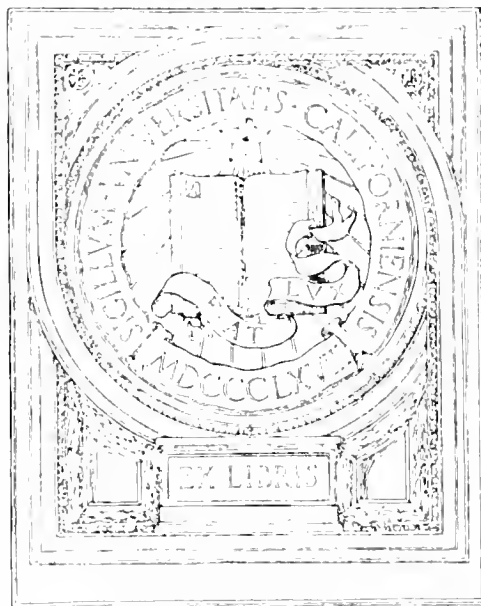


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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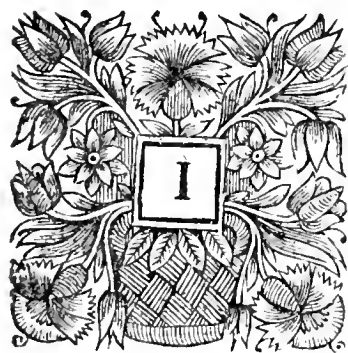


65 5-14-46

TO THE
Right Worshipful and Well-beloved,
THE
PARISHIONERS
OF
S^t CLEMENTS
EAST-CHEAP.

Mercy unto you, and Peace, and Love be multiplied.

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I F I should be at any time unmindful of your commands, you might well esteem me unworthy of your continued Favours; and there is some reason to suspect I have incurred the interpretation of forgetfulness, having been so backward in the performance of my Promises. Some years have passed since I preached unto you upon such Texts of Scripture as were on purpose selected in relation to the CREED, and was moved by you to make those Meditations publick. But you were pleased then to grant what my inclinations rather led me to, that they might be turned into an Exposition of the Creed it self: which, partly by the difficulty of the Work undertaken, partly by the intervention of some other employments, hath taken me up thus long,
A for

The Epistle Dedicatory.

for which I desire your pardon. And yet an happy excuse may be pleaded for my delay, meeting with a very great felicity, that as Faith triumpheth in good works, so my Exposition of the Creed should be contemporary with the re-edifying of your Church. For though I can have little temptation to believe that my Book should last so long as that Fabrick; yet I am exceedingly pleased that they should begin together; that the publishing of the one should so agree with the opening of the other. This I hope may perswade you to forget my slackness, considering ye were not ready to your own expectation; your experience tells you the excuse of *Church-work* will be accepted in building, I beseech you let it not be denied in printing.

That blessed Saint, by whose name your Parish is known, was a fellow-labourer with *St. Paul*, and a successour of *St. Peter*; he had the honour to be numbered in the Scripture with them *whose names are written in the book of life*, and when he had sealed the Gospel with his Blood, he was one of the first whose memory was perpetuated by the building a Church to bear his name. Thus was *S. Clement's* Church famous in *Rome*, when *Rome* was famous for the *faith spoken of throughout the whole world*. He wrote an Epistle to the *Corinthians*, infested with a Schism, in imitation of *St. Paul*, which obtained so great authority in the Primitive times, that it was frequently read in their publick Congregations; and yet had for many hundred years been lost, till it was at last set forth out of the Library of the late King.

Now as by the Providence of God, the memory of that Primitive Saint hath been restored in our age,
so

The Epistle Dedicatory.

so my design aimeth at nothing else but that the Primitive Faith may be revived. And therefore in this Edition of the Creed I shall speak to you but what *S. Jude* hath already spoken to the whole Church, *Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, that ye should earnestly contend for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints.* If it were so needful for him then to write, and for them to whom he wrote to contend for the first Faith, it will appear as needful for me now to follow his writing, and for you to imitate their earnestness, because the reason which he renders, as the cause of that necessity, is now more prevalent than it was at that time, or ever since. *For, saith he, there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation; ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.* The Principles of Christianity are now as freely questioned as the most doubtful and controverted points; the grounds of Faith are as safely denied, as the most unnecessary superstructions; that Religion hath the greatest advantage which appeareth in the newest dress, as if we looked for another *Faith to be delivered to the Saints.* Whereas in Christianity there can be no concerning truth which is not antient; and whatsoever is truly new is certainly false. Look then for purity in the Fountain, and strive to embrace the first Faith, to which you cannot have a more probable guide than the Creed, received in all Ages of the Church; and to this I refer you, as it leads you to the Scriptures, from whence it was at first deduced, that while *those which are unskilful and unstable, wrest the words of God himself unto their own damnation,* ye

The Epistle Dedicatory.

may receive so much instruction as may set you beyond the imputation of unskilfulness, and so much of confirmation as may place you out of the danger of instability; which as it hath been the constant endeavour, so shall it ever be the Prayer of him, who after so many encouragements of his labours amongst you, doth still desire to be known as

Your most faithful

Servant in the Lord

JOHN PEARSON.

TO

TO THE
R E A D E R.

I Have in this Book undertaken an Exposition of the Creed, and think it necessary in this Preface to give a brief Account of the Work : lest any should either expect to find that here which was never intended, or conceive that which they meet with such as they expected not.

The Creed without controverſie is a brief comprehension of the objects of our Christian Faith, and is generally taken to contain all things necessary to be believed. Now whether all things necessary be contained there concerneth not an Expositor to dispute, who is obliged to take notice of what is in it, but not to inquire into what is not : whether all truths comprehended in the same be of equal and absolute necessity, we are no way forced to declare ; it being sufficient, as to the design of an Exposition, to interpret the words, and so deliver the sense, to demonstrate the truth of the sense delivered, and to manifest the proper necessity of each truth, how far, and in what degree, and to what purposes it is necessary.

This therefore is the Method which I proposed to my self, and have prosecuted in every Article. First, to settle the words of each Article according to their Antiquity and Generality of reception in the Creed. Secondly, to explicate and unfold the Terms, and to endeavour a right notion and conception of them as they are to be understood in the same. Thirdly, to shew what are those truths which are naturally contained in those terms so explicated, and to make it appear that they are truths indeed, by such arguments and reasons as are respectively proper to evidence the verity of them. Fourthly, to declare what is the Necessity of believing those truths, what efficacy and influence they have in the soul, and upon the life of a Believer. Lastly, by a recollection of all, briefly to deliver the sum of every particular truth, so that every one when he pronounceth the Creed, may know what he ought to intend, and what he is understood to profess, when he so pronounceth it.

In the prosecution of the Whole, according to this Method I have considered, that a Work of so general a concernment must be exposed to two kinds of Readers, which though they may agree in judgment, yet must differ much in their capacities. Some there are who understand the Original Languages of the Holy Scripture, the Discourses and Tractates of the ancient Fathers, the determinations of the Councils, and History of the Church of God, the constant profession of settled truths, the rise and increase of Schisms and Heresies. Others there are unacquainted with such conceptions, and incapable of
such.

To the Reader.

such instructions : who understand the Scriptures as they are translated : who are capable of the knowledge of the truths themselves, and of the proofs drawn from thence : who can apprehend the nature of the Christian Faith, with the power and efficacy of the same, when it is delivered unto them out of the Word of God, and in the language which they know. When I make this difference, and distinction of Readers : I do not intend thereby that, because one of these is Learned, the other is ignorant ; for he which hath no skill of the learned Languages, may notwithstanding be very knowing in the Principles of Christian Religion, and the reason and efficacy of them.

According to this distinction I have contrived my Exposition, so that the Body of it containeth fully what can be delivered and made intelligible in the English Tongue, without inserting the least sentence or phrase of any learned Language, by which he which is not acquainted with it, might be disturbed in his reading, or interrupted in his understanding. Not that I have selected only such notions as are common, easie, and familiar of themselves, but have endeavoured to deliver the most material conceptions in the most plain and perspicuous manner ; as desirous to comprize the whole strength of the Work, as far as it is possible, in the Body of it. The other Part I have placed in the Margin, (but so as oftentimes it taketh up more room, and yet is never mingled or confounded with the rest,) in which is contained whatsoever is necessary for the illustration of any part of the Creed, as to them which have any knowledge of the Latine, Greek, and Original Languages, of the Writings of the ancient Fathers, the Doctrines of the Jews, and the History of the Church, those great advantages toward a right perception of the Christian Religion.

Now being the Creed comprehendeth the Principles of our Religion, it must contain those truths which belong unto it as it is a Religion, and those which concern it as it is ours. As it is a Religion, it delivereth such Principles as are to be acknowledged in Natural Theology, such as no man which worshippeth a God can deny, and therefore in the proof of these I have made use of such arguments and reasons as are most proper to oppose the Atheists, who deny there is a God to be worshipped, a Religion to be professed. As it is our Religion, it is Christian and Catholick : as Christian, it containeth such truths as were delivered by Christ and his Apostles, and those especially concerning Christ himself, which I have prosecuted constantly with an Eye to the Jews, who obstinately deny them, expecting still another Messias to come ; wherefore I shew out of the Law and the Propbets which they acknowledge, what was foretold in every particular concerning the Messias, and prove all those to be completed by that Christ in whom we believe. As our Religion is Catholick, it holdeth fast that faith which was once delivered to the Saints, and since preserved in the Church, and therefore I expound such verities in opposition to the Hereticks arising in all Ages, especially against the

To the Reader.

the Photinians, who of all the rest have most perverted the Articles of our Creed, and found out followers in these latter ages, who have erected a new Body of Divinity in opposition to the Catholick Theology. Against these I proceed upon such Principles as they themselves allow, that is, upon the Word of God delivered in the Old and New Testament, alledged according to the true sense; and applied by right reason: not urging the Authority of the Church which they reject, but only giving in the Margin the sense of the Primitive Fathers, for the satisfaction of such as have any respect left for Antiquity, and are perswaded that Christ had a true Church on the earth before these times.

In that part which after the demonstration of each Truth teacheth the necessity of the believing it, and the peculiar efficacy which it hath upon the life of a Christian: I have not thought fit to expatiate or inlarge my self, but only to mention such effects as flow naturally and immediately from the Doctrine, especially such as are delivered in the Scriptures; which I have endeavoured to set forth with all possible plainness and perspicuity. And indeed in the whole Work, as I have laid the foundation upon the written Word of God, so I have with much diligence collected such places of Scripture as are pertinent to each Doctrine, and with great faithfulness delivered them as they lye in the Writings of those holy Pen-men; not referring the Reader to places named in the Margin, (which too often I find in many Books multiplied to little purpose) but producing and interweaving the sentences of Scripture into the body of my Exposition, so that the Reader may understand the strength of all my reason without any further inquiry or consultation. For if those words which I have produced, prove not what I have intended, I desire not any to think there is more in the places named to maintain it.

