</i>	Judea	Fides Sancti Athanasii.
820	<i>Hatto. or Hitto.</i>	France	Fides Sancti Athanasii
820	<i>Agobardus</i>	France	
852	<i>Hincmar</i>	France	Sermo Athanasii de Fide Athanasii Symbolum.
864	<i>Bertram</i>	France	Libellus Athanasii de Fide.
865	<i>Ansbarnus</i>	Germany	Athanasii Fides Catholica.
868	<i>Æneas Paris.</i>	France	Athanasii Fides Catholica.
871	<i>Adelbertus</i>	France	Sermo Beati Athanasii.
889	<i>Riculphus</i>	France	Sermo Fidei Catholicæ.
950	<i>Rarberius</i>	Italy	Sermo Athanasii Epî de Fide Trinitatis.
997	<i>Abbo, or Abbo</i>	France	Fides secundum Athanasium.
1050	<i>Gualdo</i>	France	Fides Catholica Athanasio adscripta.
1120	<i>Honorius</i>	France	Fides <i>Quicumque vult.</i>
1125	<i>Orho</i>	Bavaria	Quicumque vult. &c.
1171	Duke of <i>Brunswick</i>	Germany	Athanasii Symbolum Fidei.
1178	<i>Robertus Paululus</i>	France	Quicumque vult. &c.
1190	<i>Belobh</i>	France	Athanasii Symbolum.
1200	<i>Nic. Hyaruntinus.</i>	Italy	Τὴ πίστις Ἀθανασίου πύξις ἢ Καθολικῆ.
1230	<i>Alexander Aleaf.</i>	England	Athanasii Symbolum.
1233	P. Gregory's Legates		Ἐξήτης τῆς πίστεως.
1240	<i>Walter Cantilupe</i>	England	Psalmus <i>Quicumque &c.</i>
1250	<i>Thom. Aquinas</i>	Italy	Athanasii Manifestatio Fidei
1187	<i>Exon. Synod</i>	England	Psalmus <i>Quicumque &c.</i>
1287	<i>Durantis</i>	France	Athanasii Symbolum.
1330	<i>Ludolphus</i>	Saxony	Athanasii Symbolum.
1337	<i>Baldensal.</i>	Germany	Athanasii Symbolum.
1360	<i>Man. Caleca</i>	Greece	Ἡ τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογία τοῦ Ἀθανασίου.
1360	<i>Joan. Cybariffi ta</i>	Greece	Athanasii Expositio Fidei.
1439	<i>Joan. Il-fadenus</i>	Greece	Ἡ τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογία τοῦ Ἀθανασίου.

C H A P. III.

Ancient Commentators and Paraphrases upon the *Athanasian* Creed.

ANTIENT Comments, or Paraphrases, may be properly mention'd after ancient Testimonies, being near akin to Them, and almost the same Thing with Them. I call none *antient* but such as were made before Printing; and therefore shall carry my Accounts no lower than that Time.

- A. D. 570 The first Comment to be met with on this Creed, is one of the *Sixth* Century, compos'd by *Venantius Fortunatus*, an *Italian* by Birth, but one that travelled into *France* and *Germany*, became acquainted with the most eminent Scholars and Prelates all over the West, and was at length made Bishop of *Poitiers* in *France*. His Comment on this Creed has been publish'd from a Manuscript about 600 years old,^a out of the *Ambrosian* Library at *Milan*, by *Muratorius* in his Second Tome of *Anecdota* in the year, 1698. There can be no reasonable doubt but that the Comment really belongs to the Man whose Name it bears. 1. Because in the same Book there is also a Comment upon the *Apostle's* Creed^b ascribed to *Fortunatus*, and which is known to belong to *Venantius Fortunatus*, and has been before printed among his other Works. 2. Because it appears highly probable from what *Venantius Fortunatus* has

^a Est porro nobis in *Ambrosiana* Bibliotheca Membranaceus Codex annos abhinc ferme sexcentos manu descriptus; ut ex Characterum Forma, aliisque Conjecturis affirmari posse mihi videtur. Hic, præter alia opuscula multa, Tres Symboli expositiones habentur, quarum unam tantum nunc publici juris facio.

Prima ita inscribitur, *Expositio Fidei Catholicae*. Alteri nullus Titulus præfixus est. *Postrema* vero hunc præ se fert; *Expositio Fidei Catholicae Fortunati*.——*Fortunatus* autem, hic memoratus, alius a *Venantio Fortunato* non est, quem *Infula Pictaviensis* Ecclesia, quem Christianæ poetices ornamenta aternitate donarunt. *Murator.* Anecd. Tom. 2. p. 228.

^b Expositionem quoque continet (*Cod. Ambrosianus*) Apostolici Symboli, cum hac Inscriptione: *Incipit expositio a Fortunato Presbytero conscripta*. Eadem vero est ac Editæ inter *Fortunati* Opera. Tum sequuntur geminæ ejusdem Symboli explicationes, Tres *Orationis Dominicae*, & duæ *Athanasiani* Symboli expositiones incertis auctoribus scriptæ. Tandem, uti diximus, *Expositio Fidei Catholicae Fortunati* legitur. Quocirco quin ad *Venantium* quoque *Fortunatum* Opusculum hoc sit referendum, nullus dubito. *Murator.* ibid. p. 231.

occasionally dropp'd in his other undoubted Works,^a that He was really acquainted with the *Athanaſian* Creed, and borrow'd Expreſſions from it. 3. Becauſe in the Expoſitions of the *Apoſtles* and *Athanaſian* Creeds, there is great ſimilitude of Style, Thoughts, and Expreſſions; which ſhows that Both are of the ſame Hand, and indeed, the other Circumſtances conſider'd, abundantly proves it. It would burden my Margin too much, otherwiſe it were eaſy to give at leaſt half a dozen plain Specimens, where either the Expreſſions, or Turn of Thought, or Both are exactly parallel. Such as think it of moment to examine, may eaſily be ſatisfied by comparing the Comment on the *Apoſtles* Creed, in the Xth Tome of the laſt *Bibliothèque*, with the Comment on the *Athanaſian*, in *Muratorius*. 4. I may add, that the Tenour of the whole Comment, and the ſimplicity of the Style, and Thoughts, are very ſuitable to That Age, and more ſo than to the Centuries following. Theſe reaſons intirely convince me that this Comment belongs to *Venantius Fortunatus*, compoſed by Him after his going into *France*, and before He was Biſhop of *Poitiers*: And ſo we may probably fix the Date of it about the year 570, or perhaps higher. There is an older Manuſcript Copy of this Comment (as I find by comparing) in the *Muſeum* at *Oxford*, among *Junius's* Manuſcripts, Number 25.^b I am obliged to the very worthy and learned Dr. *Haywood*, for ſending me a Tranſcript of it, with a Specimen of the *Character*. It is reaſonably judged to be above 700 years old. It wants, in the Beginning, about ten or a dozen Lines: In the other parts it agrees with *Murato-*

^a Præclarum in primordio ponitur Cæleſtis Teſtimonii Fundamentum, quia *Silveſ* eſſe non poterit, qui recte de Salute non crediderit: *Fortunat. Expoſ. Synb. Apoſt. Bib. PP. Tom. X.*

Non Deus in Carnem verſus, Deus accipit Artus:
Non ſe permutans, ſed ſibi membra levans.
Unus in ambabus naturis, verus in iſtis
Æqualis matri hinc, par Dicitate Patri.
Non ſua confundens, ſibi noſtra ſed omnia neſtens.

.....
De patre natus habens divina, humanaque matris,
De patre ſublimis, de genetrice humilis.

Venant. Fortun. l. 8. Carm. 5. Bibl. P. Tom. X.

^b The Title, *Expoſitio in Fide Catholica.*

rius's Copy, ſaving only ſuch *Various Leſſions* as are to be expected in different Manuscripts not copied from each other. From the *two Copies* compared may be drawn out a much more correct *Comment* than That which *Muratorius* has given us from *One*: As perhaps I may ſhew at the end of This Work. The Reader will excuſe my dwelling ſo long upon this truly *antient* Comment, which bears ſo conſiderable Teſtimony to the *Antiquity*, early *Reception*, and high *Value* of our Creed; as will appear more fully in the Sequel.

I intimated above, that *Muratorius* ſuppoſes This *Venantius Fortunatus* to be the Author, not of the *Comment* only, but *Creed* alſo. But his Reaſons which plead ſtrongly for the former, are of no Force at all in reſpect of the latter: which He is ſo ſenſible of Himſelf, that while He ſpeaks with great Aſſurance of the one, He is very diffident of the other.^a And indeed, not to mention ſeveral other conſiderations ſtanding in the way of his conjecture, who can imagine *Venantius Fortunatus* to have been ſo *vain*, as, after commenting on the *Lord's Prayer*, and *Apoſtles Creed*, to fall to commenting upon a Compoſition of his *own*?

This Comment of *Fortunatus* is a great Confirmation of what hath been above cited from the Council of *Autun*: For, if the Creed was noted enough to deſerve a *Comment* upon it, ſo early as the year 570, no wonder if we find it ſtrongly recommended by That Council in the year 670, a hundred years after. And it is obſervable that as That Council recommends the *Apoſtolic* and *Athanaſian* Creeds, without ſaying a Word of the *Nicene*; ſo *Fortunatus*, before Them, comments upon Thoſe Two only, taking no notice of the Third.

I cannot take leave of This Comment, without obſerving to the Reader, that in *Pareus's* Notes on This Creed, I have met with a Paſſage which I am not well able to account for. He cites a *Comment* upon this Creed, under the name of *Euphronius Presbyter*,^b does not ſay whether from a *Priſt*, or a

^a Hujus Symboli Auctor eſſe potuit *Venantius Fortunatus*: Saltem fuit hujus *Expoſitionis* Auctor. *Murator.* p. 217.

Non ita meis conjecturis plaudo, ut facilius non arbitrer *Expoſitionem* potius quam *Symbolum* huic Auctori tribuendum. *Id.* p. 231.

^b *Euphronius Presbyter* in expoſitione hujus Synboli *Athanaſii*, *Fides*, inquit, *Catholica*,
MANU-

Manuscript: But the words He produces are in this very Comment of *Fortunatus*. Who this *Euphronius* is, I can no where find; nor whether an *antient*, or *modern* Writer. There was an *Euphronius Presbyter* (mention'd by *Greg. of Tours*) who lived in the 5th Century, and was at length Bishop of *Autun*: But I never heard of any writings of his, more than an *Epistle* ascribed to Him and *Lupus of Troyes*. I would not however omit the mentioning this *Note of Pareus*, because a Hint may sometimes lead to useful Discoveries; And others may be able to resolve the Doubt, tho' I am not.

Our next *Commentator*, or rather *Paraphrast*, is *Hincmar* of *Rheims*: Not upon the whole Creed, but upon such parts only as He had occasion to cite. For, his way is to throw in several words of his own, as Explanatory Notes, so far as He quotes the Creed:^a And He sometimes does it more than He ought to have done, to serve a Cause against *Gotthescalcus*: Which I may hint, in passing; to say more of it, would be foreign to our present purpose.

S. Bruno, Bishop of *Wurtzburgh* in *Germany*, has a formal Comment, and much larger than *Fortunatus's*, upon the *Athanasian* Creed. It is at the end of his *Psalter*, and has been several Times printed with it. Father *Le Long* reckons up six Editions,^b in This order: 1. At *Nuremberg* in *Folio*, An. D. 1494. 2. By *Antonius Koburger* in 4to, A. D. 1497. 3. By *Cochleus* at *Wurtzburgh*, in 4to. A. D. 1531. 4thly At *Leipsick*, in 4to, 1533. 5thly In the *Cologne Bibliothecque* A. D. 1618. Tom. XI. 6thly in the *Lyons* Bibl. PP. A. D. 1677. Tom. XVIII. The *Old* Editions are scarce, and not easy to be met with. I have seen Two of them in our *Publick Library* at *Cambridge*, Those of 1494, and 1533. There is an elegant one of the former (as I conceive by the description sent me by a

seu universalis, dicitur: Hoc est, recta, quam Ecclesia Universa tenere debet. David. Pareus not. ad Symb. Athan. p. 118.

^a Vid. *Hincmari* Oper. Tom. 1. p. 452. 464. 469. 552. 553.

^b Commentarii in totum Psalterium & in Cantica Vet. & N. Testamenti, In fol. *Nurembergæ*. 1494. In 4to per *Antonium Koburger* 1497. Idem a *Johan. Cochleio* restitutum in 4to *Herbipoli* 1531. *Lipsiæ*. 1533. Bibl. PP. *Colonienfis* & *Lugdunenfis*. *Le Long*. Bibl. Bibl. Tom. 2. p. 654.

learned Gentleman) in the *Booleian*, at *Oxford*. It is in *Vellum*, in a black, and red Letter, reserved among the Manuscripts, and mark'd *Laud E. 81*. The Two Editions of 1497, and 1531, I never saw: yet Bishop *Usher* makes mention of an Edition in 1531,^a and seems to have known of none older. I should have suspected 1531 to be a false print for 1533, had not *Le Long* confirmed it that there is such an Edition as 1531, and named the *Place* where it was printed: Tho' I cannot but observe that He makes a *Folio* of it in his first Tome,^b and a *Quarto* in the second; which is to me an argument that He had never seen it, but perhaps took the Hint from *Usher*. Dr. *Grabe*, tho' desirous of it, had never seen either That of 1531, or That of 1533.^c But leaving the *printed* Editions of This *Comment* of *Bruno's*, let us next say something of the *Manuscripts* of it, and their Differences from the *Prints*, or from each other. There are many Manuscript Copies, which I shall mention in order.

1. The first and most valuable Manuscript is in the Library of *Wurtzburgh*, as old as the Author, left by Him as a Legacy to That Church. The first printed Edition (if I mistake not) was taken from That very *Original* Manuscript;^d which at the lowest computation must be 680 years old. The Title of the Creed; *Fides Catholica S. Athanasii Episcopi*.

2. There is a *second*, which I have seen in *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, annex'd to a *Psalter* described at large by the learned Mr. *Hanley* in his Catalogue,^e and judged by Him to have been

a *Psalterii editio vulgata latina*, obelis & Asteriscis distincta, cum *Brunonis Herbipolensis Episcopi* Commentariis, Anno 1531. a *Johanne Cochlæo* in lucem est emissâ. *Usher. de Editione LXX* Interpr. p. 104.

b *Psalterium vetus obelis & Asteriscis distinctum*, cum *Comentariis S. Brunonis*, studio *Johannis Cochlæi* Editum, in fol. *Herbipoli*, 1531. in 4to *Liplæ* 1533. *Le Long. Tom. 1. p. 274.*

c *Grabe Prolegom. ad Psalter. Alexandr. c. 3.*

d *Posteris Filiis suis (S. Bruno) memorabilem & sanctum Psalmorum Librum, ex quo illi's impressus est, sumptuose scriptum, quasi hereditatis spiritualis non minimam portionem reliquit. Prolog. ad Editionem Anni 1494.*

Preciosum illum Theaurum posteritati post se reliquit, & quidem insigni scriptura sumptuose descriptum———*erat Donum illud memorabile & conspicuum in locuplete antiquorum Voluminum Bibliotheca Herbipolensis Ecclesie: Quod sane religiosa pietate, velut Hereditas quadam hujus Sancti Patris Custoditur. Jean. Cochlæ. prolog. ad Edit. An. 1533.*

e *Hanley's Catalog. MS. Septentr. p. 168.*

written about the Time of King *Stephen*. So that This is about a hundred years later than the former, or about 580 years old; no *Title* to the Creed.

3. There is a *Third*, of much the same Age with the former, or some years older, in the *Bodleian* at *Oxford*, marked *Laud. H. 61.* the Title of the Creed, *Fides Catholica Sancti Athanasii Episcopi.*

4. A *Fourth* I have seen in the *Cathedral Library* at *York*, which may be 500 years old. No Title.

5. There are, as I conceive, Three more, which *Tentzelius*^a gives us some Hints of, in the *Basil*, *Gotha*, and *Leipsick* Libraries: Tho' I have nothing to ground my Conjecture upon but This, that the first words, recited by *Tentzelius*, agree with *Bruno's* Comment. The Copist has added another Comment upon the same Creed together with *Bruno's*; one running down in a Column on the right Hand, the other on the Left, as I imagine. The *Leipsick* Copy is judged to be above 500 years old; The Title, *Fides Anastasii Papæ.*

6. There is another, in the Library of *St. German de Prez*, about 500 years old. *Montfaucon*, having met with it, publish'd it^b as an *Anecdote*; not knowing that it was *Bruno's* Comment, or that it had ever been before printed. It is not indeed quite so full, nor any thing near so correct as the printed Copies: But still it is plainly *Bruno's* Comment. The Title; *Tractatus de Fide Catholica.*

7. There is also, in my Lord *Harley's* Library, a modern Manuscript of this Comment, written at *Augsburg*, in the year 1547. (by *Charles Pentenger*, Son to the famous *Conrad*) where the Title is, *Fides Catholica Sancti Anastasii Episcopi.* The mistake of *Anastasii* for *Athanasii*, we find, had crept into the *German* Copies some Centuries before: wherefore This is not to be wonder'd at. All the older Copies, as well as the *Original* Manuscript, have *Athanasii*, in the Title, where there is a Title, and *Athanasius* in the Beginning of the Comment.

^a *Tentzelii*: Jud. Eruditor. p. 224. and Preface.

^b *Montfaucon*. Athanas. Oper. Tom 2. p. 735.

The Manuscripts which I have here recited, all but the first, seem now to be of no great use; if it be true, as I suppose, that the first prints were taken from the very *Original* at *Wurtzburgh*. It is certain that They are very imperfect, and uncorrect (I have collated Three of them) in comparison of the *printed* Copies: Nor could I observe above two or three places, and those not very material, where the printed Copies seem to have followed a false reading, or may be corrected by those Manuscripts. One Thing I a little wonder'd at, that the three Manuscripts, of *St. Germans*, *Trinity College*, and *York*, should all leave out some Paragraphs which appear in the *printed* Copies, and the same Paragraphs. But I have since found, that Those very Paragraphs were taken out of *Fortunatus's* Comment, and belong not properly to *Bruno's*. This, I presume, the first Copiers understood, and therefore omitted them. Probably, *Bruno's* own Copy might at first want them, (tho' they must have been added soon after) or if *Bruno* Himself inserted them, yet He had left some mark of distinction, which was understood at That Time; tho' not by the *Editors* of this Comment, so many years after. But to proceed.

1120 In the next Age, the famous *Peter Abelard* wrote Comments upon this Creed: which are printed amongst his other Works. The Title in the Prints, is, *Petri Abaelardi Expositio Fidei, in Symbolum Athanasii*. I suspect that the Editor has added the latter part, *in Symbolum Athanasii*, as a Hint to the Reader. The *Comment* is a very short one, scarce three Pages in 4to, and, for the Age it was wrote in, a pretty good one; tho', as I conceive, from some Flaws in it, printed from a Copy not very *Correct*.

1170 Of the same Century is *Hildegarde*, the celebrated Abbess of *St. Rupert's* mount, near *Binghen* on the *Rhine*. She wrote Explications of *St. Benedict's Rule*, and of the *Athanasian Creed*: Which may be seen. *Bibl. PP. Tom. XXIII. p. 596.*

1210 *Simon Tornaccensis*, Priest of *Tournay*, in the beginning of the thirteenth Century, taught Divinity at *Paris*, with great Reputation. - His Manuscript Works are in many Libraries; and, among his other Writings, there is an *Exposition of the Athanasian*

sian Creed.^a *Oudin* reckons up four Manuscript Copies of it, in as many distinct Libraries, and acquaints us where They are to be found, and of what Age they probably are.

Contemporary with the former, is *Alexander Neckham*, an Englishman, Abbot of *Exeter*. He wrote a Comment on the *Athanasian Creed*, which is extant in Manuscript, in the *Bodleian*, at *Oxford* (mark'd N. E. 7. 8.) coeval probably with the Author. 1220

There is another Commentary upon this Creed written by *Richardus Hampolus*, *Richard Rolle* of *Hampole*, a Native of *Yorkshire*, and a Monk of the Order of *St. Austin*. It contains, in a manner, *Bruno's* Comment intire, with several Additions, and Insertions either of the Author's own, or such as He had borrowed elsewhere. It has been twice printed, first at *Cologne* in the year 1536, and afterwards in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, *Lugdun.* Tom. XXVI. p. 624. 1340

To the *Latin* Comments here mention'd I may add an English one, which I suppose to be *Wickliff's*, and which I have above quoted as his. If it be not his, yet certainly it is of his Time, and not far from the middle of the XIVth Century. I will first give some Account of this English Comment, and then show both why I ascribe it to *Wickliff*, and why I do it not with full Assurance, but with some degree of Diffidence. I first met with it in a Manuscript Volume (in 12°) belonging to the Library of *St. John's* College in *Cambridge*. The Volume contains an English Version of the *Psalms*, and *Hymns* of the Church, with the *Athanasian Creed*, produced, Paragraph by Paragraph, in *Latin*, interspersed with an English Version of each Paragraph, and commented upon quite through, Part by Part. After the Comment, follow *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Song of Songs*, *Wisdom*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, all in old English, without Glos or Comment. Now, the Reasons why I incline to ascribe the Comment to *Wickliff*, are these. 1380

^a *Expositio Symboli*, per *Simonem* Tornacensis Ecclesiæ Canonicum, & Parisiensem Doctorem, qua sic incipit; Apud *Aristotelem* Argumentum est Ratio faciens Fidem, sed apud *Christum* argumentum est Fides faciens Rationem. *Oudin.* Tom. 3. p. 30.

1 Dr. *Langbaine*, of *Queen's College* in *Oxford*, in a Letter to *Bishop Usher*, bearing Date A. D. 1647, testifies that He had seen such a Comment, and that He found it to be *Wickliff's*, by comparing the Beginning of it with *Bale*.^a This, very probably, is the same Comment; tho' there is no such Manuscript now in *Magdalen College Oxon*, as was in Dr. *Langbaine's* Time.

2. All those Parts of Scripture which go before and after this Comment, in the same Volume, are of the *same Version* with That of *Wickliff's* Bible in the Library of *Emanuel College*, without any difference, (except that *St. John's* Copy, being older, retains the more antient spelling) as I am well assured by comparing them together: So that if those Parts be *Wickliff's*, it may appear very probable that the *Comment* is his too. Indeed, our very learned *Wharton* was of opinion that the Version commonly ascribed to *Wickliff*,^b was really *John Trevisa's* who was a Contemporary of *Wickliff's*, and Vicar of *Berkely* in *Cornwall*. But his Reasons for it have appear'd to Others not satisfactory,^c and have in part been confuted.^d I shall not enter far into That Dispute, being almost foreign to my purpose: And it is not very material whether *Wickliff*, or *Trevisa* (if Either) be judged the Author of the Comment. This only I may observe, by the way, that Mr. *Wharton's* Argument drawn from the *Norfolk* Manuscript of the Gospels (Cod. 254) which He is positive belongs to *Wickliff*, appears to be of some weight, so far as concerns the *New-Testament*; and the Inference may reach to several parts of the *Old-Testament* also. Either Mr. *Wharton* must have been mistaken in ascribing the *Norfolk* Copy to *Wickliff*, or else, for any thing I see, his Argument will stand good. The *Characteristick* which He lays down whereby to distinguish *Wick-*

a While I was there (in *Magd. College* Library) tumbling amongst their Books, I light upon an old English Comment upon the *Psalms*, the *Hymns* of the Church, and *Athanasius's* Creed; which I presently Conjectured (tho' there be no name to it) to be *Wickliff's*. And comparing the Beginning with *Bale*, found that I had not erred in the Conjecture. *Langbaine*, among *Usher's* Letters. p. 512.

b *Wharton*. *Auctarium Hist. Dogmat.* p. 425. 426

c *Oudin*. *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* Vol. 3. p. 1044.

d *Vid.* *Le Long Bibl. Bibl.* Vol. 1. p. 426.

Wickliff's Version (namely, the frequent insertion of *Synonymous* words) will by no means agree with the common Version: And then the *Specimen* He gives of the two different renderings of *Luke 2. 7.* is directly contrary.^a But a fuller Discussion of that Point may be left with Those who have more leisure, and have more particularly studied it. I am content to suppose that the common Version ascribed to *Wickliff* is really his: Perhaps He might give two Editions of it;^b or else *Trevisa's* may be little more than *Wickliff's* Version, corrected, and polish'd, with great Liberty, both as to Sense and Expression, where it appear'd needful. To proceed.

3. A third Reason I have for the ascribing The Comment to *Wickliff*, is, that some parts of it seem to suit exactly with his Humour, and Manner, and Way of thinking; particularly the Gird upon *Popes*, and *Cardinals* in the Close.^c

Nevertheless, I am far from being positive in This matter: Much may be offer'd to take off the Force of these Reasons, or to counter-balance them. 1. This very Comment is annex'd to a manuscript *Commentary*, upon the *Psalms* and *Hymns* of the Church, now in *Trinity-College* Library in *Cambridge*: which *Commentary* appears not to be *Wickliff's*, tho' supposed to be his by Mr. *Wharton*.^d The *English* Version of the *Psalms* going a-

a Wicklefus sic reddit: *And puttide Him in a Cratche; for place was not to Him in the comyn Stable.*

Alter interpretes sic: *And leide Him in a Cratche; for there was no place to Him in no Chaumbre.* Wharton. p. 426.

I have a Manuscript of the New Testament entire, belonging to our College Library, which reads *Luke: 2. 7.* according to the first reading, and which has many Instances of Synonymous Insertions every where. It is a different Version from That which is commonly ascribed to *Wickliff*.

b Patet, aut antiquiorem fuisse quandam S. Scripturæ Translationem Anglicam, aut duplicem fuisse Translationis *Wiclevianæ* Editionem. Wharton. Auctor. Hist. Dogm. p. 436.

c *And algiſ this Crede accorde unto Prestis, netheles the higher Prelatis, as Popis and Cardynals, and Bishopis shulden more specially Kunne this Crede, and teche it to Men un-dir hem.* Comm. on the Athian. Creed.

Compare some words of *Wickliff's* Bileve.

I suppose, over this, that the Pope be most obliſhid to the keeping of the Gospel among all Men that liuen here; for the Pope is highest Vicar that Christ has here in Erth. Collier. Eccl. Hist. Vol. 1. p. 728.

d *Commentarius in Psalmos, aliosque Sacra Scriptura ac Liturgie Ecclesiasticæ Hymnos.* MS. in Collegio S. Trinitatis Cantab. F. *Commentarius in priores 89 Psalmos habetur* MS. in Bibliotheca Lambethana. Wharton sub *Wicklef.* Append. ad Cav. H. L. p. 54.

long with That Commentary, is not the ſame with that of *Wickliff's* Bible: I have compared them. The *Commentary*, and *Verſion* too are reaſonably judged to be *Hampole's*. I find by a Note left in a Blank Page at the Beginning (ſign'd *J. Ruſſel*) that there is a Copy of this *Commentary* in the *Royal Library*, (E. 15. 12.) but imperfect; the *Prologue* the very ſame, and expreſſly aſcribed to *Richard of Hampole*: From whence it may be juſtly ſuſpected that the Comment upon the *Athanaſian Creed* at the end, appearing in part (for, two Leaves are cut out) is *Hampole's*, as well as the reſt. There is in *Bennet Library*, in *Cambridge*, another manuſcript Copy of the ſame *Commentary* (Mark'd, 1-1. Catal. p. 69.) with the *Comment* upon the *Creed* entire. The *Prologue* I found to be ſame as in the other, as alſo the Comment on the *firſt* *Pſalm*; by which I judge of the reſt.^a The Comment on the *Canticles*, at the end is likewiſe the ſame; only the *Canticles* are not all placed in the ſame *Order*. At the Bottom of the Second Leaf of the *Commentary*, there is left this *Note*, by an unknown Hand: *Author hujus Libri, Richardus, Heremita de Hampole*. Now, if this *Commentary* really be *Hampole's*, of which I can ſcarce make any queſtion, it will appear highly probable that the *Comment* on the *Creed* is his too. 2. What favors the Suſpicion is, that here the *Comment* is annexed to other *Comments* in like Form with it ſelf, and not to meer *Verſions* as in the Manuſcript of *St. John's* Library. Nay further, This Comment on the *Creed*, as it appears in *St. John's* Copy, has the ſeveral parts of the *Creed* in *Latin*, and in *red Letter*, prefix'd to the reſpective *Verſion* and *Comment*; juſt as we find, in *Hampole*, the ſeveral parts of each *Pſalm* exhibited firſt in *Latin*, and in *red Letter*: Which Circumſtance is of ſome weight. 3. Add to this, that there are ſome Expreſſions in the Comment on the *Creed* very like to thoſe which are familiar with the Author of that *Commentary* on the *Pſalms*: Such as theſe; *it is ſeid comunly, that ther ben &c. Clerkis ſcin* thus, and thus; ſo that from ſimilitude of *Style* an

^a Q. Whether there be not one, or two more Copies of the ſame, in *The Bodlician*. See the *Bodlician Manuſcripts*, in the *General Catalogue*. N. 2438. 3085.

Argument may be drawn in favor of *Hampole*, as well as for *Wickliff*. These Considerations suffer me not to be positive on the other Side. The Comment may be *Hampole's*; or it may be *Wickliff's*; which latter Opinion I the rather incline to for the Reasons before given, appearing to me something more forcible than the other, tho' not much. However it be, the Comment may be useful: and if it be *Hampole's*, it must be set 40 years higher than I have here placed it. The distance of 30, or 40 years makes no great Alteration in any Language: So that meerly from the *Language*, especially in so small a Tract, we can draw no Consequence to the *Author*; excepting such peculiarities as may have been rather proper to this or that *Man*, than to this or that *Time*.

These are all the *antient* Comments upon the *Athanasian* Creed that I have hitherto met with, or heard of; excepting only such as have no certain *Author*, or none mention'd.

Muratorius informs us of Two Comments without Names, which are in manuscript, in the *Ambrosian* Library, near 600 years old. One of them bears for its Title, *Expositio Fidei Catholica*; The Other has no Title. By the Age of the Manuscripts (if *Muratorius* judges rightly thereof) one may be assured that That They are distinct and different from any of the *Comments* below *Abelard*: And that They are neither of them the same with *Bruno's*, or *Fortunatus's* may reasonably be concluded, because *Muratorius* was well acquainted with Both, and would easily have discover'd it. Whether either of them may prove to be *Abelard's*, which has for its Title *Expositio Fidei*, and may suit well with the Age of the Manuscripts, I know not. *Muratorius*, while He makes mention of *Bruno*, and *Hildegardis*, whose *Comments* He had seen, says nothing of *Abelard's*: So that possibly one of his manuscript *Comments* may prove the same with That. But if Neither of them be the same with *Abelard's*, nor with each other, They must be allowed to pass for Two distinct *Comments*, whose *Authors* are not yet known.

Tentzelius informs us of a nameless *Comment* (whereof there are three manuscript Copies, one at *Gotha*, a second at *Basil*, a third at *Leipsick*) which runs parallel with *Bruno's* *Comments* along with the *Athanasian* Creed. He gives us a pretty large

Paragraph, with which it begins;^a and which I have transcribed into the Margin. The *Leipsick* Manuscript is above 500 years old. Whether This Comment be a distinct one by it self, or may fall in with some or other of Those before mention'd, cannot certainly be known, unless we had Them all to compare. It is observable that The Paragraph, in the Margin, with very little alteration, occurs in *Hampole's* Latin Comment: Which begins also as *Bruno's* does, with *Hic Beatus Athanasius Liberum arbitrium posuit*. From whence I should imagine that the Copies *Tentzelius* refers to are nothing else but so many Copies of *Hampole's*, were it not that one of them is confidently averr'd to be above 500 years old. If That be really so, then *Rich. Hampole* must be said to have gather'd up his Comment out of *Bruno's* and the other, with little or perhaps nothing of his own: And so *Tentzelius's* will be a distinct Comment, older than *Hampole's*. I very much suspect, that *Hampole's* is really nothing else but a Collection from older Comments, without a Syllable of his own: And so much the rather, if what I call *Wickliff's* should prove to be *Hampole's*. For, That *English* Comment has no resemblance at all with *Hampole's* supposed *Latin* One.

Nothing now remains, but to close This Chapter with a *Table*, as I have the former, representing in one view a Summary of what is contain'd in it.

^a In dextro primæ pagine hæc legi.

Hæc ratio Fidei Catholicæ traditur in veteribus Codicibus a beato *Anastasio Alexandrino* scripta. Et puto quod idcirco tam pleno & brevi sermone tradita fuerit, ut omnibus Catholicis & minus eruditis tutam defensionem præstaret adversus illam Tempestatem quam contrarius ventus (id est) *Diabolus* excitavit per *Arrium*: quam Tempestatem qui regere desiderat, hanc Fidei veritatem integre & inviolabiliter teneat. *Tentzel*, p. 225.

A Table of the ANTIEN T COMMENTS.

A.D.	Commentators	Country	Title of the Creed.
570	<i>Venant. Fortunatus</i>	Poitiers	<i>Fides Catholica.</i>
852	<i>Hincmar</i>	Rheims	<i>Symbolum Athanasii.</i>
1033	<i>Bruno</i>	Wurtzburgh	<i>Fides Catholica Sancti Athanasii Episcopi.</i>
1110	MS. <i>Ambrosian.</i>	Italy	<i>Fides Catholica.</i>
1110	MS. alter <i>Ambros.</i>	Italy	
1120	<i>Pet. Abaelardus</i>	France	<i>Symbolum Athanasii.</i>
1170	<i>S. Hildegardis</i>	France	
1180	MS. <i>Lipsiens.</i>	Germany	<i>Fides Anastasii Papæ.</i>
1210	<i>Simon Tornacensis</i>	France	<i>Symbolum Athanasii.</i>
1220	<i>Alex. Neckham.</i>	England	
1340	<i>Rich. Hampolus</i>	England	<i>Athanasii Symbolum.</i>
1380	<i>John Wickliff</i>	England	<i>Crede, or Salm, of Attanasie.</i>

C H A P. IV.

Latin Manuscripts of the Athanasian Creed.

I Confine my self in this Chapter to the *Latin* Manuscripts, since the Creed was undoubtedly written originally in *Latin*; and therefore the Manuscripts in any other Languages will be more properly treated of in another Chapter, among the *Versions*. None of the *Learned* at this Day make any question but that the Creed was originally a *Latin* Composure. This They pretend to be *certain* of, and unanimously agree in; however doubtfully they may speak of other Things, or however They may differ in their Opinions about the *Age*, or *Author*. Even Those, many of them, who have ascribed the Creed to *Athanasius*, have yet been obliged by plain and irresistible Evidence to acknowledge, with the Legates of P. *Gregory IXth*, that it was originally *Latin*. The *Style* and *Phraseology* of the Creed; its early Reception among the *Latins*, while unknown to the *Greeks*; the *Antiquity*, and *Number* of the *Latin* Manuscripts, and their *Agreement* (for the most part) with each other, compared with the *Lateness*, the *Scarceness*, and the *Disagreement* of the *Greek* Copies, all concur to demonstrate that this Creed was originally a *Latin* composure, rather than a *Greek* one: And as to any other Language besides these two, none is pretended.

I proceed then to recount the *Latin* Manuscripts as high as we can find any extant, or as have been known to have been extant; and as low as may be necessary, or useful to our main Design.

- A. D. The oldest we have heard of is one mention'd by Bishop *Usher*,
 600 which He had seen in the *Cotton* Library, and which He judged to come up to the *Age* of *Gregory the Great*.^a This Manuscript

^a *Latino-gallicum* illud Pfalterium in Bibliotheca *Cottoniana* vidimus: sicut & alia *latina duo*, longe majoris antiquitatis; in quibus, præter Hymnum Hunc (*Sc. Te Deum*) sine ullo Autoris nomine, *Hymni ad matutinas*, titulo inscriptum, & *Athanasianum* habebatur Symbolum, & *Apostolicum* totidem omnino quot hodiernum nostrum continens *Capitula*. In priore, quod *Gregori I* Tempore non fuisse recentius, tum ex antiquo *Picturæ* genere has

has often been appealed to since *Usher's* Time, and upon the credit of *Usher*, by the Learned on this Subject: As particularly by *Comber*, *L'Estrange*, *Tentzelius*, *Tillemont*, *Le Quier*, *Muratorius*, *Natalis Alexander*, and perhaps several more. *Montfaucon* takes notice of *Usher's* Manuscript; but observes that *Usher* Himself allowed the *Character* to be much later than the Time of *Gregory*:^a Which would have been a strange inconsistency in *Usher*, who forms his Argument for the Antiquity of the Manuscript from the *Character* it self, and from the *antient* kind of *Picture*. But *Montfaucon* is plainly mistaken, confounding what *Usher* had said of Another Manuscript, in *Bennet* Library at *Cambridge*,^b with what He had said of the *Cotton* Manuscript at *Westminster*. The Two Manuscripts are very distinct, and different as possible; nor has the Latter any *Athanasian* Creed in it: Only, its being called *Gregory's Psalter*, occasion'd, I suppose, the mistake of making it the same with the other. *Tentzelius*^c seems first to have confounded them together: And probably *Montfaucon* followed Him implicitly, not having *Usher* at hand to consult; which would immediately have discovered the Fallacy. Were there no other Objection against *Usher's* Manuscript beside what hath been mention'd, all would be well. But it is of greater weight to observe, that there is not, at This Day, in the *Cotton* Library any such manuscript Copy of the *Athanasian* Creed; nor indeed any *Latin* Psalter that can come up to the Age of *Gregory*, or near it. There is an *antient Psalter* (mark'd *Vespasian A*) wrote in *Capitals*, and *illuminated*; and which might, by the *Character*, be as old as the Time of *Gregory the Great*; were it not certain, from a Charter of *K. Ethelbald*,

colligitur, tum ex Literarum Forma Grandiuscula, *Athanasianum* quidem, *Fidei Catholicae*, alterum vero *Symboli Apostolorum* præfert Titulum. In posteriore, quod Regis *Ethelstani* aliquando fuit, *Apostolicum*, vice versa, *Symbolum* simpliciter, alterum autem *Fides Sancti Athanasi Alexandrini* nuncupatur. *Usher*. de Symb. Præf. p. 2, 3.

a Codicum omnium qui hæcenus visi memoratique sunt, antiquissimus ille est qui ab *Usserio* laudatur, ævo *Gregorii Magni* conscriptus; si tamen ea vere sit ejus MS. atas: nam addit *Usserius*, scripturam ævo *Gregorii* longe esse posteriorem. *Montf.* Diatr. p. 721.

b In Psalterio Græco *Papæ Gregorii*, ut præfert Titulus (scriptura enim ævo *Gregorii* longe est posterior) Psalterio videlicet Græco & Romano, latinis utroque literis descripto, quod in *Benedictini*, apud *Cantabrigienses*, Collegii Bibliotheca est reconditum. *Usher*. de Symb. p. 9.

c *Tentzelii* Judic. Eruditor. p. 49. Et Exercit. Select. p. 29.

written

written in the ſame Hand, and at the ſame Time, and formerly belonging to it,^a that it cannot be ſet higher than the year 719 when *Ethelbald* began to reign.

This *Pſalter* has the *Te Deum*, with the Title of *Hymnus ad Matutinum*, as *Uſher*'s had; and alſo the *Athanaſian* Creed with the Title of *Fides Catholica*; but Both in a very different and much later Hand than That of the *Pſalter* it Self; later by ſeveral Centuries, as the very learned Mr. *Wanley*^b judges, who ſets the Age of the *Pſalter* about 1000 years, but of the *Athanaſian* Creed, &c. at the Time of the *Norman* Conqueſt. A Suſpicion, however, may from hence ariſe, that This very *Pſalter*, with what belongs to it, might be the *Pſalter* &c. which *Uſher* ſpake of; eſpecially ſince there is none other in the *Cotton* Library at all like it. But, on the contrary, it is to be conſider'd, that This *Pſalter* has no *Apoſtolic* Creed at all in it, which *Uſher* affirms his to have had: Nor has it the *Hymnus Matutinus*, beginning with, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, which *Uſher*'s alſo had.^c Neither is it at all probable that, if *Uſher* had intended the *Pſalter* now extant in the *Cotton*, He ſhould give no hint of the *Saxon* Verſion going along with it; eſpecially conſidering that it might be made an Objection to its Antiquity. Nor do I think that ſo inquiſitive a Man as *Uſher* could either have being ignorant of the Age of *Ethelbald*, or of his *Charter* having been once a part of That Manuscript. In his *Hiſtoria Dogmatica*,^d He takes notice of this very *Pſalter* (now

a Conſtat vero ex *Hiſtoria* & *Synopſi* Biblioth *Cottoniana*, quam in ingens Reip. literariæ Beneficium edidit, amplificandis bonis Literis natus, doctiſſimus *Thomas Smithus* noſter, & indiculo *Pſalterii* latini in majuſculis ſcripti cum Verſione *Saxonica* interlineari, quod notatur *Veſpaſian*. A. I. Chartam hanc (*Æthelbaldi* R. *Auſtraliſium Saxonum*) ex iſto MS. exciſſam eſſe. Quod etiam illius quum meſſura quæ cum Foliis illius MS. quadrat, tum etiam *Manus* in utroque prorsus eadem, tum denique *Locus* MSS, unde ſciſſa eſt, inter Folia X, & XI, codicem vertentibus oſtendit. *Hickeſ. Diſſert. Epiſt. in Lingua Septentr. Theſaur.* p. 67.

b Vid. *Wanleyi* Catal. MSS. *Septentrion.* p. 222.

c Ad Finem veterum *Pſalteriorum* Latinorum, cum *Apoſtolic* & *Athanaſiano* Symbolo, etiam *Hymnus* iſte (*ſc. Gloria* &c.) habetur adjectus. In antiquiſſimo *Cottoniano* ἀντιγράφῳ eſt: in *Æthelſtaniano* proximo, *Hymnus in die Dominico ad Matutinas*, inſcribitur. *Uſſer. de Symbol.* p. 33.

d In Bibliotheca D. *Roberti* *Cotton* extat *Pſalterium* Romanum vetuſtiſſimum, cum verſione interlineari *Saxonica*: Character idem cum chartâ *Æthelbaldi* Anglorum Regis, anno 736 datâ. *Uſſer Hiſto. Dogmat.* p. 104.

marked, *Vespasian A*) and of the *Saxon Version* in it, and likewise of its being in the *same Hand* with *Ethelbald's Charter*: And there He sets the Age of it no higher than the year 736, (that is, above 130 years later than *Gregory I.*) without the least Hint that He had ever mistaken the Age of it before, or had thought otherwise of it than He did at the Time of his writing this later Treatise. These Considerations convince me that Bishop *Usher* had seen some other Manuscript, which has since That Time, like many more,^a been lost, or stolen from the *Cotton Library*. He that was so accurate in every Tittle of what he says of *K. Athelstan's Psalter*, (mention'd at the same Time) could never have been so negligent, or rather plainly careless, in respect of the other. I conclude therefore, that there really was such a *Psalter* as *Usher* describes, with the *Athanasian Creed* in it; such as He judged to be of the Age of *Gregory I.* from more Marks than one: And how good a Judge He was in Those Matters, is well known to as many as know any thing of That Great Man, one of the brightest Ornaments of his Age, and thoroughly vers'd in all kinds of Literature.

Next to This of *Bishop Usher* we may place the famous Ma- 660
nuscript of *Treves*, from which the *Colbert Manuscript* (to be mention'd hereafter in its place) was copied. Mr. *Anthelmi* sets it as high as the year 450, upon a presumption that the *Colbert Manuscript* is as old as the year 600, and that 150 years may reasonably be allow'd between the *Colbertine Copy* and That from which it was Copied. *Tillemont*, supposing, or admitting the *Colbertine* to be near the Age that *Anthelmi* mentions, yet thinks 50 years difference might be sufficient; and that therefore the Age of the *Treves Manuscript* might be fix'd at 550, or thereabout.^b But, since the *Colbert Manuscript* cannot reasonably be set much higher than 760, as we shall see in its proper place; I shall not pretend to set the *Treves Manuscript* above 660; and that only under the favourable Allowance of a probable Conjecture. The Authority of this Manuscript of *Treves* stands upon the Credit of a Passage prefix'd

^a Vid. *Tho. Smith's* Prefationem ad Catalog. MSS. Bibl. Cotton.

^b *Tillemont Memoires*. Tom. 8. p. 670.

to the *Colbertine Copy*,^a which declares that the latter was copied from a Manuscript found at *Treves*. It was not a Copy of the *intire Creed*, but began at the Second Part which relates to the *Incarnation*. For, after the Words, *believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ*, (being only part of the foregoing Sentence) follows; *For, the right Faith is, that we believe*, and so on to the end of the Creed. This remaining part of the Creed is very different from the common Copies, and seems to have been so contrived with design, as I shall have occasion to observe more at large in the Sequel. And it is to me an Argument that the Manuscript was written while the *Eutybian Controversy* was at the Height, about the End of the 5th Century, or Beginning of the *Sixth*; tho' I here set it a great deal lower, because This is not the Place to explain that matter fully, nor would I too far indulge a bare *Conjecture*. It is sufficient to suppose it written in the VIIth Century, as it was undoubtedly copied from, as early if not earlier than the VIIIth.

700 After the Manuscript of *Treves*, may justly follow the *Ambrosian Manuscript*, which is in the *Ambrosian Library* at *Milan*; a Copy of which has been publish'd by *Muratorius*, in his Second Tome of *Anecdota*. It was brought thither from the famous *Monastery* of *Bobbio* (of *High-Lombardy*, in the *Milanesse*) founded by *Columbanus*, A. D. 613. The *Character* of the Manuscript is *Langobardick*; and it is judged by *Muratorius* (who has more particularly examin'd it) to be above 1000 years old.^b By his Account then, who wrote in the year 1698, we ought to set the Age of This Manuscript higher than 698. Yet, because *Montfaucon*, who in his Travels through *Italy* had also seen it, puts it no higher than the VIIIth Century,^c we shall be content to place

^a Hæc inveni Trevis in uno Libro scriptum, sic incipiente, *Domini nostri Jesu Christi* &c. reliqua. *Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat.* Apud *Montf.* Diatrib. p. 728.

^b In alio etiam vetustissimo Ambrosianæ Bibliothecæ Codice ante mille & plures annos scripto, *symbolum* idem sum nactus. *Murator.* Tom. 1. p. 16.

Cæterum opusculum Hoc (*Bachiani Fides*) mihi depromptum est ex antiquissimo *Ambrosianæ* Bibliothecæ Codice, quem ante Annos minimum mille conscriptum, Characterum forma non dubitanter testatur. Fuit autem olim celeberrimi Monasterii *Bobiensis*, & ex illo in *Ambrosianam* translatus a magno Card. *Frederico Borromæo* &c. *Murator.* Tom. 2.

^c S. item p. 224.

^d Codex VIII. Sæculi, Characterè *Langobardico*, in quo *Gennadii* liber de *Ecclesiasticis*

it between the VIIth and VIIIth, or in the year 700, to make it a round Number. There are in this Manuscript some *Readings* different from the common Copies; which shall be carefully noted hereafter. It is without any *Title*.

We may next set down K. *Aethelstan's* Psalter, of which Bishop 701
Usher had taken Notice, making it next in Age to the other most antient one of the Age of *Gregory I.* He and *Dr. Grabe* Both fix the Date of it to the year 703, from the *Rule* of the *Calendar* found in it.^a *Dr. Smith*, in his Catalogue of the *Cotton* Manuscripts, inclines to think that the Manuscript is later than That Time, but taken from one that was really as early as the year 703; the later Copist transcribing (as sometimes has been) the Book and the Rule word for word, as He found Them.^b Allowing This to have been the Case here (tho' it be only Conjecture) it will still be true that there was a Manuscript of the Age of 703, with This Creed in it; from whence the later One, now extant, was copied: which serves our purpose as well; and the rest is not material. I have nothing farther to observe, but that the *Psalter* wherein This Creed is, is the *Gallican* Psalter, not the *Roman*; and the Title is, *Fides Sancti Athanasii Alexandrini, The Faith of St. Athanasius of Alexandria*: The oldest Monument, of any we have extant, ascribing this Creed to *Athanasius*; excepting only the Council of *Autun* in 670, if we may depend upon the *Canon* ascribed to it.

Dogmatibus, *Basiliarii Fides, Symbolum Athanasii*, omnia eadem manu. *Montfauc.* *Diar.* *Ital.* p. 18.

a Psalterium illud anno æræ nostræ Christianæ 703, longe ante *Aethelstani* regnantis Tempora, ex *Regulis Kalendario* in libri initio subjunctis scriptum fuisse deprehendi. *Usher.* de *Symb.* p. 6.

Quod Regis *Aethelstani* fuisse dicitur, atque Anno 703 Scriptum est. *Grabii* Prologom. in *Pfalt.* *Alexandr.* c. 3.

b Hic vero venerandæ Antiquitatis Liber fere ante mille Annos descriptus; ut Quibusdam ex *Kalendario*, quod Annum Christi 703, certo designat, illic præfixo videtur. Sed cum Librarios eandem Temporis adnotationem, quæ ad vetustissimos Codices proprie & peculiariter Spectat, suis exemplaribus apposuisse sæpissime observaverim ——— an sit ille ipse Codex autographus qui tantam præ se ferat ætatem, vel annos potius sæculo, aut circiter, ante Tempora *Aethelstani* descriptus, vix pro certo præstare; ad posteriorem sententiam faventiori animo inclinaturus. *Smith.* *Bibl. Cotton.* *Histor.* p. 44.

- 760 We may now take in the *Colbertine* Copy, of which I have before spoken, referring the Date of it to the year 760, or thereabout. *Montfaucon* sets it above the Age of *Charles the Great*,^a allowing it to have been written about the Time of *Pepin*, who began to reign in the year 752. So that I cannot be much out of Time in placing it as I have done. It is written in *Saxon* Character, and is imperfect; wanting the first Part, above one Half of the Creed, just as the Manuscript of *Treves* from which it was copied.
- 760 The Manuscript of *St. Germans*, at *Paris*, is intire, and of the same Age with the former.^b It is mark'd, num. 257, and written in a *Saxon Letter*, as well as the other. The Title, *Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi Alexandriae*. It differs in some places from the common Copies (as shall be noted hereafter) tho' not near so much as the *Colbert* Manuscript before mention'd.
- 772 Next to these is the famous Manuscript of *Charles the Great*, at the end of a *Gallican* Psalter, written in Letters of Gold, and presented by *Charlemagne*, while only King of *France*, to Pope *Adrian I*, at his first Entrance upon the Pontificate, in the year 772. *Lambecius* in his Catalogue of the *Emperor's* Library at *Vienna*, where This Manuscript is, gives a large Account of it.^c The Title is; *Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi Alexandrini*,
- 800 There is Another Manuscript in the *Royal Library* at *Paris*,

a Nongentos superat Annos. *Colbertinus* codex 784. Saxonice descriptus literis, & mea quidem sententia, ante aetatem *Caroli Magni* editus — Sunt qui Codicem illum 1100 annorum esse affirmarunt: Verum periti quique aeo circiter *Pipini* exaratum arbitrantur. *Montf.* Diatr. p. 721.

Nec tamen Codicis *Colbertini* Auctoritate nititur Hæc Sententia, quam arbitratur *Anselmus* 1100 annorum. Etenim (quod pace viri eruditissimi, mihiq; amicissimi dicatur) multo minoris ætatis Codex esse comprobatur; nemo enim peritus cui Librum exhibuerim. Octavo eum sæculo antiquiorem æstimavit. *Montfauc.* ibid. p. 724.

b Paris Saltem Antiquitatis est *Sangermanensis* noster, num. 257. Saxonice pariter literis exaratus, qui Titulum habet, *Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi Alexandriae*. *Montf.* p. 721.

c *Lambecii* Catal. Biblioth. Vindobonens. l. 2. c. 5. p. 261. 296. &c. *Carolus Magnus* proprio carmine suo testatur se illum Codicem summo Pontifici *Hadriano I*. dono misisse; & quidem, ut ego arbitror, illo ipso Anno 772. cujus die decimo Februarii jam memoratus *Hadrianus* in summum Pontificem electus est. *Lambec.* ibid.

mark'd

mark'd 4908, which *Montfaucon* judges to be near 900 years old.^a He wrote in the year 1698. So if we place it in the year 800, we shall want a little of 900 years, from That Time. He supposes it of very near the same Age with the *Vienna* Manuscript. It bears no *Title*, nor any Name, or Note of the *Author*.

I may here place a Manuscript of *Benet* College Library in *Cambridge*, whose Age I cannot certainly fix to a year; But by all Circumstances it cannot well be supposed later than This Time. It is at the end of a *Psalter*, which by comparing I find to be a *Gallican* Psalter. It seems by the *Names* of *Saints*, and other marks, to have been written in *England*. Bishop *Parker* left a Remark in it about it's being in the possession first of one of the Arch-bishops of *Canterbury*, and at length conveyed down to the Hands of *Becket*,^b who was Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* in the year 1162. The great Antiquity of the Manuscript appears from the *Martyrs*, *Confessors*, and *Virgins* address'd to in it; all of the early Times.^c There are some few Variations in This Copy, such as are also found in the most antient Manuscripts of this Creed; particularly the word, *Et*, frequently inserted before *Spiritus Sanctus*, which has been since eras'd by some officious Hand. The Title is observable; *Fides Sancti Anasthasii Episcopi. Anasthasii*, for *Athanasii*, by a Transposition of Syllables.

Montfaucon informs us of a Manuscript in the *Colbert* Library, Num. 1339, which once belong'd to *Charles* the *Bald*,^d who died in the year 877; began to reign 840. It cannot therefore

a Regius Codex, num. 4908 annorum pene nongentorum, nullum habet *Titulum*, nullumque *Auſtoris* nomen. Æqualis ipsi est, qui memoratur a *Lambecio* &c. *Montf.* ibid. p. 721.

b Hoc Psalterium [N. X.] laminis argenteis decuratum, & gemmis ornatum, quondam fuit N. Cantuar. Archiep. tandem venit in manus *Thome Becket* quondam Cant. Archiep. Quod testatur est in veteri scripto. *Matth. Cant.* Vid. Catal. MSS. C. C. C. C. p. 43.

c In Litaniis, Orate pro nobis, Sancte Confessor, Sancte *Heraſme*, Sancte *Owolde* &c. Martyres. Sancte *Cuthberte*, Sancte *Germane*, Sancte *Plucide*, Sancte *Columbane*, Sancte *Carrentine* &c. Confessores. Sancta *Brigida*, Sancta *Eugenia*, Sancta *Eulalia*, Sancta *Petronella*, &c. Virgines. Et non sunt hiſce recentiores. Catal. MSS. B. bl. C. C. C. C. p. 43.

d Colbertinus N. 1339. Qui fuit *Karoli Calvi* imperatoris, inscribitur; *Fides Athanasii*. *Montfauc.* Diatrib. p. 721.

be much amifs to fix upon 860 for the Date of it. The Title it bears is *Fides Athanaſii*.

883 There is a *Second* Manuscript Copy of the *Athanaſian* Creed, in the Library of *Benet* (or *Corpus Chriſti*) College, mark'd N. O. V. It is at the end of a *Gallican* Pfalter, in the ſame hand, and carrying its certain Date with it. It was written in *France*, by Order of Count *Amadeus*, or *Achadeus*;^a and in the year 883, as appears from the *Litany*.^b The Title is, *Fides Catholica*.

930 Mr. *Wanley* gives us an Account of a *Roman* Pfalter in the *Royal* Library, (formerly of *St. James's*) with an interlinear *Saxon* Verſion to it, written about the Time of King *Athelſtan*.^c Among the Canticles at the End, there is alſo This Creed, under the Title of *Hymnus Athanaſii*: A Title which ſeems to have been then cuſtomary in *England*, as may be probably argued from a *Saxon* Verſion (to be hereafter mention'd) of the ſame Age, or very near, and bearing the like Title.^d I muſt be ſo juſt to my Reader as to acquaint Him, that after diligent, and repeated Search into the *King's* Library, This Manuscript could not be found: So that I cannot be abſolutely certain that *Hymnus Athanaſii* means this Creed. But yet I can ſcarce make any doubt of it, conſidering the *Place* it has among the *Canticles*, and that This very *Title* uſed to be given to the Creed.

957 In the Arch-biſhop's Library, at *Lambeth*, there is a *Gallican* Pfalter, written, according to Mr. *Wanley*,^e in the Time of King *Edgar*, or a little before. At the End, there is the *Athanaſian* Creed in the ſame antient Hand, with an interli-

a Ad Finem Pfalterii, *Achadeus*, *mifericordia Dei comes hunc Pfalterium ſcribere juſſit*. Vid. *Catal. MSS.* p. 46.

b Oratur, ut *Marinum Apoſtolicum in Sancta religione conſervare digneris, ut Karlomanum Regem perpetua proſperitate conſervare digneris: ut Reginam conſervare digneris: ut Fulconem Episcopum cum omni grege ſibi commiſſo in tuo apto ſervitio conſervare digneris*. Vid. *Catalog. MSS. C. C. C. C.* p. 47.

c *Wanley* Catal. MS. Septentr. p. 182.

d *Hymnus Athanaſii de Fide Trinitatis. Viſ. Wootoni conſpectum Brevem operis Hickeſiani.* p. 77.

e *Wanley* Catal. p. 269. *Eadgari Regis Angloſaxonum Temporibus, aut paulo ante, ut videtur, exaratus.*

Wharton. Auſtarium Hiſtoriæ Dogmaticæ. p. 374. *Alfreda* parum recentior videtur.

near *Saxon* Version. The Title, *Fides Catholica Sancti Athanasii Episcopi*.

There is another Manuscript Copy of this Creed, much of the same Age with the former, in my Lord *Harley's* elegant Library, richly furnish'd with all kinds of curious, and valuable Manuscripts. This Creed is at the End of a *Gallican* Pfalter, and has an interlinear *Saxon* Version to it. Mr. *Wanley* who was so kind as to acquaint me with it, and to favor me with a sight of it, refers it to the Time of King *Edgar*; who began his Reign in 957, and died in 973. The Title is, *Fides Catholica Athanasii Alexandrini Episcopi*. 970

In the *Cotton* Library, there is a *Gallican* Pfalter, with *Saxon* interlined (mark'd *Vitellius*. E. 18.) which Mr. *Wanley* refers to the year 1031.^a The *Athanasian* Creed at the End, as usual, among the other Canticles, bears the Title of *Fides Catholica Athanasii Episcopi Alexandrini*. 1031

In the *Norfolk* Library, there is also a *Gallican* Pfalter, whose Age is fix'd by Mr. *Wanley*^b to the Time of *Edward the Confessor*. The Creed is in it, and has an interlinear *Saxon* Version running along with it. The Title, *Fides Catholica Athanasii Alex*. 1050

In *Benet* College Library is a manuscript Copy of this Creed without any Title. The *Pfalter* wherein it is, is called *Portiforium Oswaldi*, and is mark'd, K. 10. An Account of the Book may be seen in Mr. *Wanley*, and in the *Catalogue*. 1064

I may here place the *Cotton* Manuscript before mention'd, bound up with the ancient *Roman* Pfalter mark'd, *Vespasian A*; tho' of a very different, and much later Hand. The Creed has an interlinear *Saxon* Version, as usual; and its Title is, *Fides Catholica*. Mr. *Wanley* judges it to be as old as the coming in of the *Normans*.^c 1066

Of the same Age^d is the *Roman* Pfalter in our Publick Library at *Cambridge*, with the *Latin* Text in *black* Letter, a *Saxon* Version in *red*, and the Titles in *green*. The Creed is inter- 1068

a *Wanley's* Catal. p. 222. 224. *Smith's* Catal. Cotton. p. 101.

b *Wanley's* Catal. MSS. Septentr. p. 291.

c *Wanley's* Catal. p. 222. *Smith's* Bibl. Cotton. Histor. p. 35.

d *Wanley's* Catal. p. 152.

lined with *Saxon*, as well as the *Pſalter*, but has no *Title*: For, from this Time, I conceive, The *Title* began to be left out in ſome Copies, for Brevity ſake, or becauſe it was thought ſuperfluous.

It will be needleſs to take notice of any Manuſcripts below this Time, excepting only ſuch as contain ſomething *particular*.

1090 *Queſnel*,^a and after Him *Pagi*,^b ſpeaks of a manuſcript Copy of this Creed in a *Breviary* and *Pſalter* for the uſe of the Monks of Mount *Caffin*, judged to be about 600 years old. I ſuppoſe, This may be the ſame *Breviary* that *Queſnel* has made Obſervations upon, in another Work, which I have not ſeen, but find referr'd to by Father *Le Long*:^c And there *Queſnel* fixes the Age a little below 1086; *paulo poſt Annum* 1086. The Title of the Creed is, *Fides Sii Athanaſii Epifcopi*: The Letter, *Langobardick*.

1120 In my Lord *Harley*'s Library I had a ſight of a Manuſcript written in *Germany* about 600 years ago, for the uſe of the Church of *Augsburg*; which bears for its Title; *Fides Anaſtaſii Epifcopi*.

1240 *Uſher* takes notice of a Copy of This Creed then in the *Royal Library* at *St. James's* (formerly belonging to *Lewis* the IX) the Title, *Fides Catholicæ*.

1300 *Montſaucon* informs us of a *Latin* and a *French* Copy of this Creed found in a Manuſcript about 400 years old; placed in oppoſite Columns. What is remarkable is, that the *Latin* has for its Title *Canticum Bonifacii*, and the *French* over againſt the other, *Ce chant St. Anaſtaſiſe qui Apoſtoilles de Rome*.^d

1400 In the *Bodleian* at *Oxford*, there is a manuſcript Copy of this Creed (num. 1204) which has for its Title, *Anaſtaſii Expoſitio Symboli Apoſtolorum*. It is about 300 years old, and belong'd once to the *Carthuſian* Monks at *Meutz*. The *Carthuſians* are particularly noted for their more than common Veneration for this Creed, reciting it every day at the *Prime*, as

a *Queſnel*. Diſſert. XIV. ad Leon. Oper. p. 732.

b *Pagi* Critic. in Baron. Vol. 1. p. 441.

c *Le Long* Bibl. Bibl. Vol. 1. p. 244.

d *Montſaucon*. Diatrib. p. 722. 727.

Cardinal *Bona* testifies, both of Them and the *Ambrosians*;* which I remark by the way. I observe, that the *German* Copies of this Creed, for 5, or 6 hundred years upwards, have most commonly *Anastadius* instead of *Athanasius*. I make no question but that This first arose from a Mistake of the Copists, and not out of any Design. One may perceive, that *Anastadius* is sometimes written where *Athanasius* of *Alexandria* must have been intended, and none else. I suppose, at first, some Copies had accidentally *Anasthasius* for *Athanasius* (as one in *Benet* College Library mention'd above) by a transposition of letters or syllables; as easily happens in writing, or speaking. Thus *Phrunutus* for *Phurnutus*, *Marivadus* for *Varimadus*, and the like. Now, when the Copists had thus introduced *Anasthasius*, (*Anas-tha*, for *Atha-nas*;) Those that came after left out the *h*, to make it *Anastadius*, That being a common Name, which the other was not. This I thought proper to hint that it may appear how little reason there is for ascribing this Creed to *Anastadius*, whether of *Rome*, or of *Antioch*, or Any Other.

I have now run through the Manuscripts of greatest note, or use, either for *Antiquity*, or for any thing *particular*, to give light to our further Inquiries. Two only I have omitted, which have been thought considerable; not so much in themselves, as upon account of the other Tracts They were found to be join'd with. I would have taken notice of them in their place, had I certainly known what Time to refer them to. The one is the Manuscript found in the Library of *Thuanus* (*Codex Thuanus*) annex'd to some Tracts which were once supposed to belong to *Vigilius Tapsensis*, tho' now certainly known to be none of his. *Quesnel* was much pleas'd with the Discovery of this Manuscript, as favouring his Hypothesis about *Vigilius Tapsensis*.^b And

a *Bona* de Divin. Psalmod. c. 18. p. 897. 900.

b Absoluta Dissertationum nostrarum Editione, inveni *Codicem Thuanum*, in quo Dialogus *Vigili* *Tapsensis* adversus *Arianos*, *Sabellianos*, & *Photinianos* legitur, sub hoc Titulo: Incipit *Altercatio Athanasii cum Hæresibus*. Post hunc Tractatum habetur *Symbolum Nicænum*, & *Formula Fidei Ariminensis* Concilii, quam proxime sequitur *Symbolum Athanasianum* cum hoc Epigraphe: *Fides dicta a Sancto Athanasio Episcopo*. Porro, Conjecturæ nostræ de *Auctore* hujus *Symboli* non parum suffragatur, quod in antiquissimo Codice illigatum reperitur Opusculo cui nomen *Athanasii* pariter præfixum legitur, sed quod *Vigilii Tapsensis* esse indubitatum habetur &c. *Quesnel* in *Addend.* p. 913.

Anthelmius has taken some pains in confuting Him; ſhowing that the ſuppoſed Works of *Vigilius* are none of his,^a and that if they were, yet no certain Argument could be drawn from thence to make *Vigilius* Author of the Creed; ſince it is a common Thing for Tracts of ſeveral Authors, eſpecially if They relate to the ſame Subject, to be tack'd to each other.

The *Second* Manuſcript is one that was found annexed to the Fragments of *Hilary* of *Poictiers*;^b which Circumſtance was thought a reaſon for aſcribing this Creed to *Hilary*. *Voffius* firſt, and after Him many Others throw it off as a very ſlight Argument, ſince the Manuſcript pretended is very *modern*, nor is the Creed aſcrib'd to *Hilary* in that Manuſcript, but only bound up with his *Fragments*, as any other Work might be, however little akin to them. *Montfaucon* takes notice of This matter, in few words,^c *Tentzelius* more at large.^d It is ſufficient for me juſt to have hinted it.

Having now given as particular Account as was needful of the more ancient *Latin* Manuſcripts of this Creed, I may juſt obſerve that as to *Modern* ones, they are innumerable, there being ſcarce any manuſcript *latin* *Pſalter* of modern Date but what has the Creed in it, and generally without a *Title*. I may next ſubjoin a *Table* of the Manuſcripts here recited, repreſenting in one View the *Age*, the *Title*, the *Country* where written, and the kind of *Pſalter* wherein found: All which Circumſtances will be of uſe to us in our following Inquiries. Particularly, as to the *Pſalters*, it will be of moment to obſerve whether They be *Roman*, or *Gallican*; becauſe from thence we may be able to diſcover in what Places, or Countries, this Creed was firſt *received*, according to their uſe of This, or That

a *Vid.* *Montfauc. Athan. Op. Tom. 2. p. 603. 724.*

b *Invenitur id ſimiliter in Fragmentis Hilarii hiftoricis in Cod. veteri part. 2. Sub finem. Felckman. Var. Lect. Oper. Athan. p. 83.*

c *Hilario nonnulli adſcriptum voluerunt, quia nimirum in Codice quodam exſtat poſt Hilarii Fragmenta. Quafi vero id non vulgo & in plerisque Codicibus obſervetur, ut multa diverſorum opera conſequenter in manuſcriptis deſcribentur. Cum autem in ejuſmodi Codice poſt Hilariana opera, nullo præmiſſo Auctoris nomine compareat; hinc, uti jam ſuprà diximus, inferendum, tum exaratum fuiſſe cum pro Athanaſiaco nondum vulgo haberetur. *Montf. Diatrib. p. 723.**

d *Tentzel. Judic. Erud. p. 2, 3. &c.*

Pfalter. But because, perhaps, some Readers may be at a loss to know what we mean by those different Names of *Roman*, and *Gallican* *Pfalters*; it may not be improper here to throw in a few previous Instructions relating to the different kinds of *Latin* *Pfalters*, and the *Names* they have gone under.

There are four kinds, or sorts, of *Latin* *Pfalters*; which have pass'd under the Names of *Italick*, *Roman*, *Gallican*, and *Hebraick*. One of them was before *Ferom's* Time: the Three last are all *Ferom's*; as He had a Hand, more or less, in every one of them. I shall treat of them distinctly, in their Order, as follows.

I. The *Italick* *Latin* *Pfalter*, is of the old Translation, or Version, such as it was before *Ferom's* Time. I shall not enter into the Dispute whether it were *one* Version, or *many*. The common Opinion is, that there were several *Latin* Versions before *Ferom*,^a but one more Eminent than the rest called *Italick*,^b as being received into common use in *Italy*.^c However that be, it is become customary with such as treat of this Subject, to speak of all that was extant before *Ferom*, as of *One* Version, under the Name of *Vetus Vulgata*, or *Versio Italica*. There are *intire* *Pfalters* of this old Version, *printed*, and *manuscript*;^d tho' now no where in use in Divine Offices, except such parcels of it as, having been antiently taken into the *Roman Missals*, or other old *Liturgies*, remain there still, the People being accusom'd to them, and there being no great necessity for changing them. But all the *intire* *Pfalters* in use are of another kind. *Martianay*, in his Edition of *Ferom's* Works, once intended to give us an *intire* and correct *Pfalter* (with some other of the Sacred Books) of the old *Italick* Version. But the *Various*

a Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebræa Lingua in Linguam Græcam verterunt numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo: ut enim Cuique primis Fidei Temporibus in manus venit Codex, & aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque Linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari. *August.* de Doctr. Christian. l. 2. c. xi. p. 25. Tom. 3.

b In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* cæteris præferatur: nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ. *August.* ibid. p. 27.

c Ecclesia latina a principio, vel ferme a principio, usæ est versione latina Testamenti Vet. ex Græca τῶν ὁ translatione facta, quæ *Itala* vulgo dicebatur, quoniam in *Italia* prius usitata in alias inde latinorum Ecclesias recipiebatur. *Humphr. Hodins.* De Biblior. Text. Origin. p. 342.

d *Le Long* Biblioth. Bibl. Vol. 1. p. 243.

Lections were ſo many, and ſo different, that the Work appear'd too laborious and difficult for Him; for which reaſon He then laid it aſide.^a This Verſion, or Verſions, is what all the *Latins* uſed before *Jerom*; and many alſo after Him, the *Africans* eſpecially, down to the VIth Century at leaſt, or beginning of the VIIth.

2. The *ROMAN* Pfalter is not very different from the Old *Ita-lick*. It is nothing elſe but That Old Verſion cursorily, and in part, corrected by *Jerom*, in the Time of Pope *Damaſus*, A. D. 383. It has had the Name of *Roman*, becauſe the Uſe of it began the ſoonest, and continued the longeſt in the *Roman* Offices. It obtain'd in *Gaul* near as ſoon as at *Rome*, but was laid aſide in the VIth Century, when *Gregory* of *Tours*^b introduced the other Pfalter, ſince called *Gallican*. The *Roman* Pfalter however ſtill obtain'd at *Rome* till the Time of Pope *Pius*^c the Vth: And it is ſtill uſed in the *Vatican* Church, and ſome few Churches beſides.

3 The *Gallican* Pfalter is *Jerom*'s more correct latin Tranſlation made from *Origen*'s *Hexaplar*, or moſt correct Edition of the Greek *Septuagint*, fill'd up, where that was deficient, from the *Hebrew*; diſtinguiſh'd with *Obeliſks*, and *Aſterisks*, denoting the common *Greek* Verſion in thoſe places to be either redundant, or deficient. Many of the old Manuscripts^d ſtill retain thoſe

a Appendicem Sacrorum aliquot Voluminum, juxta *Veterem Vulgatam* uſu receptam ante *Hieronymum*, hoc loco edendam ſtatueramus: Sed quum Operi manus jamjam accederet, tantam inter MSS. Codices *hujus verſionis latina* deprehendimus diſſonantiam, ut impoſſibile eſſet vel ſolas variantes horum Codicum *Leſiones* adnotaſſe niſi maximo Temporis intervallo. Quare ne in ſequentem annum differretur Editio *hujus Divinae Bibliothecae*, Appendicem prædictam latiori Operi, ac majori Otio reſervavimus. *Martian. Not. ad Hieronym.* Vol. 1. p. 1419.

b Pfalms autem cum ſecundum LXX. Interpretes *Romani* adhuc habeant; *Galli* & *Germanorum* Aliqui ſecundum *Emendationem*, quam *Hieronymus* Pater de LXX. Editione composuit, Pfalterium cantant: quam *Gregorius, Turonenſis* Episcopus, a partibus *Romanis* mutuata, in *Galliarum* dicitur Eccleſias tranſtulitſſe. *Walafrid. Strab. de Reb. Eccl. c. 25.*

c Vid. *Car. Bona* rerum Liturgic. l. 2. c. 3. *Humphr. Hod.* p. 383. *Mabillon. de Curſ. Gallican.* p. 398.

d The *Common Manuscript* of 703, and the *Benet* of 883, *Lambeth* of 957, and *Bruno's own Manuscript* of 1033. Beſides many more in France. Quanta porro fuerit diligentia Noſtratum in deſcribendo hocce Pfalterio, cum *Aſtericis* & *obelis*, non aliunde teſtatum volumus quam ex infinita copia Codicum MSS. qui cum talibus diſtinctionibus ſuperſunt in *Gallicanis* Bibliothecis. *Martin. Hieronym. Op.* Vol. 1. Prolegom. 2. c. 5.

Marks:

Marks: But more have left them out, I suppose, to save Trouble. This more correct Psalter was drawn up by *Ferom* in the year 389, and obtain'd first in *Gaul* about the year 580; or however not later than 595: From which Circumstance it came to have the name of *Gallican*, in contradistinction to the *Roman*. From *Gaul*, or *France*, it pass'd over into *England* before the year 597, and into *Germany*, and *Spain*, and other Countries. The Popes of *Rome*, tho' they Themselves us'd the other Psalter, yet patiently conniv'd at the use of This, in the *Western* Churches, and even in *Italy* it self, and sometimes privately authorized the use of it in Churches and Monasteries;^a till at length it was publickly authorized in the Council of *Trent*, and introduced a while after into *Rome* it self by *Pius* the Vth. It was admitted in *Britain*, and *Ireland*, before the coming of *Augustine* the Monk, and prevail'd after, except in the Church of *Canterbury*^b which was more immediately under the Arch-bishop's Eye, and more conformable to the *Roman* Offices, than other parts of the Kingdom. This very *Gallican* Psalter is what we still retain in constant use, in our *Common-Prayer* Books: The other, in our *Bibles*, is from the *Hebrew*, by several learned Hands.

4. The *Hebraick* latin Psalter means *Ferom*'s own Translation immediately from the *Hebrew*, made in the year 391. This tho' otherwise of great Esteem, was never used in the publick Church-Offices.^c There are but few Copies of it, in comparison, any where to be met with, because This *Psalter*, as before hinted, having never been in common use, like the *Ro-*

a Anno 1369. *Urbani* V. Autoritate Sancitum, ut *Cassinenses* Psalterio Gallicano uterentur. *Montfauc.* Diar. Ital. p. 331. P. *Adrian*, long before, had recommended the Gallican Psalter to the Church of *Breme*. See below in Ch. VI. and C. *Bona*, p. 506.

b Ante Adventum *Augustini* Monachi, primi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, in *Angliam*, i. e. ante annum 597, Ecclesie *Britannica* & *Hibernica* Psalterium Gallicanum receperant: *Augustinus* huc a *Gregorio* M. missus *Romanum* secum advexit, & Ecclesie sue *Cantuariensis* tradidit. Sed loco illius inualuit tandem, per omnes Ecclesias *Anglicas*, usus *Gallicani* *Hodius*. de Text. Bibl. Origin. p. 384.

c Tertium est de *Hebraeo* in latinum quod *Feronymus* transtulit de *Hebraeo* in *Latium*. Sed non est in usu Ecclesie, sed viri studii literati & sapientes eo utuntur. *Rogeri Baconi*. apud *Hodium* de Text. Original. p. 384.

Hæc autem (*Versio ex Hebraeo*) idco recepta non fuit, quia duæ priores, quotidiano usu in Ecclesiis frequentatæ, sine magna divini officii perturbatione non poterant abrogari. *Bona*. Rerum Liturg. l. 2. c. 3. p. 505. Vid. etiam *Hodium*, p. 385.

man and *Gallican*, has been confined to a few Hands. We are not to expect an *Athanaſian* Creed in This *Pſalter*, as not being intended for the Uſe of the *Choir*: neither are we to expect to meet with it in the *Italick* *Pſalters* which are few, and which were grown, or growing, out of uſe before the *Athanaſian* Creed was brought into the Publick Offices. But in the *Roman* and *Gallican* *Pſalters*, we may find it: And it will be of moment to obſerve in which of them it is found. Indeed, ſome manuſcript *Pſalters* there are, which have the *Roman* and *Gallican* together in oppoſite Columns, the *Gallican* always ſet firſt.^a Others have the *Hebraick* and *Gallican* ſet Columnwiſe as the former: And ſome have all the *Three* Verſions of *Jerom* placed in the like order. Dr. *Hody* informs us of Two ſuch Manuſcripts, to which may be added a *Third* now in *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, which has the *Athanaſian* Creed with *Bruno's* Comment in it; as intimated above. Nay ſome Manuſcripts have the *Greek* alſo with the other, making a *Fourth* Column: An account of ſome Manuſcripts of this laſt ſort may be ſeen both in Dr. *Hody*, and *Le Long*.^b Theſe Double, Triple, or Quadruple *Pſalters* came not in, I preſume, before the end of the *Tenth* Century, or beginning of the *Eleventh*. For *Berno Augienſis* of that Time acquaints us with the occaſion and uſe of them, and how They came to be ſo contrived. When the *Roman* way of *Singing*, firſt adapted to the *Roman* *Pſalter*, had been introduced into *France*, and *Germany* (which was firſt done in the *VIIIth* Century) in proceſs of Time it bred ſome confuſion in the two *Pſalters*, mixing and blend-

a *Hody* de Text. Bibl. Original. p. 385.

b *Le Long* Biblioth. Bibl. Vol. I. p. 244.

c Inter cætera, ex emendata LXX Interpretum Translatione *Pſal.* ex Græco in Latinum vertit (*Hieronymus*) illudque cantandum omnibus *Galliæ*, ac quibuſdam *Germaniæ* Eccleſiis tradidit. Et ob hoc *Gallicanum Pſalterium* appellavit, *Romani* adhuc ex corrupta vulgata Editione, *Pſalterium* canentibus: ex qua *Romani* cantum compoſuerunt, nobiſque uſum cantandi contradiderunt. Unde accidit quod verba, quæ in diurnis vel nocturnis Officiis canendi more modulantur, intermiſceantur, & confuſe noſtris *Pſalmis* inferantur; ut a minus peritis haud facile poſſit diſcerni quid *noſtra*, vel *Romane* conveniat Editioni. Quod pius Pater ac peritus Magiſter intuens, tres Editiones in uno Volumine compoſuit: & *Gallicanum* *Pſalterium*, quod nos canimus, ordinavit in una Columna, in altera *Romanum*, in tertia *Hebræum*. *Berno Augienſ.* *Epiſt.* inedit. apud *Mabill.* de curſu *Gallicano*: p. 396. *Hodius* de Text. Original. p. 382.

ing them one with the other; that it was difficult to distinguish what words belong'd to This, and which to That. To remedy This inconvenience, a way was found out to have Both the Psalters distinctly represented to the Eye together, in Two several Columns: And thus came in the kind of Psalters before mention'd. We easily see why the *Gallican* used to be set in the *first* Column: Namely, because Those Psalters were contrived by the *French*, and *Germans*, who made use of the *Gallican*, and so gave the preference to their own. If I have detain'd my Reader a little too long in This Digression about the *Psalters*; I hope the usefulness of the Subject may make Him some amends, and be a just Apology for it. I now return to our *Creed*, and what more immediately belongs to it; closing This Chapter, as I promis'd, with a *Table* representing a Summary, or short Sketch of what hath been done in it.

A Table

A Table of MANUSCRIPTS.

A. Dn	MSS.	Pfalter	Titles of the Creed.
600	Bp. Usher's		<i>Fides Catholica.</i>
660	Treves		
700	Ambrosian		
703	Cotton 1	Gallican	<i>Fides Sancti Athanasii Alexandrini.</i>
760	Colbert 1		
760	St. Germans		<i>Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi.</i>
772	Vienna	Gallican	<i>Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi Alexandrini.</i>
800	Regius, Paris		
850	Benet. Coll. Cant. 1.	Gallican	<i>Fides Sancti Anastasii Episcopi.</i>
860	Colbert 2		<i>Fides Athanasii</i>
883	Benet C. 2	Gallican	<i>Fides Catholica.</i>
930	St. James's 1	Roman	<i>Hymnus Athanasii.</i>
957	Lambeth	Gallican	<i>Fides Catholica S. Athanasii Episcopi.</i>
970	Harley 1	Gallican	<i>Fides Catholica Athanasii Alexandrini Episcopi.</i>
1031	Cotton 2	Gallican	<i>Fides Catholica Athanasii Episcopi Alexandrini.</i>
1050	Norfolk	Gallican	<i>Fides Catholica Athanasii Alexandrini.</i>
1064	Benet C. 3		
1066	Cotton 3		<i>Fides Catholica</i>
1066	Cambridge	Roman	
1090	Cassinenfis		<i>Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi.</i>
1120	Harley 2		<i>Fides Anastasii Episcopi.</i>
1240	St. James's 2		<i>Fides Catholica.</i>
1300	Friars Minors	Gallican	<i>Canticum Bonifacii, Ce Chant fust St Anaslai'e qui Apostoilles de Rome.</i>
1400	Bodleian		<i>Anastasis Expositio Symboli Apostolorum.</i>

C H A P. V.

Antient Versions, printed or manuscript.

SOME Account of the antient Versions, of the *Athanasian* Creed, may be of use to shew *when* and *where* it has been received, and what *Value* hath been set upon it, at several Times, and in several Countries. I shall note the Time, in the margin, when the *first* Version into any Language appears to have been made: And I shall rank the Versions of the several Countries according to the Chronological Order of Those *First* Versions respectively.

FRENCH VERSIONS.

Under the name of *French Versions*, I comprehend all Versions 350
made at any Time into the *vulgar* Language then current in *France*, whatever other Name some may please to give them. I beg leave also to comprehend under the same Name all *Oral* Versions delivered by word of mouth, as well as *written* ones: Otherwise I am sensible that I ought not to have begun with *French Versions*. I do not know that the *Gauls*, or *French* had any written standing Version of This Creed so early as 850, or for several Centuries after. Their oldest Versions of the *Psalter* are scarce earlier than the XIth Century,^a and of the *intire* Scripture scarce so early as the XIIth:^a And we are not to expect a *written* Version of the *Athanasian* Creed more antient than of their *Psalter*. But what I mean by setting the *French Versions* so high as I here do, is that the *Athanasian* Creed was, as early as is here said, interpreted out of *Latin* into the *vulgar* Tongue for the use of the People, by the Clergy of *France*, in their *verbal* Instructions. This is the same Thing, in effect, with a *written* standing Version, as supplying the Place of it; and is as full a proof of the general *Reception* of the Creed, at That Time, as the other would be. Now, that the *Athanasian*

^a See *Le Long*, *Biblioth. Bibl.* Vol. 1. p. 313. &c.

Creed was thus interpreted into the *vulgar* Tongue in *France*, as early as the year 850, or earlier, I prove from the words of *Hincmar*, above cited, giving Orders to the Clergy of his Province to be able to express This Creed *communibus verbis*, that is, in their *vulgar*, or Mother Tongue. What That mix'd kind of Language which They then used, should be called, is of no great moment to our present purpose to inquire. Some perhaps, with *Vitus Amerbachius*, and Bishop *Usher*,^a will call it *Teutonic*, or *German*, because the *Franks* and *Germans*, being Originally the same, spake the same Language. But I see no consequence that, because *Franks* and *Germans* used the same Language, therefore *Franks* and *Gauls* mix'd together must still keep the same; any more than that a mix'd Nation of *Normans*, and *Saxons*, must all agree either in *Norman*, or *Saxon*. One would rather expect in such a mix'd People, a mix'd Language too, as usually happens in such Cases. As to *France* in particular, at That Time, Mr. *Wharton* has plainly shewn that the Language there spoken was very widely different from the *Teutonic*, or *German*.

The *Concordate* between the Two Brothers *Lewis* and *Charles*, at *Strasburgh*, puts the matter out of Dispute: Where one express'd Himself in the *Teutonic*, the other in the Language then current in *France*, called *Romanensis*, or *Rustica Romana*, corrupt *Roman*, or *Latin*;^b nearer to the *Latin* than to the *German*, but a confused mixture of Both. Such was the Language then vulgarly spoken in *France*, as appears from the Specimen of it given by *Wharton* from *Nithardus*. And this I presume is the Language into which our Creed was interpreted in *Hincmar's* Time; for which reason I have set the *French* Versions first. If any one contend that the *Teutonic* prevailed then in the *Diocesis* of *Rheims*, tho' not in the other parts of *Gaul* more remote from *Germany*, I shall not think it of moment to dispute the point, since it is not material to our present purpose.

As to the *French* Versions, properly so called, *written* standing Versions, I have said, that none of them reach higher than

^a *Usher*. *Histor. Dogmat.* p. 111.

^b *Vid Wharton*. *Auctar. Histor. Dogmat.* p. 344.

the XIth Century. *Montfaucon* gives us one, tho' imperfect, 600 years old;^a that is, of the XIth Century, and very near the end of it, about 1098, six hundred years before the Time of his writing. And this is the oldest that I have any where found mention'd. Next to which, perhaps we may reckon That in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*; I mean the interlinear Version which Mr. *Wanley*^b calls *Normanno-Gallican*, about 580 years old. There is one in the *Cotton* Library (*Nero. C. 4.*) above 500 years old, according to Mr. *Wharton*.^c *Montfaucon* gives us Another above 400 years old.^d But it is needless, and foreign to my purpose to number up all the Versions: The *first* in its kind is what will be chiefly serviceable to our following Inquiries.

GERMAN VERSIONS.

As to *written* and standing Versions, the *German*, so far as ⁸⁷⁰ we find any Records, ought to have the first place. There is in the Emperor's Library at *Vienna*,^e a *German*, or *Teutonic*, Version of This Creed made by *Otfridus*, Monk of *Weissenberg* in the IXth Century: The Manuscript, as *Lambecius* assures us, is coeval with the Author. There have been several later *German* Versions, a brief account of which may be seen in *Lambecius*,^f *Tentzelius*,^g and *Le Long*,^h but more particularly in *Tentzelius*. It is sufficient to my purpose to have taken notice of the *first*, and most considerable in its kind.

ANGLO-SAXON VERSIONS.

There have been *Anglo-Saxon* Versions of this Creed as early ⁹³⁰ as the Time of K. *Athelstan*; as appears from the Manu-

^a *Montfaucon*. Diatrib. p. 721. 727. 733.

^b *Wanley* Catal. MSS. Septentr. p. 168.

^c *Wharton*. Auc̄tar. Histor. Dogmat. p. 390.

^d *Montf.* Diatr. p. 722.

^e *Lambec.* Catal. Biblioth. Vindobon. l. 2. p. 460. 760.

^f *Lambec.* Catal. L. 2. p. 763.

^g *Tentzel.* Judic. Erudit. Præf. & p. 226.

^h *Le Long.* Biblioth. Bilib. Vol. 1. p. 376.

script of the *Royal Library* with an *interlinear* Version, noted above; and which I place in 930. The *Lambeth Manuscript* of 957 has also an *interlinear* Saxon Version. Both which Manuscripts confirm the Account which our Learned Dr. *Wotton* gives of an *Anglo-Saxon* Copy of this Creed which He has printed from a Manuscript of the Church of *Salisbury*. He judges the *Version* it self to have been made about the middle of the Xth Century, or about 950; which suits exactly with the Age of the Manuscripts before mention'd. Only, This we may expect, that the *Saxon* Copies of those Manuscripts (if They happen to contain the *same Version*) will be found much more *correct* than the *Sarum* Copy, being written at a Time when the *Saxon* Language was less corrupted, and retain'd more of its primitive purity; whereas the *Sarum* Copy was written,^a as Dr. *Wotton* conjectures, after both *Danes* and *Normans* had much alter'd the Language. I before observed that the Title in Dr. *Wotton's* Copy is *Hymnus Athanasii*, as in St. *James's* Copy: And there is something farther worth the noting, which is the Rubrick following the Title, directing the Creed to be sung *alternately*;^b which confirms the Account given by *Abbo Floriacensis* of the custom of the *Gallican* and *English* Churches in that Age. But to proceed; From the Time we have had any Version of this Creed into our Country-Language, we may reasonably conclude that such Versions have varied, by little and little, in every Age, in proportion to the gradual Alteration in our Language; till at length the Version became such as it stands at This Day. Such as are desirous of having a Specimen of the Creed in very old *English verse*, may find one in Dr. *Hicks's*

a Versionem istam circiter medium *Decimi Seculi* esse factam ipsius Sermonis cum puritate (ubi non hallucinatur Interpret) conjuncta proprietas ostendit. Recentius vero descriptam fuisse, sub *Normannorum* in Angliam Adventum, non tantum Librarii Linguae *Saxonicae* haud gnari recentior manus in qua exaratur, sed pravum illud *Anglo-Danicum*, vel forsitan *Anglo-Normannicum*, scribendi genus demonstrat. *Wotton*. Not. ad Brevem Conspect. Operis *Hicessani*. p. 75.

b *Hymnus Athanasii, de Fide Trinitatis.*

*Quem Tu *concelebrans*, discutienter intellege. Incipit de Fide.