At the Conclusion of every distinct and several Notion, I have recollected briefly and plainly the summ of what hath been delivered in the explication of it, and put it, as it were, into the mouth of every Christian, thereby to express more fully his faith, and to declare his profession. So that if the Reader please to put those Collections together, he may at once see and perceive what he is in the whole obliged to believe, and what he is by the Church of God understood to profess, when he maketh this publick, ancient and Orthodox Confession of Faith.

I have nothing more to add; but only to pray that the Lord would give you and me a good understanding in all things.

THE
C R E E D.

I Believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth; and in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, he descended into Hell, the third day he rose again from the dead, he ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty: from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. **I** Believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholick Church, the communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the Resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.



AN
 EXPOSITION
 OF THE
 CREED.

ARTICLE I.

**I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker
 of Heaven and Earth.**

AS the first word *Credo, I believe*, giveth a denomination to the whole Confession of Faith, from thence commonly call'd the *CREED*; so is the same word to be imagin'd not to stand only where it is expressed, but to be carried through the whole Body of the Confession. For although it be but twice actually rehearsed, yet must we conceive it virtually prefix'd to the Head of every Article: that as we say, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*, so we are also understood to say, *I believe in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord*; as, *I believe in the Holy Ghost*, so also, *I believe the Catholick Church*. Neither is it to be joyned with every compleat Article only; but where any Article is not a single verity, but comprehensive, there it is to be look'd upon as affix'd to every part, or single truth, contained in that Article: as, for example, in the first, *I believe in God*, *I believe that God to be the Father*, *I believe that Father to be Almighty*, *I believe that Father Almighty to be the Maker of Heaven and Earth*. So that this *Credo I believe* rightly considered, multiplieth it self to no less than a double number of the Articles, and will be found at least twenty four times contained in the *CREED*. Wherefore being a word so pregnant and diffusive, so necessary and essential to every part of our Confession of Faith, that without it we can neither have *CREED* nor Confession, it will require a more exact consideration, and more ample explication, and that in such a Notion as is properly applicable to so many and so various Truths.

Now by this previous expression, *I believe*, thus considered, every parti-

cular Christian is first taught, and then imagined, to make confession of his Faith: and consequently this word, so used, admits a threefold consideration. First, as it supposeth Belief, or Faith, which is confessed. Secondly as it is a Confession, or external expression of that Faith so supposed. Thirdly, as both the Faith and Confession are of necessary and particular obligation. When therefore we shall have clearly delivered, First, what is the true nature and notion of Belief; Secondly, what the duty of confessing of our Faith; Thirdly, what obligation lyes upon every particular person to believe and confess; then may we be conceived to have sufficiently explicated the first word of the C R E E D, then may every one understand what it is he says, and upon what ground he proceeds, when he professeth, *I believe.*

For the right understanding of the true nature of Christian Faith, it will be no less than necessary to begin with the general notion of Belief; which being first truly stated and defined, then by degrees deduced into its several kinds, will at last make the nature of Christian Faith intelligible: a design, if I mistake not, not so ordinary and usual, as useful and necessary.

Belief in general I define to be *an Assent to that which is Credible, as Credible.*

By the word * *Assent* is expressed that Act or Habit of the Understanding, by which it receiveth, acknowledgeth and embraceth any thing as a Truth; it being the nature of the Soul so to embrace whatsoever appeareth true unto it, and so far as it so appeareth. Now this *Assent*, or Judgment of any thing to be true, being a general Act of the Understanding, and so applicable to other Habits thereof as well as to Faith, must be specified by its proper Object, and so limited and determined to its proper Act, which is the other part left to compleat the Definition.

This Object of Faith is first express'd by *that which is Credible*; for every one who believeth any thing, doth thereby without question assent unto it as to that which is Credible, and therefore all belief whatsoever is such a kind of Assent. But though all belief be an Assent to that *which is Credible*, yet every such Assent may not be properly Faith; and therefore those words make not the definition compleat. For he which sees an action done, knows it to be done, and therefore assents unto the Truth of the performance of it because he sees it: but another person to whom he relates it, may assent unto the performance of the same action, not because himself sees it, but because the other relates it; in which case *that which is Credible* is the Object of Faith in one, of evident knowledge in the other. To make the definition therefore full, besides the material Object or thing believed, we have added the formal Object, or that whereby it is properly believed, expressed in the last term, *as Credible*; which being taken in, it then appears that, First, whosoever believeth any thing, assenteth to something which is to him credible, and that as 'tis credible; and again, whosoever assenteth to any thing which is credible as 'tis credible, believeth something by so assenting: which is sufficient to shew the definition compleat.

* Clem. Alex. Πίστις ἢ πίστις ἢ ἀποδοξασίς ἐστίν. ἢ ἀποδοξασίς ἐστίν. ἢ ἀποδοξασίς ἐστίν. ἢ ἀποδοξασίς ἐστίν.

Strom. lib. 2. S. Basil.

Πίστις μὲν ἐν ὄντι Συγκατάθεσις ἀληθείας τῆς ἀποδοξασίς ἐστίν ἐν ὄντι ἀποδοξασίς ἐστίν.

ἀληθεύειν ἢ ἀληθείας ἢ κηρυχθέντων ἢ ὅτι γὰρ ἀποδοξασίς ἐστίν.

ἢ ἐπιφανῶν, ἢ ἐπιφανῶν, ἢ ἐπιφανῶν, ἢ ἐπιφανῶν, ἢ ἐπιφανῶν.

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ἢ ἐπιφανῶν, ἢ ἐπιφανῶν, ἢ ἐπιφανῶν, ἢ ἐπιφανῶν, ἢ ἐπιφανῶν.

And yet he also afterwards acknowledgeth they had that definition from the Greeks. Τὴν μὲν γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ἀποδοξασίαν οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἀείσαντο ἢ ἐβέλαιον ἢ ψυχῆς Συγκατάθεσιν. Credere est cum assensu cogitare, S. August. Et de Sp. s. l. cap. Quid est credere, nisi consentire veram esse quod dicitur? So I take the Συγκατάθεσις used by the Greek fathers to signify assensum or assensionem, as A. Gellius translateth the Stoick, Συγκατατίθεται, sua assensione approbat, l. 1. 1. and hence him Cicero, Nunc de assensione atq; approbatione, quam Græci Συγκατάθεσιν vocant, pauca dicamus, in Uucullo. So ἀποδοξασίς and Συγκατάθεσις are opposed by the Greeks. As Sextus Empiricus speaking of Admetus seeing Alcestis brought back by Hercules from Hades, Ἐπει μὲν τοὶ ἦσαν ὅτι τέθνηκα. ἀπεισπάτο αὐτῆ ἢ δάνοια. ἢ δὲ Συγκατάθεσις, καὶ πρὸς ἀπεισίαν ἔλαυνε, Pyrrh. Hippot. l. 13. 3. ἢ φιλαλήθης ἢ ψυχῆς ἐδέετο καὶ τὸ λεῖψθαι ἀνεχουμένη διέψιθ' αὐτῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ θανέν σκληρὸς πάθος καὶ ἄθος. Simplic. in 3. Arist. de Anim. Cl. Alex. l. 2 Strom. Καὶ τις τάλυθες σκοπῆ, ἀρῆσει ἢ ἀνθρώπου εἴπερ διέψιθ' ἠμένον μὲν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς Συγκατάθεσιν. ἔχουσα ἢ ἀποδοξασίς πρὸς τὴν τάλυθ' ἢ ἢ Συγκατάθεσις ἢ Greek word used for this assent is applied to other acts of the understanding as well as that of Belief. So Clemens Alexandrinus, speaking of the definition of Faith, Ἄλλοι δ' ἀταναῖς πρόγραμμα ἢ ἐπιφανῶν Συγκατάθεσιν ἀπέδοσαν ἢ τὴν πίστιν, ἢ ἀπερ ἀμείλι καὶ ἀποδοξασίαν ἀνομοκρίτη καὶ ἀνομοκρίτη καὶ ἀνομοκρίτη Συγκατάθεσιν, Strom. l. 2 and again, Πᾶσα ἐν δοξᾷ καὶ κρίσει καὶ ἀποδοξασίᾳ οἷς ἀνομοκρίτη καὶ ἀνομοκρίτη καὶ ἀνομοκρίτη Συγκατάθεσις ἐστίν ἢ δ' ἐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πίστις ἐν ἀν' ἢ τῆ ἀποδοξασίᾳ ἀποδοξασίς ἐστίν ἢ ἀποδοξασίς, ἀνομοκρίτη δέκτουσι ἢ Συγκατάθεσιν τε καὶ πίστιν.

But

But for the explication of the same, farther observation will be necessary. For if that which we believe be something which is credible, and the notion under which we believe be the *Credibility* of it, then must we first declare what it is to be *Credible*, and in what *Credibility* doth consist, before we can understand what is the nature of *Belief*.

Now that is properly *Credible* which is not apparent of it self, nor certainly to be collected, either antecedently by its cause, or reverſely by its effect, and yet, though by none of these ways, hath the attestation of a truth. For those things which are apparent of themselves, are either so in respect of our Sense, as that Snow is white, and Fire is hot; or in respect of our Understanding, as that the whole of any thing is greater than any one part of the whole, that every thing imaginable, either is, or is not. The first kind of which being propounded to our sense, one to the sight, the other to the touch, appear of themselves immediately true, and therefore are not termed *Credible*, but *evident* to sense; as the latter kind, propounded to the understanding, are immediately embraced and acknowledged as truths apparent in themselves, and therefore are not called *Credible*, but *evident* to the understanding. And so those things which are * apparent, are not said properly to be believed, but to be known.

Again, other things, though not immediately apparent in themselves, may yet appear most certain and evidently true, by an immediate and necessary connexion with something formerly known. For being every natural cause actually applied doth necessarily produce its own natural effect, and every natural effect wholly dependeth upon, and absolutely presupposeth, its own proper cause; therefore there must be an immediate connexion between the cause and its effect. From whence it follows that, if the connexion be once clearly perceived, the effect will be known in the cause, and the cause by the effect. And by these ways, proceeding from principles evidently known by consequences certainly concluding, we come to the knowledge of propositions in Mathematicks, and conclusions in other Sciences: which propositions and conclusions are not said to be *Credible*, but *Scientifical*; and the comprehension of them is not *Faith*, but *Science*.

Besides, some things there are, which, though not evident of themselves, nor seen by any necessary connexion to their causes or effects, notwithstanding appear to most as true by some external relations to other truths; but yet so, as the appearing truth still leaves a possibility of falshood with it, and therefore doth but incline to an *Affent*. In which cause whatsoever is thus apprehended, if it depend upon real Arguments, is not yet call'd *Credible*, but *Probable*: and an *Affent* to such a Truth is not properly *Faith*, but *Opinion*.

But when any thing propounded to us is neither apparent to our sense, nor evident to our understanding, in and of it self, neither certainly to be collected from any clear and necessary connexion with the cause from which it proceedeth, or the effects which it naturally produceth, nor is taken up upon any real Arguments or reference to other acknowledged Truths, and yet notwithstanding appeareth to us true, not by a manifestation, but attestation of the truth, and so moveth us to assent not of it self, but by virtue of the Testimony given to it; this is said || properly to be *Credible*; and an *Affent* unto this, upon such *Credibility*, is in the proper notion *Faith* or *Belief*.

Having thus defined and illustrated the nature of *Faith* in general, so far as it agreeth to all kinds of belief whatsoever; our method will lead us on to descend by way of division, to the several kinds thereof, till at last we come to the proper notion of *Faith* in the Christians *Confession*, the design of our present disquisition. And being we have placed the formality of the Object of all

* Apparentia non habent fidem, sed agnitionem. *Greg.* 4. *Dial.* cap. 5. Habet Fides oculos suos quibus quodammodo videt verum esse quod nondum videt, & quibus certissime videt nondum se videre quod credit. *S. August.* Ep. 222.

|| *Aristot. Probl.* 18. 3. αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ μὲν ἴσως

belief in *Credibility*, it will clearly follow, that diversity of *Credibility* in the Object will proportionably cause a distinction of *Assent* in the Understanding, and consequently a several kind of *Faith*, which we have supposed to be nothing else but such an *Assent*.

Now the *Credibility* of Objects, by which they appear fit to be believed, is distinguishable according to the diversities of its foundation, that is, according to the different *Authority* of the *Testimony* on which it depends. For we having no other certain means of assuring our selves of the truth, and consequently no other motives of our *Assent* in matters of *mere Belief*, than the *Testimony* upon which we believe; if there be any fundamental distinction in the *Authority* of the *Testimony*, it will cause the like difference in the *Assent*, which must needs bear a proportion to the *Authority* of the *Testimony*, as being originally and essentially founded upon it. It is therefore necessary next to consider, in what the *Authority* of a *Testimony* consisteth, and so to descend to the several kinds of *Testimonies* founded upon several *Authorities*.

* Τῷ δὲ τοῖν
τινὰ σοφιστῶν,
τὸν ἀγνοῦντα
πιστεύοντι τὸ
δ' ἄγνοον, ὅτι
ἀγαθὸν ἔστιν
ταῖς ἡδύσιν ἢ
ἀγασίαι. Ἀριστοτ.
Rhet. lib. 1.
cap. 8.

† Testimoniorum quæ sunt genera? Divinum & humanum. Divinum, ut oracula, ut auspicia, ut vaticinationes, & responsa sacerdotum, aruspicum, conjecturam: Humanum, quod spectatur ex auctoritate, & ex voluntate, & ex oratione aut libera aut expressa; in quo insunt scripta, pacta, promissiva, jurata, quaesita. Cicero Orat. Partii.

* Non dicant non credimus quia non vidimus quoniam si hæc dicant, coguntur fateri incertos sibi esse parentes tuos. De siderum mensib. amon. lib. the most. Sum Augustin.

The strength and validity of every *Testimony* must bear proportion with the *Authority* of the *Testifier*; and the *Authority* of the *Testifier* is founded upon his *Ability* and *Integrity*: his *Ability* in the knowledge of that which he delivereth and asserteth; his *Integrity* in delivering and asserting according to his knowledge. For two several ways he which relateth or testifieth any thing may deceive us; one, by being ignorant of the truth, and so upon that ignorance mistaking, he may think that to be true which is not so, and consequently deliver that for truth, which in it self is false, and so deceive himself and us; or if he be not ignorant, yet if he be dishonest or unfaithful, that which he knows to be false he may propound and assert to be a truth, and so though himself be not deceived, he may deceive us. And by each of these ways, for want either of *Ability* or *Integrity* in the *Testifier*, whose grounds his *Assent* unto any thing as a truth, upon the testimony of another, may equally be deceived.

But whosoever is so *able* as certainly to know the truth of that which he delivereth, and so *faithful* as to deliver nothing but what and as he knoweth, he, as he is not deceived, so deceiveth no man. So far therefore as any person testifying appeareth to be knowing of the thing he testifies, and to be faithful in the relation of what he knows, so far his testimony is acceptable, so far that which he testifieth is properly *Credible*. And thus the *Authority* of every *Testifier* or Relater is grounded upon these two foundations, his *Ability* and *Integrity*.

Now there is in this case, so far as it concerns our present design, || a double *Testimony*: the *Testimony* of man to man, relying upon humane Authority, and the *Testimony* of God to man, founded upon Divine Authority: which two kinds of *Testimony* are respective grounds of two kinds of *Credibility*, *Humane* and *Divine*; and consequently there is a two-fold *Faith* distinguish'd by this double Object, a *Humane* and a *Divine Faith*.

Humane Faith is an *Assent* unto any thing *Credible* merely upon the *Testimony* of man. Such is the belief we have of the words and assertions of another. And upon this kind of Faith we proceed in the ordinary affairs of our life; according to the opinion we have of the ability and fidelity of him which relates or asserts any thing we believe or disbelieve. By this a friend assureth himself of the affection of his friend: by this the *Son* acknowledgeth his Father, and upon this is his obedience wrought. By virtue of this *Humane Faith* it is that we doubt not at all of those things which we never saw, by reason of their distance from us, either by time or place. Who doubts whether there be such a Country as *Italy*, or such a City as *Constantinople*, though he never pass'd

pass'd any of our four Seas? Who questions now whether there were such a Man as *Alexander* in the East, or *Cæsar* in the West? and yet the latest of these hath been beyond the possibility of the knowledge of man these sixteen hundred years. There is no * Science taught without original belief, there are no || Letters learnt without preceding faith. There is no Justice executed, no commerce maintained, no business profecuted without this; * all secular affairs are transacted, all great achievements are attempted, all hopes, desires and inclinations are preserved by this Humane Faith grounded upon the Testimony of man.

In which case we all by easie experience may observe the nature, generation and progress of *Belief*. For in any thing which belongeth to more than ordinary knowledge, we believe not him whom we think to be ignorant, nor do we assent the more for his assertion, though never so confidently delivered: but if we have a strong opinion of the knowledge and skill of any person, what he affirmeth within the compass of his knowledge, that we readily assent unto; and while we have no other ground but his affirmation, this *Assent* is properly *Belief*. Whereas if it be any matter of concernment in which the interest of him that relateth or affirmeth any thing to us is considerable, there it is not the skill or knowledge of the Relater which will satisfie us, except we have as strong an opinion of his fidelity and integrity: but if we think him so just and honest, that he hath no design upon us, nor will affirm any thing contrary to his knowledge for any gain or advantage, then we readily assent unto his affirmations; and this *Assent* is our *Belief*. Seeing then our *Belief* relies upon the ability and integrity of the Relater, and being the knowledge of all men is imperfect, and the hearts of all men are deceitful, and so their integrity to be suspected, there can be no infallible universal ground of *Humane Faith*.

But what satisfaction we cannot find in the testimony of man, we may receive in the testimony of God. || *If we receive the witness of man, the witness of God is greater.* Yea, *let God be true*, the ground of our *Divine*, and every man a liar, the ground of our *Humane Faith*.

As for the other Member of the Division, we may now plainly perceive that it is thus to be defined; *Divine Faith is an Assent unto something as Credible upon the Testimony of God.* This *Assent* is the highest kind of *Faith*, because the object hath the highest *Credibility*, because grounded upon the *Testimony of God*, which is *infallible*. *Baalam* could tell *Balak* thus much, *a God is not a man, that he should lie*; and a better Prophet confirm'd the same truth to *Saul*, *The strength of Israel will not lie*; and because he will not, because he cannot, he is the strength of *Israel*, even *my God, my strength, in whom I will trust*.

For first, God is of infinite knowledge and wisdom, as *Hannah* hath taught us, *the Lord is a God of knowledge*, or rather, if our language will bear it, of *knowledges*, which are so plural, or rather infinite in their plurality, that the Psalmist hath said, *Of his understanding there is no number*. He knoweth therefore all things, neither can any truth be hid from his knowledge, who is essentially truth and essentially knowledge, and, as so, the cause of all other truth and knowledge. Thus the understanding of God is infinite in respect of * comprehension, and not so only, but of certainty also and evidence. Some things we are said to know which are but obscurely known, we see them but as in a Glass, or through a Cloud: But *God is light, and in him is no darkness at all*: he seeth without any obscurity, and whatsoever is propounded to his understanding is most clear and evident; *neither is there any Creature that is*

* ὑποβάθρα
μάντοι καὶ κρη-
τὶς τῆς ἀπισ-
τικῆς πίστεως.
Theodor. The-
rap. 1.

|| Οὐδ' ἂν τὰ
πρῶτα σοι
χρῆμα ἰθὺν
οἶον τε μὴ τῶ
γενηματις ἢ
περὶ δόξα.
ibid.

* Πάντα τὰ
ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
τελέμεθα, καὶ
τὰ ὁτὶ ἴσθ
ἀλλοθίων τῆς
ἐκκλησίας τῆ
πίστη τελέθει.
Cyril. Catech.
V. Orig. cont.

Celsum, lib. 1.
Euf. de Præp.
E. ang. 1. 1.
c. 5.

Arnob. adver.
Gent. 1. 2.

|| 1 John 5. 9.
Rom. 3. 4.

Quam indignum, ut humanis testimoniis de alio credamus, Dei oraculis de se non credamus! S. Ambros. 1. de Abraham c. 3.

Ἡ δὲ δ' ἄν
ὄσολογ ὡπτεροῦ
πρότων ἴσθ
ἀθεω-ἴνων
τίσε ἢ ἡρη-
μῶν ἐκεί-
νων, μάλλον
πίσει: εν τῷ
θεῷ; Orig. ad
Cels. 1. 1.