On which Dr. *Wotton* makes this Note.

^a Ita MS. Hoc est, quem Tu *antiphonatim*, vel *alternatim* psallens, animo percipe.

Theſaurus.^a And They may ſee a good part of a *Proſe-Version* in old *Engliſh* (tho' conſiderably later than the other) in *Wickliff's* Comment. But theſe and the like Obſervations are out of the compaſs of my Deſign, and ſo I paſs on.

GREEK VERSIONS.

I have before intimated that this Creed was Originally *Latin*, and therefore the *Greek* Copies can be no more than *Versions*. And They appear to be very *late* alſo, in compariſon to the former. However, ſince the *Greek* is one of the *learned* Languages, ſince the Creed has been aſcribed to a *Greek* Author, and has been alſo ſuppoſed by Many to have been written in *Greek*; it will therefore be proper to give as particular and as diſtinct Account as is poſſible of the *Greek* Verſion, or Verſions. Our Inquiries here will lie within a little compaſs: For the *Greek* Copies are neither *many*, nor *antient*. *Montfaucon*, a very diligent Searcher into theſe matters, frankly profeſſes that He had never ſeen any *Greek* Copy of this Creed ſo old as 300 years; nor ever heard of any that was *antient*.^b He ſcruples not to ſay farther, that there had not been yet ſeen any *Greek* Record, of *certain* and *undoubted* credit, whereby to prove that This Creed had been known to the *Greek* Church for more than 500 years upwards.^c He ſpeaks only of *Greek* Records: As to *Latin* ones they afford ſufficient proof that This Creed was pleaded againſt the *Greeks* in the Diſpute, about the *Proceſſion*, in the 8th or 9th Century at lateſt, and therefore muſt have been in ſome meaſure known to them. The *Greeks* and *Latins* had ſome Diſpute on that Head in the Synod of *Gentilly*, not far from *Paris*, in the year 767, under K. *Pepin*.

a *Hicel*: *Theſaur. Linguar. Septentr.* p. 332.

b Sane nullum vidimus Græcum hujus Symboli Codicem qui trecentorum ſit annorum; nec antiquum alium a quoſiam viſum fuiſſe novimus. *Montfauc. Diatrib.* p. 727.

c Adjicere non piget non viſam hætenus fuiſſe Græcorum quodpiam monumentum (certum ſcilicet ac indubitatum) quo ab annis plus quingentis notum Eccleſiæ Græcæ fuiſſe Symbolum, *Quicumque*, poſſit comprobari. *Montf. ibid.* p. 721.

To the ſame purpoſe ſpeaks Combefis of this Creed.

Vix enim extat præterquam in recentiorum Collectaneis, librisque eorum Polemicis, quibus ipſum vel impugnant, vel etiam defendunt: Idque volunt illi qui aiunt non haberi in Græcorum libris; non enim ſic ſtupidi videntur ut negent Græcæ haberi. *Combef. Not. ad Man. Calec.* p. 297.

But

But perhaps this Creed was not pleaded at That Time : At least it does not appear that it was.

It cannot be doubted but that the *Greeks* had heard something of This Creed from the *Latins*, as early as the Days of *Ratram*, and *Aeneas Parisiensis*; that is above 850 years ago, when the Dispute about the *Proceſſion* between the *Greeks* and *Latins* was on Foot : This the Testimonies above cited plainly ſhew. But This is not enough to prove that the *Greek Church* had yet any value for This Creed, or that there was then extant any *Greek Copy* of it.

1200 *Nicolaus Hydruntinus*, cited above, who flourish'd under *Alexius IV*, Emperor of the East, and Pope *Innocent* the Third, that is, in round numbers about 1200, He gives us the first notice of This Creed being extant in *Greek* in his Time. He observes, that the Article of the *Proceſſion from the Son* was not in the *Greek Copy* of This Creed, as neither in the *Nicene*, blaming the *Latins*, as I apprehend, for *interpolating* Both. Which was a just censure with respect to the *Nicene Creed*, but not with respect to the *Athanasian*, which certainly never wanted That Article; as is plain from the Agreement of the *Latin Copies*, and the earliest of them, those of a Thousand years Date: which I remark by the way. As to our present purpose, This is certain that, some Time before This *Nicolaus* of *Otranto* wrote, the Creed had been translated into *Greek*, by a *Greek*, or at least by one that took part with the *Greeks* in the Question about the *Proceſſion*. It can hardly be imagined that *Nicolaus* had translated it Himself, and that He appealed to his own Version. There must have been a Version before undoubtedly: And one can scarce suppose less than 50, or 100 years before, since both the *Time* and *Author* of it were forgotten, and This *Greek Version* pass'd with *Nicolaus* for *Athanasius's Original*. *Manuel Caleca*,^a who wrote about the Year

^a Testantur autem hanc ipsam Fidei Confessionem Sancti viri (*Athanasii*) esse, atque id dictum ita se habere, qui contra *Latinos* multo ante scripserunt; quam sibi ut adversam frustra labefactare nituntur. Atque, ut intelligi datur, tunc quidem adhuc servabatur; postmodum vero pertinaciores ad contradicendum facti, omnino auferre voluerunt: etsi modo nihilominus curiose inquirentibus raro, licet in vetustissimis Codicibus, ita habere invenitur. *Man. Calec. contr. Græc. l. 2. B. PP. Tom. XXVI. p. 414.*

1360, intimates that there had been *Greek Copies* long before his Time, and that the most antient of all had the Article of the Procession from *the Son*; and that the older *Greeks* who wrote against the *Latins* did not pretend to strike out That Article, as those did that came after. Could we depend upon this Report, we might then be certain that the *Greek Copies* of the Time of *Nicolaus Hydruntinus*, were late in Comparison, and that there had been other *Greek Copies* much more antient. But This I leave to the consideration of the Learned. However this fact be, one thing is certain, that the oldest *Greek Copy* could be only a *Version*, whether sooner or later.

As to *Greek Copies* now extant in *manuscript*, They are but few, and *modern*. I may here give a short Account of them, of as many as I have hitherto found mentioned in Books, or Catalogues of Manuscripts.

1. There is one in the Emperor's Library at *Vienna*, said to be in *paper*, *antient*, and of *good Value*^a. These words are too general to fix any certain Date upon: One may guess from the *Paper*, that the Manuscript is not very antient; since *Paper* came not into frequent, or common use before the XIIIth Century. But not to insist upon That, one may judge from what is written in the same Volume, and, I suppose, in the same Hand (for *Nesselius* makes no Distinction) that the Copy of the *Creed* is not earlier than the middle of the XIVth Century. *Maximus Planudes* makes a part of the Manuscript: He flourish'd about the year 1340.

2. There is Another *Greek Manuscript* of this *Creed* in the same Library, a *paper* one too, and said to be *pretty antient*, by *Nesselius*, who gives account of it^b. From the mention

^a CCXIV. Codex MS. Theologicus Græcus est *Chartaceus, antiquus, & bona note* in 4to. Constatque foliis 341.

Continentur eo hæc.

Imo &c.

2do & quidem a Fol. 77, ad Fol. 79. S. *Athanasii* Archiepiscopi *Alexandrini Symbolum Fidei*, cujus Titulus & principium: Τῆ ἀγίας Ἀθανασίε τῆ μεγάλης. Ὅπως ἴδ' ἐν βέλγητι σωθῆναι, ὡς πάντων χρῆ κομπῆν πιστῶ ἔσθ. *Nessel. Catal p. 344. Vol. 1.*

^b CXCIXus Codex MS. ——— est *Chartaceus, mediocriter antiquus, & bona note*, in 4to. Constatque nunc Folis 332, & ad *Johannem Sambucum* olim pertinuit. Continentur eo hæc. I primo &c.

therein

therein made of the Creed's being presented to Pope *Julius*, I should be apt to conclude that the Manuscript is not earlier, nor copied from any earlier than *Manuel Caleca's* Time, or the XIVth Century: But there are other Marks, particularly some Pieces of *Julianus Cardinalis*, which demonstrate that the Manuscript cannot be much older than the middle of the XVth Century.

3. *Felckman* had a manuscript Copy of This Creed in *Greek*, without any *Title* to it, or any *Author* named^a. I can say nothing to the Age of it, for want of further Particulars.

4. *Felckman* had Another Manuscript out of the *Palatine Library*, (which Library is since transfer'd to the *Vatican*) with a *Title* to it, *σύμβολον τῆ ἀγίας Ἀθανασίῃς*, St. *Athanasius's* Creed^b. The *Title* alone is a sufficient Argument of it's being *modern*, to any that consider what were the more usual and antient Titles, represented above. It is to be noted that Those Two manuscript Copies are so nearly the same, that They make but *one* Copy in Print, which has been inserted in all the Editions of *Athanasius's* Works after *Felckman's*, as well as in his, and makes the fifth in *Gundlingius's*,^c who gives us six *Greek* Copies of this Creed. It is observable, that This Copy owns not the Procellion *from the Son*: From whence we may infer that it was not made by the *Latins*, or however not by any who were not Friends to the *Greeks*.

5. *Lazarus Baifus's* Copy^d, which He had from *Venice*, in

^a 80. Et quidem a fol. 303. ad fol. 304. S. *Athanasii magni*, Archiepiscopi Alexandrini, *Confessio Catholica Fidei*, ad S. *Julium* Pontificem Romanum; cujus & Titulus & Principium Τῆ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρός ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίῃς τῆς μεγάλης Ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς πίστεως ἣν ἔδωκε πρὸς Ἰβλίον Πάππυν Ράμμυς. Τῷ θελοντι σωθῆναι &c. *Nessel*. Catal. Vol. 1. p. 281.

a Extat Hoc *Symbolum* in nostro Codice 2 anonymo, sed absque Titulo & nomine Autoris; unde & sic editum. *Felckman*. Ed. *Athanasii*. Commelin. p. 83

Incipit; εἰ πε θελοι σωθῆναι, αὐθ πάντων χρη αὐτῷ τὴν καθολικὴν κρατῆσιν πίσιν. &c.

b Invenimus id ipsum etiam post in Codice quodam *Palatine* Bibliothecæ, expressè *Athanasio* inscriptum (licet id recentiores *Græci* nolint, ut videre est ex epistola *Meletii* *Constantinopolitani* Patriarchæ ad *Douzam*) ex quo etiam discrepantias quasdam notabimus.

Incipit; εἰ πε θελοι σωθῆναι, αὐθ πάντων χρῆα ἐπὶ ἡα τὴν καθολικὴν κρατῆσιν πίσιν. &c. *Felckman*. *ibid*.

c *Gundlingii* not. ad *Eustratii* & p. 76.

d Titulus Ἐκθεσις ὁμολογίας τῆς καθολικῆς πίστεως τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς Ἰβλίον Πάππυν.

Incipit. Ὅτις ἀ βούληται σωθῆναι, αὐθ πάντων χρη κρατῆ τὴν καθολικὴν πίσιν.

the Time of Francis I. in the year 1533, was published by *Genebrard*, An. 1569. This Copy, probably, was contrived by a *Latin* (having the Proceſſion *from the Son* in it) or at leaſt by ſome *honest* Greek who would not vary from the *Original*. I conclude this *Greek* Copy to be *modern*, from the *Title*; for a reaſon before hinted.

6. There was Another manuſcript Copy ^a of this Creed, which *Nicolaus Bryling* firſt printed at *Baſil*, and afterwards *H. Stephens* in *France*, in the year 1565. This alſo muſt, in all probability, be very *modern*, becauſe of *συμβολον* in the *Title*. It acknowledges the Proceſſion *from the Son*, conformable to the *Original*.

7. In the *Royal Library* at *Paris*. (Numb. 2502,) there is another manuſcript *Greek* Copy of this Creed,^b written in the year 1562. published by *Genebrard* 1569, and ſaid by Him to belong to the Church of *Conſtantinople*. This was taken from an older Manuſcript, but how much older cannot certainly be known ^c. One may imagine from the *Title*^d, and *Beginning* of it, that the Form is the ſame with one of thoſe in the *Emperor's* Library, and that they were copied from each other, or Both from a Third Copy. This Manuſcript acknowledges the Proceſſion *from the Son*. I had underſtood, from *Montfaucon's* general way of Expreſſion, that *Genebrard* had publiſh'd his Copy from this very Manuſcript of the *Royal Library*, Num. 2502. But obſer-

a Titulus: Σύμβολον τῶ ἀγίω Ἀθανασίῳ.

Incipit: Ὅστις βέλτεται σωθῆναι &c.

b De græcis autem Codicibus pauca ſuppetunt dicenda, cum unum tantum nobis inſpicere licuerit, ſcil. Reg. 2502. In quo extat *Symbolum* ſuperiore ſæculo exaratum. *Montf. Diatrib.* p. 722.

Secunda, quam edimus formula, jam olim publici juris facta per *Genebrardum* Anno 1569, quam ait ille eſſe *Eccleſiæ Conſtantinopolitanæ*, extat in *Regio Codice* num. 2502, olim ex *Bibliotheca Johannis Huralti Boſtallerii* a *Carolo IX. Venetiæ Legati*, in quo *Codice hæc leguntur*, ante *Dialogum S. Athanaſii cum Ario* ——— *transcriptus & recognitus liber* Hic eſt, ex *vetuſtiſſimo exemplari Cretico*; *Venetiis An. 1562. impenſa facta auroreum X. Zachariæ Sacerdotis transcripti & habuit. Montf. Diatrib.* p. 727.

c Incertum autem utrum ex illo quod memorat *Vetuſtiſſimo Exemplari*, *Symbolum* etiam ſit mutuatus; *Codex* quippe amplæ molis multa & varia complectitur, quæ dubitare licet ex unone *Codice* exſcripta fuerint, an ex *Compluribus. Montf. ibid.*

d Titulus. Τῶ ἐν ἀγίοις Πατρός ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίῳ τῶ μεγάλου ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς πίστεως ἢ ἔδωκε πρὸς Ἱερίον Πάπαν Ῥώμης.

Incipit. Τῶ ἴλεον τωῶν, &c.

ving that *Genebrard's* wants some words (ἀίδιος ὁ πατήρ, ἀίδιος ὁ υἱός, ἀίδιον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον) which *Montfaucon's* Copy has, I conclude that He meant only the *same Form*, as to Matter and Words, for the most part, not the *same Manuscript*.

8. There is Another manuscript *Greek Version*, or rather Paraphrase of this Creed, having several Interpolations, publish'd by Bishop *Usher* A. 1647, from a Copy sent Him by *Patrick Young*. It has been often since printed: in the *Councils*, in *Gundling*, and in *Montfaucon*.

It leaves out the Article of Procession *from the Son*; from whence we may judge that it was composed by a *Greek*, or Grecizing *Latin*. The Title insinuates that the Creed was drawn up in the *Nicene Council*^a: an opinion entertain'd by *Johan. Cyparissiota*, about the year 1360, as observed above. When This Story, or Fiction first came in, I cannot pretend to determine. Bishop *Usher* speaks of a *very antient* Manuscript, partly in *Irish*, and partly in *Latin*, which hints at the same Thing: But He fixes no Date to the Manuscript; the words, *very antient*, are too general to give Satisfaction in it. The Creed is there said to have been composed in the *Nicene Council* by *Eusebius*, and *Dionysius*, and a *Third* left *Nameless*^b, as not being known. The Author of that Book of *Hymns* must have been very Ignorant, not to know *Athanasius*, who was undoubtedly the *Third Man*, and for whose sake (to account for the Creed's being wrote in *Latin*) the whole Story seems to have been contrived. By *Eusebius* must have been intended *Eusebius* of *Verceil* in *Piedmont*, a *Latin*, and a great Friend and Intimate of *Athanasius*: By *Dionysius* undoubtedly is meant *Dionysius* Bishop of *Milan* of the same Time, and of the same Principles, and well acquainted with *Eusebius*^c. Had the Contrivers of

^a Ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ, κατὰ πίστιν κατὰ συντομίαν, καὶ πῶς δι' ἡμετέραν πᾶν ἁγίαν χριστιανῶν. *Usher*. de Symb. p. 26.

^b In Hymnorum, partim Latino partim Hibernico Sermone scriptorum, Codice vetustissimo—notatum reperi, trium Episcoporum opera, in eadem Nicæna Synodo illud fuisse compositum, *Eusebius*, & *Dionysius*, ἕν ὄνομα tertium (sic enim ibi legitur) *nescimus*. *Usher*. de Symb. præf.

^c It seems highly probable, that the whole Fable about *Eusebius*, and *Dionysius*, was first raised out of a Passage of *St. Ambrose*, which might be thought to hint some such Thing. The words are:

the Fable laid their Scene at *Alexandria*, where *Athanasius* and this *Eusebius*, with several other *Latins*, met together in the year 362, They had made it the more plausible. But let us return to our *Greek Copies*, from which we have a little digress'd.

This is observable of the *Greek Copies* in general, that They differ very widely from each other, and therefore cannot be Copies of one and the same Version. Possibly, Three, or Four of them may be thrown into one, admitting however many *Various Lections*: But still there will be as many remaining, which cannot be so dealt with, but must be look'd upon as distinct, and different Versions. Such as desire to see all the Copies together, may find them in *Gundling*, and *Montfaucon*; Four at large, the rest exhibited only by *Various Lections*. I do not know whether the Manuscripts of the *Vienna Library* have been collated for any of the *printed Editions*: Perhaps not; I do not remember that I have met with any mention of them, in any of the Editors of the printed Copies.

It may be of use to set the *printed Editions*, after our Account of the Manuscripts, in Chronological order, as distinctly as may be, since we cannot fix the Dates of the manuscript Copies.

1. The First printed Edition was by *Nicolaus Bryling*,^a a Printer of *Basil*. My Authors have been deficient in not setting down the Date of it. I have endeavor'd to fix the year, but have not yet been so happy as to come to a certainty in it. Wherefore, I hope, my Reader will excuse it, if, rather than set no year at all, I chuse one which I know cannot be very much over, or under, because of other Pieces printed by the same *Bryling* about That Time. *Fabricius* mentions *Michael Neander* as Editor of the same Copy after *Bryling*, and before *Stephens*: 1540

Itaque ut Eusebius Sanctus prior levavit Vexillum Confessionis, ita Beatus Dionysius in exilii locis, priori Martyribus Titulo vitam exhalavit. Ambros. ad *Vercellens.* Ep. 63. p. 1039.

^a Quod olim evulgavit Basileæ *Nicolaus Bryling*; deinde in Gallia An. 1565. *Henricus Stephanus*. Genebrard. in *Symb. Athanas.* p. 8.

Quam post *Nic. Brylingium*, & *Mich. Neandrum*, *H. Stephanus* in lucem edidit. *Fabric.* *Bibl. Græc.* Vol. V. p. 315.

But what year, is not said. *Tentzelius* mentions a *Third*^a, namely *Sebastian Lepusculus*, whose Edition was in 1559; and *Stephens's* in 1565. I have not seen *Lepusculus's* Copy: But I can make no doubt of it's being the same^b with *Bryling's*: which has been called the *Vulgate*, or *Common* Version.

1569 2. The Second printed Copy was taken from the Manuscript of *Lazarus Baiffius*, which He received from *Dionysius*^c, a *Greek*, in the year 1533, as before hinted. This was first printed by *Genebrard* in the year 1569, again in 1585, and oftentimes since. This Copy is sometimes called the *Dionysian* Copy; and it is observed by *Gundling* to differ from the first Copy but in *seven* Places; and therefore these Two have been commonly thrown into one, by all the Editors of Both.

1569 3. The *Third* Copy was also first printed by *Genebrard*, at the same Time with the other. It has gone under the Name of the *Constantinopolitan* Copy, because *Genebrard* supposed it to have been in use at *Constantinople*^d. It differs considerably from Both the other, and is never thrown into one with them, but kept distinct by it self.

1600 4. The *Fourth* is the *Commeline*, or *Felckman's* Copy, from the *Palatine* Manuscripts, often reprinted with *Athanasius's* Works. This also stands by it self, as a distinct Version.

1647 5. The *Fifth* was first publish'd by *Usher*, in the year 1647.

a *Sebastian*: *Lepusculi* Compendium *Josephi Gorionidis*, cum Collectaneis quibusdam. *Basil.* 1559. Vid. *Tentzel.* p. 166.

b *Nic. Serarius*, who wrote in the year 1590. speaking of that first Copy printed by *Bryling*, and *Stephens*, says as follows.

Quarum prima, vulgata dici potest, eo quod haecenus ea sola hic apud nos, *Germania* & *Gallia*, typis evulgata fuerit. *Nicol. Serar.* de Symbol. *Athanas.* Opusc. *Theolog.* Tom. 2. p. 9. From hence one may justly conclude, that *Sebastian's* Copy, in 1559, was no new one. For there was no Second, before *Genebrard's*, publish'd in France, or Germany; as we may learn from what *Serarius* here testifies.

c Hoc Symbolum reperi in libro *Græco* MS. de Processione Spiritus Sancti, quem *Lazarus Baiffio* Oratori Regis *Francisci* I. apud *Venetos*, obtulit *Dionysius* *Græcus*, Episcopus *Ziarenfis* & *Firmienfis* An. 1533. *Genebr.* Comm. in Symb. *Athanas.* p. 8.

In manus meas pervenit liber quidam *Græcus*, de Processione Spiritus Sancti, oblatum *Lazaro Bayffo* claro Regis nostri *Francisci* I. apud *Venetos* Oratori, anno Christi 1533. Quem manu sua elegantissime pinxerat *Nicolaus Sephianus* Patrum nostrorum ævo vir valde doctus. *Genebr.* ibid. p. 2.

d Superius Symbolum, *Athanasii* verbis aliquantulum immutatis, *Constantinopolitanis* sic *Græce* legunt, & recitant. *Genebr.* ibid. p. 14.

This differs extremely from all the rest, having, besides many *Variations*, and slight *Insertions*, one very large *Interpolation*. It hath been often reprinted since *Usher's* Time.

6. The *Sixth* and last was first publish'd by *Labbe* and *Coffart* 1671 in the second Tome of *Councils*. This Copy comes the nearest to the Two first, and therefore is sometimes thrown into one with them: But it differs from Both in about *forty* Places, according to *Gundling's* Computation.

These are all the *printed* Copies; which are sometimes call'd *Four* and sometimes *Six*: *Four*, because the *First*, *Second*, and *Sixth* may be tolerably thrown into One; *Six*, because They may also be kept distinct, and may be reckon'd as so many *Copies* at least, if not so many several *Versions*. So much for the *Greek* Versions of our Creed.

To the Versions already mention'd may be added the *Slavonian*, of several *Dialects*, and, as I conceive, pretty *antient*: But we have little or no Account of them; only, as I shall show in the Sequel, we may be certain that there have been such. There are *Italian*, *Spanish*, *Irish*, and *Welch* Versions; but whether any that can justly be called *antient*, I know not. Future searches into Libraries may perhaps produce farther Discoveries. *Fabricius* makes mention of an *Hebrew* Version of late date, and of an *Arabick* one still later^a: But these or the like *modern* Versions will be of no use to us in our present Inquiries.

^a Hebraice Versum a *Fulvio Marcello Romano* MS. in Bibliotheca *Vaticana* memorat *Imbonatus* in *Bibl. Latino-Hebraica* p. 149. Sed omitto recentiores Versiones, ut *Arabicam* a *Nisselio* editam *Lugd. Bat.* 1656. 4to, una cum *Cantico Canticor. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. V.* 5. p. 315.

Georgius Nisselius *Symbolum Athanasii Arabico* idiomate cum *Cantico Canticorum Æthiopice & Arabice* edito *Lugd. Bat. An.* 1656, conjunxit ——— id tamen non hausit ex *Codice MS*, sed ipse in *Arabicum* Sermonem transtulit. *Temzel.* p. 125.

Of the Reception of the Athanasian Creed in the Christian Churches.

FROM the Materials here laid down, we may now be able to determine something about the *Reception* of the Creed, especially in the *Western Churches*; among which the Churches of *France*, or *Gaul*, ought undoubtedly to be named first.

FRANCE, OR GAUL.

A. D. 550 This Creed obtain'd in *France* in the Time of *Hincmar*, or about 850, without all dispute. We may advance higher up to 772: For it was then in *Charles the Great's* Pfalter, among the *Hymns* of the Church. The *Cotton* manuscript Pfalter, with this Creed in it, will carry us up to 703: And the *Canon* of the Council of *Autun* to 670; at which Time the *Gallican* Clergy, at least of the *Dioceſs* of *Autun*, in the Province of *Lyons*, were obliged to recite this Creed together with the *Apostles*, under pain of Episcopal *Censure*. Which ſhows of how great Value and Esteem the Creed was at that Time, and affords a ſtrong Preſumption (as *Queſnel*, and *Pagi*^a well argue in the Caſe) that it had been in uſe there long before. There will be ſome doubt, as I intimat'd above, about the ſuppoſed *Canon* of the Council of *Autun*; which will in ſome meaſure abate the force of our Evidence, and of the Argument built upon it. But as it is certain from other Evidence, that This Creed was receiv'd in the *Gallican* Churches as high as 772, or 703; So it muſt be own'd that This very much confirms the Suppoſition of the Council of *Autun*: And the con-

^a Dubium non eſt quin multis ante Synodum illam *Auguſtodunenſem* annis compoſitum eſſet, & jam olim per totam Eccleſiam celebre evaſiſſet: Nunquam enim Sapientiſſimi Præſules id commiſiſſent, ut iſtam Fidei Formulam omnium Ordinum Clericis amplectendam, & irreprenſibiliter, ut aiunt, recenſendam, Synodali Ediſto ſub condemnationis pena præcipere; imo & illam e regione cum *Symbolo Apoſtolico* ponerent, niſi jam longo uſu recepta, approbata, & inter germanas *Magni Athanaſii* Lucubrations numerata fuiſſet; quod niſi poſt pluriſimum annorum Seriem fieri vix potuit *Queſnel*. Diſ. XIV. p. 731.

Quare jam ante *centum* fere Annis opus illud *Athanaſio* attributum fuerat. *Pagi* Critic. in *Baron*. Vol. I. p. 441.

curing Circumstances give very great Light and Strength to each other. But what most of all confirms the foregoing Evidence, and the reasoning upon it, is, that *Venantius Fortunatus*, a full hundred years before the Council of *Autum*, had met with this Creed in the *Gallican* Parts, and found it then to be in such Esteem as to deserve to be *commented* upon, like the *Lord's-Prayer*, and *Apostle's-Creed*: Accordingly He wrote Comments upon it, as well as upon the other. This wonderfully confirms the reasoning of *Quésnel*, and *Pagi*, that this Creed must have been in use there near a hundred years before the Council of *Autum*, that is, as high as 570, about which Time *Fortunatus* flourished, and wrote. And considering that this Creed must have been for some Time growing into repute, before it could be thought worthy to have such Honour paid it, along with the *Lord's-Prayer* and *Apostle's-Creed*; I may perhaps be allowed to set the Time of it's *Reception*, in the *Gallican* Churches, some years higher: Reception of it, I mean, as an excellent Formulary, or an acknowledged *Rule of Faith*, tho' not perhaps admitted into their *Sacred Offices*. Upon the whole, and upon the strength of the foregoing Evidences, we may reasonably conclude, that the Reception of this Creed, in the *Gallican* Churches, was at least as early as 670; understanding it of it's Reception into the Publick Offices: But understanding it of it's Reception as a *Rule of Faith*, or an orthodox and excellent Formulary and System of *Belief*, it may be justly set as high as 550, which is but 20 years, or thereabout, before *Fortunatus* Commented upon it. *Le Quier* scruples not to set it as high as 500.^a

S P A I N.

Next to *France*, we may mention her near Neighbour *Spain*, 630 which seems to have received This Creed very early, and within less than a hundred years after the Time before fix'd for it's Reception in *France*. As to the Truth of the Fact, it may be argued Two several ways. 1. From the near Affinity and Relation between the *Spanish* and *Gallican* Offices, before either

^a Non nisi ex eodem Symbolo, quod jam ante receptum esset, *Avitus Viennensis* alicubi scribebat &c. *Le Quier*. Dissert. Damascen. p. 98.

ANTIEN T RECEPTION of

France, or *Spain* had received the *Romans*. 2. From the IVth Council of *Toledo*, their quoting Passages from this very Creed.

1. As to the first Argument, tho' a *general* one, it must appear of great Weight. If the Sacred Offices in *France* and *Spain* were in those Times the same, or very nearly so; then the Reception of this Creed in *France* will afford a very considerable Argument of it's Reception in *Spain* also.

Cardinal *Bona* is very large and diffuse in setting forth the Agreement and Harmony of the old *Gallican* Offices with the *Spanish*, in sundry Particulars^a. And He supposes this Uniformity of the Two Churches to have been as early, at least, as the days of *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*, who died in the Year 595. *Mabillon*, after Him, frequently asserts the same Thing^b, and with greater Assurance than *Bona* had done; having met with new, and fuller Evidences to prove it: Only, He dates the Agreement of the *Spanish Mosarabick* Offices with the *Gallican*, from the III^d and IVth Councils of *Toledo*,^c the latter of which was in the Year 633. Mr. *Dodwell*, speaking of the same matter, says, "Nor does *Mabillon* Himself judge it probable that "the Innovations attempted by Pope *Vigilius* in *Spain* held long, "of what kind soever they were. All *Spain* was soon after "united in *one Form*, and that different from the *Romans*, and "agreeing with the *Gallican*^d. It is therefore a plain Case, that the *Gallican* and *Spanish* Offices were very much the same in the beginning of the VIth Century, and so continued for some Time. If therefore the *Gallican* Churches received the *Athanasian* Creed into their Publick Offices before the year 670, it will appear extremely probable that the *Spanish* receiv'd it also, and about the same Time. I here make a Distinction, as I did before, between receiving the Creed as a *Rule of Faith*, and receiving it into the *Solemn Offices*, to be recited, or sung in Churches. The *Reception* of it, in the first Sense, I conceive to

a *Bona* Rerum Liturg. l. 1. c. 12. p. 372.

b *Mabillon*. de Liturg. Gallican. Praef. & lib. 1. c. 3. p. 20, 23.

c *Mabillon*. Lib. 1. c. 4. p. 32.

d *Dodwell* of Incense. p. 190.

have been somewhat earlier, in *Spain*, as well as in *France*, than it's Reception in the latter Sense. But as different Churches in *France* had antiently different Customs, so also was it in *Spain*: And therefore it is probable that the Reception of this Creed into the publick Offices was in some Churches sooner, and in others later, according to the various Rites, Customs, and Circumstances of the several Churches.

But I proceed to the Second Article, whereby we are to prove the Reception of this Creed in *Spain*.

2. The IVth Council of *Toledo* cites a considerable part of this Creed, adopting it into their own *Confession*^a. We may be confident that The Creed did not borrow the Expressions from Them, but They from the Creed; since we are certain that This Creed was made long before the year 633. The Reference to this very Creed appears so plain in the words of That Council, that most of the Learned have concluded from thence, that the *Spanish* Fathers had both seen, and approved this Creed. *Baronius* is positive that the Council took their Expressions from it^b. *Calvisius* dates the Publication of the Creed from That Council^c: So also *Alstedius*^d. *Gavantus*, in his Comments upon the *Roman Breviary*, concludes from thence that This Creed had been read in the Church, as high as That Time^e.

a Nec personas confundimus, nec Substantiam separamus. Patrem a nullo factum, vel genitum dicimus: Filium a Patre non factum, sed genitum asserimus: Spiritum vero Sanctum nec creatum, nec genitum, sed procedentem a Patre & Filio profitemur, ipsum autem Dominum Jesum Christum—ex substantia Patris ante sæcula genitum—æqualis Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor Patre secundum Humanitatem.—Hæc est Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Fides: Hanc Confessionem Conservamus, atque tenemus. Quam quisquis firmissime Custodierit, perpetuam Salutem habebit. Concil. Tolet. IV. Capitul. I.

b Ex eodem *Athanasii Symbolo* ea verba primi Capituli *Toletani* quarti Concilii deducta noscuntur, quibus dicitur, *Patrem a nullo factum* &c. *Baron. Annal. Tom. 3. p. 436.*

c Repositum fuit in Archivis, nec *publicatum*, nisi, quantum ex Historiis conjicere licet, post trecentos fere Annos, ubi in Concilio *Toletano* quarto quædam ex eo translata verba recententur. *Seib. Calvis. Op. Chronolog. p. 396.*

d *Symbolum Athanasii* ab illo scriptum est *Romæ* itidem contra *Arium*. *Publicatum* est post 300 fere Annos in Concilio *Toletano*, & inde usque ad nostra Tempora in Ecclesiâ usurpatum. *Alsted. Theaur. p. 178.*

e *Athanasius* dum esset *Romæ*, scripsit latine *Symbolum*—& recitavit coram Pontifice & ei assidentibus, Ann. 340, ut scribit *Baronius*; & est illud idem, non mutatum, *legique solitum in Ecclesiâ*, ante annos nongentos sexaginta. Vide *Annales ad Annum prædictum. Barthol. Gavant. Commentar. in Rubric. Breviarii Romani. p. 106.*

Helvicius^a falls in with the Opinion of *Calvisius*, and *Alstedius*, grounded upon the Expressions of this Council being parallel to those of the Creed. These Authors have perhaps carried the Point too far, in supposing This a sufficient Proof of any publick Reception of the Creed in *Spain*, at That Time, or of it's being read in their Churches: But it is clear enough, that the *Spanish* Fathers had both seen and approved it; otherwise They could not, or would not, have borrow'd so plainly from it. Thus much is allowed by most of the learned Moderns, as *Quésnel*^b, *Natalis Alexander*^c, *Montfaucon*^d, *Tillemont*^e, *Muratorius*, *Oudin*^f, and Others, that the Expressions of That Council, and This Creed, are parallel, and one borrow'd from the other, and the words of the Council from the words of the Creed: Only, *Muratorius* hints as if a doubt might be made whether the Council took from the Creed, or the Creed from the Council^g; which may seem strange in Him, who supposes the Creed to have been made by *Fortunatus*, many years before That Council was held. But, I suppose, He is there speaking of the Argument drawn from the words of that Council alone, abstracting from the other Circumstance, and previous to the Consideration of *Fortunatus's* Comment: Otherwise He is guilty of a very great Over-sight. It appears then, that this Creed was known, and approved in *Spain* as early as 633: And it is observable how exactly This falls in with the Time, when the *Spanish* Churches are supposed to have received the *Gallican* Offices, according to *Mabillon's* Account. Wherefore it is ex-

a *Athanasius* Symbolum scribit *Rome*, & Concilio offert; non tamen publicatur, nisi post 300 ferme Annos in Concilio *Toletano*. *Helvic. Theatr. Histor.* ad An. 339.

b Imo & jam ab Anno 633 aliqua ex isto Symbolo descripta mihi videntur in ea Confessione Fidei, quæ edita est a Concilio *Toletano*. 4. habeturque Capit. 1. ejusdem. *Quésnel. Differt.* XIV. p. 731.

c *Natal. Alexand.* Tom. IV. p. 109.

d *Montfauc.* Diatrib. p. 72c.

e *Tillemont.* Memoires. Tom. 8. p. 670.

f *Oudin.* Comment. de Script. Eccl. p. 348.

g Verum ne majoris quidem momenti sunt verba illa, quæ in Concilii *Toletani* quarti Professione leguntur: Quamvis enim Phrasæ nonnullæ ibidem inveniantur *Symboli* Phrasibus oppido similes, attamen ejusmodi non sunt ut iis Patribus *Symbolum* jam innotuisse demonstrant. Quin ex eodem Concilio has formulas quis deſſaſſe videri poteſt, ut inde *symbolum* illud conſtaret. *Muratorii Anecd.* Ambros. Tom. 2. p. 223.

remely probable, that about This Time They receiv'd this Creed from the *Gallican* Churches; received it as an *Orthodox* Formulary, and an approved *Rule of Faith*. As to their taking it into their *publick* Service, and *Psalmody*, I pretend not to set it so high, having no Proof that they did *receive* it, in that Sense, so early: But as soon as the *Gallican* Churches made it a part of their *Psalmody*, we may reasonably think that the *Spanish* did so too; or within a very short Time after.

GERMANY.

Next to *France*, and *Spain*, we may mention *Germany*; not only because of their nearness of Situation to *France*, but also because of their mutual Intercourse, and Affinity with each other. This Creed, very probably, was received in some Parts of *Germany*, soon after it obtain'd in the *Gallican* Church. The mutual Intercourse of the *German* and *Gallican* Churches makes it probable: And the antient Manuscript of the Creed found at *Treves*, or *Triers*, in *Germany*, may persuade the same Thing. Our positive Evidence is however clear and certain for the Reception of the Creed, as early as 870, being then translated by *Osfridus* into the *German*, or *Teutonick* Language. *Anscharius's* Instructions to his Clergy (above mention'd) will afford an Argument for the Reception of this Creed in *Germany* from the Time of his holding the See of *Hamburg*, or from 830: And it was received at *Basil*, as we learn from *Hatto* Bishop of the Place, before 820. Indeed, I have above refer'd *Basil* to *France*, considering how it stood in *Hatto's* Time, and that it was part of antient *Gaul*: But then it was upon the Confines of *Germany*, and has in later Times been reckon'd to it; and we have good reason to think that the Customs of the *German* Churches in the IXth Century were nearly the same with those of the Church of *Basil* in 820. What pass'd in the Council of *Frankfort* (if I mistake not in my Construction of it) may warrant the carrying it up as high as 794. And it was 6 years before That, namely in the year 788, that Pope *Adrian* sent to St. *Willehad*, Bishop of *Breme*, The famous Psalter of *Charles* the

*Great*², with this *Creed* in it, the same that I have spoken of above. No wonder therefore that *Anscharius* and *Rembertus*, afterwards Archbishops of *Hamburg* and *Breme*, so very highly valu'd This *Creed*. The particular regard paid to this *Creed* by *Charles* the *Great*, in the year 772, may plead perhaps in favor of a more early Date: At least, no doubt can be made but as soon as He came to be *Emperor*, if not a great deal sooner, the *German* Churches (as well as the *Gallican* before) admitted this *Creed*, even into their *publick* Offices. It is of This Time that an *Anonymous* Author cited above, in a Tract directed to *Charlemagne*, then *Emperor*, says, that this *Creed* was *profess'd* by the *Universal Church*. We cannot therefore be mistaken in setting the *Reception* of it in *Germany*, as high as the year 800. So high may pass for *certain* Fact: And there is great probability for the running it up many years higher.

ENGLAND.

380 As to our own Country, we have clear and positive Proof of the *Creed's* being sung alternately in our Churches in the *Tenth* Century, when *Abbo* of *Fleury* an ear-witness of it, was here; and when the *Saxon* Versions, still extant, were of standing use for the Instruction and Benefit both of Clergy and People. These Evidences alone will prove the *Reception* of this *Creed* in *England* to have been as early as 950, or 930, or the Time of *Athelstan*, whose *Latin* Psalter, with the *Creed* in it, remains to this Day. The Age of the manuscript *Versions* will warrant us thus far: But, possibly, if those *Versions* were thoroughly examin'd by a *Critick* in the *Saxon*, it might appear that the *Version*, or *Versions* were many years older than the Manuscripts. This I am no judge of my self; nor have I an opportunity of Examining: But I am willing to leave a short Hint

a Codex iste——in Bibliotheca cubiculari summi Pontificis *Hadriani* I. permanfit usque ad Annum DCCLXXXVIII, quo *S. Willehadus* ab eodem, cum consensu *Caroli* M. primus *Episcopus Bremensis* declaratus est. Tunc videlicet P. P. *Hadrianus* eundem illum *Codicem Psalterii*, quem ipse in principio Pontificatus sui tanquam munus gratulatorium a *Carolo Magno* acceperat, eadem ratione donavit *S. Willehado*, ut ille, in novo *Episcopatu* ipso, frueretur usu sacri istius muneris. *Lambec. Catal. Bibl. Vindob.* l. 2. c. 5. p. 297.

with Those that have such Opportunities, and can judge with *certainty*, from a thorough Acquaintance with all the little, gradual Alterations introduced into the old *Saxon* Language, from the first coming in of the *Danes*,^a that is, from the year 787. There is yet another Rule for determining the Time when This Creed came first to be received in *England*; which is from it's having a place in the *Latin* Psalters, such as were written in *England* at such a Time. For I persuade my self, that it would not have been inserted in the *Psalters* among the other *Canticles* of the Church, but when it was receiv'd as well as Those. Such a *Psalter*, as I conceive, there now is in *Benet* College Library in *Cambridge*, written in *England*, and in the *Ninth* Century. Wherefore, upon the whole, and all Circumstances consider'd, I may presume to name the year 880, or thereabout, for the Reception of this Creed in *England*, in the Time of *K. Alfred*. Further Inquiries may perhaps carry it up higher: But it cannot reasonably be brought lower, and so there I leave it.

ITALY.

We learn from *Ratherius*, above cited, that This Creed was 880. in common use in some parts of *Italy*, particularly in the Diocess of *Verona* in *Low Lombardy*, in his Time; that is about 960. He then speaks of it as a Man would do of a Formulary that had been customary amongst them, and of long standing. He exhorts his Clergy to make themselves Masters of the Three Creeds, *Apostles*, *Nicene*, and *Athanasian*; without the least intimation of the last of them being newly introduced. I incline to think that from the Time that *Lombardy* became a Province of the *French* under *Charles the Great* (about the year 774.) This Creed obtain'd there by means of That *Prince*, who had so great a value for it, and whose Custom it was to disperse it abroad wherever He had any Power, or Influence. He presented it to the Pope Himself in 772: He delivered it, about the same Time, or before, to the *Monks* of *Mount-Olivet* in *Jerusalem* of his Foundation. And it appears to have been with his consent,

a Vid. *Hickef.* Grammat. Anglo-Saxon. p. 88.

or perhaps at his Request, that Pope *Adrian* conveyed it to *Wil-
lehad*, the first Bishop of *Breme*, in 788. These Circumstances
make it highly probable that the same *Charles* the *Great* intro-
duced this Creed into *Lombardy* soon after his Conquest of it.
And indeed nothing could be more serviceable at That Time,
in a Country which had so long before been corrupted with
Arianism. Add to This, that it appears highly probable that
the *Gallican* Psalter was introduced into the Churches of *Italy*,
soon after *Lombardy* became a Province under the Kings of
France: And if their *Psalter* came in, no doubt but their *Creed*,
Then a part of their *Psalter*, came in with it. Cardinal *Bona*
observes, and seems to wonder at it, that the *Gallican* Psalter
obtained in most parts of *Italy* in the eleventh Century.^a He
might very probably have set the Date higher, as high
perhaps, or very near, as the conquest of *Lombardy* by *Char-
lemagne*. Thus far at least, we may reasonably judge, that
Those parts which were more immediately subject to the Kings
of *France*, *Verona* especially, one of the first Cities taken,
receiv'd the *Gallican* Psalter sooner than the rest. However,
since I here go only upon Probabilities, and have no po-
sitive Proof of the precise Time when either the *Creed*, or the
Psalter came in, and it might take up some years to intro-
duce them, and settle them There (new Customs generally
meeting with difficulties, and opposition at the first) These
things considered, I am content to suppose the same Time for
the Reception of this Creed in *Italy*, as I have before named
for our own Country; which is but 80 years higher than *Ra-
therius*, and is above 100 years from the intire conquest of
Lombardy by *Charles* the *Great*. There may be some reason to
suspect that This Creed had been known in *Italy*, and re-
ceived, at least in some of the *Monasteries* there, near 200 years
before. The Manuscript of *Bobio*, in *Langobardick* Character, and
written about the year 700, or sooner, will afford a very strong
Presumption of it. And if we consider how from the year
639, in the Time of *Rotharis*, one of the *Lombard* Kings of

^a *Bona*: rerum Liturg Lib. 2. c. 3. p. 506.