^a Numb. 23.

19.
1 Sam. 15.

29.
Psal. 18. 2.

^b 1 Sam. 2. 3.

תועות יהוה
Lxx. Θεός
γενέσει εν κού-

ει
Psal. 147.

5, in the Heb.

Quis supientia et pliciter multolet, & uniformiter
de Civit. Dei,

multiformis, incomprehensibili comprehensione omnia incomprehensibilia comprehendit. S. Augustinus lib. 12. cap. 18. ^a 1 Job. 1. 5. ^c Heb. 4. 13.

not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do. Wherefore being all things are within the compass of his knowledge, being all things which are so, are most clear and evident unto him, being the knowledge he hath of them is most certain and infallible, it inevitably followeth that he cannot be deceiv'd in any thing.

Secondly, the justice of God is equal to his knowledge, nor is his holiness inferiour to his wisdom: *a God of truth, || saith Moses, and without iniquity, just and right is he.* From which internal, essential and infinite rectitude, goodness and holiness, followeth an impossibility to declare or deliver that for truth which he knoweth not to be true. For if it be against that finite purity and integrity which is required of man, to lie, and therefore sinful, then must we conceive it absolutely inconsistent with that transcendent purity and infinite integrity which is essential unto God. Although therefore the power of God be infinite, though he *can do all things*; yet we may safely say, without any * prejudice to his Omnipotency, that he || cannot speak that for truth which he knoweth to be otherwise. For the perfections of his will are as necessarily infinite as those of his understanding; neither can he be unholy or unjust more than he can be ignorant or unwise. ^a *If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful, he cannot deny himself.* Which words of the Apostle, though properly belonging to the promises of God, yet are as true in respect of his assertions; neither should he more *deny himself* in violating his fidelity, than in contradicting his veracity. 'Tis true, that ^b *God willing more abundantly to shew unto the Heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath; that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation*: but 'tis as true, that all this confirmation is only for our consolation; otherwise it is as *impossible for God to lie*, without an *oath*, as with one; for being he can ^c *swear by no greater, he sweareth only by himself*, and so the strength even of the Oath of God relieth upon the Veracity of God. Wherefore being God as God is of infinite rectitude, goodness and holiness, being it is manifestly repugnant to his purity, and inconsistent with his integrity, to deliver any thing contrary to his knowledge, it clearly followeth that he cannot deceive any man.

It is therefore most infallibly certain, that God being infinitely wise, cannot * be deceived; being infinitely good, cannot || deceive: and upon these two immoveable pillars standeth the Authority of the *Testimony* of God. For since we cannot doubt of the witness of any one, but by questioning his ability, as one who may be ignorant of that which he affirmeth, and so deceived; or by excepting against his integrity, as one who may affirm that which he knoweth to be false, and so have a purpose to deceive us: where there is no place for either of these exceptions, there can be no doubt of the truth of the *Testimony*. But where there is an intrinsic * repugnancy of being deceived in the understanding, and of deceiving in the Will, as there certainly is in the understanding and will of God, there can be no place for either of those exceptions, and consequently there can be no doubt of the truth of that which God testifieth. And whosoever thinketh any thing comes from him, and assenteth not unto it, must necessarily deny him to be wise or holy: ^d *He that believeth not God, said the Apostle, hath made him a liar.* That truth then which is testified by God, hath a *Divine Credibility*: and an *Assent* unto it as so *credible*, is *Divine Faith*. In which the material Object is the Doctrine which God delivereth, the formal Object is that *Credibility* founded on the || Authority of the deliverer. And this I conceive the true nature of *Divine Faith* in general.

[Deut. 32. 4.
* Δύναται ὁ
καὶ ἰμᾶται
καὶ ἰμᾶται ὁ θεός
ἀτίμητος ὁ θεός
ἀπόλυτος ὁ θεός
θεός ὁ ἰσχυρός ὁ
θεός ὁ ἰσχυρός ὁ
θεός ὁ ἰσχυρός ὁ
θεός ὁ ἰσχυρός ὁ
θεός ὁ ἰσχυρός ὁ
Orig. contra
Celsum.

[Si velint invenire quod omnipotens non potest, habent prolixius, ego dicam, mentiri non potest. S. August. de Civ. Dei, l. 22. c. 25.
* 2 Tim. 2.

13.
^b Heb. 6.
17, 13.

^c Heb. 6. 13.
* Ut sit omnium potens, mori non potest, falli non potest, mentiri non potest. August. de Symb. ad Catechum.

[Deu. tacere fraudem nefic, pati non potest. Chrysol. Serm. 62.
+ Auctoritas Dei consistit in intus in ea repugnantia deceptionis seu falsitatis quam habet divinum iudicium, & in intrinseca repugnantia actus voluntatis imperantis testimonium extrinsecum non contentiens iudicio merito; que per certum potestatem intellectus infallibiliter veri, & actus voluntatis intrinsecè & necessariò recti, poterit explicari, Francisc. de Ovied. Tract. de Fide Contr. 2. pun. 2. ^d 1 Job. 5. 10.
[Divina est auctoritas cui credimus; divina est doctrina quam sequimur. Leo, Sermon. 7. in Nativ.

Now being the *Credibility* of all which we *believe* is founded upon the *Testimony* of God, we can never be sufficiently instructed in the notion of *Faith*, till we first understand how this testimony is given to those truths which we now believe. To which end it will be necessary to give notice that the *Testimony* of God is not given unto truths before questioned or debated; nor are they such things as are first propounded and doubted of by man, and then resolved and confirm'd by interposing the authority of God: but he is then said to witness when he doth propound, and his *testimony* is given by way of *Revelation*, which is nothing else but the delivery or speech of God unto his *Creatures*. And therefore upon a diversity of delivery must follow a difference, though not of *Faith* it self, yet of the means and manner of *Assent*.

Wherefore it will be farther necessary to observe, that *Divine Revelation* is of two kinds, either *Immediate*, or *Mediate*. An *Immediate Revelation* is that by which God delivereth himself to man by himself without the intervention of man. A *Mediate Revelation* is the conveyance of the counsel of God unto man by man. By the first he spake unto the *Prophets*; by the second in the *Prophets*, and by them unto us. Being then there is this difference between the revealing of God unto the *Prophets* and to others, being the *Faith* both of *Prophets* and others relieth wholly upon *Divine Revelation*, the * difference of the manner of *Assent* in these several kinds of *Believers* will be very observable for the explanation of the nature of our *Faith*.

* Sicut duplex est auditus & locutio, scilicet exterior sive corporalis, & interior ac spiritualis; ita duplex est fides, una quæ oritur in cordibus fidelium per auditum exterio-rem, cum scilicet Deus per aliquos homines aliis credenda proponit; & ista est fides quæ nobis sive communi statui fidelium convenit, ex eo quod adharemus revelationibus Prophetarum internam in-
ab ipso Deo per

tis & Apostolis factis: alia est quæ oritur in aliquibus per spiritualem locutionem, quâ Deus aliquibus per rationem credenda revelat, nullo hominis ministerio utens; sicut est fides Apostolorum & Prophetarum, qui intrinsecam illuminationem sunt de credendis instructi. *Francisc. Ferrariensis in Thom. cont. Gent. cap. 40.*

Those then to whom God did immediately speak himself, or by an Angel representing God, and so being in his stead, and bearing his name, (of which I shall need here to make no distinction) those persons, I say, to whom God did so reveal himself, did by virtue of the same *Revelation* perceive, know, and assure themselves that he which spake to them was God; so that at the same time they clearly understood both what was delivered, and by whom: otherwise we cannot imagine that *Abraham* would have slain his Son, or have been commended for such a resolution, had he not been most assured that it was God who by an immediate *Revelation* of his will clearly commanded it. Thus ^a by faith *Noah* being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an *Ark*, to the saving of his house: which * warning of God was a clear *Revelation* of God's determination to drown the world, of his will to save him and his Family, and of his command for that end to build an *Ark*. And this *Noah* so received from God, as that he knew it to be an Oracle of God, and was as well assured of the Author as informed of the Command. Thus the judgments hanging over *Judah* were revealed in the ears of ^b *Isaiah* by the *Lord of Hosts*. Thus ^c the *Lord* revealed himself to *Samuel* in *Shiloh*: at first indeed he knew him not; that is, when the *Lord* spake, he knew it not to be the voice of God, ^d Now *Samuel* did not yet know the *Lord*, neither was the word of the *Lord* yet revealed unto him; but after that he knew him, and was assured that it was He which spake unto him, the Scripture teaching us that the † ears of *Samuel* were revealed, and the * word of God revealed, and † God himself revealed to him. By all which we can understand no less, than that *Samuel* was so illuminated in his Prophecies, that he fully understood the words or things themselves which were delivered, and as certainly knew that the Deliverer was God: so *Samuel the Seer*, so the rest of those *Prophets* believed those truths revealed to them by such a Faith as was a firm Assent unto an object credible upon the immediate Testimony of God.

^a Heb. 11. 7.
* πίστει χημα-
τισθείς, which
word comes from
the original
χῆμα, appro-
priated by the
Greeks to an O-
racle, or Answer
given by God, ὁ
υἱὸς θεοῦ χῆμα,
ὁ υἱὸς θεοῦ
μάντις τῶν
Μεσοποταμῶν.
^b *Isai.* 22. 14.
^c 1 *Sam.* 3. 21.
^d 1 *Sam.* 3. 7.
† יהוה נראה
לסמואל
כעלוי אפי-
קאלוּתוֹ דִּבְרֵי
יהוה סאמὴל,
1 *Sam.* 9. 15.
† יהוה אלהי
רבה יהוה
סὲν ἢ ἀποκα-
λυφθῆναι αὐ-
τῷ ὅτι μαρτυρεῖς
1 *Sam.* 3. 7.
† נראה
יהוה אל
לסמואל
1 *Sam.* 3. 21.

* ἀπεκαλύφθη κείνῳ πρὸς Σαμουὴλ, 1 *Sam.* 3. 21. But

But those faithful people to whom the Prophets spake, believed the same truth, and upon the testimony of the same God, delivered unto them not by God, but by those Prophets, whose words they therefore assented unto as certain truths, because they were assured that what the Prophets spake was immediately revealed to them by God himself, without which assurance no faith could be expected from them. When God *appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire out of the midst of a Bush*, and there immediately revealed to him first himself, saying, *I am the God of thy Fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*, and then his will to bring the children of Israel out of the Land of Egypt, *Moses* clearly believed God both in the Revelation of himself and of his will, and was fully satisfied that the *Israelites* should be delivered, because he was assured it was God who promised their deliverance: yet notwithstanding still he doubted whether the *Israelites* would believe the same truth, when it should be delivered to them, not immediately by God, but by *Moses*. *And Moses answered and said, But behold they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice; for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee.* Which words of his first suppose, that if they had heard the voice of God, as he had, they would have assented to the truth upon a testimony Divine; and then as rationally affirm, that it was improbable they should believe, except they were assured it was God who promised, or think that God had promised by *Moses*, only because *Moses* said so. Which rational objection was clearly taken away when God endued *Moses* with power of evident and undoubted miracles; for then the Rod which he carried in his hand was as infallible a sign to the *Israelites* that God had appeared unto him, as the flaming Bush was to himself; and therefore they which saw in his hand God's Omnipotency, could not suspect in his tongue God's Veracity; insomuch as when *Aaron* became to *Moses* instead of a Mouth, and *Moses* to *Aaron* instead of God, *Aaron* spake all the words which the Lord had spoken unto *Moses*, and did the signs in the sight of the people, and the people believed. For being persuaded by a lively and active presence of Omnipotency that God had appeared unto *Moses*, and what was delivered to them by him came to him from God, and being sufficiently assured out of the very sense and notion of a Deity, that whatsoever God should speak, must of necessity be true, they presently assented, and believed the Lord, and his Servant *Moses*; *Moses*, as the immediate Propounder, God, as the original Revealer: they believed *Moses* that God had revealed it, and they believed the promise because God had revealed it. So that the Faith both of *Moses* and the *Israelites* was grounded upon the same testimony or revelation of God, and differed only in the proposition or application of the testimony; *Moses* receiving it immediately from God himself, the *Israelites* mediately by the ministry of *Moses*.

In the like manner the succeeding Prophets were the instruments of Divine Revelation, which they first believed as revealed to them, and then the people as revealed by them: for what they delivered was not the testimony of man, but the testimony of God delivered by man. It was he who spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets which have been since the world began: the mouth, the instrument, the articulation was theirs; but the words were God's. *The Spirit of the Lord spake by me*, saith *David*, and his word was in my tongue. It was the word of the Lord, which he spake by the hand of *Moses*, and by the hand of his Servant *Ahijah* the Prophet. The hand the general instrument of man, the mouth the particular instrument of speech, both attributed to the Prophets as merely instrumental in their prophecies. The words which *Balaam*'s Ass spake were as much the Ass's words, as those which *Balaam* spake were his; for the Lord opened the mouth of the Ass, and the Lord put a word

in Balaam's mouth; and not only so, but a bridle with that word, *only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak.* The Prophets, as they did not frame the notions or conceptions themselves of those truths which they delivered from God, so did they not loosen their own tongues of their own instinct, or upon their own motion, but as moved, impelled, and acted by God. So we may in correspondence to the antecedent and subsequent words interpret those words of S. Peter, that *no Prophecy of the Scripture is of any * private interpretation*: that is, that no Prophecy which is written did so proceed from the Prophet which spake or wrote it, that he of himself or by his own instinct did open his mouth to prophesie; but that all Prophetical Revelations came from God alone, and that whosoever first delivered them was antecedently inspired by him, as it followeth, *for the Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* That therefore which they delivered was the word, the Revelation of God; which they assented unto as to a certain and infallible truth, credible upon the immediate testimony of God, and to which the rest of the Believers assented upon the same testimony of God mediately delivered by the hands of the Prophets.

Numb. 22 35.

2 Pet. 1. 20.

* ἡγιασμένων πνεύματος.

Heb. 1. 1.

Vers. 2.

Rev. 14. 12.

John 1. 18.

Heb. 1. 3.

Col. 1 19.

Col. 2. 9.

John 15. 30.

John 17. 8.

John 16. 13.

John 14. 25.

2 Tim. 1. 12.

Thus God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Prophets, and by so speaking propounded the Object of Faith both to the Prophets and the Fathers, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, and by so speaking hath enlarged the Object of Faith to us by him, by which means it comes to be the Faith of Jesus. Thus the only-begotten Son, who was in the bosom of the Father, the express image of his person, he in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, he in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, revealed the will of God to the Apostles who being assured that he knew all things, and convinced that he came forth from God, gave a full and clear assent unto those things which he delivered, and grounded their Faith upon his words as upon the immediate testimony of God. I have given unto them, saith Christ unto his Father, *the words which thou gavest me, and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have believed that thou didst send me.* Besides this delivery of these words by Christ to the Apostles, they received the Promise of the Spirit of truth, which should guide them into all truth, and teach them all things, and bring all things into their remembrance whatsoever Christ had said unto them. So clearly, so fully, so constantly were they furnished with Divine Illuminations and Revelations from God, upon which they grounded their own Faith; that each of them might well make that profession of S. Paul, *I know whom I have believed.* Thus the Faith of the Apostles, as of Moses and the Prophets, was grounded upon the immediate Revelations of God.

But those Believers to whom the Apostles preached, and whom they converted to the Faith, believed the same truths which were revealed to the Apostles, though they were not so revealed to them as they were unto the Apostles, that is, immediately from God. But as the Israelites believed those truths which Moses spake, to come from God, being convinced by the constant supply of miracles wrought by the Rod which he carried in his hand: so the blessed Apostles, being so plentifully endued from above with the power of Miracles, gave sufficient testimony that it was God which spake by their mouths, who so evidently wrought by their hands. They which heard S. Peter call a lame man unto his legs, speak a dead man alive, and strike a living man to death with his tongue, as he did Ananias and Sapphira, might easily be persuaded that it was God who spake by his mouth, and conclude that where they found him in his Omnipotency, they might well expect him in his Ve-

racity. These were the persons for whom our Saviour next to the Apostles
 prayed, because by a way next to that of the Apostles they believed. *Neither*
John 17. 20. *pray I for these alone, saith Christ, but for them also who shall believe on me through*
their word. Thus the Apostles believed on Christ through his own word, and
 the primitive Christians believed on the same Christ through the Apostles
 word: and this distinction our Saviour himself hath clearly made; not that
 the word of the Apostles was really distinct from the word of Christ, but on-
 ly it was called theirs, because delivered by their Ministry, otherwise, it was
 the same word which they had heard from him, and upon which they them-
 selves believed. *That which was from the beginning,* saith S. John, *which we have*
1 John 1. 1, 3. *heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands*
have handled of the word of life, That which we have seen and heard, declare we
unto you. And this was the true foundation of Faith in all them which belie-
 ved, that they took not the words which they heard from the Apostles to be
 the words of the men which spake them, no more than they did the power
 of healing the sick, or raising the dead, and the rest of the miracles, to be the
 power of them that wrought them; but as they attributed those miraculous
 works to God working by him, so did they also that saving word to the
 same God speaking by them. When S. Paul preached at *Antioch, almost the*
Acts 13. 44. *whole City came together to hear the word of God;* so they esteemed it, though
 they knew him a man whom they came to hear speak it. This the Apostle com-
 mendeth in the *Thessalonians,* that when they *received the word of God, which*
1 Thess. 2. 13. *they heard of him, they received it not as the word of man, but (as it is in truth,)*
the word of God; and receiving it so, they embraced it as coming from him
 who could neither deceive nor be deceived, and consequently as infallibly
 true; and by so embracing it they assented unto it, by so assenting to it they
 believed it, ultimately upon the testimony of God, immediately upon the te-
 stimony of S. Paul, as he speaks himself, *because our testimony among you was*
2 Thess. 1. 10. *believed.* Thus the Faith of those which were converted by the Apostles was
 an assent unto the word as credible upon the testimony of God, delivered to them
 by a Testimony Apostolical. Which being thus clearly stated, we may at last
 descend into our own condition, and so describe the nature of our own
 Faith, that every one may know what it is to Believe.

Although *Moses* was endued with the Power of Miracles, and conversed
 with God in the Mount, and spake with him face to face at the door of the
 Tabernacle: although upon these grounds the *Israelites* believed what he de-
 livered to them as the word of God; yet neither the Miracles nor *Moses* did
 for ever continue with them; and notwithstanding his death, they and their
 Posterity to all Generations were obliged to believe the same truths. Where-
 fore it is observable which S. Stephen saith, *he received the lively Oracles to give*
Acts 7. 33. *unto them;* the Decalogue he received from the hand of God, *written with*
the finger of God, the rest of the Divine patefactions he wrote himself, and so
 delivered them not a mortal word to die with him, but *living Oracles,* to be in
 force when he was dead, and oblige the People to a belief, when his Rod
 had ceased to broach the Rocks and divide the Seas. Neither did he only tie
 them to a belief of what he wrote himself, but by foretelling and describing
 the Prophets which should be raised in future Ages, he put a farther obliga-
 tion upon them to believe their Prophecies as the Revelations of the same God.
 Thus all the *Israelites* in all Ages believed *Moses,* while he lived, by belie-
 ving his words; after his death, by believing his writings. *Had ye believed*
7 Heb. 4. 17. *Moses, saith our Saviour, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me. But*
if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words? Wherefore the
 Faith of the *Israelites* in the land of *Canaan* was an Assent unto the truths of the

Law as credible upon the testimony of God delivered unto them in the Writings of Moses and the Prophets.

In the like manner is it now with us. For although Christ first published the Gospel to those who beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten Son of the Father; although the Apostles first converted those unto the Faith who heard them speak with Tongues they never learn'd, they never heard before, and discover the thoughts of men they never saw before, who saw the lame to walk, the blind to see, the dead to revive, and the living to expire at their command: yet did not these Apostles prolong their lives by virtue of that power which gave such testimony to their Doctrine, but rather shortned them by their constant attestation to the truth of that Doctrine farther confirmed by their death. Nor did that power of frequent and ordinary miraculous operations long survive them; and yet they left as great an obligation upon the Church in all succeeding Ages to believe all the truths which they delivered, as they had put upon those persons who heard their words and saw their works; because they wrote the same truths which they spake, assisted in writing by the same Spirit by which they spake, and therefore require the same readines of assent so long as the same truths shall be preserved by those Writings. While Moses lived and spake as a Mediator between God and the Israelites, they believed his words, and so the Prophets while they preached. When Moses was gone up to Mount Nebo, and there died, when the rest of the Prophets were gathered to their Fathers, they believed their Writings, and the whole object of their Faith was contained in them. When the Son of God came into the World to reveal the will of his Father, when he made known unto the Apostles, as his friends, all things that he had heard of the Father, then did the Apostles believe the Writings of Moses and the Prophets, and the words of Christ, and in these taken together was contained the entire object of their Faith, and they believed the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said. When Christ was ascended up into Heaven, and the Holy Ghost came down, when the words which Christ had taught the Apostles were preached by them, and many thousand Souls converted to the Faith, they believed the Writings of the Prophets and the Words of the Apostles; and in these two was comprised the compleat object of their Faith. When the Apostles themselves departed out of this life, and confirmed the truth of the Gospel preached by the last of sufferings, their death, they left the summ of what they had received, in writing, for the continuation of the Faith in the Churches which they had planted, and the propagation thereof in other places, by those which succeeded them in their ordinary function, but were not to come near them in their extraordinary gifts. ^a These things were written, saith S. John, the longest Liver, and the latest Writer, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.