Italy, there had been a constant struggle between the *Catholicks* and *Arians*, and a Succession of *Bishops* on Both Sides kept up, in almost every City of his Dominions, for many years together; I say, from These considerations, one might reasonably presume that the *Catholicks* had about that Time procured This *Creed*, together with *Bachiarii Fides*, and *Gennadius's Tract*, out of the *Gallican Parts*, to arm themselves the better against the spreading *Heresy*. But as This does not amount to a *publick Reception* of it, nor is the Fact so clear as not to be liable to dispute, I pretend not to insist upon it.

R O M E .

Rome is of distinct Consideration from the other parts of 930
Italy, and was always more desirous of imposing her own *Offices* upon other Churches, than of receiving any from Them. The *Filioque*, in the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, had been long admitted into all the other *Western Churches* before *Rome* would accept it; which was not (at least it does not appear that it was) till the Middle of the Eleventh Century, or about 1050. The Custom of reciting the *Nicene*, or *Constantinopolitan Creed*, in the *Communion-Service*, had prevailed in *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany* for several Centuries; and was at length but hardly admitted at *Rome* in the year 1014. It was thought civil enough of the *Popes of Rome* to allow the other *Western Churches* to vary from the *Roman Customs* in any thing: And Those other Churches could not enjoy that Liberty and Privilege in quiet, without complying with the *Roman Offices* in most Things besides. The Use of the *Athanasian Creed* was one of those Things wherein They were before-hand with the Church of *Rome*, and in which they were indulg'd; as was also the Use of the *Gallican Psalter*, which the *Western Churches* in general were allowed^a to have, while the *Romans* were tenacious of

^a *Alexander IV* in sua Constitutione quæ est Sexta in Bellario Ordinis *Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*, mandat *Priori Generali* & reliquis *Fratribus in Tuscia*, ut recitent *Officium* juxta morem *Romana Ecclesiæ*, excepto *Psalterio*. Bona; *Ret. Liturg.* l. 2. c. 3. p. 506.

their

their own. But tho' the *Romans* retain'd their own *Psalter* all the way down to the middle of the XVth Century; yet They had long before borrowed This Creed from the *Gallican*, and received it into their Offices. This is certain Fact; but as to the precise Time when it was first done, it may not be easy to determine. It was, without all question, before *Thomas Aquinas's* days; who tells us (as above cited) that This Creed was receiv'd by the Authority of the Pope: I wish He had told us what Pope. That it was not received into the *Roman* Offices so soon as the year 809, may be probably argued from a Case that then happen'd, which has been hinted above. The *Latin* Monks of *Mount Olivet*, (founded by *Charles the Great*) in their Apologetical Letter to Pope *Leo III*, made the best Defense they were able of their own Practice in their publick Professing that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the *Son*. They pleaded the open Acknowledgment of the same Doctrine in *Charles the Great's* own Chapel; and that the same Doctrine had been taught Them, in *St. Gregory's* Homilies, and in the *Rule* of *St. Benedict*, and in the *Athanasian* Creed, and in a *Dialogue* given Them by Pope *Leo* Himself^a. Now, had the *Athanasian* Creed been at That Time recited in the publick Offices at *Rome*, Those *Monks* who were so particular in every little Circumstance pleadable in their Favor, could not have failed (especially upon their mentioning the *Athanasian* Creed) to have pleaded a Thing so notorious, and which would have given the greatest Countenance and Authority possible to Them, and their Doctrine; and must have been of the greatest Weight and Force with Pope *Leo*, to whom They were writing, and whose Protection They

Sic quoque S. *Franciscus*, ut testatur *Frassenius* (Disqu. Bib. c. 6. S. 1.) illius Ordinis Frater, in Regula suorum præcipit: Clerici faciant Divinum Officium secundum Ordinem sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, excepto Psalterio. *Hed. de Text. Bibl.* p. 383. Vid. etiam supra P. 61.

a Benignissime Pater, dum essem Ego *Leo*, servus vester, ad Sancta vestigia vestra, & ad pia vestigia Domni *Karoli*, piissimi Imperatoris, Filiique vestri, audivimus in Capella ejus dici in Symbolo Fidei, qui ex patre Filioque procedit. Et in Homilia S. *Gregorii*, quam nobis Filius vester Dominus *Karolus* Imperator dedit, in parabola Octavarum Paschæ, ubi dixit: Sed ejus missio ipsa processio est, qui de Patre procedit & Fuit. Et in Regula S. *Benedicti*, quam nobis dedit Filius vester Dominus *Karolus*, ———— & in Dialogo quem nobis vestra sanctitas dare dignata est, similiter dicit. Et in Fide S. *Athanasii* eodem modo dicit. *Epist. Monach. Montis-Olivet*: apud Le *Quien*, *Damasc. Discrè. præv.* p. 7.

were

were then seeking, and humbly imploring. From hence then one may reasonably infer, that This Creed was not received into the *Roman* Offices so early as the year 809. Let us now inquire whether we can fix upon any later Time for it's coming in.

Genebrard testifies that in the oldest *Roman Breviaries* He could meet with, or hear of, This Creed always made a part of the Service^a. But This is too general, nor can we be certain how ancient those oldest *Breviaries* were, nor whether They belong'd to the *Roman* Church, strictly so called, or to other *Western* Churches. And indeed, I know not how we can come to any Certainty in This Matter, unless it be by examining into the *Roman* Psalters which have This Creed in Them. Whenever The Creed came into the *Roman* Psalters, we may justly conclude, that at the same Time it came into the *Roman* Offices. We have in our Publick Library at *Cambridge* a *Roman* Psalter, written for the use of the Church of *Canterbury* (as our judicious Mr. *Wanley* reasonably conjectures^b) and about the Time of the *Conquest*, or a little before, suppose 1060. The Church of *Canterbury* more especially used the *Roman* Psalter, as hath been observed above, and was in all Things conformable, of old Time, to the *Roman* Offices. Now, if this Creed, which had long before been introduced into the *Gallican* Psalters, did at this Time obtain in the *Roman* also; it is obvious to conclude, that it at the same Time made a part of the *Roman* Offices, even at *Rome* it self, as well as *Canterbury*, since one was conformable to the other. This Argument may carry us up some years higher: For there is another, an older *Roman* Psalter, taken notice of above, which has This Creed in it^c; written about the year 930, in the Time of K.

^a In vetustissimis Romanæ Ecclesiæ ἀρχαῖοις (Hæc nunc vocamus Breviaria) sub Athanasii nomine ejus ad Primam recitatio usu recepta est. *Genebr.* in Symb. Athanat. p. 3.

^b Notandum vero in Litanis extare hæc verba: Ut Archiepiscopum nostrum, & omnium Congregationem illi commissam, in sancta religione conservare digneris, te rogamus: quibus pene inducor ut credam hunc Cod. olim pertinuisse ad Ecclesiam Christi Salvatoris Cantuariæ. *Wanleyi* Catal. p. 152.

^c I have been certified of This since my writing of page the 54th. The Creed in That Psalter bears the very same Title with Dr. Wotton's above. p. 68.

ANTIEN T RECEPTION of

Athelstan. It is said to have belonged formerly to Archbishop *Cranmer.* Perhaps This also might have been written for the use of the Church of *Canterbury*: I know of no Church, amongst us which at that Time used the *Roman Pfalter*, but the Church of *Canterbury.* However, it is highly improbable that any Church which complied so far with *Rome*, as to use the *Roman Pfalter*, should take This Creed into That Pfalter before such Time as *Rome* it self had done the same Thing. Upon the Strength of This Argument, tho' it be not demonstrative, but probable only, (such as the Case will admit of, and such as may very well pass till we can fix upon something more certain) I say upon the Strength of This, I incline to date the *Reception* of this Creed at *Rome* from the *Tenth* Century, and the Beginning of it, about the year 930. From this Time forwards, I presume, the *Athanasian* Creed has been honoured with a *publick* Recital, among the other Sacred Hymns and Church *Offices*; all over the *West.* The way has been to recite it at the *Prime*, or First Hour (*one a Clock* in the *Latin* Account, with us *seven* in the Morning) every *Lord's-Day*^a; and in some Places *Every Day*^b. But as the Custom of making it only a part of the *Sunday-Service* is the most *antient*, so has it likewise been the most *general*, and *prevailing*; and is at this Day the common and constant Usage of the Churches within the *Roman* Communion. And let This suffice so far as concerns the *Western* Churches.

of the GREEK and ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

As to the *Greek*, or *Oriental* Churches, I reserved This Place for them, that I might not entirely omit them. It has been question'd, whether any of them ever received This Creed at

^a Die Dominico ad *primam* recitetur. *Hatt. Basil.* A. D. 820.

Per omnes occidentis Ecclesias Dominicis semper diebus Pfalitur ——— in Cunctis Ecclesiis publice cani præcepta. *Manuel. Calec. Bibl. P. P.* Tom. XXVI. p. 414.

^b Fidem, *Quicumque vult*, quotidie ad primam iterat. *Honor. August.* Ad primam dicunt *quotidie* Symbolum *Athanasii.* *Bona de Carthusianis.* p. 897. Pfalmod.

Ad primam ——— quotidie subditur Symbolum *Athanasii.* *Bona de Ambrosianis* p. 900. *Divin. Pfalmod.*

all. *Vossius*^a seems to have thought that they never have: And so also *Combesius*^b. And Dr. *Smith*, in his *Account of the Greek Church*, is positive that *as to the Creed of Athanasius, the Greeks are wholly Strangers to it*^c.

Nevertheless, I find some very considerable Men of a contrary Perswasion, and not *Romanists* only, as *Baronius*, *Spondanus*^d, *Muratorius*^e, *Renaudot*^f, and others, but *Protestants* also; as particularly *Gundling*, whose words I have put into the Margin^g. We may observe however, that thus far is agreed on all Hands, that This Creed is not received in *All the Greek Churches*; and, if it is in *Any*, yet it is there differently read in the Article of *Procession*. It is not pretended that Any of the *African Churches, Alexandrian, Nubian, or Ethiopian* (which are, most of Them, of the *Jacobite, or Eutychian Sect*) have received it. So far from it, that They have not, (at least the *Ethiopian* or *Abyssene Churches* have not) so much as the *Apostle's-Creed* amongst them, if we may believe *Ludolphus*:^h So little are They acquainted with the *Latin Forms, or Con-*

a Nec qui nostra ætate Patriarcha *Alexandrinus*, & Præses *Constantinopoleos* fuit, progermano illud *Symbolum* habuit. Sic enim *Meletius* literis suis *Constantinopoli*, Anno 1597, ad *Johannem Douzam, Nordovicem* datis, & a Filio *Georgio Douza* editis. "*Athanasio* falso "adscriptum *Symbolum*, cum appendice illa Romanorum Pontificum adulteratum, luce "lucidius contestamur. *Voss. de Trib. Symb. Differt.* 2. c. 20. p. 521.

b *Combes. not. ad Calec. p. 297.* & notatione 48 in vitam *Basilii Pseudo-Amphiloch. Symbolum Athanasii Græci ut ejus non recipiunt.*

c *Smith. Account &c. p. 196.*

d *Spondanus epitomizing the words of Baronius, as I find quoted by Tenzelius p. 152.* Cum autem e Romanæ Ecclesiæ antiquis monumentis, veluti eruderatum emerfit in lucem, tum a *Latinis* omnibus, tum a *Græcis* æque susceptum est: non ab Ecclesia *Constantinopolitana* tantum, sed *Serviana, Bulgarica, Russica, Moscovitica, & aliis*; licet ab eis dempra inde pars illa fuerit, qua Spiritum Sanctum a Patre Filioque procedere expressum habetur.

e Re vera, non Ecclesia tantum *Constantinopolitana*, sed *Serviana, Bulgarica, Russica, Moscovitica*, aliæque Ritui Græco addictæ, etsi *Athanasiano Symbolo* in *Sacris Liturgiis utantur*, hanc tamen particulam, & Filio, inde excludere. *Murator. Tom. 2. p. 227.*

f Quod dicitur Domini Filium assumplisse Hominem &c. rectum est, *Symbolo* quod *Athanasii* dicitur, & a *Græcis Latinisque recipitur*, conforme. *Renaud. Orient. Liturg. Vol. 2. p. 643.*

g Mirari quis possit cur *Græci* Processionem Spiritus Sancti a Filio regent, Additionem ad *Symbolum Nicenum* tam ægre ferant, cum tamen *Symbolum Athanasii* recipiant. *Gundling. Not. ad Eultrat. &c. p. 68.*

h *Ludolph. Histor. Æthiop. l. 3. c. 5.* *Symbolo Fidei Catholice Nicæno* communiter utuntur——illo quo nos utimur, uti cæteri Orientales, carent: haud levi iudicio *Apostolos* illius Autores non esse.

fections. Nor is it pretended that the more Eastern Christians, belonging to the Patriarchates of *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, have any Acquaintance with the *Athanasian* Creed: No not the *Maronites*, tho' They formerly submitted to the See of *Rome*, and are still supposed to hold Communion therewith, and to acknowledge the *Pope* for their Head. All that is pretended, with respect to This Creed, is, that the Churches of *Constantinople*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Russia*, and *Muscovy*, acknowledge it as *Athanasius's*, or make use of it in their Common and Sacred Offices. And for proof of This, it has been usual to appeal to a Passage of *Cazanovius*, a Polish Knight, in a Letter of his to *Calvin*: which Letter I have not seen, but find quoted both by *Genebrard*^a and *Vossius*^b, Men of opposite Principles, and therefore the more safely to be relied on where They agree. But what does *Cazanovius* confess? That the *Greek*, *Servian*, *Russian*, and *Muscovite* Churches acknowledge the *Athanasian* Creed, as *Athanasius's*; only *curtail'd* (or, as They would say, *corrected*) as to the Point of the *Procession*. A Confession from a *Socinian* Adversary, in this case, is of some Weight; and especially if it can be enforced by any corroborating Evidence. Let us see then what may be further learn'd concerning the several Churches here named, and the *Reception* of this Creed in them. I may take them one by one.

1. To begin with *Muscovy*, where the Matter of Fact seems to be most fully attested of Any. In the Account given of the Lord *Carlisle's* Embassy from K. *Charles II.* to the *Great Duke of Muscovy*, in the year 1663^c, I meet with This Passage, relating to the *Muscovites*, and their *Divine Service*: "The whole Service is perform'd by Reading of certain Psalms, or Chapters in the Bible: Sometimes the Priest adds *Athana-*

^a Si *Athanasii* est, cujusnam illud erit quod nunc *Græcorum, Serviorum, Russorum, & Moscorum* Ecclesiæ sub ejusdem *Athanasii* titulo retinent, ac pro genuino agnoscunt? *Cazanov.* ad *Calvin.* Epist. apud *Genebr.* de *Symbol.* *Athanas.* p. 7.

^b *Cazanovius* Sarmata ——— etsi multum ei Hoc *Symbolum* displiceat, agnoscit tamen *Athanasianum* vocari, non in *Latina* solum Ecclesia, sed etiam in *Constantinopolitana, Serviana, Bulgarica, Moscovitica.* Voll. de *Symb. Diss.* 2. c. 1. p. 516.

^c *Harris's Compleat Collection &c.* Vol. 2. p. 181. See also the *Duke of Holstein's Travels.* *ibid.* p. 36.

“ *sius's* Creed, or sings certain Hymns, and St. *Chrysoftom's* Homily. In another Treatise intituled, *of the antient and modern Religion of the Muscovites*, written in *French*, and printed at *Cologne* 1698, and since translated into *Engliffh*, there is this Account of the *Muscovites*; that “ They receive the Creed of “ the *Apostles*, and That of *Nice*, and *Athanasius*”. These two Testimonies are undoubtedly sufficient, so far as concerns *Muscovy*. Now, the *Muscovites* received their Religion, and their *Orders* from the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, about the Xth Century, or Beginning of the XIth: And their receiving of this Creed will be a presumptive Argument in favor of it's Reception at *Constantinople* also, if there be no evident Reason against it. That the *Muscovites* did not receive the Creed from the *Latins*, but from the *Greeks*, is very plain, because their Copies of the Creed are without the Article of the Proceffion from the *Sou*.^b For They pretend that the *Latins* have interpolated the Creed, appealing to their own uncorrupted Copies; and they blame the *Latins*, farther, for inserting the *Filioque* into the *Nicene*.^c From what hath been said it appears to be certain Fact, that the *Muscovites* receive the *Athanasian* Creed: How long they have had it, or how far short of 700 years, (reckoning from the Time that Christianity was receiv'd, or restored amongst them) I cannot say. I should observe that the *Muscovites* always perform their Service in their own *Vulgar* Tongue, as is allowed on all Hands^d: Since then the *Athanasian* Creed is a part of their Service, They must have had a

a Harris's *Collect. of Travels*. Vol. 2. p. 238 See also p. 240. 241.

b Vid. *Tentzel*. *Judic. Erudit.* p. 151.

c See Harris *ibid.* p. 240.

d In cæteris autem Regionibus, videlicet in *Servia*, *Mysia*, *Bosnia*, *Bulgaria*, *Russia minori* Regi *Polonia* subdita, in *Volhnia*, *Podolia*, & parte quadam *Lituanie*, aliisque finitimis provinciis, ritu *Græco* divinum peragitur officium, translatis *Græcorum* Typicis in *Sclavonicam* Linguam. Eisdem *Græcos* Ritus, eadem Lingua, servant *Moscovitæ*, quorum Regio *Russia major*, seu *Roxolania* nuncupatur &c. *Bona* de *Divin. Psalmod.* c. 18. Sect. 17. p. 911. Vid. etiam *Uffer*. *Histor. Dogmat.* p. 246.

Armeni suo quoque nativõ sermone dudum sacra celebrant, tum qui *Orthodoxam* Fidem retinuerunt, tum *Jacobitæ*, ut *Moscovitæ* seu *Rutheni*, *Constantinopolitanæ* sedi subiecti, *Rufficis*; & alii quidam de quibus pauca scimus. *Renaudot*. *Liturg. Orient.* Vol. 1. *Disertat.* 6. p. 43.

Version of it in the *Muscovite* Language, which is a Dialect of the *Sclavonian*. Wherefore This also, after our Proof of the Thing, may now be added to the other *Versions* above mention'd.

2. *Russia*, as distinguish'd from *Muscovy*, must mean *Russia Minor*, or the *Black Russia*, a Province of *Poland*. As many as there follow the *Greek Rites*, are of the same Account with the *Muscovites* before spoken of: And therefore what has been said of the former, with respect to the use of the *Athanasian Creed*, will be applicable to these also; and so I need not be more particular about them. The Patriarch of *Muscovy* ordains their *Archbishop*, who is therefore subject to Him, and follows the same Rites and Customs: And their Language is also a Dialect of the *Sclavonian*, like the other.

3. *Servia*, now a large Province of the *Turkish Empire*, part of *Northern Turkey* in *Europe*, first received Christianity about the year 860, by the means of *Cyrril* and *Methodius*, who are said to have invented the *Sclavonian Letters*, and to have translated the Scriptures into the *Sclavonian Tongue*. *Cyrril* was a *Greek*, and came from *Constantinople*; And *Methodius* was a *Greek* too, Both sent by the *Greek Emperor* to convert the Country; which therefore became instructed in the *Greek Rites* and Religion. It is not improbable that They should have the *Athanasian Creed*, as well as the *Muscovites* and *Russians*; or perhaps before them, being converted sooner: And They also must have received it from the *Greeks*, and not from the *Latins*, because of their varying, in the Article of the *Procession*, from the *Western Churches*.

4. *Bulgaria* is likewise part of *Turky* in *Europe*, and has been so from the year 1396. Christianity was planted there in the year 845. There were of old great Disputes between the Two Bishops of *Rome*, and *Constantinople*, upon the Question to whose *Patriarchate* the *Bulgarians* did of right belong. In Conclusion, about the year 870, the *Greek Patriarch* prevailed over the *Roman*, by the Interest of the then Emperor of *Constantinople*. The *Bulgarians* of consequence fell to the Share of the *Greek Church*, and so have been educated in their Rites, and Customs.

Their

Their Language is a Dialect of the *Sclavonian*, in which They perform their *Sacred Offices*: And therefore, if they make use of the *Athanasian Creed*, They must be supposed to have it in their own *Vulgar Tongue*. I have no particular Evidence, of their using it, beyond what has been mention'd from *Cazanovius*, and the *Romish Writers*; which yet seems to be sufficient, since it has been fully proved that it is used in *Muscovy*, and in *Russia*, to whom the *Bulgarians* are Neighbours, and with whom they conform in their other religious Rites derived from the same Fountain, namely, the *Constantinopolitan Greeks*.

5. It remains then, that we consider the Fact in respect of *Constantinople* it self, and the *Greek Church* there: For, This also, as we have seen, has been named with Others, as receiving the *Athanasian Creed*. *Genebrard* is positive in it, and gives us the very Creed it self, which the *Constantinopolitans*, as He says, use and recite^a. He wrote in the year 1569. The Truth of his Report is very much doubted, because the *Form*, which He exhibits, acknowledges the Procession from *the Son*, which the *Constantinopolitans* admit not: And even Those who, as before seen, assert, or allow that They receive this Creed, yet at the same Time intimate that it is not the *intire* Creed, but *curtailed* in That Article. However, *Genebrard* might be in the right, as to the main Thing, that the *Constantinopolitans* do receive the Creed, tho' mistaken in the particular *Form*: Or possibly some *Latinizing Greeks* at *Constantinople* might have one Form, and the rest another, and thus all will be well. But let us inquire what further Evidence there is of this Creed's having been ever received at *Constantinople*, and by the *Greeks* properly so called. An Argument thereof may be drawn from the *Greek Copies* that vary from the *Latin*, in the Article of Procession. For, who should draw up, and curtail the *Greek Copies* but the *Greeks*? And why should They be at the trouble of *correcting* (as They will call it) the Creed, if They did not receive it? A second Argument may be drawn from the Creed's being found in the *Horologia* belonging to the *Greeks*;

^a Superius Symbolum, *Athanasii* verbis aliquantulum immutatis, *Constantinopolitani* sic Græce legunt, & recitant. *Genebrard*. in Symb. Athan. p. 13.

that

that is, in their *Breviaries* (as we should call them) their Books of Service for the *Canonical Hours*. How should the Creed come in there; unless the *Greeks* received it into their Sacred Offices? As to the Fact, Bishop *Usser's* Copy found in such a *Breviary*, is a sufficient Evidence: And it is plain from the Copy it self, that it was no *Latinizing Greek* that made it, or used it; since the Procession from the *Son* is struck out. Further, This *Horologion* belong'd to a Monk of *Constantinople*^a; which argues the Reception of the Creed in That very *City*: And as a Token of their Esteem of it, and Value for it, it is ascribed to the *Nicene Council* it self; which all the *Greeks* receive and respect with the greatest Veneration. From hence then it is plain that the *Constantinopolitan Greeks* (some of them at least) receive, or have received This Creed, but with some Alterations proper to their peculiar Tenets in opposition to the *Latins*. This Fact, of the *Constantinopolitans* their receiving This Creed, might be farther proved from the *Confession* of *Metrophanes Critopulus* (in the year 1620, published in 1667.^b) who admits the Creed, and looks upon it as owing to a very particular Providence, that the *Greek Copies* (as He supposes) have been preserved pure and entire, while the *Latin ones* have been corrupted, or interpolated. We find by *Nicolaus Hydruntinus*, above cited, that such had been the general Perswasion of the *Greeks*, 500 years upwards, in relation to This Creed; not rejecting the *Creed*, but the *Latin Interpolation* only, as they take it to be.

Which when I consider, reflecting withal how the *Muscovites*, *Russians*, &c. (who derived their Religion from the *Greeks* since the IXth Century) have all come into this Creed, (only striking out the Procession from the *Son*) and that no good Account can be given of such Agreement, but that They all received the same Form when they first received their Religion; I say, when I consider, and compare these Things toge-

^a In Theære, Constantinopolitani Monachi, Græcorum Hymnorum Horologio (a *Ravio* nostro ex Oriente huc advecto) *Symbolum* Hoc, eo quo post finem hujus Diatribæ cernitur interpolatum modo, *Nicene Synodo* adscriptum—reperi &c. *Usser. de Symb.* p. 1.

^b *Metrophanis Critopuli, Protosyngeli Constantinopolitani* 'Ομολογία τῆς ἀνατελικῆς ἐκ-
ελήσιας—edit. Helmstad. in 4to, a *Joann. Hornio*: Vid. cap. 1. p. 15. apud *Tenzel.* p. 150.
ther,

ther, it cannot but give me a Suspicion, that This Creed had been received by the *Greeks* soon after their first Disputes with the *Latins* about the *Procession*; only They took care to strike out a part of it, hoping to solve all by charging the *Latins* with *Interpolation*.

However This be, not to insist upon a bare Conjecture without antient Records to confirm it, one Thing is certain, and, I think, hath been proved abundantly, that the profess'd *Greeks*, even under the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, have in former Times received, and still do receive this Creed, with such Alterations, or Corrections as are proper to their Principles: And so I understand Dr. *Covel*^a, where He says, speaking of what is done amongst the *Greeks*, that *Athanasius's Creed is owned, as corrupted*; that is, with such Corruptions as the *Greeks* have made to it. Upon the whole, therefore, I cannot but close in with those many learned *Romanists* who have affirm'd, and still do affirm, that This Creed is *received* both by *Greeks* and *Latins*. If the Expression be thought too *general*, since it is certain that the Creed is rejected by innumerable *Greeks*, or more properly *Orientalists*, in *Asia* and *Africa*; as the *Cophites*, and *Nubians*, and *Abassines*, and *Maronites*, *Armenians*, *Nestorians*, &c. I say, if this be objected; it is to be consider'd, that the *Romanists*, under the name of *Greeks*, mean generally the *Orthodox* *Greeks* only, the *Melchite* *Greeks*, or as many as hold Communion with the Patriarch of *Constantinople*; making no Account of the rest, as being by their Heresies cut off from the Church, and therefore of little or no Consideration^b. Now, in this Sense, it is excusable enough to say, that the Creed is received both by *Greeks*, and *Latins*.

To Sum up what hath been said of the *Reception* of this

^a *Covel: Account of the Greek Church. pref. p. 9. To which I may add a Remark of the learned Dr. Hickes, that This Creed, tho' of an uncertain Author, was, for it's excellent Composure, received into the Greek, and Latin Churches. Hickes. Sermon. Vol. 2. p. 235.*

^b Attamen hoc ævi sub Orientalis Ecclesiæ nomine diversarum Nationum Orientalium Ecclesiæ veniunt; quæ licet a Græca suam cognoscant Originem, propter tamen variarum Heresium colluviem, & alia præter mores Christianos pessima introducta, a Græca longissime absunt. Græci enim illius Religionis Homines, tanquam a se disjunctos, atque improbitissimos, arcent, & detestantur. *Leo Allat. de perpet. Consens. Eccl. Occid. & Orient. p. 9.*

Creed: From the foregoing Account it appears that it's Reception has been both *general*, and *antient*. It hath been received by *Greeks* and *Latins*, all over *Europe*: And if it hath been little known among the *African*, and *Asian* Churches, the like may be said of the *Apostles* Creed, which hath not been admitted, scarce known, in *Africa*, and but little in *Asia*^a, except among the *Armenians*, who are said to receive it^b. So that, for *generality* of Reception, the *Athanasian* Creed may vie with Any, except the *Nicene*, or *Constantinopolitan*, the only *general* Creed common to all the Churches. As to the *Antiquity* of it's Reception into the *Sacred Offices*, This Creed has been received in several Countries, *France*, *Germany*, *England*, *Italy*, and *Rome* it self, as soon, or sooner than the *Nicene*; which is a high Commendation of it, as gaining Ground by it's own Intrinsic worth, and without the Authority of any *general Council* to enforce it. And there is this Thing further to be said for it, that while the *Nicene* and *Apostles* Creeds have been growing up to their present Perfection in a Course of years, or Centuries of years, and not compleated till about the year 600, This Creed was made and perfected at once, and is more antient, if consider'd as an *intire Form*, than either of the other; having received it's full Perfection, while the others wanted theirs. No considerable Additions or Defalcations have been made to it, (it has needed none) since it's first compiling, till of late years, and in the *Greek Church* only; which yet are so far from correcting or amending the Form, that they have rendred it so much the less perfect: And the only way of restoring it to it's Perfection, is to restore it to what it was at the first. But I pass on.

a Illo quo nos utimur, uti cæteri Orientales, carent *Hælessini* hanc levi indicio, Apostolos illius Autores non esse, quamvis doctrinæ ratione *Apostolicam* rectè vocetur. *Ludolph. Hist. Ætiop.* l. 3. c. 5. n. 19.

Symbolum nec ab *Apostolis*, nec a Synodo ulla generali rectum est: Adhuc, nec in *Græc.* nec in *Oriente*, ullis Ecclesiis obtinuit, sed in Ecclesia *Romana*. *Suicer. Theaur.* p. 1093.

b Sr Paul Ricaut, *Present State of the Greek Church.* p. 409

C H A P. VII.

Of the Time when, and Place where the Creed was composed.

HAVING observed *when*, and *where* this Creed hath been received, we may now ascend higher, and consider *when* and *where* it was made. Our Inquiries here will be in some measure dark, and conjectural; strong Probabilities will perhaps be as much as we can reach to: Which made it the more necessary for me to begin, as I have, at the lower end, where Things are more plain, and clear, in hopes to borrow some Light to conduct our searches into what remains still dark, and obscure. Whatever we have to advance in this Chapter, must rest upon Two Things. 1. Upon *External Testimony* from Ancient Citations, Manuscripts, Comments, Versions, and the like, such as have been previously laid down. 2. Upon the *Internal Characters* of the Creed.

1. To begin with the *External Evidence*: Our *Antient Testimonies*, above recited, carry up the Antiquity of the Creed as high as the year 670, if the first of them be admitted for genuine; as it reasonably may, notwithstanding some Objections. Our *Manuscripts*, now extant, will bring us no higher than 700; but such as have been known to be extant may reach up to 660, or even 600. This must be thought very considerable to as many as know how great a *Rarity* a Manuscript of eleven hundred, or of a Thousand years Date, is; and how few Books, or Tracts there are that can boast of Manuscripts of such Antiquity. The Injuries of Time, of Dust, and of Moths, and above all, the Ravages of *War*, and Destructions of *Fire* have robb'd us of the ancient Monuments, and left us but very thin Remains; that there is scarce such a Thing to be found as a Manuscript of the IVth Century, higher none at all, of the Vth very few, and even of the VIth not many. So that our want of Manuscripts beyond the VIth, or VIIth, Century is no argument against the *Antiquity* of the Creed, however certain an Argument may be drawn

from Those we have, so far as They reach. But, beyond all This, we have a Comment of the VIth Century, of the year 570, or thereabout; and this certain, and unquestionable: Which may supersede all our Disputes about the *Antient Testimonies*, or *Manuscripts*, of more doubtful Authority. Here then we stand upon the foot of *external Evidence*: The Creed was, about the year 570, considerable enough to be commented upon, like the *Lord's-Prayer*, and *Apostles-Creed*, and together with Them. Here is *certain Evidence* for the Time specified; and *presumptive* for much greater Antiquity. For, who can imagine that This Creed, or indeed any Creed, should grow into such Repute of a sudden, and not rather in a Course of Years, and a long Tract of Time? Should we allow 100, or 150 years for it, tho' it would be *Conjecture* only, yet it would not be unreasonable, or improbable Conjecture. But we will let This Matter rest here, and proceed to our other Marks of Direction:

2. The *Internal Characters* of the Creed. The Creed contains two principal Doctrines; one of the *Trinity*, and the other of the *Incarnation*. Possibly from the *Manner* wherein these Doctrines are there laid down, or from the *Words* whereby they are express'd, we may be able to fix the true Date of the Creed, or very nearly at least; certain however thus far, that it must be somewhere above 570.

From the Doctrine of the *Incarnation*, as express'd in this Creed, we may be confident that it is not earlier than the Rise of the *Apollinarian* Heresy, which appear'd first about the year 360, and grew to a head about 370, or a little later. This Creed is so minute and particular against Those Hereticks (without naming them, as it is not the way of the Creed to name Any) obviating every Cavil, and precluding every Evasion, or Subterfuge, that one cannot suppose it to have been written before the Depths of That Heresy were perfectly seen into, and the whole Secrets of the Party disclosed: which we have no reason to think could be before the year 370, if so soon. This Consideration alone is to me a sufficient Confutation of Those who pretend, that *Athanasius* made this Creed either

either during his Banishment at *Treves*, which ended in the year 338, or during his Stay at *Rome* in the year 343; or that He presented it to Pope *Julius*, or Pope *Liberius*, who were Both dead before the year 367.

I must add, that *Epiphanius*^a marks the very Time when the Creeds first began to be enlarged in Opposition to the *Apollinarian* Heresy; namely the Xth year of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and the VIth of *Gratian* (it should be VIIth) which falls in with A. D. 373, the very last year of *Athanasius's* Life, according to those that place his Death the latest; some say, He died a year or two sooner. If therefore He made this Creed at all, it must be about that Time. And, indeed, were there no stronger Objections against the *Antiquity* of the Creed, or against it's being made by *Athanasius*, than the common Objection about the supposed Condemnation of the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* Heresies; I should scarce think it at all improbable that *Athanasius* should be the Author, admitting that He lived to the year 373. For *Epiphanius's* larger Creed made about that Time, appears to me as full and express against Both those Heresies, as the *Athanasian* can be supposed to be, and in some respects more so: And yet Neither of those *Heresies* were then in Being, nor for many years after. But, there are many other reasons which convince me, that the *Athanasian* Creed must be placed lower than this Time. I take *Epiphanius's* larger Creed to have been the first that enlarged the Article of the *Incarnation*, in opposition chiefly to the *Apollinarians*: And That Creed being drawn up, as *Epiphanius* expressly testifies, by the joint Advice of *all the Orthodox Bishops*, and the *whole Catholick Church*, became a kind of *Rule*, or *Model* for most of the Creeds that came after; among which I reckon the *Athanasian*.

For, from the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, as particularly, and minutely drawn out in That Creed, it is to me very plain, that it must be some years later than the Creed of *Epiphanius*: which will evidently appear to any Man who will but be at the Pains to compare the Two Creeds together.

^a Epiphani. Ancorat. c. 121. p. 123.

One very observable particular is the manner of expressing the *Unity* by a singular Adjective; *Unus aternus, unus immensus, &c. One eternal, one incomprehensible, &c.* and the condemning the Expression of *Tres aterni, Tres immensi, &c.* The *Greeks* never laid down any such Rule of Expression, never observed or followed it, but have sometimes run counter to it^a; meaning indeed the very same Thing, but not so *expressing* it. As to the *Latins*, we shall find none of them (at least, I have not observed any) coming into That way of Expression before *Ambrose*^b and *Fausstinus*^c (in the years 381, and 384) who are the first that use it, and that but once, or very sparingly; not repeating and inculcating it, like the *Athanasian* Creed, nor leaving it destitute of Explication. But *St. Austin*, afterwards, in his Books of the *Trinity*, in the Vth especially, enlarges in Justification of this Rule of Expression, and is full and copious upon it. His Proofs, Illustrations, Example, and Authority gave new Strength and Credit to this *Rule*, which might then pass current, and become fit to appear, without farther Explication, in a *Creed*. For This Reason, principally, I incline to think that This Creed was not made before *St. Austin's* Books of the *Trinity* were *publick* (which was not till 416) or not before 420, or thereabout, to allow some Time for his Works to be read, consider'd, approved, and to gain a general Esteem. If it be said, that *St. Austin* might as well copy from this Creed, as the Creed from Him; I say, No: For, the Reason is different. Creeds and other the like Formularies which are to be put into every ones Hands, and spread round about, ought not to contain any thing till it has been maturely weigh'd, long considered, and fully explain'd, as well

^a Τριῶν ἀπέραν ἀπειρον συμπῶλον. Nazianz. in Bapt. Orat. 40. p. 668.

^b Ergo sanctus Pater, sanctus Filius, sanctus & Spiritus Sanctus: sed non tres Sancti, quia unus est Deus sanctus, unus est Dominus. Una est etenim vera Sanctitas, sicut una est vera Divinitas, una illa vera Sanctitas naturalis. *Ambros.* de Sp. S. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 688.

^c Sed ne duos omnipotentes intelligas, præcavendum est: licet enim & Pater sit omnipotens, & Filius, tamen unus est omnipotens, sicut & unus est Deus; quia Patris & Filii eadem omnipotentia est, sicut & eadem deitas &c. — Ostenditur Unitas Divinitatis in Patre & Filio, sicut & Omnipotentia, & quicquid omnino *Divine Substantie* est; hoc solo differens a Patre Filius, quod ille Pater est, & Hic Filius. *Fauslin.* de Trinit. c. 3. p. 123, 124.

as proved, and generally acknowledged by the Churches of Christ. It is therefore much more reasonable to believe that St. *Austin's* Writings should go first, and a general Approbation of them in That particular; and then the Creed might conveniently follow, the way being now open'd for it^a.

I may observe the like of another Article of the *Athanasian* Creed; namely, the *Procession from the Son*: A Doctrine entertain'd indeed both by *Greeks* and *Latins* (as may appear by the Testimonies commonly cited for that purpose) and express'd frequently *in Sense*, tho' rarely *in Terms*; but such as came not to be much inculcated, or insisted upon till St. *Austin* undertook to assert and clear it, and to render it less liable to any Dispute hereafter. For which reason the modern *Greeks* have look'd upon Him, in a manner, as the *Father* of that Doctrine, being at least the principal Man that brought it into Vogue; however weakly they may pretend that He *invented* it. Thus far is certain, that his elaborate Arguments, and solid Proofs, from *Scripture*, of the Truth, and of the Importance of the Doctrine, made it pass the more readily; and gave it Credit and Authority enough to have a place in a standing *Creed*, or *Confession*: Which is to me another Argument of the Creed's being made after St. *Austin's* Writings were well known in the World, in That Place, at least, where the Creed was made. From the Premises then I presume to infer, that the *Athanasian* Creed is not earlier than the year 420.

I will next endeavour to show, that it cannot reasonably be set lower than the *Eutychian* Times, not later than the Council of *Chalcedon*, or than the year 451: And This also I shall attempt from the *internal Characters* of the Creed, in like manner as above.

^a Combes, speaking to this Point, seem'd inclinable to suppose that St. *Austin* had borrowed from the Creed; but correcting Himself afterwards, He supposes rather that the Creed borrowed from Him. His words are these.

Ejus Symboli, seu Formule Fidei, Antiquitatem produnt illi ejus versiculi quos totidem verbis habet August. in Libris de Trinitate & alibi, quos non aliunde deumpsisse videtur quam ex eo Symbolo. — Quamquam nihil vetari dicere ipsum potius Symboli Auctorem ex Augustino, aliisque P. P. sua Constatuisse. Combesi. not. in *Man. Calec*, Auctar. Tom. 2. p. 296.

1. There is not a Word in the Creed directly and plainly expressing *Two Natures* in Christ, or excluding *One Nature*: Which *Critical* Terms, against the Error of *Eutyches*, are very rarely, or never omitted in the Creeds drawn up in the *Eutychian* Times, or the Times immediately following. 'Tis true, there is, in the *Athanasian* Creed, what may be sufficient to obviate, or preclude the *Eutychian* Heresy; as there is also in the larger Creed of *Epiphanius* A. D. 373, and in the Works of *Nazianzen* and *Ambrose*, about the year 380; and in *Pelagius's* Creed A. D. 417; and in the writings of *Austin*, and *Vincentius* of *Lerins*, Both before the year 435, many years before *Eutyches*. The strongest Expression of the Creed against the *Eutychians*, and which has been most frequently urged in this Case, is, *Unus omnino, non confusione Substantiæ, sed unitate Personæ: One altogether, not by Confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person*: Which yet is used by *Vincentius*,^a and by *Austin*^b too, almost in *Terms*. And if this be no reason for making Either of those Authors, or the Tracts ascribed to them, later than *Eutyches*; why shall the like Expression be of any Force in respect to the *Athanasian* Creed? There is nothing in the Creed but what was common and ordinary in Catholick Writers before the *Eutychian* Times: But there are wanting those *critical*, distinguishing Terms of *Two natures*, or *One nature*, necessary to be inserted in the Creeds after these Times, and never, or very rarely omitted; which is one reason, and a very considerable one, for setting the Date of the Creed higher than 451.

2. Another Argument of the same thing, near akin to the former, is, that this Creed makes no mention of Christ being *Consubstantial with us*, in one Nature, as He is *Consubstantial* with the *Father* in another: A Tenet expressly held by some of the Ecclesiastical Writers before *Eutyches's* Time; but seldom or never omitted in the *Creeds*, or *Confessions* about that Time, or after. To be convinced of the Truth both of this, and of the

a Unus autem, non——Divinitatis & Humanitatis confusione, sed——unitate personæ. *Vincent. Lerin. c. 19. p. 58.*

b Idem Deus qui Homo; non confusione naturæ, sed unitate personæ. *August. Tom. V. p. 885.*

preceding Article, one need but look into the *CreeDs* and *Formularies* of those Times: Namely, into That of *Turribius* of *Spain* in 447, of *Flavian* of *Constantinople*, as also of *Pope Leo* in 449, of the *Chalcedon* Council in 451, of *Pope Felix III* in 485, and *Anastasius II* in 496, and of the Church of *Alexandria* in the same year: As also into Those of *Pope Hormisdas*, and the Churches of *Syria*, and *Fulgentius*, and the Emperor *Justinian*, and *Pope John II*, and *Pope Pelagius I.* within the Sixth Century. In all which we shall find either *express* denial of *One nature*, or *express* affirming of *Two natures*, or the Doctrine of *Christ's Consubstantiality* with us, or all three together, tho' they are all omitted in the *Athanasian* Creed. This is to me a second reason for setting our Creed higher than the *Eutychian* Times.

3. I may argue This point farther from a Passage of the *Athanasian* Creed, running thus: *One, not by Conversion of the Godhead into Flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God.* This would not, I conceive, have run in these words, or in this manner, in the *Eutychian* Times. For tho' the *Eutychians* were sometimes, (as well as the *Apollinarians* often) charged with the Doctrine of a *Conversion of the Godhead into Flesh*; yet nothing more certain than that the generality of them absolutely disown'd and detested any such Tenet, teaching rather a *Conversion of the Manhood into God*, just the Reverse. And, by the way, I would here offer it to the learned Reader to consider, whether we may not from hence give a probable Account of a very noted *Variation* observable in many of the most antient Copies of this Creed, which run thus; *Unus autem, non conversione divinitatis in carne, sed assumptione Humanitatis in Deo*: where there is *carne* for *carnem*, and *Deo* for *Deum*. A slight Alteration in the Words, but a very great one in the Sense. A Change of the Godhead *in the Flesh* the *Eutychians* admitted, by making the *two natures* become *One*; tho' they allowed not a Change *into Flesh*: So that by this little Alteration of *carne* for *carnem*, the Creed would strike more directly at the *Eutychian* Principles. Then again as to *Deum*, if that Reading was to stand, the Creed instead of confuting the *Eutychians* would seem rather to favor them;

for They taught that the *Manhood* was *assumed into God*, and that in so literal and strict a Sense as really to become *God*, or to be absorb'd and lost in the divine Nature, Both Natures becoming one *divine* Nature. Such a Construction might the words of the Creed be liable to. But put *Deo* for *Deum*, and it is entirely defeated: For then the Sense is not that the *Manhood* is assumed *into God*, but that *God* assumed the human Nature; which is true, and not liable to any such Misconstruction as the other. However this be, as to the Variation of the Copies, and the reason here assign'd for it (which I offer only as a probable Coniecture to be further inquired into) yet This is certain, that these words of the Creed, according to the common Copies, are not so cautiously, or accurately chosen as They might, or would have been, had the Creed been drawn up after the *Eutychian* Times.

4. A fourth Argument may be drawn from the *Similitude* in the Creed, running thus: *As the reasonable Soul, and Flesh, is one Man; so God and Man is one Christ.* This familiar, and easy Comparison was much made use of by the Catholicks, down from the *Apollinarian* Times, to the Time of *Eutyches*: By *Nazianzen*, *Austin*, *Vincentius*, *Claudianus Mamertus*, and Others. But no sooner did the *Eutychians* wrest the Comparison to their own Sense, pleading for *One nature* in Christ, like as Soul and Body make *One nature* in Man, but the Catholicks grew strangely averse to the *Similitude*, and rarely made use of it: Or when They did, it was either to dispute against it, and condemn it, or else to guard and qualify it with proper Cautions and Restrictions. Wherefore it is by no means probable that This *Similitude* would have been inserted, at such a Time, in a Catholick Creed, and there left without Guard or Caution, for the *Eutychians* to make an ill use of. This fourth Argument I take from the learned and acute *Le Quien*, whose words may be seen in the Margin^a. And may we not from hence

^a Quod quidem Simile, quo Theologus etiam, alique Patres Apollinaristas confutarunt. tanti posthac non fecerunt insequentis, seu quinti sæculi desinentis Doctores, ut illud in Expositione Fidei intererent; cum Monophysita, Severo præsertim Duce, eo vehementius contra Catholicos pugnarent, ut unam in Christo naturam esse ex Deitate & Humanitate compo-

give a probable Guess at the reason why the antient Manuscript of *Treves*, and the *Colbertine*, copied from it, have entirely omitted this *Similitude*, throwing in a few words, both before and after, to solve the Breach, in some Measure, and to preserve a Connexion: which shows that it was no casual Omission, but made with design. But I pass on.

These reasons convince me that the Creed was not made so late as the Council of *Chalcedon*, but before the year 451. It cannot therefore be ascribed to *Vigilius Tapsensis* in the year 484: Not to mention that the *Phraseology* of it agrees not with That Writer's usual manner of Expression, as *Le Quien* hath observed*. Besides that the principal reasons on which *Quésnel* rested his opinion in regard to That Author, are now found to have been grounded on a false Presumption of certain Works being *Vigilius's* which are none of his^b. And I may add, that to Me there does not appear in *Vigilius's* Pieces any thing of that Strength, Closeness, and Acuteness, which we find in the *Athanasian* Creed.

But I proceed to show that This Creed is earlier than even the Times of *Nestorius*, or the *Ephesine* Council of the year 431. It is certain that this Creed does not condemn the *Nestorian* Heresy in such full, direct, critical Terms, as the Catholics found to be necessary against the Wiles and Subtilties of those Men. There is not a word of *the Mother of God*, or of *One Son* only, in opposition to *Two Sons*, or of *God's* being *born, suffering, dying*: which kind of Expressions the Creeds are full of after *Nestorius's* Times, and after the Council of *Ephesus*, to

tam evincerent. Quinimo omnes ingenii vires explicare coacti sunt, ut varias discrepantias reperirent inter Unionem Deitatis cum Humanitate in Christo, & Unionem Animæ cum Corpore in Homine. *Le Quien*. Dissert. Damasc. p. 10. Confer *Petar.* Dogm. Theol. Tom. V. l. 3. c. 9, 10, &c.

a Sunt qui Suspiciuntur Expositionem istam Fidei fuisse concinnatam a *Vigilio Tapsense*, qui scripsisse existimatur libros tres contra *Varimadum* Arianum: Sed ab illorum Opinione me deterruit versus iste, *Unus omnino, non Confusione Substantiæ, sed Unitate Personæ*. Nam *Vigilius* in Libris quinque contra *Eutychem* nusquam *Unitatem Personæ* dicit, sed passim, & frequentissime *Unionem Personæ*. — Cumque variæ supersint hodie *Vigilii Tapsensis* Confessiones Fidei de Trinitate & Incarnatione, nulla earum similitudo & Convenientia cum *Symbolo Athanasiano*, quoad Stylum animadvertitur. *Le Quien*. Dissert. Damasc. p. 9.

b Vid. *Montf.* Diatrib. p. 724.

guard the more certainly against *Equivocations*, and to express the Catholick Doctrine in strong Terms, such as could not be eluded. As to what the *Athanasian* Creed really does express, and is conceiv'd to strike directly at the *Nestorian* Heresy; it is Demonstration that the words are not more full, or expressive, than may be found in elder Creeds, and in the Fathers that wrote against the *Apollinarians* and others, before ever *Nestorius* was heard of^a. I know not how to give my Reader a clear and just Idea of this whole Matter, but by setting down in Chronological order the Doctrine of the *Incarnation*, as express'd in Catholick Writings from the *Apollinarian* Times down to the *Nestorian*, from the year 373 to the year 431. One Thing only I would remark before-hand, to make the following Account the clearer, that the *Apollinarians* really held a Doctrine very near akin to That which afterwards was called *Eutychian*; and They maliciously charged the Catholicks with That very Doctrine which was afterwards called *Nestorian*: So that the Catholicks, in their Charge upon the *Apollinarians*, condemn'd the *Eutychian* Doctrine long before *Eutyches*; and, in their Defence of themselves, They also condemn'd the *Nestorian* Tenets, before *Nestorius*. I shall first justify the Truth of This Remark in Both it's parts, and then shall proceed farther to what I intend.

As to the first part, that the *Apollinarians* held a Doctrine very near akin to That which was afterwards called *Eutychian*, it is a Thing so well known that I need not cite many Testimonies for it. 'Twas one of the commonest Charges against the *Eutychians*, that They had revived the Heresy of the *Apollinarians*^b in some considerable Branches of it: *Petavius* briefly shows what those Branches were^c.

a *Le Quien* is beforehand with me in the observation, whose words I may here cite.

Nec cuiquam negotium facessat, quod Nestoru & Eutychis Hæreses eâ (Formulâ) prius pessundatæ essent, quam ipsarum Autores emergerent: Alibi siquidem ostensum fuit SS. Patres, qui contra *Apollinarianum* calamum strinxerant, disertissimis etiam verbis Amborum impietates proscripsisse. *Le Quien* Dissert. Damasc. p. 9.

b *Eutyches* — per impios veterum Hæreticorum volutatus errores, tertium *Apollinarianis* dogma delegit; ut negatæ Humanæ carnis atque Animæ veritate, totum Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum unius assirat esse naturæ, tanquam verbi Deitas ipsa se in Carnem animamque converterit. *Leon* Epist. 97. p. 633 *Quenell* ed. confer Ep 134. p. 699.

c Sane cum & multiplex, & ab Autore suo interpolata sæpius *Apollinarianis* Hæresis fac-

As to the other part of my Remark, that the *Apollinarians* charg'd the Catholicks with the opposite Extreme, afterward called *Nestorian*, That has not been so much observed, but is no less true than the other; as may abundantly appear from the Testimonies in the margin^a; besides others that will occur as we pass along. This also is observed by *Le Quien* in his Notes to *Damascen*^b, whereupon He rightly infers, that it will be a false Conclusion to argue that such or such Writings must belong to the *Nestorian* Times, only because of their treating of an *Unity of Person* in Christ.

These things premised, I now proceed to lay down the Doctrine of the *Incarnation*, as express'd in Catholick Writers from the year 373 down to the year 431, inclusive.

I begin with the larger Creed of *Epiphanius*, which sets forth the *Incarnation* in the following Terms.

“ The word was made Flesh, not by undergoing any Change,
 “ nor by converting his Godhead into Manhood, but by co-
 “ uniting it into his one holy Perfection and Godhead. For
 “ there is *one Lord Jesus Christ*, and not *Two*; the same He is
 “ God, the same He Lord, the same He King^c.

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Here we may observe that the Creed guards, just as the *Athanasian* does, against the Two Extremes; against the *Apollinarian*

rit, ut capite sexto docuimus; ea parte cum Isto consensit *Eutyches*, qua Carnem Christi non ex utero sumptam B. Virginis sed e cælo delapsam *Apollinarianis* credidit: tum quatenus uterque *unicam naturam* asseveravit, & utriusque permistam ac confusam Substantiam. *Petav. Dogmat. Theol. Tom. V. l. 1. c. 16. p. 37.*

a Neque vero *Alium* Jesum Christum, *Alium* Verbum dicimus, ut *Nova Hæresis calumniatur*, sed eundem, & ante sæcula & post sæcula, & ante mundum & post *Mariam*; imò ex *Maria* magnum Deum appellamus. *Hieronym. in Tit. c. 3. p. 431.*

Qui *Apollinariani* Dogmata defendunt, per querimoniam quam adversus nos faciunt sua confirmare conantur, carnale Verbum & Dominum sæculorum, Hominis Filium immortalem Filii Deitatem Construentes. Proferunt enim quod Aliqui quasi Ecclesiæ Catholice existentes, *Duos* colunt *Filios* in Dogmate; unum quidem secundum naturam, alterum autem secundum Adoptionem postea acquiritam; nescio a quo talia audientes——pondum enim novi eum qui hæc subloquitur *Gregor. Nyssen. cit. Concil. V. Collat. 6. p. 106. Harduin. Vid. etiam. Ambros. de Incarn. c. 7. p. 721. Athanas. epist. ad Epictet. p. 907.*

b *Le Quien* Not. in *Damascen* Vol. 1. p. 97.

c Ὁ γὰρ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ἔ τρωπὴν ἴστας, ἔδὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐαυτῶ θεότητα εἰς ἀνθρώπων εἰς μίαν συνῶσανται ἐαυτῶ ἄλλαν πλειόπτι τε ἔ θεότητα. ἐν γὰρ ἐστὶν κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἔ ἔ δύο, ὁ αὐτὸς θεός, ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος, ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεύς, *Epiph. Ancor. p. 124. Ρειαυ.*

notion

notion of the Godhead being converted into Flesh, and against the *Apollinarian* Calumny that the Catholicks made *Two Christs* instead of One.

380 *Gregory Nazianzen*, not long after, expresses Himself in Terms to the like effect. “ We divide not the Man from the God-head, but we make them one and the same (*Person*) — If any one imagines *Mary* not to be the *Mother of God*, He has no part with God. — If any Man introduces *Two Sons*, One of God and the Father, and a *Second* of the Virgin-Mother, and not one and the same Him, let him forfeit the Adoption of Sons promis’d to true Believers. For, God and Man are indeed *Two Natures*, like as *Soul* and *Body*: But They are not *Two Sons*, nor (two) Gods^a.

Here, again, we find the *Nestorian* Tenets very fully obviated, while *Nazianzen* is answering the *Apollinarian* Calumny against the Catholicks: And at the same Time, the *Eutychian* Heresy (afterwards so called) is as plainly precluded, while *Nazianzen* is laying down the Church’s Faith in *Two Natures* against the *Apollinarians* who made but one.

382 *Ambrose*, in like manner, confutes the *Apollinarians*, without naming them. “ We ought also to condemn Those who, in another Extreme, teach not one and the same Son of God, but that He who is begotten of God the Father is *One*, and He that is generated of the Virgin *Another*: when the Evangelist saith, that *the word was made Flesh*, to instruct us that there is but *one Lord Jesus*, not *Two*. — There are Others risen up who pretend that our Lord’s Flesh and God-head are Both of *one Nature*. — And when They say that THE WORD was converted into Flesh, Hairs, Blood, and Bones, and changed from it’s own Nature; after such a pretended change of the divine Nature, They may take the Handle

f Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον χωρίζομεν τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλ’ ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν δογματίζομεν. εἴ τις ἐπιπέσει ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τῆς Μαριανῆς ἡπὸ λαμβάνει, χωρὶς ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος εἴ τις εἰσάγει δύο ἕως, ἓνα μὲν τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ὁ Πατὴρ, δευτέρου ὃ τὸν ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς, ἀλλ’ ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ τῆς ἁοσιότητος ἐκπέσει τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης τοῖς ὀρθῶς πισύσιν. Φύσεις μὲν γὰρ δύο Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα, ἡοὶ ὃ ἐδύο, ἐδὲ θεοί. *Gregor. Nazianz. ad Cleodon. Ep.*
1. p. 738. 739.

“ to wrest any thing to the weakness of the Godhead, which
 “ belongs to the Infirmitie of the Fleſh^a.

Ambroſe ſeems here to intimate as if there were really Some at That Time, who had run into That very Error which the *Apollinarians* charged upon the Catholicks, and which was afterwards called *Nestorian*. However That be, He condemns it in the name of the Catholicks; as He condemns alſo the *Apollinarian* Extreme, which afterwards became *Eutychian*. There is another Paſſage of *Ambroſe* cited by *Theodoret*, ſeemingly ſo full and expreſs againſt the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* Hereties, that one can hardly be perſwaded to think it really *Ambroſe's*. But, on the other hand, it appears to be ſo well attested, that the late learned Editor of *Ambroſe* could not but yield to place it among his genuine Works. Tom. 2. p. 729.

There is a Creed of *Pelagius* (as learned Men now agree) ⁴¹⁷ inserted among the Works both of *Ferom*^b and *Auſtin*^c. It was made ſeveral years before the *Nestorian* Controverſy. Our learned Dr. *Wall* has translated it into *Engliſh*^d, ſubjoining ſome excellent Notes of his own to it: I ſhall tranſcribe as much as is to our purpoſe. “ We do in ſuch manner hold that there
 “ is in Chriſt one Perſon of the Son, as that we ſay there are
 “ in Him two perfect and intire Subſtances (or, *Natures*) viz.
 “ of the Godhead, and of the Manhood which conſiſts of Body
 “ and Soul. — We do abhor — the Blaſphemy of Thoſe
 “ who go about by a new Interpretation to maintain that
 “ ſince the Time of his taking Fleſh, all Things pertaining to
 “ the divine Nature did paſs into the Man [*or, Manhood*] and
 “ ſo alſo that all Things belonging to the human Nature were

a Et illos condemnare debemus qui adverſi erroris linea, non unum eundemque Filium Dei dicunt, ſed *Alium* eſſe qui ex Deo Patre natus ſit, *Alium* qui ſit generatus ex virgine; cum Evangeliſta dicat quia *verbum caro factum eſt*, ut *Unum* Dominum Jeſum non duos crederes — emergunt alii qui Carnem Domini dicant & Divinitatem *unius* eſſe *natura* — Deinde, cum iſti dicant quia *Verbum* in *Carnem*, Capillos, Sanguinem, & Oſa *converſum* eſt, & a natura propria mutatum eſt, datur illis locus ut infirmitatem Carnis ad infirmitatem Divinitatis, quadam. facta divinæ naturæ mutatione, detorqueant. *Ambroſ. de Incarn. Lacram. c. 6.*

b *Hieronym. Oper. Tom. V. p. 123. Bened. edit.*

c *Auguſtin. Oper. Tom. V. Append. p. 388.*

d *Wall's Hiſt. of Inf. Bapt. p. 200.*

“ transferred into God [*or the divine Nature,*] From whence
 “ would follow (a Thing no Heresy ever offer'd to affirm)
 “ that Both Substances [*or Natures*] viz. of the Divinity and
 “ Humanity, would by This Confusion seem to be extinguish'd,
 “ and to lose their proper State, and be changed into another
 “ Thing: so that They who own in the Son an imperfect God
 “ and an imperfect Man, are to be accounted not to hold
 “ truly either God or Man.

Dr. Wall hereupon judiciously remarks, that *there wanted only the Accuracy of speaking, which Pelagius had here used, to clear and settle the dispute between the Nestorians, and Eutychians.* I would remark farther, that if *Pelagius's Creed*, in the year 417, had so plainly obviated both the *Nestorian*, and *Eutychian* Heresy, before *Nestorius*, or *Eutyches* was known; it may easily be conceived that the *Athanasian Creed* might do the same Thing, at or about the same Time.

422 I might next show, how St. *Austin* likewise has express'd Himself in as strong Terms against Both those Heresies, as the *Athanasian Creed* has done: But, because I shall have another Occasion to cite the Passages, where I draw out a select Number of Expressions *parallel* to Those of the Creed; I may spare my Self the Trouble of doing it here.

426 I might go on to observe what pass'd in the Case of *Leporius*, a Man of the same Principles, in the main, with *Nestorius*, but some years before Him. His Recantation-Treatise (*Libellus Satisfactionis*) supposed to be drawn up by St. *Austin* in the year 426, would furnish me with many full and strong Expressions against the *Nestorian* Principles, beyond any to be met with in the *Athanasian Creed*; so that there is no just Argument to be drawn from any Expressions in That Creed, for setting it so low as the *Nestorian* Times.

431 I shall conclude this Account with the recital of a Creed made about the same Time, or in the same Year that the Council of *Ephesus* was held against *Nestorius*. It is the Creed of *John*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, approved by *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and thought sufficient to wipe off all Suspicion of *Nestorianism* from the Author of it. It runs thus: “ We confess then that
 Jesus

“ Jesus Christ our Lord, the only begotten Son of God, is
 “ *perfect God, and perfect Man*, of a *reasonable Soul*, and *Body*;
 “ *born of the Father before the Worlds*, as *touching his Godhead*;
 “ The *same* also in the end of days, for us and for our Sal-
 “ *vation*, (*born*) of the *Virgin Mary*, as *touching his Manhood*.
 “ *consubstantial* with us according to his *Manhood*. But there
 “ was an *Union* made of *Two Natures*, on which account we
 “ *profess one Christ*, one *Lord*, *one Son*. Conformable to this
 “ *Sense* of an *Union* without *Confusion*, we acknowledge the
 “ *holy Virgin* as *Mother of God*, because that *God the Word*
 “ was *incarnate* and made *Man*, and from the very *Con-*
 “ *ception* united to *Himself* a *Temple* which He had taken
 “ of *Her*^a.

Here we may observe several Expressions nearly resembling
 those of the *Athanasian Creed*; but withal several others more
particular, and *explicite* against the *Nestorian* Principles than That
 Creed is: *One Son*, and *Him Consubstantial with us*, in respect of
 his *Manhood*; The *Virgin, Mother of God*, and the like. Such
 is the constant Strain and Tenor of the *Creeds*, and *Confessions*,
 and *Catholick Writings*, treating of the *Incarnation*, at This Time,
 and after: As might be shewn at large from *Cassian* about 431,
 and *Vincentius* in the year 434, and from *Flavian*, and *Pope Leo I*,
 and Others before the Council of *Chalcedon*. We have there-
 fore very great Reason to believe, that the *Athanasian Creed*
 was drawn up either before the *Nestorian* Controversy had made
 much noise in the World, or at least before the Compiler had
 notice of it. The Sum then of my Argument is This; there
 is nothing in the *Athanasian Creed* but what might have been
 said, and had been said by *Catholick Writers* before the Time
 of *Nestorius*: But the Creed wants many of those *particular* and

a Confitemur igitur Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, Deum
 perfectum & Hominem perfectum, ex anima rationali & Corpore; ante secula quidem ex
 patre natum secundum Deitatem: in fine vero dierum eundem propter nos & propter
 nostram salutem de *Maria* Virgine secundum Humanitatem, *Consubstantialem* nobis secundum
 Humanitatem. *Duarum* vero *Naturarum* unio facta est; propter quam *unum*
Christum, unum Dominum, *unum Filium* confitemur. Secundum hunc incontestabile unionis
 intellectum, confitemur Sanctam *Virginem Dei Genitricem*, propter quod *Deus Verbum* in-
 carnatus est & inhumanatus, & ex ipsa conceptione sibi met univit Templum quod ex ipsa
 suscepit. *Johan. Antioch.* Harduin. Tom. 1. p. 1578.

critical Expressions, which came into use after That Time: Therefore, since the *internal* Characters of the Creed suit exactly with the *Apollinarian* Times, and not with the *Nestorian*, it ought to be placed somewhere between *Apollinarius*, and *Nestorius*, not lower than 430, or 431 at the utmost. And it is some Confirmation of what hath been said, that *Venantius Fortunatus*, who lived in the *Eutychian* Times, and commented upon This Creed about the year 570, as before observed, yet in his Comment takes not the least notice of any part of This Creed being opposed to the Errors of *Nestorius*, or *Eutyches*, but only to those elder Heresies of *Sabellius*, *Arius*, and *Apollinarius*; whom He specially makes mention of. I persuade my self therefore, that This Creed ought not to be placed lower than 430 or thereabout; And I have before shown why it should not be set higher than 420; so that now we have brought it within the Compass of Ten years; where we may let it rest a while till we consider farther what *Place*, or *Country*, the Creed was most probably composed in; which may help us to settle the Time of it's date within somewhat stricter and narrower limits than before.

There is great reason to believe that This Creed was made in *Gaul*. The Considerations which persuade us thereto are these following. 1. It's early Reception in the *Gallican* Church, so far as appears, before all other Churches. 2. The great Esteem and Regard *antiently* paid to it by the *Gallican Councils*, and *Bishops* ^a. 3. The Creed's being first admitted into the *Gallican* Psalter, and first received in those Countries where That Psalter was received, as in *Spain*, *Germany*, and *England*. As the *Gallican* Churches delivered their Psalter to other Churches, so is it reasonable to believe that the Creed was received from Them likewise. 4. The oldest *Version* we hear of is *Gallican*, in the Time of *Hincmar*. 5. The oldest Authors that make mention of it, are likewise *Gallican*: For Proof of which I refer to the *antient Testimonies* above. 6. The

^a Tanti namque apud Gallos Symbolum Hoc fuit ut una cum Symbolo Apostolorum memoriae commendari Presbyteris præcipiat Hincmarus idem in Capitulis, Clericis omnibus synodus Augustodunensis. Sirmond. Oper. Vol. 2. p. 978.

first that cite the Words of it (as it seems) are likewise *Gallican*. I will here mention Two; *Avitus* of *Vienna* in *Gaul*^a, and *Cæsarius* of *Arles*:^b I have set their words in the Margin. 7. The oldest Commentator upon it, tho' an *Italian* by Birth and Education, had yet travelled into *France*, and was at length Bishop of *Poictiers*. 8. The *Number* and *Antiquity* of the Manuscripts of this Creed found in *France* confirm the same Thing: which has made several very learned Men subscribe to This Opinion^c, that the *Athanasian* Creed came first from *Gaul*. And it is certain, that no other Country, or Church in the World has so fair, I may now say, so *clear* a pretence to it: Many Circumstances concur to make good their Title, as we have already seen; and more will appear in my next Chapter, when I come to inquire who was the *Author*.

Let it be allowed then, for the present, that our Creed was

a *The Words of Avitus Viennensis, who was Bishop in 490, died in 523.*

De Divinitate Spiritus Sancti, quem nec factum legimus, nec creatum, nec genitum — Nos vero Spiritum discimus ex Patre & Filio procedere — Sicut est proprium Spiritus Sancto a Patre Filioque procedere, istud Fides Catholica etiam si renuentibus non persuaserit, in sua tamen Disciplina Regula non excedit. *Sirmond.* Op. Vid. *Le Quien* Panopl. contr. Schism. Græc. p. 241.

Non nisi ex eodem Symbolo, quod jam ante receptum esset, *Avitus Viennensis* alicubi scribebat De Divinitate Sp. S. &c. *Le Quien.* Dissert. Damascen. p. 98.

b *The Words of Cæsarius, who was Bishop in 503, died in 543.*

Rogo & admonéo vos, Fratres carissimi, ut *Quicumque vult Salvus esse, Fidem rectam & Catholicam* discat, firmiter teneat, inviolatamque conservet. — Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus & Spiritus Sanctus: sed tamen non tres Dii, sed unus Deus. *Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis & Spiritus Sanctus.* Attamen credat unusquisque Fidelis quod Filius aequalis est Patri secundum Divinitatem, & minor est Patre secundum Humanitatem carnis, quam de nostro assumpsit. *Cæsar. Arelat.* apud August. Op. Tom. V. App. p. 399.

N. B. *The Editors of St. Austin* adjudge This to *Cæsarius*; as does also *Oudin*: *Comment.* de script. Eccl. Vol. 1. p. 1348.

c *Cæterum* cum ex allatis supra Testimoniis videatur in *Gallia* primum celebrari cœpisse Hoc Symbolum, haud abs re conjectant eruditi viri, in *Gallia* illud fuisse elucubratum. Quod idem forte suadeat antiquissimus ille in *Gallia* & in *Anglia* Mos Symboli alternatim concinendi; itemque MSS. *Gallicanorum* Copia & Antiquitas. *Monf. Luc.* Diatrib. p. 726.

E *Gallia* primum proditisse Symbolum *Athanasianum* animadvertimus, tum quod a *Gallia* scripteribus ante omnes celebratum, a Synodis *Episcopisque Galliarum* receptum, & commendatum antiquitas fuerit, tum etiam quod *Treviris* in *Galliarum* Metropoli illud lucubratum fuisse opinio increbuerit. Quapropter *Pisibocus*, ac *Vossius*, aliique eruditissimi viri *Gallum* Hominem Symboli Parentem opinati sunt; *Antelmius* vero, hac possibillimam ratione ductus, non *Vigilium* in *Africa* episcopum, sed *Vincentium Livinensem* Opusculi hujus Auctorem affirmavit. *Lud. Murator.* Tom. 2. p. 229.

originally *Gallican*, and made between 420, and 430: We may next consider, whether we cannot come a little nearer towards fixing the Time of it's Composition. We must point out some Season when *St. Austin's* Works were known, and studied, and well esteem'd of in *Gaul*; and when the Circumstances of the Place might the most probably give occasion for the compiling such a Creed. Now, it is observable that about the year 426, *St. Austin* held a very close and intimate Correspondence with the *Gallican* Churches. *Leporius* had for some Time spread false Doctrine in *Gaul*, chiefly relating to the *Incarnation*. His Heresy was much the same with what *Nestorius's* was afterwards. The *Gallican* Bishops censured Him; and He was forced to quit his Country, having given general Offence to all there. He took his leave of *Gaul*, and passed over into *Africa*, with several Others of the same Party, and Principles: where lighting upon *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, and *St. Austin*, He was by Them brought to a Sense of his Error, and induced to sign a full Recantation, called *Libellus Satisfactionis*; whereupon *St. Austin*, and *Aurelius*, and other *African* Bishops became Intercessors with the Bishops of *Gaul*, in favour of *Leporius*, that He might be again receiv'd and restored by them. One can scarce imagine any more likely Time, or more proper Occasion for the compiling such a Creed as the *Athanasian* is. All the Lines and Characters of it suit extremely well with the *Place*, the *Time*, the *Occasion*, and other Circumstances; which concur to persuade us that the Creed was, in all Probability, composed in *Gaul*, sometime between the year 426, and the year 430: So that now we are confined to the narrow Compass of four or five years, upon the most probable Conjecture, and upon such Evidences as a Case of this Nature can admit of, where more cannot be expected.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Author of the Creed.

IF we have hitherto gone upon sure Grounds, about the *Time*, and *Place*, we cannot long be at a loss for the *Author* of This Creed. Who were the most considerable Men, and best qualified for such a Work, at That Time in *Gaul*? *Anthelmus* will say, *Vincentius Lirinensis*. But I have several Reasons to persuade me that it was not, or could not be *Vincentius*. No Contemporary of his, nor any antient Writer ever gives the least Hint of his composing such a Work. *Anthelmus* supposes it to be after his *Commonitory*, that is, after 434; which if it had been, we should undoubtedly have found the Creed more particular, and explicite against the *Nestorian* Heresy: We should have read in it *Mother of God*, *One Son* only, and something of *God's* being *born*, *suffering*, *dying*, or the like; It cannot therefore be justly ascribed to *Vincentius*. Not to mention, that such a Work appears to have been much fitter for a *Bishop* of a Church, than for a private *Presbyter*; in as much as *Bishops* generally were obliged to give an Account of their Faith, upon their first Entrance upon the *Episcopate*: And They had the Privilege likewise of making *Creeds*, and Forms of Prayer, for their respective *Diocesses*: For which Reasons, *ceteris paribus*, this Creed ought rather to be ascribed to some *Bishop* of that Time than to an inferior *Presbyter*. And who more likely to compose such a Creed than *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, a celebrated Man of That Time, and of chief Repute in the *Gallican* Church? His Title to it will stand upon the following Circumstances.

1. He was made Bishop in *Gaul* within the Time mention'd, about the year 429. 2. He is allowed to have been a Man of great Parts and Capacity, of a neat Wit, and elegant Style, for the Age He lived in; insomuch that *Livius*, a Poet, and a celebrated Writer of that Time, did not scruple to say, that if *Austin* had come after *Hilary*, He would have been judged his

his *Inferior*^a. 3. *Gennadius's* Character of *Hilary's* Writings, that They were *small Tracts*^b, but *extremely fine*, suits well with our present Supposition: But what most of all confirms and strengthens it, is what *Honoratus* of *Marseilles*, the writer of his Life, tells us; that *Hilary* composed an *Exposition*, a very *admirable Exposition* [*Symboli Expositio ambienda*] of the *Creed*^c. He calls it an *Exposition of the Creed*, (not a *Creed*) which is the proper *Title* for it, and more proper than that of *Symbolum*, or *Creed*, which it now bears. And so we find that it was but very rarely called *Symbolum* by the Antients; once, I think, by *Hincmar*, and never after for several Centuries: And when it was, yet it was observed, by *Thomas Aquinas*, that That was not so proper a name for it, not being composed *per modum Symboli*, in the way of a *Creed*; as indeed it is not. What the more ancient, and usual *Titles* were, may appear in one View in the *Tables* above. Among others, we sometimes find the Title of *Expositio Catholica Fidei*, or yet nearer, *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*, An *Exposition of the Apostle's Creed*, which is as proper a Title as any, and not unlike to This of *Honoratus*. 4. I may farther observe, that This *Hilary* of *Arles* was a great Admirer and Follower of *St. Austin*^d, and had studied his Writings: which may account for his very often following *St. Austin's*

a Quid plura dicam? Nisi dicendi Pausa desuper eidem advenisset, sermonem finire non potuerat, tanta gratia exundante, & miraculo & stupore crescente, ut peritissimis desperationem tunc Autoribus sæculi ejus inferret Oratio: in tantum ut *Livius* Temporis illius Poeta, & Autor insignis, publicè proclamaret; Si *Augustinus* post Te fuisset, judicaretur inferior. *Honoratus*, in *Vita Sti Hilarii* p. 740. edit. *Quæsnell*.

b Ingenio vero immortalis, aliqua & parva edidit, quæ erudita Anima, & fidelis Lingua indicio sunt; in quibus præcipue &c. *Gennad.* de *Hilario Arlat.* c. 69. p. 32.

c Gratia ejus ex his operibus, quæ eodem dicendi impetu concepit, genuit, ornavit, protulit, possit absque Hæsitacione dignosci: *Vita* scilicet *Antistitis Honorati*; *Homiliæ* in *Totius Anni Festivitatibus* expeditæ, *Symboli expositio ambienda*, *Epistolarum* vero tantus numerus &c. *Honorat. Vit. Hilar.* p. 740.

N. B. *There is some doubt whether Ravennius of Arles, Successor to Hilary, or Honoratus of Marseilles be the Author of This Life: But there is good reason to ascribe it to the Latter. See Quæsnell. Vol. 2; p. 730. and Anthelmus, de veris operibus Leon. M. p. 367.*

d Unum Forum præcipue Auctoritatis, & spiritualium studiorum Virum, sanctum *Hilarium*, *Arelatensem* Episcopum, sciat Beatitudo Tua Admiratorem, Sectatoremque in aliis omnibus tuæ esse doctrinæ: Et de hoc quod in querelam trahit, jam pridem apud Sanctitatem tuam sensum suum per literas velle conferre. *Prosper ad Augustin.* ep. 225. p. 825. *Bened. ed.*

Thoughts in the compiling of the Creed, and sometimes his very *Expressions*; and indeed forming the whole Composition, in a manner, upon St. *Austin's* Plan, both with respect to the *Trinity*, and *Incarnation*. He did not indeed come heartily in to St. *Austin's* Doctrine about *Grace*, *Predestination*, *Free-will*, &c. any more than the other *Gallican* Bishops: But as to other Points, as *Prosper* observes, *Hilary* was intirely in *Austin's* Sentiments. 5. Hence likewise we may account for the Similitude of Thoughts and Expressions between *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and the Author of the Creed; which *Anthelmus* insists much upon to justify his ascribing it to *Vincentius*. *Hilary* and *Vincentius* were Contemporaries, and Country-men, and Both of the same Monastery in the Isle of *Lerin*, much about the same Time: So that it is natural to suppose that They should fall into the like Expressions, while treating on the same Things; or that *Vincentius* might affect to copy from so great a Man as *Hilary* (first, *Abbot* of *Lerin*, and then *Archbishop* of *Arles*) when writing on the same Subject. 6. As to the Style of *Hilary*, tho' we have but little of his left to compare the Creed with, yet what there is answers very well to the Idea one should have of a Man that might be able to draw up such a Piece. His *Life* of the elder *Honoratus*, who was his Predecessor in the See of *Arles*, is an excellent Performance, and comes nothing short of the Character He had raised for Wit and Eloquence. The Style is clear and strong, short and sententious, abounding with Antitheses, elegant Turns, and manly strokes of Wit. He does but touch a little, in That Piece, upon the Subject of the *Trinity*: So that one cannot from thence discover how He wou'd have express'd Himself upon That Head. Only, that little there is There, is very like to a Paragraph in the *Athanasian* Creed, both for Turn, and Expression. Speaking of *Honoratus*, or rather to Him, in the way of a Rhetorical Apostrophe, He observes how clear and expressive He had been in his Discourses

a Quotidianus siquidem in sincerissimis Tractatibus Confessionis Patris, ac Filii, ac Spiritus Sancti Testis fuit; Nec facile tam exerte, tam lucide Quisquam de Divinitatis Trinitate differuit, cum eam Personis distingueres, & gloriæ (gloriæ) æternitate, ac Majestate sociares. *Hilar. Vit. Honorat.* p. 770. *Quejell.* ed.

Of the *AUTHOR* of

concerning the *Trinity* in the *Godhead*; making the *Persons* distinct, but co-uniting them in *Glory*, *Eternity*, and *Majesty*. Which may remind us of the Words of the *Athanasian Creed*, "There is *one Person of the Father*, &c. but the *Godhead of the Father*, and of the *Son*, and of the *Holy Ghost* is all one, *The Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal*. However That be, This we may learn from it, how great a Commendation it was, in *Hilary's Account*, to be able to speak clearly, and accurately upon the Subject of the *Trinity*, and how ambitious He might be of so doing Himself: And we know, from his *dying Instructions*^a to his Friends about Him, how much He had the Subject at Heart. These, I confess, are but little Circumstances: Yet They are of some weight along with others more considerable, and therefore ought not to be intirely omitted. What weighs most with me is, that He was, in his Time, a Man of the greatest Authority in the *Gallican Church*^b, without whose Advice, or Privity at least, such a Creed would hardly have pass'd; and that He actually was the Author of *such a Work* as This is, and which must either be This, or else is lost. This Creed has been sometimes ascribed to the elder *Hilary of Poitiers*, tho' neither the *Diction*, nor the *Matter*, nor the *Manner* of it look any Thing like his: Only, it seems, This Creed in one Manuscript was found tack'd to some Pieces of That *Hilary*. I pretend not to draw any Argument from hence in favor of our *Hilary*: Tho' had the Manuscript been a very antient one, or copied from one that was (neither of which appears) I should have thought it of some moment; since the similitude of Names might possibly have occasion'd it.

^a Among which it is one, and the first.

Fide n Trinitatis immobiliter retinete. Vit. Hilar. p. 747.

^b Quæstel quotes This Elegium of Him, from Constantius Presbyter of the same Time.

Illustrabatur Hæc Civitas Hilario Sacerdote, multimoda virtute pretioso: Erat enim Fidei igneus Torrens, caelestis eloquii, & præceptionis divinæ Operarius indefessus. Quenell. p. 545.

To which may be added one Line of His Epitaph.

Gemma Sacerdotum, Plebisque, Orbisque Magister. Quenell. ibid.

Tanta fuit ejus in dicendo vis, ut Silvius, Eusebius, Domnulus, Auctores coævi, admiratione succensi in hæc verba proruperint: Non Doctrinam, non Eloquentiam, sed nescio quid (super Homines consecutum. Natal. Alexand. Sec. V. c. 4. Art. 19. ex Honorati Vit. Hilar. c. 21.

Having

Having considered such Reasons as seem to favor the Conjecture about *Hilary* of *Arles*; it will next be proper to consider also what may be objected against it.

1. It may be objected, that This *Hilary* lived to the Year 449. saw the Rise, Progress, and Condemnation of the *Nestorian* Heresy, and the Beginning at least of the *Eutychian*. May it not therefore be reasonably presumed that, had He been to compile a *Confession* of *Faith*, He would have made it more *full* and *particular* against Both those Heresies than I have supposed the Creed to be? To This I answer, that the Objection would be of weight if I supposed this Creed to have been made by Him in the last years of his Life: But as I take it to have been made a little after his Entrance upon his Episcopate (to be a Rule to his Clergy all his Time, as well as to satisfy his Collegues of his own Orthodoxy) the Objection affects not me. Admit the Creed to have been drawn up by Him about the Year 429, or 430; and then it is just what it should be, exactly suited to the Circumstances of Time, and Place: And as to his enlarging, or altering it afterwards, upon the Rise of the Two Heresies, it might not be in his Power when once gone out of his Hands: Nor would it be *necessary*, since Both These Heresies are sufficiently obviated in This Creed, tho' not so *explicitely* condemn'd as in many that came later.

2. It may be ask'd, how the Author's Name came to be so studiously conceal'd even by Those that received and admired the Creed; and how it came to take at length the Name of *Athanasius*, rather than of *Hilary*? I answer: This Objection will equally lie against any other Author assignable whatever, except *Athanasius* Himself whom we cannot, with any colour of reason, ascribe it to. It will be as easy to account for the studious Concealment of the Author's Name, supposing it *Hilary*, as for any Other, or perhaps easier. This *Hilary* had stoutly defended the Rights of his See against Pope *Leo's* Encroachments, in the matter of *Appeals*, and other Branches of Jurisdiction. This brought the good Man under disfavor, and dispute; as must happen to the best of Men when They have Persons of greater Figure and Authority.

ty than themselves to contend with, however righteous and clear their Cause may be. Besides This, *Hilary* had entertain'd a dislike to some of *St. Austin's* prevailing Doctrines, about *Grace*, growing much in Vogue; so that *St. Austin's* more zealous Disciples had a Pique against him on That account, and had the less value for his Name. The way then to have This Creed pass current, and make it generally received was to stifle as much as possible the Name of the *Author*, and to leave it to stand by its own intrinsic worth and weight. As to the Name of *Athanasius*, I take it to have come Thus. Upon the revival of the *Arian* Controversy in *Gaul*, under the influence of the *Burgundian* Kings, it was obvious to call one side *Athanasians*, and the other side *Arians*; and so also to name the Orthodox Faith the *Athanasian Faith*, as the other *Arian*. This Creed therefore, being a Summary of the Orthodox and Catholick Faith, might in process of Time acquire the Name of the *Athanasian Faith*, or *Fides Athanasii*, in opposition to the contrary Scheme which might as justly be called *Fides Arii*, or the *Arian Faith*. The equivocalness of the *Title* gave a handle to those that came after to understand it of a Form of Faith composed by *Athanasius*; just as the equivocal *Title* of *Apostolical* given to the *Roman* Creed occasion'd the mistake about its being made by the *Apostles*. This appears to me the most probable Account of the whole matter: And it is very much confirm'd by what we see of several Tracts, wrote in the fifth and sixth Centuries *Dialogue-wise*, where *Athanasius* is made the Mouth of the Catholick Side, and *Arius* of his Party, and *Photinus* of his: Not meaning that *Athanasius*, *Arius*, and *Photinus* were really the Speakers in Those Conferences, but the Readers were to understand the *Athanasian*, *Arian*, and *Photinian* Principles as being there fairly represented under Those leading Names.

3 If it be ask'd farther, why This Creed was not cited during the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* Controversy, when there was so frequent occasion for it: I answer, partly because the Creed was not *particular* and *explicite* enough to have done much service; but chiefly, because the *Author* had been eclips'd, and his Reputation obscured by greater *Names* than his, so that

that his Authority had weighed little; and to produce it without a Name would have signified less. This Objection therefore, tho' it might be of great Force in the Question about *Athanasius*, is of no weight at all against our present Supposition about *Hilary of Arles*.

These are all the Objections which to me occur: And they seem to be so far from weak'ning the Grounds upon which I proceed, that they rather tend to strengthen and confirm Them. And tho' I do not pretend to strict Certainty about the *Author* of the Creed; yet I perswade my self that none that have been hitherto named have any fairer, or so fair a Claim to it as the Man I have mention'd. Not *Athanasius*, not *Hilary of Poitiers*, not *Eusebius of Vercell*, not Pope *Anastasius I*, nor any of That name; not *Vincentius Lirinensis*, nor *Vigilius Tapsensis*, nor *Athanasius of Spire*, nor *Fortunatus*, nor *Bonifacius*, nor Any other that has been thought on. From the many Conjectures heretofore advanced by learned Men, one may perceive that it has been judged to be a Thing worth the inquiring after: And as Others have taken the liberty of naming such *Author*, or *Authors* as to Them appeared most likely to have made the Creed, so have I, in my Turn, not scrupling to add one more to the Number.

The Sum then of what I have presumed to advance upon probable Conjecture, in a Case which will not admit of full and perfect Evidence, is This: That *Hilary* once Abbot of *Lerins*, and next Bishop of *Arles*, about the year 430 composed *The Exposition of Faith* which now bears the Name of the *Athanasian Creed*. It was drawn up for the use of the *Gallican* Clergy, and especially for the Diocess, or Province of *Arles*. It was esteemed by as many as were acquainted with it, as a valuable Summary of the Christian Faith. It seems to have been in the Hands of *Vincentius*, Monk of *Lerins*, before 434, by what He has borrow'd from it; and to have been cited in part by *Avitus* of *Vienne* about the year 500, and by *Casarius* of *Arles* before the year 543. About the year 570, it became famous enough to be commented upon like the *Lord's-Prayer*, and *Apostles Creed*, and together with Them. All this while, and per-

haps for several years lower, it had not yet acquired the Name of the *Athanasian Faith*, but was simply stiled *the Catholick Faith*. But before 670, *Athanasius's* admired Name came in to recommend and adorn it; being in it self also an excellent System of the *Athanasian Principles* of the *Trinity*^a and *Incarnation*, in Opposition chiefly to *Arians*, *Macedonians*, and *Apollinarians*. The Name of *The Faith of Athanasius*, in a while, occasion'd the Mistake of ascribing it to Him, as his Composition. This gave it Authority enough to be cited and appealed to as Standard, in the Disputes of the middle Ages, between *Greeks* and *Latins* about the *Procession*: And the same admired Name, together with the intrinsic worth and value of the Form it self, gave it Credit enough to be received into the *Publick Service* in the *Western Churches*; first in *France*, next in *Spain*, soon after in *Germany*, *England*, *Italy*, and at length in *Rome* it self; while many other excellent Creeds drawn up in *Councils*, or recommended by *Emperors*, yet never arrived to any such Honour and Esteem as This hath done. The truly good and great *Author* (as I now suppose Him) tho' ill used by the then Pope of *Rome*, and not kindly treated, with respect to his Memory, in after Ages, has nevertheless been the Mouth of all the *Western Churches*, and some *Eastern* too, for a long Tract of Centuries, in celebrating the Glories of the Coeternal Trinity. And so may He ever continue, till the Christian Churches can find out (which They will not easily do) a juster, or sounder, or more accurate Form of Faith than This is.

^a Romanæ ego Ecclesiæ quasi *Symbolum*, incerto Autore, existimem, hinc *Athanasii* dictum & putatum quod dilucide *Catholicam* i; tamque *Athanasii* Fidem (de *Trinitate*, maxime) complecteretur; cujus inter Catholicos sic spectata Fides, ut ejus *Communio* velut *Tessera* *Catholici* esset; censereturque *Ejus* condemnatio ipsa *Nicana* & *Catholice* *Fidei* ejuratio; uti se res habuit in *Liberio* Romano Antistite &c. *Combesii*, not. in *Calec. Nov. Auctar. Patr. Tom. 2. p. 296.*

C H A P. IX.

The Creed it self in the Original Language with Parallel Passages from the Fathers.

MY Design in this Chapter, is;

1. To exhibit the Creed in its Native Language, that is, in *Latin*, according to the most ancient, and most correct Copies. The *Various Lectiōns* will be placed at the Bottom, under the Creed: The Manuscripts therein referred to shall be denoted by such Names, or Marks as appear above in the *Table* of Manuscripts.