John 1. 14.

John 15. 15.

John 2. 22.

^a John 20. 31.^b Eph. 2. 20.

Propheta & Apostoli, super

quos omnium

Ecclesiarum

fundamentalo-

canur. S. Hier-

on. in Psal. 17.

Super Prophe-

tas edificatu

Orbisterrarum

credens in Do-

mino. Russ. ib.

* Dur. md. l. 3.

Dist. 24. q. 1.

§ 2. Fides est

habitus quo at-

tendimus dictis

Scripturæ pro-

pter autori-

tatem Dei re-

velantis.

Those Christians then which have lived since the Apostles death and never obtain'd the wish of S^t Augustine, to see either Christ upon earth or S^t Paul in the Pulpit, have believed the writings of Moses and the Prophets, of the Apostles and Evangelists, in which together is fully comprehended whatsoever may properly be termed matter of Divine Faith; and so ^b the household of God is built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, who are continued unto us only in their Writings, and by them alone convey unto us the truths which they received from God, upon whose testimony we believe. And therefore he which put their Writings into the definition of Faith, considering Faith as now it stands with us, is none of the smallest of the * Schoolmen. From whence we may at last conclude, that the true nature of the Faith of a

Christian, as the state of Christ's Church now stands and shall continue to the end of the world, consists in this, that it is an *Affent unto truths credible upon the testimony of God delivered unto us in the Writings of the Apostles and Prophets.*

To believe therefore as the word stands in the Front of the *C R E E D*, and not only so, but is diffused through every Article and Proposition of it, is to assent to the whole and every part of it, as to a certain and infallible truth revealed by God, (who by reason of his infinite knowledge cannot be deceived, and by reason of his transcendent holiness cannot deceive) and delivered unto us in the Writings of the blessed Apostles and Prophets immediately inspired, moved and acted by God, out of whose Writings this brief summ of necessary points of Faith was first * collected. And as this is properly to believe, which was our first consideration ; so to say *I believe*, is to make a confession or external expression of the Faith, which is the second Consideration propounded.

Faith is an habit of the intellectual part of man, and therefore of it self invisible; and to believe is a spiritual act, and consequently immanent and internal, and known to no man but him who believeth: ^a *For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him?* Wherefore Christ being not only the great Apostle sent to deliver these revealed truths, and so the Authour of our Faith, but also the Head of the Church, whose Body consisteth of faithful Members, and so the Authour of union and communion, which principally hath relation to the unity of Faith, he must needs be imagin'd to have appointed some external expression and communication of it: especially considering that the sound of the Apostles was to go forth unto the ends of the World, and all Nations to be called to the profession of the Gospel, and gathered into the Church of Christ; which cannot be performed without an acknowledgment of the truth, and a profession of Faith, without which no entrance into the Church, no admittance to Baptism. ^b *What doth hinder me to be baptized?* saith the Eunuch. *And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.* So believing with all his heart, as Philip required, and making profession of that Faith, he was admitted. ^c *For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* The belief of the heart is the internal habit residing in the Soul, and act of Faith proceeding from it, but terminated in the same; the confession of the mouth is an external signification of the inward habit or act of Faith, by words expressing an acknowledgment of those truths which we believe or assent to in our Souls. || The ear receiveth the word, *faith cometh by hearing*; the ear conveyeth it to the heart, which being opened receiveth it, receiving believeth it; and then ^d *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.* In the heart Faith is seated; with the tongue confession is made; between these two Salvation is * compleated. ^e *If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* This Faith of the heart every one ought, and is presum'd to have; this confession of the mouth every one is known to make, when he pronounceth these words of the *C R E E D*, *I believe*; and if true, he may with comfort say, ^f *the word of Faith is nigh me, even in my mouth and in my heart*: first in my heart really assenting, then in my mouth clearly and sincerely professing with the Prophet David, ^g *I have be-*

* Οὐκ ὡς ἔδοξεν ἀνθρώποις σωθῆσθαι τὰ ἴπιστες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναγγελλοῦντες τὴν πίστιν διδασκαλίαν
Cyril. Catech. Ecclesiarum

Patres de populorum salute solliciti, ex diversis voluminibus Scripturarum collegerunt testimonia divinis gravida Sacramentis. Euseb. Gall. in Sym.

^a 1 Cor. 2. 11. ^b Act. 8. 36, 37.

^c Rom. 10. 10. Habes, homo, unde credere debeas, corde fit confessio ad justitiam; habes unde debes confiteri, ore confessio fit ad salutem.

Chrysol. Serm. 56. || Sermo creat auditum, auditus concipit fidem, credulitatem parurit fides, confessionem credulitatem nutrit. confessio perpetuam dat salutem Chrysol. Serm. 60.

^d Mat. 12. 34.

* Magnum filii, per hoc fidei nostrae videmus esse compendium, quando inter eor & linguam eorum salutis humanae versatur & geritur Sacramentum. Chrysol. Serm. 56. Quod a te & pro te repositur, intra te est, i.e. oris famularus & cordis effectus. Euseb. Gall. ^e Rom. 10. 9. ^f Rom. 10. 8

De hoc sine dubio legimus per Prophetam, propè est, inquit, in ore tuo, & in corde tuo. Euseb. Gall. ^g Psal. 116. 10.

lieved,

lied, therefore have I spoken. Thus briefly from the second Consideration concerning Confession implied in the first words *I believe*, we shall pass unto the third Consideration, of the necessity and particular obligation to such a Confession.

If there were no other Argument, yet being the Object of Faith is supposed infallibly true, and acknowledged to be so by every one that believeth, being it is the nature of Truth not to hide it self, but rather to desire the light that it might appear; this were sufficient to move us to a *Confession* of our *Faith*. But besides the nature of the thing, we shall find many Arguments obliging, pressing, urging us to such a profession. For first, from the same God, and by the same means by which we have received the Object of our Faith, by which we came under a possibility of Faith, we have also received an express command to make a *Confession* of the same: ^a *Be ready, saith S^r Peter, always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you; and there can be no reason of hope but what is grounded on Faith, nor can there be an Answer given unto that without an acknowledgement of this.* Secondly, 'tis true indeed that the great promises of the Gospel are made unto Faith, and glorious things are spoken of it; but the same promises are made to the *Confession of Faith* ^b together with it; and we know who it is hath said, ^c *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven.* Besides, the profession of the Faith of one Christian confirmeth and edifieth another in his, and the mutual benefit of all layeth an obligation upon every particular. Again, the matters of Faith contain so much purity of Doctrine, perswade such holiness of life, describe God so infinitely glorious, so transcendently gracious, so loving in himself, so merciful in his Son, so wonderful in all his works, that the sole confession of it glorifieth God; and how can we expect to enter into that glory which is none of ours, if we deny God that glory which is his? Lastly, the concealing those truths which he hath revealed, the not acknowledging that Faith which we are thought to believe, is so far from giving God that glory which is due unto him, that it dishonoureth the Faith which it refuseth or neglecteth to profess, and casteth a kind of contumely upon the Authour of it, as if God had revealed that which man should be ashamed to acknowledge. Wherefore he that came to save us hath also said unto us, ^d *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come in his own glory, and in his Father's, and of the holy Angels.* Such a necessity there is of Confession of Faith, in respect of God, who commanded it, and is glorified in it; in respect of our selves, who shall be rewarded for it; and in respect of our Brethren, who are edified and confirmed by it. Which necessity the wisdom of our Church in former Ages hath thought a sufficient ground to command the recitation of the *CREED* at the * first initiation into the Church by Baptism, (for which purpose it was taught and expounded to those which were to be baptized im-

^a 1 Pet. 3. 15.

^b Rom. 10. 10.

^c Mat. 10. 32.

^d Luke 9. 26.

* Ο ἅ καὶ ὄνα
τ' ἀληθεία ἀ-
κλινῆ ἐν ἑαυ-
τῷ κατέχων
ὄν διὰ τοῦ βε-
πλισμα] (ὁ ἑ-
ληθε. Iren. l. 1.

c. 1.

Cum sub tribus
& testatio fidei
& ponsio salu-
tis pignoren-

tur, necessarîo adjicitur Ecclesiæ mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est. *Tertul. de Baptis.* In quem tingere? in pœnitentiam? quo ergo illi præcursorem? in peccatorum remissionem quam verbo dabit? in semetipsum, quem humilitate celabar? in Spiritum Sanctum qui nondum à Patre descenderat? in Ecclesiam, quam nondum Apostoli struxerant? *Id.* Dehinc ter mergimur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. *Id. de Cor. Militis.* Sed & ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in Baptismo testis est veritatis, nam cum dicimus, *Credis in vitam æternam, & remissionem peccatorum per sanctam Ecclesiam?* intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in Ecclesia dari. *S. Cyprianus, Ep. ad Januarium, &c.* Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat eandem Novatianum Legem tenere quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem Symbolo quo & nos baptizare, eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propterea usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione Baptismi a nobis non discrepare: licet quisquis hoc opponendam putat, non esse unam nobis & Schismaticis Symboli Legem, neq; eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt, *Credis remissionem peccatorum, & vitam æternam per Sanctam Ecclesiam?* mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant Ecclesiam. *Idem, Epist. ad Magnum.* Mos ibi (id est, Romæ) servatur antiquus, eos qui gratiam Baptismi suscepturi sunt, publicè i. e. fidelium populo audiente, Symbolum reddere. *Ruffin. in Symb.* volente est in lavacro, post Trinitatis confessionem interrogare, *Credis in Sanctam Ecclesiam? credis remissionem peccatorum?* *S. Hieron. contra Lu. iser.* Mens Hæretica reliquit Doctorem à quo fidem Ecclesiæ didicerat, oblita est pacti Dei sui, hoc est, fidei ipsius Dominicæ quæ in Symbolo continetur, quam se die baptismatis servaturum esse promiserat. *Id. Com. in Prov.* Interrogatus es, *Credis in Deum*

Patrem

Patrem omnipotentem ? dixisti, Credo, & misericors, hoc est, sepultus es. Iterum interrogatus es, Credo in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, & in crucem eius ? dixisti, Credo, & misericors, ideo & Christo es confepultus. Tertio interrogatus, Credo in Spiritum Sanctum ? dixisti, Credo, & misericors, ut multiplicem lapium superioris araxis abfolveret trina confefio. Ambros. de Spiritum Sanctum. l. 2. c. 7. Leo speaks thus of Eutyches in his Epistle to Flavianus, Quam enim eruditionem de sacris Novi & Veteris Testamenti paginis acquirit, qui ne ipsius quidem Symboli initia comprehendit ? & quod per totum mundum omnium regenerandorum voce depromitur, illius adhuc lenis corde non capitur. And in the 12. Book de Trinitate (formerly attributed to Athanasius, but more probably now thought to belong to Vigilantius Tassensis,) Nec non & illa magna & beata Confefio Fidei, imò ipsa Fides Sancti rum, & Testamentum quod disposuimus ad Patrem, Filium & Spiritum Sanctum, ad sacrum lavacrum regenerationis venientes, Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, & in Jesum Christum Filium eius unigenitum, & in Spiritum Sanctum, καθὰς παρελάουσα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὀπισθοκρίσιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καθήχησιν, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λυγρὸν ἔλαυβάνομα Euseb. of the Confession of Faith which he exhibited to the Council of Nice. Socr. l. 1. c. 3. Theodor. l. 1. c. 12. Abrenuncio, inquis, Diabolo, pompis, spectaculis, & operibus eius ; & quid postea ? Credo, inquis, in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem. Salvianus de Gubern. Dei, lib. 6. And when this Creed was enlarged by the Council of Nice, and after that by others, Epiphanius commends it to the Catechumens, to be repeated at their Baptism ; ἡ τὸς ἑκάστῳ τῆς καθήχουσαν τῆς μελέτης τῆς ἀγίας λυγρῶς πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμόνον ἐπαγγελίαν ὁμολογεῖται. τὸ πιστεύει τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὕοις ἐν κρείττῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ διδάσκων ῥητάς, ὡς πάνταν ἢ αὐτὰ μητρὸς ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸ λέγειν, Π. πρὸς ὑμῶν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, &c. Epiph. in Ancorat. And when he had yet farther enlarged it by reason of some new emergent Heresies, he commends it, μάλιστα τοῖς πρὸ ἀγίας λυγρῶς πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπαγγελίαν καὶ ἑξουσίαν. Ib. The first Council of Constantinople confirms the Nicene Confession as πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸν τε ἔσαν καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῆς βασιλείας. Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 9. And the Council of Chalcedon of the same kind, ὡς κοινὸν ἐξ ἀγίων Συνοδίων, τοῖς μυαλοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἰσοθυσίαν παρεξηγούμενον ὁσάλλαν. Ρασίε tenti. The Synod at Jerusalem, τὸ ἄγιον Συμβολον εἰς ὃ ἐβαπτισθημεν καὶ βαπτισομεν. The Synod at Tyre, ἐν αὐτῷ βαπτισθῆναι καὶ βαπτισθῆναι. And the Council of Constantinople under Menna, to which the former sent their Synodical Letters, τὸ ἄγιον Συμβολον ἐν ᾧ πάσης ἐβαπτισθημεν. Council. Constantinop. sub Agab. & Menna, Act. 5. Basiliscus and Marcus in two general Edicts, confirmed the sum: Nicene Creed with these words, καὶ ὅτι ἡμῶν τε καὶ πάντων ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐβαπτισθημεν. Euagr. l. 3. cap. 4, and 7. and the Edict of the Emperor Justinian, Anathematizaverunt eos qui aliam definitionem fidei, sive Symbololum, sive Mathema, tradunt accedentibus ad sanctum baptisma.

* Ὅτι δὲ οὗτος ἐστι ζωὴς τῶν πέντε ἐκ μνησθῶν, καὶ τῆς πέμπτης ἐξ ἐξουσίας ἡ παρρηγομένη πρὸς τὸν λαόν ἢ τοῖς πρὸς τῆς Concil. Laod. Can. 45. Where it is to be observed that πίστις is taken for the Creed, or Symbolum Fidei, and was translated anciently as appeareth by the Canon preferred in the Canon Law, and rendered thus, Eaprizandos oportet Fidei Symbolum dicere, & quinta feria ultim efepri mane vel Episcopo vel Presbyteris reddere. De Confec. dist. 4. cap. 58. Sym-bolum etiam

diately * before the great Solemnity of *Easter) and to require a particular repetition of it publickly as often as the Sacrament of the Eucharist was administered, and a constant and perpetual inculcation of the same by the * Clergy to the people.

And as this necessity is great, as the practice usefull and advantageous ; so is the obligation of believing and confessing particular, binding every single Christian, observable in the number and person expressed, *I believe.* As if Christ did question every one in particular, as he did him who was born blind, after he had restored him his sight, (and we are all in his condition) *Doft thou believe on the Son of God ?* every single Christian is taught to make the same Answer which he made, *Lord, I believe.* As if the Son of God did promise to every one of them which are gathered together in his name, what he promised to *one of the multitude whose Son had a dumb spirit, If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth ;* each one for himself returneth his Answer, *Lord, I believe ; Lord, help my unbelief.* Not that it is unlawful or unfit to use another number, and instead of *I,* to say, *We believe :* for taking in of others, we exclude not our selves : and addition of charity can be no disparagement to confession of Faith. *S. Peter* answered for the twelve, *We believe, and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God.* For though Christ immediately replied that *one of them had a Devil,* yet is not *St. Peter* blam'd, who knew it not. But every one is taught to express his own Faith, because by that he is to stand or fall. *The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much* for the benefit of his Brother, but his Faith availeth nothing for the justification of another. And it is otherwise very fit that our Faith should be manifested by a particular confession, because it is effectual by par-

placuit ab omnibus Ecclesiis una die, i. e. ante octo dies Dominicæ resurrectionis, publicè in Ecclesia competentibus prædicari. Concil. Agath. capit. 13. Sicut antiqui Canones jubent, ante viginti dies Baptismi ad purificationem exorcismi Catechumeni currant, in quibus viginti diebus omnino Catechumeni Symbolum, quod est, Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, specialiter doceantur. Concil. Brachar. 2. cap. 1. The Canon of the Laodicean Council, already mentioned, is verbatim rehearsed in the sixth Canon in Trulla, Can. 73. It appeareth therefore a general command of the Church, that those who were to be baptized, should have a certain time allotted for the learning and rehearsing of the Creed. And in case of Necessity if any were baptized, they would learn the Creed immediately after their Baptism, ὅτι δὲ (not, as it is in the Edition of Einius, both in this Canon and in the former, most absurdly, ὅτι ὁ δὲ) πρὸς ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ παρελάουσας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναστάσιμα, ἐμαρθαίειν τὸν πίστιν, καὶ γνώσασθαι ὅτι θῆσας δωρεὰς καὶ ἰσχύουσαν. Concil. Laod. Can. 47. || As appears in the ancient Greek Liturgies and the Decree of the third Council of Toledo, ut in hac ritum tempore ante communicacionem corporis Christi & sanguinis, juxta Orientalium partium morem, unanimiter clarâ voce iactantissimum fidei recentant Symbolum. Which Custom as they call it of the Oriental parts, is said first to be introduced by Petrus Monachus at Alexandria, and after by Timotheus at Constantinople, as appears out of the fragments of Theodorus Lector. * Concil. Mogunt. cap. 45. Symbolum quod est signaculum fidei, & Oracionem Dominicam discere semper admovent sacerdotes populum Christianum. * J. h. c. 35, 38. * M. 9. 17, 23, 24. * J. h. c. 59. * J. m. 5. 15.

particular

ticular application ; therefore must it needs be proper for me to say *I believe*, and to make profession of my *faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.* Gal. 2. 20.

Being then I have described the true nature and notion of *Belief*, the duty of *confessing* our Faith, and the obligation of every particular Christian to *believe* and to *confess* ; being in these three explications all which can be imaginably contained in the first word of the *C R E E D* must necessarily be included ; it will now be easie for me to deliver, and for every particular person to understand what it is he says, and upon what ground he proceeds, when he begins his *Confession* with these words, *I believe*, which I conceive may in this manner be fitly expressed.

Although those things which I am ready to affirm be not apparent to my sense, so that I cannot say I see them ; although they be not evident to my understanding of themselves, nor appear unto me true by the virtue of any natural and necessary cause, so that I cannot say I have any proper knowledge or science of them : yet being they are certainly contained in the Scriptures, the writings of the blessed Apostles and Prophets ; being those Apostles and Prophets were endued with miraculous power from above, and immediately inspired with the Holy Ghost, and consequently what they delivered was not the word of man, but of God himself ; being God is of that universal knowledge and infinite wisdom, that it is impossible he should be deceived ; of that indefectible holiness and transcendent rectitude, that it is not imaginable he should intend to deceive any man, and consequently whatsoever he hath delivered for a truth must be necessarily and infallibly true ; I readily and stedfastly assent unto them as most certain truths, and am as fully and absolutely, and more concerningly perswaded of them, than of any thing I see or know. And because that God who hath revealed them hath done it not for my benefit only, but for the advantage of others, nor for that alone, but also for the manifestation of his own glory ; being for those ends he hath commanded me to profess them, and hath promised an eternal reward upon my profession of them ; being every particular person is to expect the justification of himself, and the Salvation of his Soul, upon the condition of his own Faith : as with a certain and full perswasion I assent unto them, so with a fixed and undaunted resolution I will profess them ; and with this faith in my heart, and confession in my mouth, in respect of the whole body of the *C R E E D*, and every Article and particle in it, I sincerely, readily, resolvedly say, *I believe.*

I believe in God.

HAVING delivered the Nature of *Faith*, and the act of *Belief* common to all the Articles of the *Creed*, that we may understand what it is to *believe* ; we shall proceed to the explication of the Articles themselves, as the most necessary objects of our *Faith*, that we may know what is chiefly to be believed. Where immediately we meet with another word as general as the former, and as universally concerned in every Article, which is *G O D* ; for if to *believe* be to assent upon the testimony of God, as we have before declared, then wheresoever belief is expressed or implied, there is also the name of *God* understood, upon whose testimony we *believe*. He therefore whose authority is the ground and foundation of the whole, his existence begins the *Creed*, as the foundation of that authority. For if there can be no divine Faith without the attestation of *God*, by which alone it becomes divine, and there can be no such attestation, except there were an existence of the testifier, then must it needs
be

be proper to begin the *Confession* of our Faith with the agnition of our God. If his * name were thought fit to be expressed in the front of every action even by the heathen, because they thought no action prospered but by his approbation ; much more ought we to fix it before our *Confession*, because without him to believe as we profess, is no less than a contradiction.