2. Opposite to the Creed, in another Column, I place *parallel* Passages, selected from Authors that lived and wrote before 430, principally from St. *Austin*: And this with design to inforce and illustrate my main Argument before insisted on; namely, that the Creed contains nothing but what had been asserted, in as full and express Words as any Words of the Creed are, by Church Writers before the Time specified.

3. I subjoin under these, at the Bottom of the Page, some farther select Passages from Church Writers before or after the Time mention'd; partly to serve as *Comments* upon some Places of the Creed, and partly to show how some Writers of the Vth Century, *Vincentius* especially, express'd themselves on the same Heads, that the Reader may from thence judge whether They appear *prior* to the Creed, or the Creed *prior* to Them.

I ought to ask my *English* Reader's Pardon for This Part; which He may please to pass over, and to go on to the next *Chapter*, intended chiefly for his Satisfaction, and to make Him some amends for the present Interruption: For, my Design in subjoining an *English Commentary* is to serve much the same purposes with what is here intended by the *Latin*; tho' not all of them, but as many as the Nature of the Thing will allow.

Loca parallela excerpta ex Variis;
Ante An. 430.

1. Catholicae *Discipline majestate institutum est, ut accedentibus ad Religionem Fides persuadeatur* ante omnia.

August. Tom. 8. p. 64.

Hæc est Fides nostra, quoniam hæc est Fides recta, quæ etiam Catholica nuncupatur.

Tom. 8. 729.

2. *Heretici — Simplici Fide Catholica contenti esse nolunt; quæ una parvulis Salus est.*

August. Tom. 4. p. 60.

3. Νῦν δὲ διδάσκει τσοῦτον εἶδεναι μόνον μονάδα ἐν τριάδι, ἡ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνημένην, παγάδοξον ἔχουσαν καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἡ τὴν ἕνωσιν.

Greg. Nazian. Orat. 23. p. 422.

4. *Et Hæc omnia nec confuse unum sunt, nec disjuncte tria sunt.*

Augustin. Tom. 2. p. 609.

5. *Impietatem Sabellii declinantes, Tres*

Excerpta ex Patribus.

1. Credamus ergo Fratres: Hoc est *primum* præceptum, Hoc est *initium* Religionis & vitæ nostræ, fixum habere Cor in *Fide*. August. Tom. 5. p. 195.

2. Catholicorum Hoc fere proprium, deposita sanctorum Patrum & commissa servare, damnare profanas novitates: & sicut dixit, & iterum dixit Apostolus; *si quis annuntiaverit, præterquam quod acceptum est, anathemare.* Vincent. c. 34. p. 111.

3. Catholica Ecclesia unum Deum in Trinitatis plenitudine, & item Trinitatis æqualitatem in una Divinitate veneratur. Vincent. c. 22. & c. 18.

4. Ut neque singularitas substantiæ personarum confundat proprietatem, neque item Trinitatis distinctio unitatem separet Deitatis. Vincent. c. 22.

5. Quia scilicet alia est persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus sancti Vincent. c. 19.

FIDES CATHOLICA.

1. Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam Fidem.

2. Quam nisi Quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit.

3. Fides autem Catholica Hæc est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate, & Trinitatem in unitate veneremur:

4. Neque confundentes personas, neque Substantiam separantes.

5. Alia est enim persona

Variantes Lectiones.

1. (*salvus esse.*) esse salvus. Cod. *Ambros.* & *Fortunat.* in MS. *Ambros.*

2. (*Quisque*) Quis. Cod. *Ambros.* (*in violatamque*) inviolabilemque. Cod. *San-germ.* (*absque dubio*) deest in Cod. *Reg. Paris.* (*in æternum peribit*) peribit in æternum. *San-germ.*

5. (*alia Filii*) alia *Persona* Filii. Cod. *Ambros.* item *Fortunat.* (*alia Spiritus*) alia *Personæ* Sp. sancti. Cod. *Ambros.*

personas

personas expressas sub proprietate distinguimus — Aliam Patris, aliam Filii, aliam Spiritus sancti — personam.

Pelagii Symbol. p. 274. apud Lambec. Catal. Bibl. Vindob.

6. *Confutantes Arium, unam eandemque dicimus Trinitatis esse Substantiam.*

Pelag. Symb.

Patris, & Filii & Spiritus sancti unam Virtutem, unam Substantiam, unam Deitatem, unam Majestatem, unam Gloriam.

August. Tom. 8. p. 744.

7. *Qualis est Pater secundum Substantiam, Talem genuit Filium: & Spiritus sanctus — est ejusdem & Ipse Substantia cum Patre & Filio.*

Fauftini. Fid.

8. *Quicquid ad Seipsum dicitur Deus, & de singulis personis singulariter dicitur, & simul de ipsa Trinitate.*

August. Tom. 8. p. 838.

9. *Magnus Pater, magnus Filius, magnus Spiritus sanctus.*

August. Tom. 8. p. 837.

10. *Hoc & de Bonitate, & de Æter-*

6. Sed tamen Patris & Filii, & Spiritus sancti non alia & alia, sed una eademque natura. Vincent. c. 19.

8 Illud præcipue teneamus, quicquid *ad se* dicitur præstantissima illa & divina sublimitas, *substantialiter* dici; quod autem *ad aliquid* non *substantialiter*, sed *relative*: Tantamque vim esse *ejusdem substantiæ* in Patre & Filio & Spiritu sancto, ut quicquid de singulis ad seipsum dicitur, non *pluraliter* in summa, sed *singulariter* accipiatur. Augustin. Tom. 8. p. 837.

Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus sancti.

6. Sed Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti, una est Divinitas, æqualis gloria, coæterna Majestas.

7. Qualis Pater, Talis Filius, Talis & Spiritus sanctus.

8. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus & Spiritus sanctus.

9. Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus & Spiritus sanctus.

10. Æternus Pater, æternus

6. (*Coæterna*) Codd. nonnulli habent *Et* Coæterna. Deest *Et* in Cod. *Ambros.* & in *Fortunat.* & *Brunon.* aliisque multis.

7 (*Talis & Spiritus sanctus*) Ita Codd. *Ambros.* Reg: *Paris.* C. C. C. C. 1. *Cotton.* 1. *Jacob.* 1. *Fortunat.* item *Casarius Arelat.* antiquissimus. MSS. recentiores, & editi omittunt *Et*.

8 (*Et Spiritus sanctus.*) Deest vocula *Et* in recentioribus Codicibus: retinent plerique antiquiores hoc in loco, & similiter in subsequenibus, ante *Spiritus sanctus.* Quæ lectio, opinor, vera est, ab Autore *Symboli* profecta; scilicet, ad majorem Emphasim, propter Hæresim *Macedonianam* nondum penitus extinctam. Nostrum autem est *symbolum* exhibere quale se primitus habuit.

nitate,

nitare, & de Omnipotentia Dei dictum sit.

August. *ibid.* p. 839.

Æternus Pater, coeternus Filius, coeternus Spiritus sanctus.

Aug. *Tom. 5.* † 543.

12. Non tamen tres magni, sed unus magnus.

August. *Tom. 8.* p. 837.

13. Itaque Omnipotens Pater, Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens Spiritus sanctus.

Aug. de *Trin.* l. 5. c. 8.

14. Nec tamen Tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens.

Aug. *ibid.*

15. Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus sanctus.

August. *Trin.* l. 8. c. 1.

& *Serm.* 105. p. 542. *Tom. 5.*

16. Nec tamen tres Dii — sed unus Deus.

August. *ibid.*

17. Sic & Dominum si queras, Singulum Quemque respondeo —

Aug. *Tom. 8.* p. 729.

12. Nec magnos tres dicimus, sed magnum unum, quia non participatione magnitudinis Deus magnus est, sed seipso magno magnus est, quia ipse sua est magnitudo. August. de *Trin.* l. 5. c. 10.

13. Sed ne duos omnipotentes intelligas præcavendum est: licet enim & Pater sit omnipotens, & Filius, tamen unus est omnipotens, sicut & unus est Deus, quia Patris & Filii eadem Omnipotentia est, sicut & eadem Deitas. *Faustim.* p. 123.

14. Sicut simul illi Tres unus Deus, sic simul illi Tres unus omnipotens est, & invisibilis unus, Deus Pater & Filius & Spiritus Sanctus est. *Augustim.* *Tom. 8.* p. 654. *Vid.* p. 865.

16. Unus Deus propter inseparabilem Divinitatem; sicut unus Omnipotens propter inseparabilem Omnipotentiam. August. de *Civit. Dei.* p. 290.

In illa summa Trinitate, quæ incomparabiliter rebus omnibus antecellit, tanta est inseparabilitas, ut cum Trinitas Hominum non possit dici unus Homo, illa unus Deus & dicatur & sit. Aug. de *Trin.* l. 15. c. 23.

Filius, æternus & Spiritus sanctus.

11. Et tamen non Tres æterni, sed unus æternus.

12. Sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus, & unus immensus.

13. Similiter, omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens & Spiritus sanctus.

14. Et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens.

15. Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus & Spiritus sanctus.

16. Et tamen non tres Dii, sed unus est Deus.

17. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus & Spiritus sanctus.

12. (Unus increatus, & unus immensus) Unus immensus, & unus increatus. Cod. *Ambros.*

14. (Et tamen) deest tamen in Cod. *Ambros.*

16. (est Deus) deest est in MS. *Ambros.*

18. *Sed simul omnes non tres Dominos Deos, sed unum Dominum Deum dico.*

August. *ibid.*

19. *Cum de singulis queritur, unusquisque eorum & Deus, & omnipotens esse respondeatur; cum vero de omnibus simul, non Tres Dii, vel tres omnipotentes, sed unus Deus omnipotens.*

August. de civit. Dei. l. 11. c. 24. p. 290.

20. *Dicimus Patrem Deum de nullo.*
(August. Tom. 5. p. 680.)

Non enim habet de quo sit, aut ex quo procedat.

Aug. Tom. 8. p. 829.

21. *Filius Patris solius — Hunc quippe de sua Substantia genuit, non ex nihilo fecit.*

Aug. Ep. 170, alias, 66.

22. *De Filio Spiritus sanctus procedere reperitur.* (August. de Trin. l. 15. c. 17.)
Neque natus est sicut Unigenitus, neque factus, &c.

Id. l. 5. c. 15. p. 841.

18. Non sunt enim duo Domini ubi Dominatus unus est; quia Pater in Filio, & Filius in Patre, & ideo Dominus unus, Ambros. de Sp. S. l. 3. c. 15. p. 686.

18. Et tamen non Tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.

19. Quia sicut fingillatim unamquamque Personam & Deum & Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur; ita tres Deos, aut Dominos dicere Catholica Religione prohibemur.

20. Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus.

21. Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus.

22. Spiritus sanctus a Patre & Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus est, sed procedens.

18. (*Est Dominus*) deest est. Cod. Ambros.

19. (*Et Deum & Dominum*) Ita MS. Ambros. & MS. Oxon. Fortunat. rectissime Cod. Fortunat. Ambros. alique, tum MSS tum impressi, habent *Deum & Dominum*. Brunonis Cod. *Deum ac Dominum*. San germanensis, *Dominum & Deum*. Plerique editi, *Deum aut Dominum*. Quæ lectio, me iudice, omnium pessima est.

(*Prohibemur*) MS. Ambr. legit. *prohibemus*: male.

22. (*Sed procedens*) Cod. Ambros. adjecta habet ista; *Patri & Filio co æternus est*. G'offa, uti videtur, ex margine in Textum immissa: Nisi forte Librarius verba illa ex Bachiarii Fide, quam simul descriperat, huc transtulerit; sive oscitanter, sive majoris elucidationis gratiâ. Vid. Bachar. Fid. apud Murator. Tom. 2. p. 16. 18.

22. Spiritus quoque sanctus non, sicut creatura, ex nihilo est factus; sed sic a Patre Filioque procedit, ut nec a Filio, nec a Patre sit factus. August. ep. 170.

23. *Unus est Pater, non duo vel tres; & unus Filius, non duo vel tres; & unus amborum Spiritus, non duo vel tres.*

August. Contr. Maxim. p. 729.

24. *In hac Trinitate, non est aliud alio majus, aut minus.*

August. Tom. 5. p. 948.

Nec enim prorsus aliquis in Trinitate Gradus: nihil quod inferius, superiusve dici possit.

Pelagii Symb.

25. *Vid. supra, in Articulo 3.*

26. *Vide supra. Artic. 2.*

27. *Dominus autem manens cum discipulis per quadraginta Dies, significare dignatus est quia per istud Tempus necessaria est omnibus Fides Incarnationis Christi; quæ infirmis est necessaria.*

August. Serm. 264. Tom. 5. p. 1077.

23 Οὐκ ἔν τρεῖς πατέρες, ἕτε τρεῖς υἱοί, ἕτε τρεῖς πνεύματα· ἀλλ' εἰς πατέρα, & εἰς υἱόν, καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα κλητός. Pseud-Ignat. ad Philipp. c. 2. p. 118. Cotel. ed.

24. Increata & inestimabilis Trinitas, quæ unius est æternitatis & Gloriæ, nec Tempus nec Gradum vel posterioris recipit vel prioris. Ambros. de Fid. L. 4. c. 11. p. 547.

25. Ita Tota Deitas sui perfectione æqualis est, ut exceptis vocabulis quæ proprietatem indicant Personarum, quicquid de una persona dicitur, de tribus dignissime possit intelligi. Pelag. Symb.

26. Si quis hanc Fidem non habet, Catholicus dici non potest, quia Catholicam non tenet Fidem; & ideo alienus est ac profanus, & adversus veritatem rebellis Fides S. Ambros. apud Lambec. Catalog. Bibl. Vindob. L. 2. p. 268.

27. Ideo Conversatio ipsius in Carne post Resurrectionem per quadraginta dies erat necessaria, ut demonstraret tam diu esse necessariam Fidem Incarnationis Christi quamdiu in ista vita docetur Arca in diluvio fluctuare. August. Tom. 5. p. 1078.

23. Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus sanctus, non tres Spiritus sancti.

24. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus, sed totæ tres personæ coæternæ sibi sunt, & coæquales.

25. Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est, & unitas in Trinitate, & Trinitas in unitate veneranda sit.

26. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.

27. Sed necessarium est ad æternam Salutem, ut Incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat.

24. (Et in hac) deest et in Cod. Sæv germ.

28. Proinde, *Christus Jesus, Dei Filius, est & Deus & Homo.*

August. *Enchir. Tom. 6. p. 210.*

29. *Deus ante omnia sæcula: Homo in nostro sæculo — unus Dei Filius, idemque Hominis Filius.*

August. *ibid.*

30. *Confitemur in Christo unam esse Filii personam, ut dicamus duas esse perfectas atque integras Substantias, id est, Deitatis, & Humanitatis quæ ex anima continetur & corpore.*

Pelag. *Symb.*

31. *Æqualem Patri secundum Divinitatem, Minorem autem Patre secundum Carnem, hoc est, secundum Hominem.*

August. *Epist. 137. p. 406.*

32. *Agnoscamus geminam Substantiam*

28. Est ergo Fides recta, ut credamus & confiteamur, quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus pariter & Homo est.

29. Deus est ex Substantia Patris ante sæcula genitus: Homo ex Substantia Matris in sæculo natus.

30. Perfectus Deus, perfectus Homo ex anima rationali & humana carne subsistens.

31. Æqualis Patri secundum Divinitatem: Minor Patre secundum Humanitatem.

32. Qui licet Deus sit &

28. *Confiteamur quod*) Ita Cod. *Ambros.* atque editi nonnulli. Plures habent quia: *Ambrosiana* Lectio præferenda.

(*Deus pariter & Homo est*) Ita Codd. *Bened. 1. Colbertin. Jacob. 1. & Fortunat. Ambros.* & *San germ.* legunt, & *Deus pariter & Homo est* Editi, *Deus & Homo est.*

29 *Ex substantia*) *Colbert. n. de substantia:* & *infra, de substantia matris. (Homo)* *Ambros. Cod legit & Homo est* *Fortunat. Et Homo. Post, matris, San germ. Cod. habet. in sæculo genitus perfectus Homo.*

30. (*Rationali*) *rationabili. Codd. Ambros. Colbert. & San-germ.*

29. Idem ex Patre ante sæcula genitus, idem in sæculo ex matre generatus: *Vincent. c. 19.*

30 Adversus *Arium*, veram & perfectam *Verbi* Divinitatem; adversus *Apollinarem*, perfectam *Hominis* in *Christo* defendimus veritatem. *August. Op. Tom. 5. Append. p. 391.*

Perfectus Deus, perfectus Homo: in Deo summa Divinitas, in Homine plena Humanitas: quippe quæ Animam simul habeat & Carnem. *Vincent. c. 19.*

32. *Caro* *Christus*, & *Anima* *Christus*, & *Verbum* *Christus*: nec tamen tria Hæc tres *Christi*, sed unus *Christus*. *August. in Johan. p. 612.*

Christi; divinam scilicet qua equalis est Patri, humanam qua major est Pater: Utrumque autem simul non duo, sed unus est Christus. Aug. Tract. in Joh. p. 699.

33. *Verbum caro factum est, a Divinitate carne suscepta, non in carnem Divinitate mutata.*

August. Enchirid. c. 35.

34. *Idem Deus qui Homo, & qui Deus idem Homo: non confusione naturæ, sed unitate personæ.* August. Tom. 5. p. 885.

35. *Sicut enim unus est Homo Anima rationalis & Caro; sic unus est Christus Deus & Homo.*

August. Tract. in Joh. p. 699.

36. *Descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.*

Symb. Aquilæ, apud Ruffin.

33. Nemo ergo credat Dei Filium *conversum* & commutatam esse in Hominis Filium; sed potius credamus, & non consumptâ divinâ, & perfectè assumptâ humanâ substantiâ, manentem Dei Filium factum Hominiis Filium. August. Tom. 5 p. 887.

Deus ergo Hominem assumpsit, Homo in Deum transiit: non naturæ versibilibitate, sicut *Apollinarista* dicunt, sed Dei dignatione. Gemad. Eccl. Dogm. c. 2.

36. Quis ergo, nisi infidelis, negaverit fuisse *apud Inferos* Christum? —————

Quamobrem tencamus firmissime quod fides habet fundatissima Auctoritate firmatum ————— & cætera quæ de illo testatissima veritate conscripta sunt; in quibus etiam Hoc est, quod *apud Inferos* fuit. August. 20. 164. p. 574, 578.

Homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.

33. Unus autem, non conversione Divinitatis in Carnem, sed adsumptione Humanitatis in Deum.

34. Unus omnino, non confusione Substantiæ, sed unitate Personæ.

35. Nam sicut Anima rationalis & Caro unus est Homo; ita Deus & Homo unus est Christus.

36. Qui passus est pro Salute nostra, descendit ad Inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.

33. (*In carnem*) *in carne.* MSS. *Ambros. Colbert. San germ.* aliique plurimi, & vetusti. Habent etiam *in Deo*, pro, *in Deum*. At multi etiam Codices, cum *Fortunati* Cod. *Ambrosiano*, receptam lectionem præferunt; quæ utique præferenda videtur. Cod. *Sangerm.* pro *conversione* habet *conversatione*. Cod. *Colbert:* totam hanc pericopen sic exhibet; *Unus autem, non ex eo quod sit in carne conversa Divinitas, sed quia est in Deo adsumpta dignanter Humanitas.*

34. (*Unus omnino*) *unus Christus est.* *Colbert.*

35. (*Nam sicut &c.*) Totum omittit Cod. *Colbertinus.* Scilicet, uti credo, ne *Simile* illud in erroris sui patrocinium arriperent *Monophysite.* (*Rationalis*) *rationabilis.* *Ambros.*

36. (*ad inferos*) *ad infernos.* Cod. *Sangerm.* *ad inferna descendens.* Cod. *Colbertin.* (*Tertia die*) *deest* in Cod. *Ambros. Sangerm. Cotton. 1. Jacob. 1. (resurrexit)* *sur-* *rexit:* Cod. *Ambros. Fortunat.*

37. *Ascend-*

37. *Ascendit ad celos, sedet ad dexteram Patris; inde venturus judicare vivos & mortuos.*

Symb. Roman. Vet.

38. *Resurrectionem etiam carnis confitemur & credimus, ut dicamus nos in eadem qua nunc sumus veritate membrorum esse reparandos.*

Pelag Symb.

39. *Et procedent qui bona fecerunt, in Resurrectionem vita, qui vero mala egerunt in Resurrectionem judicii.* Joh. 5. 28.

Ibunt Hi in supplicium aeternum, justi autem in vitam aeternam. Matt. 25. 46.

40. *Cavete, dilectissimi, ne quis vos ab Ecclesiae Catholicae Fide ac unitate seducat. Qui enim vobis aliter Evangelizaverit praeterquam quod accepistis, Anathema sit.* August. Tom. 5. p. 592.

38. Si id resurgere dicitur quod cadit, caro ergo nostra in veritate resurget, sicut in veritate cadit. Et non secundum Origenem, immutatio corporum erit &c. Gennad. Eccl. Dogmat. c. 5.

39. Post Resurrectionem & judicium, non credamus restitutionem futuram, sicut Origenes delirat, ut Dæmones vel impii Homines post Tormenta quasi supplicii expurgati, vel Illi in Angelicam qua creati sunt redeant Dignitatem, vel Isti justorum Societate donentur. Gennad. ibid. c. 9.

40. Ὁ πῦρ πιστεύσας ὡς ἔχει, ὡς γέγραπται, μακάριος ὁ πῦρ μὴ πιστεύων ἐναργῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ τὸ κῶλον σαυροπέων. Pseud.—Ignat. ad Philipp. p. 118.

37. *Ascendit ad Cælos, sedet ad dexteram Patris; inde venturus judicare vivos & mortuos.*

38. *Ad cujus adventum omnes Homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, & redituri sunt de Factis propriis rationem.*

39. *Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam, qui vero mala, in Ignem aeternum.*

40. *Hæc est Fides Catholica, quam nisi Quisque fideliter, firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.*

37. (*Sedet.*) *Sedit.* Cod. Ambros. (*Dexteram Patris*) Ita Codd. Ambros. & Fortunat, & Symb. Roman. Vet. *Dexteram Patris Omnipotentis.* Cod. San germ. *Dexteram Omnipotentis.* Cod. Brunonis. *Dexteram Dei Patris sedet, sicut vobis in Symbolo traditum est* Cod. Colbert. *Dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis.* Codd. recentiores, cum excusis.

38. (*Resurgere habent cum corporibus suis.* &c.) desunt in Cod. Ambros. Colbertinus legit; *ad cujus adventum erunt omnes Homines sine dubio in suis corporibus resurrecturi.* Sed nihil mutamus.

39. (*Egerunt*) egerint. Cod. Ambros. Totum hunc Articulum sic legit Colbertinus; *Ut qui bona egerunt, eant in vitam aeternam; qui mala in ignem aeternum.*

(*Qui vero*) Cod. Ambros. & Cotton, I. omittunt vero. Codices nonnulli legunt, & qui vero; alii, & qui mala.

40. (*Quisque*) Cod. Ambros. unusquisque. Colbertinus sic. pergit; *Hæc est Fides sancta & catholica, quam omnis Homo, qui ad vitam aeternam pervenire desiderat, scire integre debet, & fideliter custodire.*

C H A P. X.

A Commentary on the Athanasian Creed^a.

1 *WHOSOEVER will be saved, before all Things it is necessary that He hold the Catholick Faith.*

By the Words, *before all Things*, is meant *in the first Place*. Faith goes before *Practise*; and is therefore *first in Order*, tho' *Practise* may be, comparatively, more considerable, and *first in Value*, as the *End* is above the *Means*.

2. *Which Faith except every one do keep whole^b and undefiled, without doubt He shall perish everlastingly.*

Which Faith, that is, the *Catholick Faith* before spoken of, which is another Name for the *true and right Faith* as taught in *Scripture*; called *Catholick*, or *Universal*, as being held by the *Universal Church of Christ*, against which the *Gates of Hell* shall never *prevail*. The meaning then is, that every one is obliged, under pain of *Damnation*, to preserve, as far as in Him lies, the *true and right Faith*, in opposition to Those that endeavor to *corrupt* it either by taking from it, or adding to it. That Men shall perish *Eternally* for *unbelief*, for *rejecting* the Faith in the Lump, cannot be doubted; when it is expressly said (*Mark* 16. 16.) *He that believeth not shall be damned*: And as to rejecting any particular Branch, or Article of it, it must of consequence be a Sin against the *Whole*; against *Truth*, and *Peace*, and therefore *damnable* in it's own Nature, as all *wilful* Sins are without Repentance. As to the Allowances to be

^a In K. Edward's Prayer book, A. D. 1549. it is barely intituled, This Confession of our Christian Faith: And it was ordered to be song, or sayed, upon Six Feasts in the year. At the Revival of the Common-Prayer, under Q. Eliz. it was appointed to be used on several Feasts in the year, the whole Number Thirteen. But the Title still continued the same, till the last Review under Charles the Second; when were added thereto, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius: From which Time the running Title has been S. Athanasius's Creed, as before Quicunque vult, in our Prayer Books.

^b In K. Edward's Prayer Book, it was read holy, instead of whole, by a mistake, I suppose, of the Printer: which mistake was continued through several Editions afterwards. I have observed it in an Edition of the year 1600, by the Queen's Printer. I suppose, the old way of writing hoole, and hole, for whole, might occasion it.

made for *invincible* Ignorance, Prejudice, or other unavoidable Infirmities; as they will be pleadable in the Case of any other Sin, so may they, and will they also be pleadable in This: But it was foreign to the purpose of the Creed to take notice of it in This case *particularly*, when it is *common* to all cases of like Nature, and is always *supposed*, and *understood*, tho' not specially mention'd.

3. *And the Catholick Faith is This; that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity.*

One of the Principal Branches of the Catholick Faith, and which is of nearest Concernment (since our *Worship* depends upon it, and the main Body of the Christian Religion is bound up in it) is the Doctrine of a *Trinity in Unity*, of *Three Persons* and *one God*, recommended in our Baptism as the Object of our *Faith, Hope, and Worship*. He that takes upon Him to corrupt, or deprave This most Fundamental part of a Christian's Faith, cannot be *innocent*; it being his bounden Duty to maintain and preserve it, as He will answer it another Day.

4. *Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance.*

Here would be no need of these particular Cautions, or critical Terms, in relation to This Point, had Men been content with the plain primitive Faith in it's native Simplicity. But, as there have been a Set of Men, called *Sabellians*, who have erroneously taught that the Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost are all *one Person*, who was incarnate, and *suffered*, and rose again, making the *Father* (and Holy-Ghost) to have *suffered*, as well as the *Son* (from thence call'd *Patripassians*) hence it becomes necessary to caution every pious Christian against *confounding* the Persons as Those Men have done. And as there have been Others, particularly the *Arians*, who have pretended very falsely, that the Three Persons are *Three Substances*, and of *different* Kinds, *divided* from each other, one being *before* the other, existing when the other two were not, as also being *present*, where the other two are not present; These false and dangerous Tenets having been spread abroad, it is become necessary to give a Caution against *dividing the Substance*, as These have.

have done, very much to the Detriment of Sobriety and Truth.

5. *For there is one Person of the Father, Another of the Son, and Another of the Holy-Ghost.*

The *Sabellians* therefore were extremely to blame in *confounding* the Persons, and running them into one, taking away the *Distinction* of Persons plainly taught in Scripture.

6. *But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy-Ghost is all one, the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal.*

The *Arians* therefore were equally to blame for *dividing* the *Substance*, and *Godhead* in the manner before hinted. To be a little more particular on this Head, we may go on to open and explain This *Unity* of Godhead, *equality* of *Glory*, and *coeternity* of Majesty.

7. *Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy-Ghost.*

That is, as to their *Substance*, and *Godhead*, there is no Difference or Inequality amongst them; tho' there is a Difference in respect of some *personal* Acts, and Properties, as shall be observed in it's Place. In real *Dignity*, and *Perfection* They are equal, and *undivided*, as in the Instances here following.

8. *The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy-Ghost uncreate.*

These Three Persons were never brought into Being by the will of another; They are no *Creatures*, nor *Changeable*, as *Creatures* are; They are all infinitely removed from *dependence* or *precarious* Existence, one as much as another, and every one as much as any one: They exist in the highest, and most emphatical Sense of Existing, which is called *Necessary-Existence*, opposed to *contingent* or *precarious* Existence. In a word; every Person must, and cannot but exist; and all must exist together, having the same unchangeable Perfections.

9. *The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy-Ghost incomprehensible.*

These Words are not a just Translation of the *Latin* Original, tho' containing as true and just a Proposition as the *Latin* Words do. *Immensus* signifies *omnipresent*, rather than *incomprehensible*,

prehensible in the modern Sense of incomprehensible. But if by *incomprehensible* be understood, not to be comprehended within any Bounds, it will then answer to the *Latin* pretty nearly. The Translator here followed the *Greek* Copy ^a, taking perhaps the *Greek* to be the *Original* Language wherein the Creed was written. However, some *Latins* have understood by *immensus, incomprehensibilis* ^b, in such a Sense as has been hinted.

10. *The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy-Ghost eternal.*

None of the Persons ever began to be, nor shall ever cease to be; They always were, they always will be, and must be the same yesterday, to day, and for ever.

11. *And yet They are not Three Eternals, but one Eternal.*

Some Account ought to be given of this manner of speaking, because it often occurs in the Creed, and may be thought most apt to offend the malicious, or to mislead the unwary. The way of speaking came in a little after the middle of the fourth Century, and then only into the *Latin* Church; for the *Greeks* never used it, but taught the *same* Things under a *different* Form of Expression. What *Greeks* and *Latins* Both intended was, that as the Three Persons are *one Substance* and *one God*, so every *divine* Perfection, and every *substantial* Attribute, belonging to any one Person, is *common* to all; and there is nothing *peculiar* to any one but the *divine Relations*: To the Father, *Paternity* and whatever it implies or carries with it; to the Son, *Filiation*; to the Holy-Ghost, *Procession*. In This Account, *Eternity, Immensity, Omnipotence*, and the like, being *substantial* Attributes, are *common* to all the Three Persons; who have therefore *one Eternity, one Immensity, one Omnipotence*, and so on, as *one Substance* and *one Godhead*: Thus far *Greeks* and *Latins* agreed both in *Doctrine*, and *Expression*. But the *Latins*, building hereupon,

^a There are two printed Greek Copies, which read ἀνεκράδιστος, Stephens's first printed by Bryling, and Baius's first printed by Genebrard: which two Copies are in the main one. Our Translators, in 1543 could have seen none but Bryling's, that is, Stephens's Copy. The Constantinopolitan Copy publish'd by Genebrard, reads ἀπειρος: The Palatine Copy, by Felckman, ἄμετρος. The Saxon, French, and old English Versions exactly follow the Latin original.

^b Immensus Pater: non mole, sed potestate omnia concludente. Vel immensus, id est, incomprehensibilis. Abaelard. in Symb. Athanas. p. 368.

thought it very allowable to go a little farther, (which the *Greeks* did not) and to express the same Thing by saying, of the Three Persons, that They are *one Eternal, one Immense, one Omnipotent, one Holy, one Uncreated, &c.* And This was the current Language at the making, and before the making of this Creed. The *Arians* were the sole Occasion of introducing Both Kinds of Expression, which must therefore be interpreted accordingly. *Two* Things were design'd by them: One, to obviate the *Arian* Tenet, that the Three Persons were differing in *kind*, and in *degree*, as being of *unequal* Perfections; the other to obviate the *Arian* Charge, or Calumny, upon the Church as making *Three Gods*. In regard to the former, when the Catholics speak of *one Divinity*, they intend *equal* Divinity, not Divinities differing in *kind*, or *degree*: And in regard to the latter, They further mean *undivided* and *inseparable* Divinity, not *Many* Divinities. The true meaning then, and the full meaning of the Expressions of the Creed will be very clear and obvious. The Three Persons are *equal* in Duration, and *undivided* too; one Eternity, (one, because *undivided*, and inseparable) is *common* to all, and therefore They are not *Three Eternals*, but *one Eternal*.

The oldest Writers who have used this way of Expression, are, so far as I have observed, *Ambrose, Faustinus, and Austin*: And their meaning in it is very plain and certain from the Places themselves where They make use of it. *Fulgentius*, who came not long after them, sometimes falls into the same manner of Expression^a; but sparingly, as if He either did not fully attend to it, or had some scruple about it: For his general way is to say, *not three eternal Gods, but one eternal God*^b, in-

a *Relativa nomina Trinitatem faciunt, essentialia vero nullo modo triplicantur. Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus sanctus. Bonus Pater, bonus Filius, bonus Spiritus sanctus. Pius Pater, pius Filius, pius Spiritus sanctus. Justus Pater, justus Filius, justus & Spiritus sanctus. Omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens & Spiritus sanctus. Et tamen non dicimus nec Tres Deos, nec Tres bonos, nec Tres pios, nec Tres justos, nec Tres omnipotentes, sed unum Deum, bonum, pium, justum, omnipotentem, Patrem & Filium & Spiritum sanctum. Fulgent. de Trin. c. 2. p. 730.*

b *Æternus est sine initio Pater, æternus est sine initio Filius, æternus est sine initio Spiritus sanctus: nec tamen tres Dii æterni sed unus æternus Deus. Fulgent. ad Ferrard. p. 234.*

stead of the other in the Creed; and so in the like Cases. Which indeed is a very insipid and dull way of Expressing it, and if applied to every Article in the *Athanasian* Creed, would make it a very flat composition in comparison to what it is. It is true, that all at length resolves into This, that the Three Persons are *not Three Gods*, but *one God*: This is the Ground and Foundation, and the other is the Superstructure. But then it is a fine and elegant, as well as a solid Superstructure; improving the Thought, and carrying on a Train of new and distinct Propositions, and not merely a jejune and senseless Repetition of the same Thing.

12. *As also there are not Three Incomprehensibles, nor Three Uncreated; but one Uncreated, and one Incomprehensible.*^a

Not Three Incomprehensibles, &c. as not differing either in kind, or degree of Incomprehensibility, nor yet divided in those Perfections: But one Incomprehensible, and one Uncreated, one as to the kind and degree of those Attributes, or Perfections; and one in number too, as much as *Union*, and *Inseparability*, infinitely close and perfect, can be conceived to make, or do really make *one*.

13. *So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy-Ghost Almighty.*

Equally Almighty every one, without any *Difference*, or *inequality* in Kind, or Degree.

14. *And yet They are not Three Almighties, but one Almighty.*

One Omnipotence, or Almightyness is common to all; and one in kind as being of *equal* extent, and equally all; and one also in number, because of the interdependence among the Three, in the inward Perfection, and outward efficacy, or Operation.

Immensus est Pater, sed immensus est Filius, & immensus est & Spiritus sanctus. tamen tres *Dii* immensi, sed unus *Deus* immensus. *Fulgent.* *ibid.* v. 227.

Omnipotens est Pater; sed omnipotens est Filius. omni potens est Spiritus sanctus. tamen tres *Dii* omnipotentes, sed unus *Deus* omnipotens est Pater. & Filius, & sanctus. *Fulgent.* *ibid.*

^a Here again, one may perceive what Copy our Translators followed, namely the Greek Copy. All the other Copies, Greek and Latin, place the words in a different manner. Not three uncreated, nor three incomprehensibles, but one uncreated &c. The *Athanasian Latin Copy* reads, not three uncreated, nor three incomprehensibles (*immenses*) but one incomprehensible (*immense*) and one uncreated.

15. *So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy-Ghost is God.*
The whole Three Persons equally *divine*, and enjoying every Perfection belonging to the Godhead.

16. *And yet They are not Three Gods, but one God.*

Because the *Godhead*, or *Divinity* which belongs to one, belongs to all: The same in *kind* because of the Equality, and the same in *number* because inseparably one.

17. *So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy-Ghost Lord.*

Having the same right of *Dominion*, and of *equal Dominion*; and equally exercising it, when, and where They please.

18. *And yet not Three Lords, but one Lord.*

Because one *Dominion* is *common* to all Three, jointly possessing, and jointly exercising every Branch of it; undividedly, and inseparably bearing supreme Rule over all.

19. *For, like as we are compelled by the Christian Verity to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord: So are we forbidden by the Catholick Religion to say, there be Three Gods or Three Lords.*

That is to say, The whole Foundation of what hath been before taught, rests upon This, that the same *Christian Verity*, or *Truth*, laid down in Scripture, obliges us to acknowledge every Person distinctly consider'd to be *God* and *Lord*; and at the same Time to reject the Notion of *Three Gods* or *Three Lords*: which being so, all that has been here taught, must of Course be admitted as true, right, and just. And now, having consider'd the *Equality*, and *Union* of the Three Sacred Persons, it may next be proper to consider their *Distinction*, as it is set forth to us in Scripture by the several *personal* Characters belonging to the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy-Ghost*.

20. *The Father is made of none, neither created nor begotten.*

Were I at liberty to make conjectural Emendations, I wou'd here read, *Pater a nullo est: neque factus, nec &c.* The Father is of none: neither made, nor created, &c. And thus the next Article (*The Son is of the Father alone*) wou'd better answer, and the whole would be more elegant. But having met with no Copy^a to

^a Lazarus Baſius's Copy, in Genebrard, reads *ὁ πατὴρ ἀπὸ ἑδνῶς ἐστ.* But then it intirely omits *τενῶς*, which, as is plain from what follows in the Creed, ought not to be omitted.

countenance such a Correction; I must not pretend to it, lest it should appear like correcting the *Author*. However, the Sense is very plain, and obvious. All the Three *Negatives* here predicated of the Father amount to This one, That He is absolutely of *None*: This is his peculiar Property, his distinguishing Character, to be *first* in order, and the *Head* of every thing; to whom even the *Son* and Holy-Ghost are refer'd, but diversly and in different manner.

21. *The Son is of the Father alone; not made, nor created, but begotten.*

The Son is here said to be of the Father *alone*, in contradiction to the Holy-Ghost, to be named after, who is not of the Father *alone*, but of *Both*. The *Greeks* that struck out the words, *and of the Son*, below, and left the word *alone* here, were not aware of it. This Conduct of Theirs betray'd a Shortness of Thought, and at the same Time served to show that the *Latins* had not been *Interpolators* of the Creed, but that the *Greeks* had been *Curtailers*. It must however be own'd, that the *Greeks* who drew up that Form which Bishop *Usher* printed from *Junius*, were wise enough to observe how this Matter stood; and therefore struck out the word *alone* here, as well as *and of the Son* below.

22. *The Holy-Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son; neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.*

The peculiar and distinguishing Character of the Holy-Ghost is to *proceed*, and to proceed both from *Father and Son*. Indeed, the Son and Holy-Ghost are *Both of the Father*, but in a different manner, to us inexplicable; one by the way of *Generation*, the other by *Procession*, tho' the word *Procession*, in a lax Sense, has been sometimes applied to Either. However, to proceed *from the Father and the Son*, or, as the *Greeks* will needlessly cavil, *from the Father by the Son*; That is peculiar to the *Holy-Ghost*. The *Greeks* and *Latins* have had many, and tedious

Had the Copy run thus, ἀπ' ἑδενός ἐστ. ἕτε μὲν πατρὶς, ἕτε υἱοῦς &c. it would have answer'd my meaning. Indeed, the first Greek Copy in Labbe's Councils, and third in Montfaucon, run in such a way as I suppose: But then I take them to have been patch'd up from several distinct Copies, at the pleasure of the Editor, or Editors: And none of the Latin Copies will warrant such a Reading.

Disputes about the *Procession*. One Thing is observable, that tho' the *Antients*, appeal'd to by Both Parties, have often said that the Holy-Ghost proceeds *from the Father*, without mentioning the *Son*, yet They never said that He proceeded from the Father *alone*; so that the *modern Greeks* have certainly innovated in That Article, in *Expression* at least, if not in real Sense and Meaning. As to the *Latins*, They have This to plead, that none of the *Antients* ever condemn'd their Doctrin; that *Many* of them have expressly asserted it; that the *Oriental Churches* themselves rather condemn their taking upon them to add any thing to a Creed form'd in a *general Council*, than the *Doctrin* it self; that those *Greek Churches* that charge their Doctrin as Heresy, yet are forced to admit much the same Thing, only in different Words; and that Scripture it self is plain that the Holy-Ghost proceeds at least *by the Son*, if not *from Him*; which yet amounts to the same Thing.

I should here observe, that some time before the compiling of This Creed, the usual Catholick way of speaking of the Holy-Ghost, was to say, that He was *nec genitus, nec ingenitus*, neither *begotten* nor *unbegotten*, while This Creed by barely denying Him to be *begotten*, seems to leave Room to think that He is *unbegotten*. This raised a Scruple in the Minds of Some, here in *England*, concerning that part of the Creed, above 700 years ago; as we learn from *Abbo Floriacensis* of That Time. For *Gregory's Synodicon* admitted here, as well as this Creed, had the very Expression concerning the Holy-Ghost, *nec ingenitus, nec genitus*. It might have been easy to end the Dispute, only by distinguishing upon the *equivocal* meaning of the word *ingenitus*. It had been taken from the *Greek*, ἀγεννητος, which signified not barely *unbegotten*, but absolutely *underived*: in This Sense the Holy-Ghost could not be said to be *ingenitus*. But if it barely means *not begotten*, it may be applied to Him, as it is in the Creed. The whole Difficulty then arose only from the Scantiness of the *Latin Tongue*, in not affording a single word which should fully express the *Greek*, ἀγεννητος, *unoriginate*. *Ingenitus* might tolerably do it; but the word was more commonly taken in a narrower Construction. *Peter Abelard* has hit

hit off the whole Difficulty very clearly; whose Words therefore I have thrown into the Margin^a.

23. *So there is one Father, not Three Fathers; one Son, not Three Sons; one Holy-Ghost, not Three Holy-Ghosts.*

Whether This Paragraph be borrowed from St. *Austin*, or from an elder Writer under the Name of *Ignatius*, I know not. The Foundation of it was laid in 1 Cor. 8. 6. *one God the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ*; to which it was usual to add, after reciting it, *and one Holy-Ghost*, to compleat the whole number of the divine Persons. The intent and purport of the words, in This Creed, is to set forth the *Distinction* of the Three *Persons*, and their several *Offices*, and *Characters*: That there is *one Father*, and that He alone is *unoriginate*, is *First Person*, is *Head*, &c. and neither the *Son* nor *Holy-Ghost* have any share in these Titles, or Characters, to make Three *Unoriginates*, Three *Heads*, &c. That there is *one Son*, and He alone *begotten*, and afterwards *incarnate*, &c. which *Characters* and *Offices* belong not to the other Two, but are *distinct*, and *appropriate* to one. And there is *one Holy-Ghost*, whose *Character* is to *proceed*, and whose *Office* is to *sanctify*, which *Character* and *Office* are not to be ascribed, in the same Sense, to the other Two; for That would be *confounding* the personal Characters and Offices, and making *Three Holy-Ghosts*, instead of one.

24. *And in This Trinity, none is afore or after other; none is greater or less than another; but the whole Three Persons are coeternal together, and coequal.*

The Compiler of the Creed now returns to the *Equality* and *Unity* of the Persons; that He may at length sum up and throw into a short Compass what He had said upon the *Trinity*, before He should pass on to the other great Article, The *Incarnation*

^a Solum itaque Patrem *ingenitum* dicimus, hoc est, a seipso non ab alio: unde *Augustinus* adversus *Felicianum* Ariarium; Patrem *ingenitum* dico, quia non processit ab altero. — Aliud itaque dicere est Patrem *ingenitum*, aliud non *genitum* — Spiritus vero sanctus ipse quoque est non *genitus* — Nec tamen ideo est *ingenitus*, cum ipse ab alio sit, tam a Patre scilicet quam a Filio procedens. Solus itaque Pater *ingenitus* dicitur, sicut solus Filius *genitus*: Spiritus vero sanctus nec *genitus* est, nec *ingenitus*, sed, ut dictum est, non *genitus*. *Abaelard*. *Introd. ad Theolog.* l. 1. p. 983.

When

When it is said, *none is afore or after other*, we are not to understand it of *Order*; for the Father is *First*, the Son *Second*, and the Holy-Ghost *Third* in Order. Neither are we to understand it of *Office*; for the Father is *supreme* in Office, while the Son and Holy-Ghost condescend to *inferior* Offices. But we are to understand it, as the Creed it self explains it, of *Duration*, and of *Dignity*; in which respect, none is *afore or after*, none *greater or less*, but the whole Three *Persons coeternal*, and *coequal*.

25. *So that in all Things, as is afore said, the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.*

In all Things, (per omnia,) as is afore said. One of the Greek Copies tacks these words to the former Article, making them run thus; *coequal in all Things, as afore said.* Another Greek Copy reads them thus, *coequal in all Things: so that in all Things, as is now said, &c.* Both interpret the *all Things* of the *Coequality in all Things*. And indeed *Venantius Fortunatus* in his Comment, long before, seems to have understood, *per omnia*, in the same way, to signify that the Son is what the Father is, in all *essential*, or *substantial* Perfections. And it is favoured both by what goes before and after: For from speaking of the *Coeternity* and *Coequality*, the Author proceeds to say, *so that in all Things, as afore said, the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worship'd*; namely, on account of their perfect *Coeternity*, and *Coequality*: to which He subjoins, *He therefore that will be saved, &c.* Wherefore I incline to the moderate Opinion of Those who think that the Author here does not lay the stress upon every little nicety of Explication before given, but upon the main Doctrin, of a *Coequal* and *Coeternal* Trinity^a.

^a Le Quien's *ingenuous, and handsom Reflection, upon the Conduct of Pope Gregory the IXth's Legates, may deserve a recital here.*

Quamquam non possum quin ingenue fatear Nuncios Apostolicos consultius facturos fuisse, si ab ejusmodi Sententia pronuntianda sibi temperassent; *Qui credit Spiritum Sanctum non procedere ex Filio, in via perditionis est*: Tunc quippe Temporis Ecclesia Catholica in nulla Synodo Generali hoc de Capite judicium definitivum tulerat. *Panopl. contr. Schism. Græcor. p. 360.*

Wickliff's *Comment on this Paragraph, put into modern English, will not appear contemptible: It is thus:*

"And so we conclude here, as it is before said, that there is both an Unity of Godhead,

26. *He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.*

Thus, as consisting of Three Persons, *coeternal* and *coequal*, and all *one God*; distinct enough to be *Three*, united enough to be *One*; distinct without Division, united without Confusion.

27. *Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting Salvation, that He also believe rightly ^a the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Much depends upon our having true and just Sentiments of the *Incarnation*, in which the whole Oeconomy of our Salvation is nearly concern'd. To corrupt and deprave This Doctrin, is to defeat and frustrate, in a great measure, the Gospel of Christ which bringeth Salvation: Wherefore it is of great Moment, of everlasting Concernment to us, not to be guilty of doing it our selves, nor to take part with Those that do.

28. *For, the right Faith is, that we believe and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man.*

There have been Hereticks who would not allow that our Saviour Christ was *Man*, but in such a Sense as a Shadow, or a Picture of a Man, may be called a Man: And there have been others who would not allow that Christ is *God*, but in such a Sense as any *Creature* whatever might be called, or may be made a God. But all good Christians have ever abhorr'd those vile Tenets, and conformably to Scripture, rightly and justly interpreted, have believed and confess'd that Christ is both really God, and really Man, one *God-man*.

29. *God, of the Substance of the Father begotten before the Worlds; and Man, of the Substance of his Mother, born in the World.*

↳ We are forced to be thus particular, and expressive, in the wording of this Article, because of the many Wiles, Equivocations, and Disguises of Those, who endeavor to corrupt the Faith. The *Arians* make of Christ a *created* God, and call Him *God* on account only of his *Office*, and not of his *Nature*, or

^a and a Trinity of Persons; and that the Trinity in This Unity is to be worshipp'd above all other things: And whosoever will be saved must thus think of the Trinity; if not thus explicitly (or in every particular) yet thus in the general, or implicitly.

^a Ὁμοῦς ἁποθεῖται. So Bryling's Greek Copy. The Latin Copies have, Fideliter credit. Some Greek Copies read ἁποθεῖται, or βιζιζῶν, tho' Two, besides Bryling's, have also ὁμοῦς.

unchangeable Substance. For this reason, we are obliged to be particular in expressing his *Substance*, as being not *frail, mutable, perishing*, as the Substance of Creatures is, but eternal and unchangeable, and all one with the Father's. On the other Hand, the *Apollinarians* and other Hereticks have pretended, either that Christ had no Human Body at all, or that He brought it with Him from Heaven, and took it not of the Virgin-Mother: We are therefore forced to be particular in this Profession, that He was Man *of the Substance of his Mother*: which, tho' it be not taught in *express* words, yet is very plainly the Sense and Meaning of Holy Scripture on this Article; and was never question'd till, conceited Men came to pervert the true Doctrine of Sacred Writ, by false Glosses and Comments of their own.

30. *Perfect God, and perfect Man of a reasonable Soul, and Human Flesh subsisting.*

Here again, the Perverseness of Hereticks has made it necessary to guard the Faith by strong and expressive Words that cannot easily be eluded. Christ is *perfect God*, not such a *nominal* imperfect God as *Arians*, and *Photinians* pretend. He is moreover *perfect Man*, which it is necessary to insist upon against the *Apollinarians*, who pretended that He had a *Human* Body only without any *Rational* Soul; imagining the *Logos* to have supplied the Place of the *rational, or reasonable* Soul: whereas in reality He had both a *Soul* and *Body*, as all Men have, and was therefore *perfect Man*.

31. *Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead; and Inferior to the Father, as touching his Manhood.*

Which needs no Comment.

32. *Who altho' He be God and Man, yet He is not Two, but one Christ.*

This is said, to guard against Calumny and Mis-construction. For, because the Church asserted *Two Natures* in Christ, whereby He is both *perfect God*, and *perfect Man*, the *Apollinarians*, having an Hypothesis of their own to serve, pretended that This was making *Two Christs*, a *Divine Christ*, as to one Nature, and a *Human Christ* in the other: Which was a vain Thought, since

since Both the Natures join'd in the one *God-man*, make still but *one Christ*, both God and Man.

33. *One, not by Conversion of the Coarced into Flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God.*

The *Apollinarian* way of making *one Christ* by confounding the two Natures in one, and by subjecting the Godhead to *Change*, is here condemn'd. There is no need of running these injudicious, and absurd Lengths, for solving the Difficulty how the two Natures make *one Christ*: He did not change his *divine* Nature, or convert it into *Flesh*, tho' He be said to have been *made Flesh*; He took *Flesh* upon Him, He assumed human Nature, took Man into an Union with God, and thus was He *One Christ*.

34. *One altogether, not by Confusion of Substance, but by Unity of Person.*

We are thus forc'd to distinguish, with the utmost Nicety and Accuracy, to obviate the Cavils, and Pretences of Hereticks. Christ then is *one altogether*, intirely one, tho' his two Natures remain *distinct*. He is not one by *confounding*, or *mingling* two Natures or Substances, into one Nature or Substance; (as the *Apollinarians* pretended) but by uniting them Both in *one Person*; one I, one He, one Christ, as Scripture every where represents.

35. *For, as the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man; so God and Man is one Christ.*

That is to say, There are two very distinct, and different Substances in Man, a *Body* and a *Soul*; one material, the other immaterial, one mortal, the other immortal; and Both these Substances, nevertheless, make up but *one Man*. Not by *confounding* or *mingling* those two different Substances (for they are intirely *distinct*, and *different*, and will ever remain so) but by uniting them in *one Person*. Even so, may the Two distinct Natures *Divine* and *Human* in Christ, make *one Person*; And This is really and truly the Case in Fact.

36. *Who suffered for our Salvation, descended into Hell, rose again the third day from the Dead,*

The Author having finish'd his Explication of the great Article of *God incarnate*, now goes on to other Parts of the

Creed, such as were commonly inserted in the Creeds before. The Article of *The Descent into Hell* had not indeed, at This Time, come into the *Roman*, otherwise called the *Apostles Creed*: But it had been inserted in the Creed of *Aquileia*, and had been all along the standing Doctrine of the Church. I shall leave it, as our Church has left it, without any particular Interpretation; referring the Reader to Those who have commented on the *Apostles Creed*, and particularly to the much admired Author of *The History of it*, who hath exhausted the Subject.

37. *He ascended into Heaven, He sitteth on the right Hand of the Father, God Almighty, from whence He shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.*

These are all so many Articles of the *Roman Creed*, and probably taken from it: excepting only, that the words, *God Almighty*, appear not in the most antient Manuscripts; and, very probably, were not originally in This Creed, any more than in the antient *Roman*.

38. *At whose Coming, all Men shall rise again with their Bodies, and shall give account for their own Works.*

Here are Two very expressive Phrases, *All Men*, All that have died, or shall die, to obviate the false Opinion of a *partial Resurrection*; and *with their Bodies* to obviate the Notion of those, who either thought that the *Soul* only should continue for ever, while the Body should be left to perish, or that the *Resurrection-Body* should be quite of another *Matter, Form, or Kind*, than what our Bodies are here. I have hinted in my *Latin Notes* above, that some Words are wanting in the *Ambrosian Manuscript*; and I may here observe farther, that in the words of the Creed, as they commonly run, there is not all the *Accuracy* that might have been: For *All Men* shall not rise, but only All that *die*. However, it seems that about that Time, there was some Variety of Sentiments in respect of That Article, as we may learn from *Gennadius**; which was owing to

a Omnium Hominum erit Resurrectio: Si omnium erit, ergo omnes moriuntur, ut mors ab *Adam* ducta omnibus filiis ejus dominetur, & maneat illud privilegium in Domino, quod de eo specialitur dicitur: *non dabis Sanctum tuum videre Corruptionem.*
-----Hanc rationem maximâ patrum turbâ tradente suscepimus. Verùm quia sunt &

the different Reading of 1. Cor. 15. 51. from whence, probably, arose some Variation in the Copies of this Creed. See *Pearson* on the *Apostles*, Creed. *Artic.* 7.

39. *And They that have done Good shall go into Life everlasting, and They that have done Evil into everlasting Fire.*

This is the express Doctrine of Scripture, and appears almost in the same Words, *Joh.* 5. 28. *Matt.* 25. 46. to say nothing of many other Texts to the same Effect. Yet This Article, or rather these two Articles had not gain'd Admittance into the *Apostles* Creed so early as the IVth Century, the latter of 'em not at all. But, I suppose, the Opinion said to have been started by *Origen*, that wicked Men and even Devils, after a certain Revolution, should have their Release and Restoration, might make it the more necessary, or convenient at least, to insert these Articles in the Creeds, and to express the Punishment of the damn'd by the words *eternal Fire*: For the *Origenists*, at That Time, denied both the *Eternity* of the *Fire*, and also it's *Reality*, as appears from *Orosius* in *St. Austin*^a.

40. *This is the Catholick Faith, which except a Man believe faithfully^b, He cannot be saved.*

This is to be understood, like all other such general Propositions, with proper Reserves, and qualifying Constructions. As for Instance, if after laying down a System of Christian Morality, it be said, *This is the Christian Practice, which except a Man faithfully observe and follow, He cannot be saved*; it would be no more than right, and just thus to say: But no

Alii, æque Catholici & eruditi viri, qui credunt, anima in Corpore manente, mutandos ad incorruptionem & immortalitatem eos qui in Adventu Domini vivi inveniendi sunt, & Hoc eis reputari pro resurrectione ex mortuis, quod mortalitatem immutatione deponant, non morte; quolibet quis adquietat modo, non est Hæreticus, nisi ex contentione Hæreticus fiat. Sufficit enim in Ecclesiæ Lege, Carnis Resurrectionem credere futuram de morte. *Gennad.* *Eccles.* Dogm. c. 7.

a Ignem sane æternum, quo peccatores puniantur, neque esse ignem verum, neque æternum prædicaverunt, dicentes dictum esse ignem propriæ Conscientiæ punitionem, æternum autem, juxta etymologiam Græcam, non esse perpetuum, &c. *Epist. Orosii ad August.* inter *Aug. Op. Tom.* 8. p. 607.

b Πίστις πιστεύει. So *Bryling's Copy*, which our Translators followed.

The Latin Copies have, fideliter, firmiterque crediderit. And the other Greek Copies, Πίστις τε ἐ βεβήτως πιστεύει. Or, ἐν πίστει βεβήτως πιστεύει.

one could be supposed hereby to exclude any such merciful Abatements, or Allowances, as shall be made for Men's particular Circumstances, Weaknesses, Frailties, Ignorance, Inability, or the Like; or for their *sincere* Intention; and *honest* desires of knowing, and doing the whole will of God; accompanied with a *general* Repentance of their *Sins*, and a firm Reliance upon God's Mercy, through the sole Merits of Christ Jesus. There can be no doubt, however, but that Men are accountable for their *Faith*, as well as for their *Practices*: And especially if They take upon them to instruct and direct others, trusting to their own Strength and Parts, against the united Judgment and Verdict of *whole Churches* antient and modern.

C H A P. XI.

The Church of England vindicated, both as to the Receiving, and Retaining the Athanasian Creed.

THERE would be no Occasion for this Chapter, had not a late Author^a of Name and Character, out of his abundant Zeal to promote *Arianism*, taken upon Him to disparage this excellent Form of Faith; nay and to apply, with some earnestness, to *The Governors of our Church*, to get it laid aside. He thinks, *it may well deserve the most serious and deliberate Consideration of the Governors of the Church, whether it would not be more advantageous to the true interest of the Christian Religion, to retain only those more indisputable Forms*^a; that is, to have This wholly taken away, or at least not imposed in our *Articles*, or *Liturgy*. Then He subjoins his *Reasons*: Which because They may be presumed to be the closest, and strongest that can be offered on That Side, and because They have hitherto stood without any particular Confutation on one Hand, or Retraction on the other, I shall here take upon me to answer them, as briefly as may be.

^a *Clark's Scrip. Doctr. Edit. 1st. p. 446, 447.*

OBJECTION. I.

The first is, that *This Creed is confessed not to be Athanasius's, but the Composition of an uncertain obscure Author, written in one of the darkest and most ignorant Ages of the Church; having never appear'd till about the Year 800, nor been received in the Church till so very late as about the Year 1000.*

ANSW. As to the *false Facts* contain'd in This Article, I need only refer to the preceding Sheets. As to the Creed being none of *Athanasius's*, which is certainly *true*, it is to be consider'd, that our Church receives it not upon the *Authority* of its Compiler, nor determines any thing about its *Age*, or *Author*: But We receive it because the Truth of the Doctrines contained in it, *may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy-Scripture*, as is expressly said in our VIIIth Article. I may add, that the *early and general Reception* of this Creed by *Greeks and Latins*, by all the *Western Churches*, not only before, but since the *Reformation*, must needs give it a much greater *Authority* and *Weight* than the single Name of *Athanasius* could do, were it ever so justly to be set to it. *Athanasius* has left some Creeds and Confessions, undoubtedly his, which yet never have obtain'd the Esteem and Reputation that This hath done: Because none of them are really of the same *intrinsic Value*, nor capable of doing the like Service in the Christian Churches. The use of it is, to be a standing Fence and Preservative against the wiles and equivocations of most kinds of Hereticks. This was well understood by *Luther*, when He call'd it, *A Bulwark to the Apostles Creed*; ^a much to the same purpose with what has been above cited from *Ludolphus Saxo*. ^b And it was this and the like Considerations that have all along

^a *Athanasii scilicet Symbolum est paulo prolixius, & ad confutandos Arianos Hereticos, aliquanto uberius declarat, & illustrat Articulum alterum de Divinitate Christi Jesu — estque Hoc velut Propugnaculum primi illius Apostolici Symboli. Luther. de Trib. Symbol. Oper. Tom. VII. p. 138.*

^b *Thus al'o Alexander of Hales, 100 years before Ludolphus.*

Causa multiplicationis Symbolorum fuit triplex: Instructio Fidei, veritatis explanatio, erroris exclusio. — Erroris exclusio, propter Hæreses multiples pullulantes, causa fuit Symboli Athanasii, quod cantitur in Pr. m. Alex. ed. Alenf. Part. 3. Q. 69. Membr. 2. p. 541. Johan. Januensis in his Catholicis. (A. 1286) under Symbolum, says the same Thing.

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made it to be of such high Esteem among all the *Reformed Churches*, from the Days of their great Leader.

OBJECT. II.

The second reason assign'd for laying this Form aside, is, *that it is so worded, as that many of the common People cannot but be too apt to understand it in a Sense favouring either Sabellianism, or Tritheism.*

ANSW. This Objection is not particularly level'd against This Creed, but against all Creeds containing the Doctrine of a *Coeternal Trinity in Unity*: It is therefore an Objection rather against the *Faith of the Church*, (which those Gentlemen endeavor constantly to run down, under the notion of *Sabellianism*, or *Tritheism*) than against This particular Form of Expressing it.

I may further add, that the *Common-People* will be in no danger of running either into *Sabellianism*, or *Tritheism*, if They attend to the *Creed it self* (which fully obviates and confutes Both those Heresies) instead of listening to Those who first industriously labour to *deceive* them into a false Construction of the Creed, and then complain of the *Common-People's* being *too apt* to mis-understand it. This is not ingenuous, nor upright dealing with the *Common People*.

OBJECT. III.

A Third reason is, that *there are in This Creed many Phrases, which — may seem to give Unbelievers a needless Advantage of objecting against Religion; and among Believers themselves, cannot but to the Vulgar have too much the appearance of Contradictions: And sometimes (especially the Damnatory Clauses) have given offence to the piousst and most learned Men, insomuch as to have been the principal Reason of Mr. Chillingworth's refusing to subscribe the 39 Articles.*

ANSW. As to *Unbelievers*, and their *Objections*, the *Church* has been always able, and willing to answer them; sorry at the same time to find, that Any, who call themselves *Christians*; should join with the *Unbelievers* in the same trifling *Objections*, thereby giving the *Unbelievers* a very *needless Advantage*, and the most pernicious

cious Encouragement. As to *vulgar* Believers, they suspect no *Contradictions*, till Some, who think themselves above the *Vulgar*, labour to create such a Suspicion in Them. Leave the *Vulgar* to their *better* Guides, and their true *Orthodox* Pastors, without endeavouring to *corrupt* or *seduce* them; and then all will be safe, and easy.

As to Mr. *Chillingworth*, He had for a while, 'tis owned, some Scruples upon Him, about the *Fourth Commandment as appertaining to Christians*, and about the *Dammatory Clauses* in the *Athanasian Creed*; and therefore refused to *subscribe* for a Time. This was in the year 1635. But within Three years after, upon more mature Consideration, He happily got over his Difficulties, and *subscribed*, July the 20th, in the year 1638; as stands upon record in the *Office of Sarum*, where He was instituted *Chancellor* of the Church. ^a

OBJECT. IV.

A Fourth reason offered, not for laying aside this Creed, I suppose, but for the Governors taking it into consideration, is, that *the Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer declares that particular Forms of Divine-Worship, and Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being Things in their own Nature indifferent and alterable, may, upon the various exigency of Times and Occasions, be changed or alter'd.*

ANSW. No doubt but the Church may, if it be thought proper or expedient, throw out all the Creeds out of her *daily Service*, or *Articles*, and retain one only in the *Office of Baptism*, as formerly. But, I suppose, the Authors of the *Preface* to the *Book of Common-Prayer*, had no thought of excluding any of the *three Creeds* among their *alterable Forms* of worship, or *Rites* and *Ceremonies*: Nor will the revival of *Arianism* be ever look'd upon as one of those *Exigencies of Times* that shall make it expedient

^a Ego Gulielmus Chillingworth, Clericus, in Artibus Magister, ad Cancellariatum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Beatæ Mariæ Sarum, una cum Præbenda de Brinworth, alias Brickleyworth, in Comitatu Northampton Petriburgensis Dioceseos in eadem Ecclesia fundata, & eidem Cancellariatu annexa, admittendus & instituendus, omnibus hinc Articulis, & singulis in eisdem contentis volens & ex animo subscribo, & consensum meum eisdem præbeo, vicesimo die Julii. 1638. *Gulielmus Chillingworth.*

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to part with our Creeds; but, a reason rather for retaining them the more firmly, or even for taking them in again, had any of them ever been unhappily thrown out.

OBJECT. V.

A further reason pleaded, is, that *Scripture alone is sufficient*; that *the Primitive Church was very cautious about multiplying Creeds*; that *the Council of Ephesus forbid, under the penalty of an Anathema, any other Creed after That of Nice to be proposed, or received in the Church.*

ANSW. The whole design and end of *Creeds* is to preserve the *Rule of Faith*, as contain'd in the holy *Scriptures*, and not in the *false glosses*, and corrupt *Inventions* of Men. And when *Endeavors* are used to *poison* those *Fountains of Truth*, by ill *Comments*, and forc'd *Constructions*; *Preservatives* must be thought on to keep the *Fountain pure*, and the *Faith sound and whole*.

As to the *Primitive Churches*, their constant way was to enlarge their *Creeds* in proportion to the *Growth of Heresies*; that to every *Corruption* arising to the *Faith of Christ*, might have an immediate *Remedy*: without which prudent and wise *Caution*, The *Faith* would have been lost, in a little *Time*, through the *Wiles and Artifices* of subtle, intriguing Men.

The Council of *Ephesus* made no order against *new Creeds*, that is, *Creeds* still more and more enlarged, if there should be occasion, but against a *new Faith* (ἐτέραν πίστιν) a *Faith different* from and *repugnant* to that of *Nice*, such as was offer'd by the *Nestorians* in That Council. This is the *literal construction*, and real *intended meaning* of That Decree of the *Ephesine Council*:^a Tho' had They intended it against the receiving any *other Form* but the *Nicene*; all that follows from it is, that They thought no more necessary at *That Time*; or that *Definitions* in Councils (as in the Council of *Chalcedon* afterwards) or *Condemnation* of *Heretical Tenets* might suffice, leaving the *Baptismal Creed* (all *Creeds* were such at *That Time*) just as was before. How-

^a Vid. *Stephan. de Altimura* (i. e. *Le Quien*) *Panopliam contra Schism.* Græc. p. 230, 258. & *Dissertat. Damascen.* p. 14. &c.

ever, the Practice of the Church afterwards, in *multiplying* Creeds as need required, at the same Time that They acknowledg'd the *Ephesine* Council, shows fully how they understood it. Nay the constant Reception of the *Constantinopolitan* Creed (which is the *Nicene interpolated*, and yet was never understood to be excluded by the *Ephesine* Canon) shews plainly the Sense of the *Synod* in That matter. It is to be noted, that the *Ephesine* Council, by *Nicene Creed*, meant the *Nicene* strictly so called,^a and which had already been *interpolated* by the *Constantinopolitan* Council.

OBJECT. VI,

Another Plea offer'd, is, that in the year 1689, many wise and good Prelates of our own (commission'd to *review* and *correct* our Liturgy) *unanimously agreed*, that *the use of the Athanasian Creed should no longer be imposed*.

ANSW. There may be reason to question the Truth of this Report. There are two Accounts which I have seen of This matter; one of Dr. *Nichols*, the other of Dr. *Calamy* which he received of a Friend. Dr. *Nichols's* Account runs thus. "*Athanasius's* Creed being disliked by many, because of the *Damnatory* Clauses, it was left to the *Minister's* choice, either to use it, or to change it for the *Apostles* Creed.^b Dr. *Calamy's* Account is thus: "About the *Athanasian* Creed, They came at last to this Conclusion: That lest the wholly rejecting it should by unreasonable Persons be imputed to them as *Soci-nianism*, a *Rubrick* shall be made, setting forth, or declaring the *Curses* denounced therein not to be restrain'd to every particular Article, but intended against Those that deny the substance of the Christian Religion in general.^c Now, from these Two Accounts compared, it may be reasonable to believe that those wise and good Prelates had once drawn up a Scheme to be debated and canvass'd, in which Scheme it was propos'd

a Vid. *Le Quien*: *ibid*, p. 230. & *Dissert. Damascen.* p. 18.

b *Nicholsii* Apparatus ad Defens. Eccl. Angl. p. 95.

c *Calamy's* *Life of Baxter.* Vol. 1. p. 455.

to leave every *Minister* at liberty with respect to the *Athanasian Creed*: But, upon more mature consideration, *They came at last to this conclusion*, to impose the Creed as before, and to qualify the seeming Harshness of the *Damnatory Clauses* by a softening *Rubrick*. They were therefore, at length *unanimously agreed* still to *retain*, and *impose* This Creed; quite contrary to the *Objector's* Report. And indeed it must have appear'd very Astonishing in the eyes of all the *Reformed Churches*, *Lutheran* and *Calvinist* (who have the greatest Veneration for This Creed) to have seen it wholly rejected by the *English Clergy*, when there had been no precedent before of any one Church in Christendom that had done the like. All that ever received it, have constantly retain'd it and still retain it. It is further to be considered, that what Those very worthy Prelates at that time intended, sprung from a just and becoming Tenderness to the *Dissenters*, because of their long *Scruples* against the *Damnatory Clauses*. But there is not the same reason at This Day: The wiser and more moderate Part of the *Dissenting Ministers*^a seem very well reconciled to the *Damnatory Clauses*, *modestly expounded*; as Dr. *Wallis* particularly has expounded them, *justly* and *truly*, as well as *modestly*. And I am confident, the soberer *Dissenters* would not, at *this Time*, wish to see so excellent, and so useful a Form of Faith laid aside, only to serve the Interests of our new *Arians*. However, since the *Damnatory Clauses* were the main difficulty, a better way might have been contriv'd than was then thought on; namely, to have preserved the whole Creed except those Clauses, which are separable from it. But the best of all, as I humbly conceive, is what has prevailed, and still obtains, to let it stand as before; since the *Damnatory Clauses* have been often and sufficiently

^a This Creed by whomsoever framed, hath been long received in the church, and look'd on as agreeable to the Scriptures, and an excellent Explication of the Christian Faith. Constantinople, Rome, and the Reformed Churches have owned it ——— our pious and excellent Mr. Baxter, in his *Method of Theol.* p. 123, Speaks thus of it: "In a word, the damnatory Sentences excepted, or modestly expounded (such a modest Explication of the Damnatory Clauses see in Dr. Wallis &c.) I embrace the Creed commonly called Athanasius's, as the best explication of the Trinity. And in Vol. II. of his works p. 132. says He, I unfeignedly account the Doctrine of the Trinity, the sum and kernel of the Christian Religion, as express'd in our Baptism, and Athanasius's Creed, the best Explication of it I ever read. Doctrine of the Trinity stated &c. by some London Ministers. p. 62, 63.

vindicated by the *reformed* Churches abroad,^a as well as by our own here.

OBJECT. VII.

It is pleaded farther, mostly in the words of Bishop *Taylor*, that the *Apostles Creed is the Rule of Faith*, that This only is *necessary to Baptism*, that what was once *sufficient to bring Men to Heaven*, must be so now; that there is no occasion for being so *minute and particular* in the matter of *CreeDs*; with more to the like purpose.

ANSW. 1. Dr. *Taylor* goes upon a false supposition that the Creed called the *Apostles* was compiled by the Apostles.

2. He has another *false* presumption, appearing all the way in his reasonings on this Head, that the *Apostles Creed* has been always the *same* that it is now: whereas learned Men know that it was not brought to its present Form till about the year 600, is nothing else but the *Baptismal Creed* of one particular Church, the Church of *Rome*, and designedly *short* for the ease of those who were to repeat it at *Baptism*. Now, when we are told of the *Apostles Creed* containing all that is *necessary to Salvation*, and *no more than is necessary*; we would gladly know whether it be meant of the *old short Roman Creed*,^b or of the *present one* considerably *larger*: And if They intend the *old one*, why Application is not made to our *Governors* to lay the *new one* aside, or to curtail, and reduce it to its primitive size; by leaving out

^a Tenzelius, a Lutheran, is very smart upon this Head, against the Arminians, for their objecting to the Damnatory Sentences.

Verum injuste, atque impudenter accusant initium Symboli, quod pridem vindicarunt nostrates Theologi: *Dannhaverus* in Stylo vindice p. 200. *Hulsemannus* de Auxiliis Gratia p. 218. *Kromayerus* in Theologia positivo polemica. p. 98, 99. & in Scrutinio Religionum p. 205. alique passim. *Tenzel*. p. 110. To these which Tenzelius has mention'd, I may add *David Pareus* (a Calvinist) in his comment upon this Creed, publish'd at the end of *Ursinus's Catechism*. A. D. 1634. by Philip Pareus.

^b The old Roman (or Apostles) Creed was no more than This, as may be seen in Bishop *Usher*, de Symbol. p. 6. and 9.

" I believe in God the Father Almighty: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; who
 " was born of the Holy-Ghost and the Virgin Mary; crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried,
 " rose again the third day from the dead, ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right Hand of the
 " Father, from whence He shall come to judge the Quick and Dead. And in the Holy-Ghost,
 " the Holy Church, the Remission of Sins, The resurrection of the Body. Amen.

the Belief, or Profession of God's being *Creator of Heaven and Earth*, and of Christ's being *dead*, and of his *Descent into Hell*, and of the Church being *Catholick*, and of the *communion of Saints*, and *Life everlasting*, as unnecessary Articles of Faith. For why may not That suffice *now*, which was *once* sufficient? or how can any thing be *necessary* at This Day, that was not so from the Beginning?

3. To set this whole matter right, it ought to be considered, that *Creeds* were never intended to contain, as it were, a *certain Quantity of Faith*, as necessary to bring Men to Heaven, and no more than is necessary. Were This the Case, All *Creeds* ought precisely to have consisted of an *equal* number of Articles, and the *same individual* Articles: Whereas there are no two *Creeds* any where to be found which answer to such exactness. A plain Argument that the Church, in forming of *Creeds*, early and late, went upon no such view, but upon quite another principle. The Design of all was, to keep up as strictly as possible the whole *Compages*, or *Fabrick* of the Christian Faith as it stands in *Scripture*: And if any *Part* came to be attack'd, They were then to bend all their Cares to succour and relieve That Part, in order still to secure the *Whole*. Some few of the main *Stamina*, or chief Lines, were taken care of from the first, and made up the first *Creeds*: particularly, the *Doctrine* of the *Trinity* briefly hinted, and scarce any thing more, because the Form of Baptism led to it. As to other *Articles*, or larger *Explications* of *This*, They came in occasionally, according as This or That part of the Christian Faith seem'd most to be endanger'd, and to require present Relief. And as This varied in several Countries, or Churches (some being more disturbed than others, and some with one kind of Heresy, others with another) so the *Creeds* likewise varied; some insisting particularly upon This Article, others upon That, as need required, and all still endeavouring to keep up and maintain one whole and intire System of the Christian Faith, according to the true and full meaning of sacred Writ. There is nothing more in it than the very nature and circumstance of the Thing necessarily leads to. I may illustrate the case a little farther by an easy parallel between

tween matters of *Faith*, and matters of *Practice*. The sum of Christian Practice is contain'd in Two brief Rules, To *love God*, and to *love one's Neighbour*; which comprehend all. No one needs more than This; nor indeed can there be any thing more. But then a perverse Man may possibly understand by *God*, not the *true God*, the God of *Jews* and *Christians*, but some other of his own devising, or such as has been received by *Pagans*, or Hereticks: And He may understand by *Neighbour* one of his own *Country* only, or *Tribe*, or *Sect*, or *Family*. Well then, to obviate any such method of undermining *Christian Practice*, it will be necessary to be a little more *particular* than barely to lay down in brief To *love God*, and *one's Neighbour*. We must add, The *true God*, the God of *Jews* and *Christians*, That very God and none else: And as to *Neighbour*, we must insit upon it, that it means, not This or That *Sect*, *Tribe*, *Party*, &c. but all Mankind. And now our *Rule of Practice* begins to extend and enlarge it self beyond its primitive Simplicity; but not without reason. To proceed a little farther; Mistakes, and perverse Sentiments may arise in the interpreting the word *Love*, so as thereby to evacuate and frustrate the Primary, and Fundamental Rule: To correct and remove which, it may be necessary still farther to *enlarge* the *Rule of Practice*, and to branch it out into many other particulars; which to mention would be needless. Now if such a method as This will of course be necessary to preserve the *Essentials* of *Practice*; let it not be thought strange if the like has been made use of to preserve the *Essentials* of *Faith*. There is the same Reason, and the like Occasion for Both: And if due care be taken in Both, to make all the Branches hang naturally upon the Primary and Fundamental Rules, and to adopt no *foreign* ones, as belonging thereunto when they really do not; then there is nothing in this whole Affair but a just and prudent Care about what most of all deserves it, and such as will be indispensably required in every faithful Minister, or Steward of the Mysteries of God. To return to our point in Hand: As more and more of the sacred Truths, in process of Time, came to be opposed, or brought in Question; so Creeds have been enlarged in proportion; and an explicite
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Profession of more and more Articles required of every Candidate for Baptism. And because This was not security sufficient, since many might forget, or not know, or not attend to what They had profess'd in their Baptism (by Themselves or by their Sureties) it was found highly expedient, and necessary to insert one or more Creeds in the standing, and daily Offices of the Church; to remind people of That Faith which They had solemnly engaged to maintain, and to guard the unwary against the wily Attempts of Hereticks to pervert Them. This is the plain and true Account of *Creeds*, and of their *use* in the Christian Churches. And therefore, if any Man would talk Sense against the *use* of This, or That Creed in any Church; He ought to show, either that it contains such *Truths* as no Man ever did, or in all probability never will oppose; (which will be a good Argument to prove the Creed *superfluous*) or that it contains Articles which are *not true*, or are at best *doubtful*; which will be a good Argument to prove such a Creed *hurtful*. Now, as to the *Athanasian* Form, it will hardly be thought *superfluous*, so long as there are any *Arians*, *Photinians*, *Sabellians*, *Macedonians*, *Apolinarians*, *Nestorians*, or *Eutychians* in this part of the World: And as to its being *hurtful*, That may then be proved when it can be shown that any of those foremention'd *Heresies* were no *Heresies*, or have not been justly condemn'd.

If it be pleaded, that the *Vulgar*, knowing little of any of those *Heresies*, will therefore know as little of what the *Creed* means; and so to Them it may be at least dry and insipid, if not wholly useless: To This I answer; that there are no kinds of *Hereticks* but hope to make the *Vulgar* understand *their* Tenets respectively, and to draw them aside from the *received* Faith of the Church: And therefore it behoves the Pastors of the Church to have a *standing* Form, to guard the People against any such Attempts. The *Vulgar* will understand, in the general, and as far as is ordinarily to Them necessary, the main Doctrines of a *Trinity in unity*, and of *God incarnate*: And as to particular Explications, whenever they have occasion to look farther, they will find the *true ones* laid down in this Creed; which will be useful to prevent their being imposed upon at any time with

with *false* ones. If They never have occasion to go farther than generals, there is no Hurt done to Them by *abundant* Caution: If they have, here's a Direction ready for them to prevent Mistakes. It is not pretended that all are capable of seeing through every nicety, or of perceiving the full Intent and Aim of every part of This Form, and what it alludes to. But, as many as are capable of being *set wrong* in any one Branch, (by the subtlety of Seducers) are as capable of being *kept right* by This *Rule* given them: And They will as easily understand *one side* of the Question, as they will the *other*. The Christian Churches throughout the World, ever since the Multiplication of *Heresies*, have thought it necessary to guard their people by some such Forms as these in standing use amongst them. The *Oriental* Churches, which receive not this Creed into their Constant Offices, yet more than supply the want of it, either by other the like Creeds,^a or by their solemn stated Prayers in their *Liturgies*, wherein they express their *Faith* as fully, and particularly (or more so^b) as This Creed does: And They are not so much afraid of *puzzling* and *perplexing* the *Vulgar* by doing it, as They are of *betraying*, and *exposing* them to the Attempts of Seducers, should they not do it. For which reason also They frequently direct their Prayers to God the *Son*, as well as to God the *Father*; being in That case more solicitous than the *Latin* Churches have been, because They have been oftner disturbed by *Arians*, and other Impugners of Christ's Divinity.^c

Upon the whole, I look upon it as exceeding *useful*, and even *necessary*, for every Church to have some such *Form* as This, or something equivalent, open and common to all its Members: that none may be led astray for want of proper Caution, and previous Instruction in what so nearly concerns the whole Stru-

^a See the Creed of the Armenians in Sr. P. Ricaut. p. 411. &c.

^b See Ludolphus *Histor. Æthiop.* l. 3. c. 5. and Renaudot's *Orient. Liturg.* passim.

^c Nam cum omnes Orationes *Latini Canonis*, ex vetustissima Traditione, ad Deum *Patrem* dirigantur; in *Oriente* plures ad *Filium*: Nempe, quia magis conflictata est *Arianorum*, & aliorum qui ejus Divinitatem impugnabant, contentionibus *Orientalis*, quam *Occidentalis* Ecclesia. Renaudot. de *Oriental. Liturg.* Vol. 1. p. 262.

The Reasonableness of Retaining

ture and Fabrick of the Christian Faith. ^a As to This particular Form, it has so long prevailed, and has so well answer'd the use intended, that, all Things consider'd, there can be no sufficient reason for *changing* any part of it, much less for *laying* the whole *aside*. There are several other Creeds, very good ones, (tho' somewhat larger) which, had They been made choice of for *common* use, might possibly have done as well. The Creeds I mean (of which there is a great number) drawn up after the *Council of Chalcedon*, and purposely contriv'd to obviate all the *Heresies* that ever had infested the Christian Church. But, Those that dislike This Creed, would much more dislike the other; as being still more *particular*, and *explicite* in regard to the *Nestorian*, *Eutychian*, and *Monothelite* Heresies, and equally full and clear for the Doctrine of the *Trinity*.

To conclude; so long as there shall be any Men left to *oppose* the *Doctrines* which This Creed contains, so long will it be *expedient*, and even *necessary* to continue the *Use* of it, in order to preserve the rest: And, I suppose, when we have none remaining to find fault with the *Doctrines*, there will be none to object against the *Use* of the Creed, or so much as to wish to have it laid aside.

^a To this purpose speaks Johannes Pappus, in the name of the Lutheran Churches, commenting on the Augsburg Confession.

Semper in Ecclesia scriptorum quorundam publicorum usus fuit, quibus Doctrinæ Divinitus revelatæ de certis Capitibus Summa comprehenderetur, & contra Hæreticos, aliosque Adversarios defenderetur. Talia scripta, licet perbrevia, sunt *Symbola* illa totius Ecclesiæ, omnium Hominum consensu recepta, *Apostolicum*, *Nicanum*, *Athanasianum*. Joan. Papp. Comm. in Confess. August. fol. 2.

I take This upon the Credit of Nic. Serarius, who quotes the passage from Pappus. Serar. in Symb. Athanas. p. 9. Tom. 2.

An APPENDIX to Chapter the Third, which
treats of Antient Comments.

I intimated above, p. 34, that *Fortunatus's* Comment upon 570
the *Athanasian* Creed, tho' before publish'd, might deserve
a second publication, and be made much more correct than it
appears in *Muratorius's* 2d Tome of *Anecdota*: This gave me
the first Thought of subjoining an *Appendix* to the foregoing
Sheets. But having withal received some farther informations
relating to other *Comments* upon the same Creed, I am willing
to impart them also to the Reader, at the same Time.

The next intire Comment, after *Fortunatus's*, is *Bruno's*, as 1033
may be seen in the Table of Comments, p. 45. I have in
Pages 36th, and 37th, numbred up several manuscript Copies
of *Bruno's* Comment: The doing of which will, I conceive,
be of This use, at least, to the Publick, that the several Ma-
nuscripts hitherto conceal'd under general Titles, as anony-
mous Pieces, may be better known hereafter, and referr'd to
their proper Author. For which reason also I think it worth
the mentioning, that some other Copies of the same Com-
ment may be added to the former, being in several Libraries
as here specified.

1. There is one in the Library of St. *John Baptist's* College,
Oxon; N. 1874 of the *Oxford* Catalogue, mark'd G. 42. Title,
Commentarius in Symbolum Athanasii. By the beginning and con-
cluding Words of That Commentary (a Transcript of which
has been sent me by a worthy Member of That Society) I am
well assured that it is *Bruno's* Comment.

2. In the *Bodleian*. Catal. N. 994. Laud. E. 71. *Athanasii Sym-
bolum cum Glossa*. This also, as I am certified by a Learned
Gentleman who examin'd it, is *Bruno's* Comment. The Title,
Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi.

3. In *Baliol* Collège. Catal. N. 210. mark'd B. 9. *Athanasii
Symbolum cum Commentario*: Another Copy of *Bruno's* Com-
ment.

4. In *Merton* College (Catal. N. 675—208.) *Symbolum Athanasii cum Glossa*. This also is *Bruno's* Comment, and may be reckon'd among the more antient Copies of it.

There are, very probably, several other Copies of *Bruno's* Comment in our Libraries here in *England* (as I judge from the *Oxford* Catalogue) under the like general Titles with those above; or perhaps among the *Psalteria glossata*. But I contente my self at present with Those already mention'd; not having Leisure or Opportunity to make further Inquiries.

1220 As to the other Comments below *Bruno's*, I have nothing farther to add till I come to *Alexander Neckham's*. I mention a Comment of his in the 39th Page above. I referr'd to a manuscript Copy of it in the *Bodleian*. E. 7. 8. Oxon. Catal. N. 2339. There is Another Copy of the same Comment, in the *Bodleian* also. E. 6. 11. N. 2330. The Title of the Comment is *Expositio Fidei Catholice a Magistro Alexandro edicta*. This Copy is thought to be about 50 years later than the former. It may be of use to note down the first words^a of the *Comment*, that if there be any other anonymous Copies of the same, it may be known, by comparing, to what Author they belong. I should take notice that E. 7. 8. makes about 10 Leaves in *Folio*, with double Columns in each page. E. 6. 11 makes 4 Leaves in *folio*, with three Columns in every page, and in a smaller Hand than the other. From hence some judgment may be made of the Size, or Length of the Comment: The Character in Both is small, and full of Abbreviations; so that one may imagine the Comment to be a pretty large one.

1230 I shall next take notice of Another Comment, a printed One, which before escap'd me. It is of the famous *Alexander Hales*, in his *Third Part* of his *Summa*, under Quæst. 69. After treating on the *Apostles* and *Nicene* Creeds, He comes to the *Athanasian*; upon which He raises several Questions and Doubts, as He goes through it, and answers them all-along in the Scholastick way, referring sometimes to the elder Writers, and particularly to St. *Austin*, to whom He attributes *Gennadius's* Treac-

^a Hæc est enim Victoria quæ vincit mundum, Fides nostra. Signanter dicit *vult*, & non dicit *quicumque saluus erit*.

tise de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus, according to the Error of That Time; But I proceed.

I took notice above (p. 39) of a *Latin* Comment ascribed 1340 to *Richard Hampole*. I intimated (p. 44.) some Doubts I had concerning the Author of That Comment; having reason to believe that the three Copies mention'd by *Tentzelius* are nothing else but so many Copies of that very Comment which passës under the name of *Hampole*: And yet one of 'em is judged to be above 500 years older^a than 1686, which is 150 years before *Hampole's* Days. It is possible that *Joachim Fellerus*, the Compiler of the Catalogue of the *Leipsick* Library, might mistake in judging of the Age of the Manuscript: But it appears much more probable that the Editors of That Comment were mistaken in ascribing it to *Hampole*. However That be, I would here observe, that there is in *Magdalen* College, in *Oxford*, a Comment intituled *Expositio in Symbolum Athanasianum per Fanuensem* (N. Catal. 2256. — 115) which is no other than This very Comment that passës in the Prints under the name of *Rich. Hampole*. The Catalogue's ascribing it to *Fanuensis*, was owing, I suppose, to an occasional Passage, in that Manuscript, relating to the *Athanasian* Creed, cited from *Johannes Fanuensis's* *Catholicon*, or Dictionary, under the word *Symbolum*. The Comment however, I say, is the same with that which passës for *Hampole's*, as may plainly appear from the Beginning of it, which I have transcrib'd into the margin;^b only filling up an *Omission* in it, occasion'd, as is very common, by

^a *Tentzelius* writes thus.

Opportune ad manus meas pervenit Responsio Ampl. *Felleri*, qua rationem Codicis latini *Lipsiensis* in Præfatione a me citati prolixius exposuit. Ait enim, membranaceum istum Codicem ante CCCC annos & ultra, eleganter scriptum videri; additas etiam esse non interlineares tantum notas, sed & marginales utrinque; in *dextro* videlicet & *sinistro* paginarum latere: *Rubricam* autem *Symboli* nostri ita se habere; *Fides Anastasii Papæ*. In *dextro* primæ paginæ hæc legi verba: *Hæc ratio Fidei Catholica traditur in veteribus Codicibus*, & reliqua, quæ antea ex MS Bibliothecæ Ducalis attuli. Unde patet, easdem plane Glossas in utroque Codice reperiri; præsertim quum in *sinistro* alterius margine, hæc etiam verba legi referat *Fellerus*: *Hic beatus Anastasius liberum arbitrium posuit* &c. *Tentzel.* p. 225.

^b Hæc ratio Fidei Catholicæ traditur etiam in veteribus Codicibus a Beato *Athanasio Alexandrino* conscripta. Et puto, quod idcirco tam plano & brevi Sermone tradita sit, ut omnibus Catholicis, & minus eruditis, Tutamen Defensionis præstaret adversus illam
the

the repetition of the same word. There may be a good use made of That Manuscript in *Magdalen* College, for correcting the printed Copy, which is very faulty, both in *words*, and *order*. The Comment ought to begin as it begins in That Manuscript; and not with the words, *Hic beatus Athanasius*, as in the Prints. The Editors did not understand, or did not consider, the nature and composition of That Comment. The Author, whoever He was, had made Two Columns, one on each hand, with the *Athanasian* Creed in the middle. On the *Left-hand*, which is the first place, He set *Bruno's* Comment, and on the *Right-hand*, in the other Column, He carried down another Comment, either of his own, or borrow'd. The first Note on the *Right-hand* was plainly design'd for an introduction to the rest, and therefore ought to be set first; tho' the Editors, considering only the position of the Notes, began from the *Left-hand*, with the first words of *Bruno's* Comment. The *Oxford* Copy observes the true natural Order, and may very probably be of good use all the way through, for the better digesting and methodizing that Comment, or Comments, being in reality Two Comments mix'd and blend'd together.

I should observe of the *Oxford* Copy, that after the Comment there is in the same Hand, This Note: *Hec conscripta sunt a quodam antiquo Libro*. Possibly, This may be of some use for the determining whether that Comment be really *Hampole's*, or no. For, if the Manuscript be not much later than 1415 (it must be so late, since it fixes That very Date to Dr. *Ullerston's* Exposition of the Six Psalms) it may be probably argued that any thing of *Hampole's*, who flourished but about 80 years before, would not have been called *antiquus Liber*, an ancient Book. But This I leave to farther inquiries; not insisting upon it, since the Argument is but probable at the best; and I do not know but the Manuscript may be several years later than 1415,

Tempestatem [quam contrarius ventus, hoc est, Diabolus, excitavit per *Arrium*; quam Tempestatem] qui fugere desiderat, hanc Fidei unitatem (al. *veritatem*) integram & inviolabilem tenet. Ita enim incipit ipsum opusculum, dicens, *Quicumque vult salvus &c.* Hic beatus *Athanasius* liberum arbitrium posuit. &c.

tho'

tho' hardly later than the middle of that Century. *Ullerston* is undoubtedly the latest Author in That Collection. *Petrus Florentinus*, or *Florentinus* (otherwise called *Petrus de Harentals*) wrote in 1374:^a *Fannensis*, *Gorham*, *Lyra*, and *Hampole* are all older than He: The last therefore is *Ullerston*, who was probably still living when that Manuscript was written. But enough of This.

There remains one Comment more to be spoken to, and That is the Comment which I have ascribed to *Wickliff*, above p. 39. I before took notice of three manuscript Copies of it: To which I would now add a *Fourth*, which is in the *Bodleian* (N. 668. Laud. C. 16.) under the general Title of a *Gloss upon Quicumque vult*. I have nothing further to observe concerning it but This, that whereas I had before a Suspicion that This Comment might be *Hampole's*, being annex'd sometimes to *Hampole's* English Commentary on the *Psalms* and *Hymns*, I am now the less inclinable to suspect it, having seen, in *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*, a very old Copy of *Hampole's* Commentary, which runs through the *Psalms*, and all the common *Hymns* and *Canticles*, but has not this Comment on the Creed in it; tho' the Manuscript appears to be very whole and intire, and no Leaves, or Leaf cut out. This confirms me the more in my first Thought, that the Comment is really *Wickliff's*.

I have a few things to add about *Fortunatus's* Comment, which is to shut up the *Appendix*, and for the sake of which chiefly the *Appendix* hath been added.

I have made frequent use of it in the preceding Sheets: And now my design, in reprinting it, is to let the Reader see what the Comment is which I so frequently refer to; that so He may judge for Himself whether it really be what I suppose, and I think, with good reason, A Comment of the 6th Century, and justly ascribed to *Fortunatus*. I have endeavour'd to make it as correct as possible, by such Helps as I could any where procure; which are as follow.

1. The printed Copy of it, publish'd by *Muratorius* from a Manuscript of the *Ambrosian* Library, about 600 years old.

^a See Oudin, Tom. 3. p. 1218.

2. A manuscript Copy from *Oxford*, found among *Franciscus Junius's* MSS, which appears, by the *Character*, to be above 700 years old, or near 800. As it is older than *Muratorius's*, so is it also more faithful; and tho' it has a great many Faults both in the *Orthography*, and *Syntax*, owing either to the Ignorance of the *Age*, or of the *Copist*, yet it does not appear to have been *interpolated*, like the other, or to have been industriously altered in any part.

3 Besides those Two Copies of the intire Comment, I have had some Assistance from such *Parcels* of it as are to be met with in Writers that have borrowed from it. *Bruno's* Comment furnishes us with some parts which He had taken into his own. But there is, among the Supposititious Works ascribed to St *Austin*, a Treatise intituled *Sermo de Symbolo*,^a which has several scatter'd Fragments of this very Comment in it. The whole Treatise is a *Farrago*, or Collection from several other Writers; as *Ruffinus*, *Casarius*, Pope *Gregory 1.* and *Ivo Carnotensis*. By the last mention'd, one may be assured that The *Collection* is not older than the Close of the XIth Century; it may be later. It will be serviceable however, so far as it goes, for restoring the true readings where our Copies are corrupt; which is the use I make of it.

In my 34th Page, above, I threw in a Remark about *Pareus's* quoting a part of *Fortunatus's* Comment under the name of *Euphronius Presbyter*, which I wonder'd at. I should observe to the Reader, that those words of *Pareus* are not in the older Edition of his Comment A. D. 1627, but in the later one of 1634. and was probably not thought on by *David Pareus* the Father, but added by *Philip Pareus* the Son. But I am still at a loss to know whence He had it, and who is meant by *Euphronius Presbyter*. *Fortunatus* had some intimacy with *Euphronius*, Bishop of *Tours*, of that Time. Whether his name appearing among the manuscript Copies of *Fortunatus's* pieces might occasion such a Mistake, I know not. I may observe that *Bruno's* Comment has the very same passage in it, only under a diffe-

^a *Augustin. Oper. Tom. 6. in Appendice. p. 278. Ed. Bened.*

rent Order of the words: But neither will this help us to account for its being cited under the name of *Euphronius Presbyter*, which has no similitude with the name of *Bruno*, who was Bishop of *Wurtzburg*. But to return to our *Comment*.

This *Comment* of *Fortunatus's*, if of no other use, will at least be valuable for its *Age*, and as bearing Testimony to the *Antiquity*, and *early* Reception of the Creed. We have no other *Comment* upon That Creed till near 300 years after, in the Time of *Hincmar*: And his is rather a *Paraphrase* than a *Comment*; and not upon the intire Creed, nor digested into any just and regular order, but only scatter'd Hints, here and there, upon some parts of the Creed as He had occasion to cite Them. Now I am mentioning *Hincmar*, I may cite one passage from Him upon a part of the Creed, which may seem to want explication as much as any, and which I have spent some Thoughts upon in Page 144. The words are^a very apposite to the purpose, and the more valuable as showing how that part of the Creed was understood so long agoe as 900 years upwards, or nearly.

Nothing now remains but to lay before the learned Reader *Fortunatus's* *Comment* in its native Language, and therewith to close up our Inquiries concerning the *Athanasian* Creed.

The *Various Lectiōns*, all that are properly such, are carefully noted at the Bottom of the Page; that so the Reader may judge whether the *Text* be what it should be, or correct it, if it appears otherwise. But I should hint, that there are several little Variations in the *Oxford Manuscript*, which I take no notice of, as not being properly *Various Lectiōns*.

1. Such as are merely *Orthographical*: As a permutation of Letters; using *d* for *t*, in *capud* and *reliquid*, for *caput* and *reliquit*; *e* for *i*, in *Trea* for *Tria*; and *i* for *e*, in *calit* for *calet*, and the like: *o* for *u* in *servolis*, *p* for *b* in *optenit* for *obtinct*; *v* consonant

^a Et in hac Trinitate nihil est prius, nihil posterius; nihil majus, aut minus; sed totæ tres personæ cœternæ sibi sunt & cœquales: ita ut *per omnia* & unitas Deitatis in Trinitate Personarum, & Trinitas Personarum in unitate Deitatis veneranda est. *Hincm.* de non Trin. Deit. Tom. I. p. 540.

for *b*, in *enarravit* for *enarrabit*; tho' such as this last is might be noted among *Various Lectiōns*, in cases more disputable.

To This Head may be referred some antique, and now obsolete Spellings: *immensus* for *immensus*, *immortalis* for *immortalis*, *inlesus* for *illesus*, *conlocavit* for *collocavit*, *dinoscitur* for *dignoscitur*, and the like.

2. *Active Terminations* of Verbs, for *Passive*: as *finire* for *finiri*, *cogitare* for *cogitari*; tho' these may be referr'd to the former Head, being only changing the letter *i* for the letter *e*. *Dominat* for *dominatur* I take notice of among the *Various Lectiōns*.

3. Faults in the *Formation* of Verbs: As *abstuleret* for *tolleret*, *vivendos* for *viventes*; to which may be added *morsit*, for *momordit*, having been long out of use.

4. *Manifest* Faults in Concord: As *humani Carnis*, for *humane*; *eadem Captivitate*, for *eadem*. But where there can be any doubt of the Construction, I mark such among the *Various Lectiōns*, leaving the Reader to judge of them.

These and other the like Niceties are generally neglected in Editions of Authors; it being both needless, and endless to note them. But I was willing to hint something of them in this place, because They may be of use to Scholars for the making a judgment of the *value* of a Manuscript; and sometimes of the *Time*, or *Place*; as also of the *manner* how a Copy was taken, whether by the *Ear* or by the *Eye*, from word of Mouth, or meerly from a *Writing* laid before the Copist. Besides that if we can distinguish in the present Case, as perhaps a good Critick may, the *Particularities* of the *Author* from those of his *Transcribers*; They may possibly afford some additional Argument for the ascertaining the *Author* of the Comment.

EXPOSITIO FIDEI CATHOLICÆ

Scripta anno
circiter 870.FORTUNATI^a.

QUICUNQUE vult salvus esse,^b ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam Fidem: Quam nisi quisque integram, inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit^c.

Fides dicitur Credulitas, sive Credentia.^d [Primo ergo omnium Fides necessaria est, sicut Apostolica docet auctoritas dicens; sine Fide impossibile est placere Deo. Constat enim neminem ad veram pervenire posse Beatitudinem, nisi Deo placeat; & Deo neminem p'acere posse, nisi per Fidem. Fides namque est Bonorum omnium Fundamentum, Fides humana salutis initium. Sine hac nemo ad Filiorum Dei potest Consortium pervenire; quia sine ipsa nec in hoc seculo quisquam Justificationis consequitur Gratiam, nec in futuro vitam possidebit æternam. Et si quis heic non ambulaverit per fidem, non perveniet ad Speciem beatam Domini nostri Jesu Christi^e] Catholica universalis dicitur, id est, recta, quam Ecclesia univer^af tenere debet. Ecclesiæ dicitur Congregatio Christianorum, sive conventus Populorum. [Non enim, sicut Conventicula Hereticorum, in aliquibus Regionum partibus coarctatur, sed per totum terrarum Orbem dilatata diffunditur^h.]

a Ita se habet Titulus in Codice Muratorii. Aliter in Oxoniensi. viz. *Expositio in Fide Catholica*: pro *in Fidem Catholicam*, ex corrupta loquendi ratione apud Scriptores Ætatis mediæ.

b *Esse salvus*. Cod. Murat.

c Posterior hæc Symboli Clausula, incipiens a *Quam nisi*, non habetur in Cod. Oxoniensi.

d Ita Cod. Oxon. prima hæc pericope deest in Murator. Conf. Brun. in Symb.

e. Quæ uncinulis includuntur, non comparent in MS Oxoniensi. Nec enim *Fortunati* videntur esse, sed *Alcuini* potius; apud Quem eadem fere verbatim leguntur. (De Fd. Trin. l. 1. c. 2. p. 707.) *Alcuinus* vero maximam partem mutuatus est a *Fulgentio*. (de Fid. ad Petrum. Prolog. p. 500. ed. Paris.) Sed varia Exemplaria varie Sententiam claudunt. *Fulgentius* legit, *non perveniet ad speciem*; nec quicquam ultra. *Alcuinus*, *non perveniet ad speciem beati visionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. Ab utrisque abit Lectio Muratorii.

f Univerſa Ecclesia. Cod. Mur. & Brunonis.

g Cod. Muratorii habet quippe, post *Ecclesia*: quam voculam, utpote ineptam, siltent otiosam, expunximus, Fide Cod. Oxoniensis. Conf. Brunon. in hoc loco.

h Uncis hic inclusa non habentur in Codice Oxoniensi. Verba nimirum sunt, non *Fortunati*, sed *Isidori Hispal*: Orig. l. 8. c. 1. Alio proinde Characterè imprimenda curavimus.

Ut unum Deum in Trinitate, & Trinitatem in unitate veneremur: Et credamus, & colamus, & confiteamur [Trinitatem in personis, Unitatem in substantia. Hanc quoque Trinitatem personarum, atque unitatem naturæ Propheta Etaius revelatam sibi non tacuit, cum se dicit Seraphim vidisse clamantem, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Ubi prorsus in eo quod dicitur tertio Sanctus, personarum Trinitatem; in eo verò quod semel dicimus Dominus Deus Sabaoth, divinæ naturæ cognoscimus unitatem^a.]

Neque confundentes personas: Ut Sabellius errat, qui ipsum dicit esse Patrem in Persona quem & Filium, ipsum & Spiritum Sanctum. Non ergo confundentes Personas, quia tres omnino personæ sunt^b. Est enim gignens, genitu, & c procedens. Gignens est Pater, qui genuit Filium; Filius est genitus, quem genuit Pater; Spiritus Sanctus est procedens, quia a Patre & Filio procedit. Pater & Filius coæterni sibi sunt & coæquales; & cooperatores, sicut scriptum est: verbo Domini Cali firmati^d sunt, id est, a Filio Dei creati, Spiritu^e oris ejus, omnis virtus eorum. Ubi sub singulari numero, Spiritus^f ejus dicitur, [unitatem substantiæ deitatis ostendit; ubi sub plurali numero, omnis virtus eorum dicitur^h,] Trinitatem personarum aperte demonstrat, quia tres unum sunt, & unum tres.

Neque substantiam separantes: Ut Arius garrit, qui sicut tres personas esse dicit, sic & tres substantias esse mentiturⁱ. Filium dicit minorem quam Patrem, & creaturam esse; Spiritum sanctum adhuc minorem quam Filium, & Patri & Filio cum esse Administratorem

a Quæ unciis comprehensa hic legere est, non comparent in Codice *Oxonienfi*. Verba sunt *Alcuini* (de Trin. l. 1. c. 3. p. 709.) in quo eadem plane, similique ordine inventias. Sunt porro eadem, uno vocabulo dempto, apud *Fulgentium* (de Fid. ad Petrum. p. 502.) ordine etiam tantum non eodem. Verba autem illa introductoria; (viz. *Trinitatem in personis, unitatem in substantia*) non leguntur in *Fulgentio*, nec quidem in *Alcuino*. Interpolator ipse, uti videtur, ex proprio illa penu deprompta præmilit cæteris, Connexionis forte aliqualis conservandæ gratiâ.

b Tres Personæ omnino sunt. *Murat.*

c Decet & in Cod. *Oxon.*

d Formati Cod. *Oxon.* Vid. Symb. *Damasi* dictum (apud *Hieronymum*. Tom. 5. p. 122.) unde hæc *Noster*, mutatis mutandis, desumpsisse videtur.

e Spiritus. Cod. *Oxon.*

f Leg. *Spiritu*, uterque vero codex habet *Spiritus*.

g Dicitur. Cod. *Murat.*

h Lacunam in *Muratorio* manifestam (quippe cum desint ea verba unciis inclusa) ex Codice *Oxonienfi* supplevimus. Scilicet, vox dicitur proximè recurrens Librarii oculos (uti fit) fefellit.

i Ita clare Cod. *Oxon.* Aliter *Muratorius* ex vitioso codice; quia tres personas esse dicit & tres substantias esse mentitur. Sensus impeditus, aut nullus.

adferit. Non ergo *Substantiam separantes*, quia totæ tres Personæ in Substantia Deitatis^b unum sunt.

Alia est enim Persona Patris: Quia Pater ingenitus est, eo quod a nullo est genitus. *Alia persona Filii*, quia Filius a Patre solo est^c genitus. *Alia Spiritus sancti*, quia a Patre & Filio Spiritus sanctus^d procedens est.

Sed Patris & Filii & Spiritus sancti una est Divinitas: Id est, Deitas. *Æqualis Gloria*: id est, Claritas. *Coæterna Majestas*: Majestas gloria est, Claritas, sive Potestas.^e

Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis & Spiritus sanctus. Id est, in Deitate, & Omnipotentia.

Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus & Spiritus sanctus. Id est, a nullo creatus^f.

Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus & Spiritus sanctus Non est mensurabilis in sua natura, quia inlocalis est, & incircumscriptus, ubique totus, ubique præsens, ubique potens.

Æternus Pater, æternus Filius, æternus & Spiritus sanctus. Id est, non tres æterni, sed in tribus personis unus Deus æternus, qui sine initio, & sine fine æternus permanet.

Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens & Spiritus sanctus. Omnipotens dicitur, eo quod omnia potest, & omnium obtinet potestatem^h. Ergo, si omnia potest, quid est quod non potest? Hoc non potest, quod Omnipotenti non competit posseⁱ. Falli non potest [quia veritas est; infirmari non potest,] quia Sanitas

a Et Patris & Filii eum Administratorem esse adferit. *Cod. Murat. Conf. Brunon.*

b Divinitatis. *Cod. Oxon.*

c A patre est solo. *Cod. Oxon.*

d Defunt Spiritus sanctus in *Cod. Murat.* quæ tamen retinuimus, tum Fide *Cod. Oxoniensis*, tum quia in antecedentibus Pater, & Filius bis ponuntur, sicut & hic *Sp. sanctus*.

e *Cod. Oxoniensis.* legit Claritatis, sive Potestas.

f *Cod. Oxoniensis* legit creati.

g *Muratorii* exemplar insertum habet et, quod delendum esse censui, cum absit a codice *Oxon.* & otiosum videatur.

h *Fortunatus*, in sua *Exposit. Symb. Apostolici*, hæc habet; Omnipotens vero dicitur, eo quod omnia possit, & omnium obtinet Potestatum. ed. *Basil. obtineat potestatem.* ed. *Lugd. Præluserat Ruffinus*, in Symbolum.

i *S. Bruno*, hunc opinor locum præ oculis habens, his verbis utitur: Ergo, si omnia potest, quid est quod non potest? Hoc non potest, quod non convenit omnipotenti posse. *Brun.* in *Symb. Athanas.*

est ^a; mori non potest, quia immortalis vita est; finiri non potest, quia infinitus & perennis est.

Ita, Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus & Spiritus sanctus. [Deus nomen est Potestatis, non Proprietatis.^{b.}] Proprium nomen est Patris *Pater*; & proprium nomen est ^c Filii *Filius*, & proprium nomen est Spiritus sancti *Spiritus sanctus*.

Ita, Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus & Spiritus sanctus. Dominus dicitur, eo quod dominetur creaturæ cunctæ, vel quod creatura omnis dominatui ejus deserviat^{d.}

Quia sicut singillatim (id est, sicut distinctim.^e) *unamquamque Personam & ^f Deum & Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur.* Quia si me interrogaveris quid sit *Pater*, ego respondebo; *Deus*, & *Dominus*. Similiter, si me interrogaveris ^h quid sit ⁱ *Filius*, ego dicam; *Deus*, & *Dominus*. Et si dicis ^k, quid est *Spiritus sanctus*? Ego dico ^l; *Deus*, & *Dominus*. Et in his tribus Personis, non tres Deos, nec tres Dominos, sed in ^m his tribus, sicut jam supra dictum est, ⁿ unum Deum, & unum Dominum confiteor.

Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres: Id est, quia ^o *Pater* semper *Pater*, nec aliquando *Filius*. *Unus Filius, non tres Filii*: Id est, quia *Filius* semper *Filius*, nec aliquando *Pater*. *Unus Spiritus sanctus, non*

^a *Muratorius* sententiam mancam, vitiatamque exhibet: *Falli non potest, quia Sanctus est*; omittis intermediis. Scilicet, vocabulum proxime repetitum describentis oculum delulit: Et ne nullus inde eliceretur sensus, pro *Sanctus* substitutum est *Sanctus*. Hæc porro sibi met adoptavit S. Bruno, pauculis mutatis, vel interjectis, ad hunc modum: *Falli non potest, quia Veritas & Sapientia est*; *egrotari aut infirmari non potest, quia Sanitas est*; *mori non potest, quia immortalis est*; *finiri non potest quia infinitus & perennis est*.

^b Deest hæc Clausula in *Codice Murator*: Sed confer *Symbolum Damasi* dictum, quod *Gregorii Bæstici* creditur, apud *August.* Tom. 5. p. 387. *Append.* item apud *Hieronym.* Tom. 5. p. 122.

^c Deest est. *Murator.* conf. *Brun.*

^d Ita *Codex Muratorii*: paulo aliter *Cod. Oxoniensis*; mens eadem. *Dominus dicitur eo quod omnia Dominat. & omnium est Dominus Dominator* *Dominat*, pro *Dominatur*, & cum *Accusativo*, ex vitia inferioris ævi Latinitate, vel ex *Scribæ* imperitia.

^e *Distinctum.* *Oxon. distincte.* *Murat.*

^f Deest &. *Cod. Murator.*

^g *Quia est.* *Murator.* Eandem sententiam expressit S. Bruno, his verbis; *Quia si me interrogaveris quid est Pater, ego respondeo; Deus, & Dominus.*

^h Et si me rogaveris. *Cod. Oxon.*

ⁱ Est. *Murator.* Locum sic exhibet S. Bruno; *Similiter, si interrogaveris quid est Filius, ego dico, Deus & Dominus.*

^k Dicas. *Murator.*

^l Dicam. *Murator.* Apud *Brunonem* sic legitur; *Et si dicis, quid est Spiritus sanctus? Ego respondeo; Deus, & Dominus.*

^m Deest in. *Oxon.*

ⁿ Supra dixi. *Cod. Oxon.* Sed *Brunonis* lectio *Muratorii* lectionem confirmat.

^o *Codex Oxon* pro *quia* habet *qui*, in hoc loco, & in duobus proxime sequentibus. *Utrumlibet elegeris, eodem fere res redit.*

tres Spiritus sancti: Id est, quia Spiritus sanctus semper est ^a Spiritus sanctus, nec aliquando Filius, aut Pater. Hæc est proprietas Personarum.

Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius, aut posterius. Quia sicut nunquam Filius sine Patre, sic nunquam fuit Pater sine Filio, sic & nunquam fuit Pater & Filius sine Spiritu Sancto^b. Coæterna ergo Trinitas, & inseparabilis unitas, sine initio & sine fine^c.

Nihil majus, aut minus. Æqualitatem Personarum dicit, quia ^d Trinitas æqualis est, & una ^e Deitas, Apostolo docente ^f, & dicente: *Per ea, quæ facta sunt, intellecta concipimur*; & per Creaturam Creator intelligitur, secundum has comparationes, & alias quamplures. Sol, Candor, & Calor, & tria sunt vocabula, & tria unum^g. Quod candet, hoc calet; & quod calet, hoc candet: Tria hæc vocabula res una esse dignoscitur^h. Ita ⁱ Pater & Filius & Spiritus sanctus, tres Personæ, in Deitate Substantiæ ^k unum sunt; & individua unitas recte creditur. Item de terrenis, vena, Fons, Fluvius, tria sunt ^l vocabula, & tria unum^m in sua natura. Ita trium Personarum, Patris & Filii & Spiritus sancti, Substantia & Deitas unum est ⁿ.

Est ergo Fides recta, ut credamus & confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus^o. Jesus hebraice, latine Salvator dicitur. [Christus græce, latine unctus vocatur. Jesus ergo dicitur^p]

a In Cod. Oxon. deest est.

b Paulo aliter huncce locum expressit auctor Sermonis, inter Augustini opera (Appendix Tom. 6. p. 281.) *Quia sicut nunquam pater sine Filio, nec Filius sine Patre; sic & nunquam fuit pater, & Filius sine Spiritu Sancto.* Sed nihil mutandum contra Fidem Exemplarium.

c In Appendixe prædicta, sic legitur: *Coæterna ergo est Sancta Trinitas &c.*

d Sancta Trinitas. Appendix.

e Una est Deitas. Appendix. una Deitatis. Oxon. male.

f In Cod. Oxoniensi, desunt illa docente et. Sed Appendix. Lectionem Muratorii tuetur, æli tamen verborum ordine; dicente, atque docente.

g Ita Muratorius cum Appendixe prædictæ. Aliter MS Oxon. viz. *tria sunt nomina, & res una.* quæ eodem recidunt.

h In Appendixe sic se habent; *tria hæc vocabula res una cognoscitur.*

i Et post ita Oxon.

k Phrasis duriuscula; *Deitate Substantia*, pro *Divinitate Substantia*, si tamen ita res habeat. At locus hic corruptus est fortasse, licet eandem lectionem Codex uterque præferat. Appendix omittit illud *Substantia*. Delendum forsitan est *Substantia*, vel legendum, in *Deitate Substantia*, aut simile quid. *Substantia, & Deitas* conjunctim leguntur paulo infra: quod quidem intuens, nollem *Substantia* hoc loco expungere; at corrigendum censeo.

l Appendix legit hæc, non sunt. Oxon. tria itemque sunt.

m Oxoniensis, *res una.* Appendix. cum Muratorio, *unum.*

n Ita Murat. & Appendix. Oxoniensis legit, *Substantia, Deitas una est.*

o Oxoniensis adjicit, *Dei Filius & Homo est.* inepte hoc loco, quod ex sequentibus patebit.

p Muratorii Codex omittit verba illa intermedia, uncis inclusa. Scilicet, illud *dicitur* proximè repetitum Amanuensi hic iterum fraudi fuit.

eo quod salvat Populum: Christus, eo quod Spiritu sancto divinitus sit^a delibutus, sicut in ipsi s Christi^b Persona *Isaias* ait; *Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me, &c.* Ita & Psalmista de Christo Domino dicit, *c unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo latine pre Consortibus tuis.*

Dei Filius, Deus pariter & homo est. Filius a Felicitate Parentum dicitur: Homo ab humo dicitur; id est, de humo^d factus est.

Deus est^e ex substantia Patris ante secula genitus. Id est, Deus de Deo, lumen de lumine, splendor de splendore, fortis de forti, virtus de virtute, vita de vita, aternitas de aternitate: Per omnia, idem^f quod pater in divina substantia hoc est & s Filius. Deus enim^h Pater Deum Filium genuit, non voluntate, neque necessitate, sed natura. Nec quæretur quomodo genuit Filiumⁱ, quod & Angeli nesciunt, Prophetis est incognitum: unde^k eximius Propheta *Isaias* dicit; *generationem ejus quis enarrabit?* Ac si diceret, ^l Angelorum nullus, Prophetarum nemo^m. Nec inenarrabilis, & inæstimabilis Deusⁿ a servulis suis discutiendus est, sed fideliter credendus, ^o & pariter diligendus.

Et homo^p ex substantia matris, in seculo natus. Dei Filius, Verbum Patris, ^q Caro factum. ^r Non quod Divinitas mutasset deitatem, sed adsumpsit humanitatem. Hoc est, Verbum Caro factum est, ex utero Virginis veram humanam carnem traxit. Et de utero virginali verus Homo, sicut & verus Deus, est in seculo natus, salva virginitatis gratia; ^s quia mater, quæ genuit, Virgo ante partum, & Virgo postpartum permanfit^t.

a Divinitus sit desunt in Cod. Oxon.

b Deest Christi. Murator.

c Oxoniensis breviter, Item in *Psalmo, unxit &c.* Notandum porro, quod quædam habet *Fortunatus* noster, in Commentario suo in *Symbol. Apostol.* hinc jam proxime descriptis perquam similia. Confer etiam *Ruffin.* in *Symbol.* inter Oper. *Hieronym.* (Tom. 5. p. 131.)

d De Humo Terra. Murator.

e Non habetur est in Murat.

f Pro idem, id est, Murator.

g Deest et Cod. Oxon. His quoque gemina fere habes in *Exposit.* in *Symbol. Apostolicum.*

h Deest enim Cod. Oxon. confer. *Symb. Damasi* dictum.

i Quomodo genitus sit, quod Angeli — Oxon. At *Muratorii* lectioni astipulatur Appendix ad *Augustin.* (Tom. 6. p. 279.) & *Fortunatus* ipse, *Expos. in Symb. Apostol.*

k Unde & *isidem.* Cod. Murat. conf. *Fortunat.* in *Symb. Apostolicum.*

l *Muratorius* habet dixisset.

m *Angelorum nemo, Prophetarum nullus.* Cod. Oxon. n Deest Deus. Oxon.

o Confer. *Fortunat.* in *Symb. Apostol.* & *Append.* apud *August.* p. 279. & *Ruffin.* *Symb.*

p Homo est. Cod. Oxon.

q *Dei Filius, verbum Caro.* Murat. *Dei Filius verbo Patris Caro.* Cod Oxon. Ex utrisque veram, opinor, lectionem restitimus.

r Et non. Cod. Murator. expunximus illud et, Fide Codicis Oxon.

s salva virginitatis gratia. desunt in Cod. Oxoniensi.

t Ita Cod. Oxon. *Muratorius*, quia mater genuit, & virgo mansit ante partum, & post partum.

In sæculo. Id est, in isto sexto miliario, in quo nunc sumus, [*Sæcula enim generationibus constant, & inde secula, quod sequantur; abeuntibus enim aliis, alia succedunt*^a.] “Deus & homo Christus Jesus, unus
“Dei Filius & ipse Virginis Filius. Quia dum Deitas in utero Vir-
“ginis humanitatem adsumpsit, & cum eâ per Portam Virginis in-
“tegram, & illæsam, nascendo mundum ingressus est virginis Filius; &
“Hominem (*leg.* Homo) quem adsumpsit, id (*leg.* idem) est Dei Fili-
“um (*leg.* Filius) sicut jam supra diximus; & Deitas & Humanitas in
“Christo; & Dei Patris pariter & Virginis Matris Filius.

Perfectus Deus, perfectus Homo. Id est, verus Deus, & ve-
rus Homo.^b *Ex anima rationali:* & non ut *Apollinaris*^c Hæreticus dixit
primum, quasi Deitas pro anima fuisset in Carne Christi; postea, cum per
evangelicam auctoritatem fuisset^d convictus, dixit: *Habuit quidem animam*
quæ vivificavit corpus, sed non rationalem.^e E contrario, dicit qui Catho-
lice sentit; *ex anima rationali & humana carne subsistens*^f: id est, plenus
homo, atque perfectus.

*Æqualis Patri secundum Divinitatem; minor Patre se-
cundum humanitatem.* Id est, secundum formam servi quam adsu-
mere dignatus est.

*Qui licet & Deus sit & homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est
Christus.* Id est, duæ substantiæ in Christo, Deitas & Humanitas, non
duæ personæ, sed una est persona^h.

*Unus autem, non conversione divinitatis in Carnem^h, sed
adsumptione Humanitatis in Deumⁱ.* Id est: non quod Divinitas,

^a Non comparent in Codice Oxoniensi. Verba sunt *Isidori*. Orig. l. 5. c. 38. Quæ sequuntur proxime, *Deus & Homo* &c. usque ad *Matris Filius*, desunt omnia in Codice *Muratorii*: ex *Oxonienſi* solo descripta dedimus. Videntur mihi *Fortunati* re vera esse, sed Librarii culpa (ut alia multa) mirum in modum vitata; quæ quidem ex *Conjectura* aliquatenus corrigere volui, ut *Syntaxis* saltem sibi constet, donec certiora, & meliora ex Codicibus (si forte supersint aliqui) eruantur. Cæterum, ut *Fortunato* nostro hæc ascribam, illud suadet maxime, quod in Expositione sua in *Symbolum Apostolicum* gemina fere habet *de Porta virginis*, eisdemque ibi nonnullis Phrasibus utitur quibus & hic usus est. Confer *Symbolum Ruffini*, a Quo solenne est *Nostro* (quippe qui & ipse *Aquileis* olim Doctrina Christiana initiatus fuerat) tum verba, tum sententias mutuari.

^b Deest hæc Clausula in *Cod. Oxon.* ob vocabulum repetitum.

^c *Paulinarius* *Cod. Oxon.* Lectio nata ex Sermone simplici & plebeo.

^d *Fuit.* *Cod. Oxon.*

^e *Et e contrario iste dicit.* Murat. delevimus illa *et*, atque *iste*, quæ sententiam turbant, fide Codicis Oxoniensis.

^f *Subsistit.* *Cod. Oxon.* g certe, loco *et licet*, *Cod. Oxon.*

^h *Est Persona* desunt in *Cod. Oxon.*

ⁱ *Cod. Oxoniensis* habet *Carnem*, & *Deo*: errore, uti credo, pervetusto, multisque & antiquissimis exemplaribus communi. Quod si verbis in Commentario immediate sequentibus (ex *Muratorii* lectione) steterimus, *Fortunatus* ipse nobis Auctor erit, ut & *Deum*, & *Carnem*, pro genuina lectione habeamus.

quæ immutabilis est, fit conversa in Carnem ^a; sed ideo unus, eo quod Humanitatem adsumpsit, cœpit ^b esse quod non ^c erat, & non amisit quod erat; cœpit esse Homo ^d quod antea non fuerat, non amisit Deitatem quæ incommutabilis in æternum permanet ^e.

Unus omnino, non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate Personæ. Id est; Divinitas incommutabilis ^f cum Homine, quem adsumere dignata ^g est, sicut scriptum est; *verbum tuum, Domine, in æternum permanet.* Id est, Divinitas cum Humanitate; ut diximus duas substantias unam personam ^h esse in Christo: ut sicut ante adsumptionem [carnis, æterna fuit Trinitas, ita post adsumptionem ⁱ] humanæ naturæ, vera maneat Trinitas; ne propter adsumptionem humanæ Carnis dicatur esse quaternitas, quod absit ^a Fidelium cordibus, vel sensibus, dici, aut cogitari, cum, ita ^k ut supradictum est, & Unitas in Trinitate, & Trinitas in Unitate veneranda sit.

Nam sicut Anima rationalis, & Caro unus est Homo; ita Deus, & Homo unus est Christus. Et si Deus ^l, Dei Filius, nostram luteam & mortalem carnem, nostræ Redemptionis conditionem ^m adsumperit, se tamen nullatenus ⁿ inquinavit, neque naturam Deitatis mutavit. Quia si Sol, aut Ignis aliquid immundum tetigerit, quod tangit purgat, & se nullatenus coinquinat: ita Deitas Sarcinam quoque ^o nostræ Humanitatis adsumpsit, se nequaquam coinquinavit, sed

^a Quæ immutabilis & inconvertibilis est, Caro; sed &c. Cod. Oxon.

^b Incipit. Cod. Oxon.

^c Deest non. Cod. Murat. male.

^d Deest Homo in Cod. Oxon. perperam. item, incipit, pro cœpit.

^e Muratorius legit, *quæ incommutabilis in æternum permanet:* Cod. Oxoniensis, *quæ immutabilis in æternum permanet.* Ex utriusque tertiam lectionem confecimus; quæ, opinor, cæteris & venustior est, & aptior.

^f Immutabilis. Cod. Oxon.

^g dignatus. Cod. Oxon.

^h Personam perperam omittit Cod. Oxoniensis.

ⁱ Defunt in Codice Oxoniensi: prætermiffa scilicet festinantis Librarii incuriâ, ob vocem iteratam.

^k Pro cum ita, habet Cod. Oxon. nisi ita.

^l Murator. Cod. omittit Deus.

^m Cod. Oxoniensis, *Nostræ Redemptionis Conditionis adsumpsit.* Nescio an melius Muratorius; *nostram luteam, & mortalem Carnem nostræ Conditionis adsumperit.* Sed levi mutatione, recte in edunt omnia. *Conditio*, apud Scriptores quinti & sexti Sæculi, est *servile onus*, opusve.

ⁿ Cod. Oxon. legit *se nullatenus.* Murator: *Sed tamen se nullatenus.* Noster vero in *Exposit. in Symb. Apostol.* in simili causa, hac utitur Phrasi, *se tamen non inquinat.*

^o Oxoniensis habet, *Deitas sarcinamque nostræ humanitatis adsumpsit, se nequaquam* &c. Muratorius hoc modo; *Deitas sarcinam, quam ex nostra Humanitate adsumpsit, nequaquam coinquinavit.* Lectio frigida profus, & inepta. Juvat huc conferre quæ *Fortunatus* noster ad Symb. Apost. in eandem sententiam breviter dictavit.

^p Quod vero Deus Majestatis de *Maria* in Carne natus est, non est sordidatus nascendo de virgine, qui non fuit pollutus hominem condens de pulvere. Denique sol, aut Ignis, si lutum inspiciat, quod tetigerit purgat, & se tamen non inquinat. conf. *Ruffin. Symb. nostram*

nostram naturam carnis, ^a quam adsumpsit, purgavit, & a maculis, & for-
dibus peccatorum, ac vitiorum expiavit: sicut *Esaias* ait; *ipse infirmitates*
nostras accepit, & agrotationes portavit. Ad hoc secundum humanita-
tem natus est, ut infirmitates nostras acciperet, & agrotationes portaret:
non quod ipse infirmitates, vel agrotationes in se haberet, quia Salus
mundi est; sed ut eas a nobis tolleret, dum suæ sacræ passionis Gratiâ.
& Sacramento^b, Chirographo adempto, Redemptionem pariter & Salu-
tē animarū nobis condonaret.

Qui passus est pro salute nostra. Id est, secundum id quod
pati potuit: quod est, secundum humanam naturam; nam secundum Di-
vinitatem, Deū Filius impassibilis est.

Descendit ad Inferos^c. Ut ^d Protoplastum Adam ^e, & Patriar-
chas, & Prophetas, & omnes justos, qui pro Originali peccato ibidem
detinebantur, liberaret; & de ^f vinculis ipsius ^g peccati absolutos, de ea-
dem captivitate, & ^h infernali ⁱ loco, suo sanguine redemptos, ad supera-
nam patriam, & ad perpetuæ vitæ gaudia revocaret. Reliqui, ^k qui supra
Originale peccatum ^l principalia crimina ^m commiserunt, ut adferit Scriptu-
ra, in pænali Tartaro remanserunt: sicut in persona Christi dictum est per
Prophetam; *Ero mors tua, O Mors*; id est, morte sua Christus humani
generis inimicam Mortem interfecit, & vitam dedit. *Ero morsus tuus, infernè.*
Partim ⁿ momordit infernum, pro Parte eorum quos liberavit: Partem re-
liquit, pro Parte eorum qui pro principalibus criminibus in Tormentis
remanerunt.

Surrexit a mortuis primogenitus mortuorum: Et alibi Apo-
stolus dicit; *Ipse primogenitus ex multis fratribus.* Id est, primus a mor-
tuis resurrexit. *Et multa corpora* ^o *Sanctorum dormientium cum eo surrexerunt,*

^a *Nostra natura Carnem.* Murat.

^b Muratorius legit; *dum suæ sacræ passionis Gratiâ, & Sacramenta:* nullo sensu. Ox-
oniensis, *dum suæ sacræ passionis gratia* (pro gratiâ) ac Sacramento.

^c *Ad inferna.* Cod. Oxon. quod & inter variantes Symboli Lectiones supra notatum o-
portuit. Q. annon vetustissima hæc fuerit lectio in Symbolo *Athanasiano*, sicut in *Apo-
stolico*?

^d *Qui, loco τῷ ut.* Cod. Oxon. At Sermo de Symbolo, in *Append. ad August.* (Tom.
6. p. 281.) legit, cum Muratorio, *ut.*

^e *Adam Protoplastum.* Append.

^f *Et ut de.* Append.

^g *Ipsius deest:* Append.

^h *Deest et* Cod. Oxon.

ⁱ *Infernè.* Append.

^k Muratorius habet *vero*, post *Reliqui.* Oxon. non agnoscit, nec Append.

^l Ita legitur in Appendice. Oxoniensis, *supra Originale peccato:* Muratorius,
supra Originali peccato.

^m *Principalem culpam.* Append.

ⁿ Muratorius, & Oxoniensis, in utroque loco, *Partem:* Appendix, in utroque, *Partim.*
Media mihi lectio maxime arridet.

^o *Deest corpora* in Cod. Oxon.

sicut evangelica auctoritas ^a dicit: *Sed ipse, qui Caput est, prius, deinde qui*
^b *Membra sunt continuo.*

Postea *ascendit ad caelos*: sicut Psalmista ait; *ascendit* ^c *in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem*, id est, humanam naturam, quæ prius sub peccato venundata fuit, & captivata; eamque redemptam captivam ^d duxit in caelestem altitudinem; & ad caelestis Patriæ ^e Regnum sempiternum, ubi antea non fuerat, eam ^f collocavit, in gloriam sempiternam.

Sedet ad dexteram Patris: Id est, Prosperitatem paternam, & in ^g eo Honore, quod ^h Deus est.

Inde venturus ⁱ *judicare vivos & mortuos*. Vivos dicit eos quos tunc adventus Dominicus in corpore viventes invenerit; [& mortuos, jam ante sepultos. Et aliter dicit^k,] *vivos justos, & mortuos peccatores.* ^l

Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis; & reddaturi sunt de factis propriis rationem: Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam æternam; qui vero mala, in ignem æternum. Hæc est Fides Catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter, firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.

^a In evangelica Auctoritate. Cod. Oxon.

^b *Que membra.* Cod. Oxon.

^c *ascendens.* Murator.

^d Conf. Tractatum Anonymi apud Hieronymum. Tom. 5. p. 130. & apud Augustinum. Tom. 8. p. 69. *Append.*

^e *Caulestem Patriam.* Cod. Oxon.

^f *Et pro eam.* Murator.

^g *in deest.* Cod. Oxon.

^h Mallem *quo*, si per Codices liceret; sed & *quod*, adverbialiter hic positum pro *quia*, sensum non incommodum præ se ferre videtur.

ⁱ *venturus est.* Murator.

^k Quantum hic uncis includitur, omittit Codex Oxoniensis. Delusus est fortean Librarius per binas literulas *it* bis positas: Vel, simili errore deceptus, integram lineam præterierit, dum in proxime sequentem oculos conjecerat.

^l Operæ pretium est pauca hic subicere, quæ *Noster* habet in expositione sua in *Symb. Apostolicum*. "*judicaturus vivos, & mortuos.* Aliqui dicunt vivos, justos; mortuos vero injustos: aut certe, vivos, quos in corpore invenerit adventus Dominicus, & mortuos, jam sepultos. Nos tamen intelligimus vivos & mortuos, hoc est animas & corpora pariter judicanda. Confer. *Ruffin.* *Symb.* p. 140. & *Method.* apud *Phos.* Cod. 234, p. 932.

A N
I N D E X
O F A U T H O R S.

A.

- A** BBO, or Albo (Floriacensis) 23. 68. 142.
 Abelard. 38. 137. 143.
 Adalbertus 22.
 Adrian I. (Pope) 52. 83.
 Æneas Parisiensis 5. 22.
 Agobardus 20.
 Alcuinus 171. 172.
 Alexander (of Hales) 26. 151. 164.
 Alexander (Natalis) 12. 47. 82. 120.
 Allatius (Leo) 6. 25. 97.
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 Anastasius I. (Pope) 11. 123.
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