Now these words, *I believe in God*, will require a double consideration ; one, of the phrase or manner of speech ; another, of the thing or nature of the truth in that manner expressed. For to *believe* with an addition of the preposition *in*, is a phrase or expression ordinarily conceived fit to be given to none but to God himself, as always implying, beside a bare act of Faith, an addition of hope, love, and affiance. An observation, as I conceive, prevailing especially in the Latin Church, grounded principally upon the authority of || S. Augustine. Whereas among the Greeks, in whose Language the New Testament was penn'd, I perceive no such constant distinction in their deliveries of the Creed : and in the * Hebrew Language of the Old, from which the Jewish and Christian Greeks received that phrase of *believing in*, it hath no such peculiar and accumulative signification. For it is sometimes attributed to God, the author and original cause, sometimes to the Prophets, the immediate revealers, of the Faith ; sometimes it is spoken of Miracles, the motives to believe ; sometimes of the Law of God, the material Object of our Faith. Among all which varieties of that phrase of speech, it is sufficiently apparent, that in this *Confession of Faith* it is most proper to admit it in the last accepti-

* ©εδοξ. Θεός
Εἶδος ἑνὸς τρυ
καταδέχοντο
τινὸς, Θεός
λέγειν, ἐτε-
στιμασι Θεῶν.
Hebr. Ica.

[For See, 181.
which is upon
the Creed, we
find these words
Non dicite, Credo
Deo, vel
Credo Deo,
quamvis & hæc
saluti necessa-
ria sint. Aliud
enim est crede-
re illi, aliud
credere illum,
aliud credere
in illum. Cre-

dere illi, est credere vera esse qua loquitur ; Credere illum, credere quia ipse est Deus ; Credere in illum, diligere illum. And though that collection of Sermons de tempore under the name of S. Augustine be not all his, (divers of them being Translations of the Greek Homilies) yet this distinction may be collected out of other parts of his works. For first, he distinguisheth very clearly and seriously between credere Deo, and credere in Deum. Nunquam aliquis Apostolorum dicere auderet, Qui credit in me, Credimus Apostolo, sed non credimus in Apostolum. Tract. 54. in Psalm. And again Credimus Paulo, sed non credimus in Paulum ; credimus Petro, sed non credimus in Petrum. Secondly, he distinguisheth between credere Deum, and credere in Deum. Multum inter restat utrum quis credat ipsam esse Christum, & utrum credat in Christum. Ille credit in Christum qui & sperat in Christum, & diligit Christum. De verbis Dom. Sermon. 61. And, which is the sum of all, we put a high value upon the preposition, as if by virtue of the addition in, the phrase did properly signify so great an accession unto faith. Quid est credere in Deum ? credere & amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, & ejus membris incorporari. Tract. 55. in Job. Which doctrine of S. Augustine's, being taken notice of by Peter Lombard, hath since been continued by the Schoolmen ; and Aquinas, Sum. 2. 22. q. 2. §. 2. ad primum, joining all three under one act of Faith, hath been contradicted by Durand, in 3. Sent. d'y. 23. q. 7. §. 6. credere in Deum scilicet, est proprie actus fidei sed fidei & charitatis finis ; & sunt etiam plures, & non unus actus tantum : by whose subtle, but yet clear determination (as many of his are beyond the rest of the School) whatever is added by the preposition to believe, appears not to be a part of Belief, but an act superadded to the act of Faith. * For |. Scilicet sometimes joined with |, sometimes with | : when with |, it answers properly to πιστεύω τὸν Θεόν, credere Deo. (| being nothing else but a signification of the case) when with | it corresponds to πιστεύω εἰς Θεόν, credere in Deum, (| being a preposition of the same nature with εἰ or in.) But yet there is little or no difference in the Hebrew, that in the first place where it is used, and that of the father of the faithful, even for the act of believing faith, בְּיְהוָה בְּיָדָיו גֵּן הַחַיִּים Gen. 15. 6. it is translated by the LXX. καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐσὶν ἄγγελοι κυρίου ἔστη ἔναντι τοῦ κυρίου, and that translation warranted by S. Paul, Rom. 4. 2. Gal. 3. 6. and S. James 2. 23. In the same manner 2 Kings 17. 14. אֱלֹהֵי חַבְשֵׁי אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר רָא אַבְרָם הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר רָא אֲבֹתֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ is translated by the LXX. (as that Translation is preserved in the Alexandrian and Complutentian Copies) ὅτι ἐσὶν ἄγγελοι κυρίου ἔστη ἔναντι τοῦ κυρίου. Besides, the same phrase is used in the same place both to God and to man, as Exod. 14. 31. וַיֵּאמְרוּ בְּיְהוָה וּבַמֶּלֶךְ עַבְדּוֹ וַיֵּאמְרוּ בְּיְהוָה וּבַמֶּלֶךְ עַבְדּוֹ and they believed in God and in his servant Moses, which the Chaldee Paraphrase explaineth thus וְהֵאמְרוּ בַּמֶּלֶךְ עַבְדּוֹ וּבַנְּבִיאֹת מֹשֶׁה and they believed in the word of God, and in the prophecy of Moses his servant. An וַיֵּאמְרוּ בְּיְהוָה וּבַמֶּלֶךְ עַבְדּוֹ and they believed in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established ; believe in his Prophets, so shall ye prosper. For although the Vulgar Latin, which our Translation followeth, hath made that distinction which the Hebrew maketh not, Credite in Domino Deo vestro, & securi eritis ; credite Prophetis ejus, & cuncta eventient prospera : yet the Septuagint acknowledgeth no necessity of receding from the original phrase, ἐπίστευσαν εἰς Θεόν καὶ ἐπὶ ἐσθλῶν τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς προφητοῖς αὐτοῦ. Nor is it only attributed to Moses as joined with God, and so taken as it were into the same phrase, but separately by himself, as Exod. 19. 9. The Lord said unto Moses, Lo I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, וַיֵּאמְרוּ בְּיְהוָה וּבַמֶּלֶךְ עַבְדּוֹ and believe in thee for ever. And therefore when it was objected to S. Basil, that they did believe in Moses, as well as that they were baptized into Moses, and generally, ἢ πιστῶς ἀγαπητῶν καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐπὶ ἀγαθῶν ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, the Father doth not deny the Language, but interprets it, ἢ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐπὶ ἀγαθῶν ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν. De Sp. S. c. 14. Nor too is it only spoken of Moses and the Prophets, that the Israelites believed in them, but of David not as a Prophet but as a bare relation of his own name, 1 Sam. 27. 12. וַיֵּאמְרוּ בְּיְהוָה וּבַמֶּלֶךְ עַבְדּוֹ אַחִישֵׁר אֲחִישַׁר καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐσὶν ἄγγελοι κυρίου ἔστη ἔναντι τοῦ κυρίου, Vulg. Et credidit Achis in David. Est ergo fides nostra primò quidem omnium in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, consequenter verò etiam in omnes sanctos Patriarchas, vel Prophetas, vel Apostolos Christi. Orig. in Apol. Pamphil. To conclude, it is general phrase of believing in, is originally attributed sometimes to the supreme author of our Faith, as to God ; sometimes to the intervening messengers, as the Prophets, sometimes to the motives of our Faith, Psal. 72. 22. וַיֵּאמְרוּ בְּיְהוָה וּבַמֶּלֶךְ עַבְדּוֹ Ixx. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς ἐργοῖς αὐτοῦ, and they believed not for his wondrous works ; sometimes to the object of it, or that which is believed, as Psal. 117. 65. וְהֵאמְרוּ בְּיְהוָה וּבַמֶּלֶךְ עַבְדּוֹ I have believed in thy Commandments, as Mar. 1. 15. πιστεύω εἰς τὸν υἱὸν Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ

17. *Dei*. 1. 17.
Psal. 136. 2.
Dei. 2. 4.
 and 11. 20
 18. *Gen.* 1. 12.
 19. *17.* 2. 1. 2.
 20. *17.* 2. 5.
 21. *17.* 2. 4.
 22. *17.* 2. 4.
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 99. *17.* 2. 4.
 100. *17.* 2. 4.

is styled ^a *God of gods; The Lord our God is God of gods, and Lord of lords*: and in the same respect is called ^b *the most high God*, (others being but inferior, or under him,) and *God* ^c *over or above all*. This eminency and excellency, by which these titles become proper unto him and incommunicable to any other, is grounded upon the divine nature or essence, which all other who are called gods have not, and therefore are not by nature gods. ^d *Then when ye knew not God*, saith *S. Paul*, *ye did service to them which by nature are not Gods*. There is then a God by nature, and others which are called gods, but by nature are not so: for either they have no power at all, because no being, but only in the false opinions of deceived men, as the gods of the Heathen; or if they have any real power or authority, from whence some are * called *gods* in the Scripture, yet have they it not from themselves or of their own nature, but from him who *only hath immortality*, and consequently only Divinity, and therefore is the *only true God*. So that the Notion of a Deity doth at last expressly signify a Being or nature of || infinite perfection; and the infinite perfection of Nature or Being consisteth in this, that it be absolutely and essentially necessary, an actual being of it self; and potential or causative of all Beings beside it self, independent from any other, upon which all things else depend, and by which all things else are governed. 'Tis true indeed, that to give a perfect definition of *God* is impossible, neither can our finite reason hold any proportion with infinity: but yet a sense of this Divinity we have, and the first and common Notion of it consists in these three particulars, that it is a Being of it self, and independent from any other; that it is that upon which all things which are made depend; that it governs all things. And this I conceive sufficient as to the first consideration, in reference to the Notion of a *God*.

As for the existence of such a Being, how it comes to be known unto us, or by what means we are assured of it, is not so unanimously agreed upon, as that it is. For although some have imagined that the knowledge of a Deity is connatural to the Soul of man, so that every man hath a connate inbred notion of a *God*; yet I rather conceive the Soul of man to have no connatural knowledge at all, no particular notion of any thing in it from the beginning; but being we can have no assurance of its preexistence, we may more rationally judge it to receive the first apprehensions of things by sense, and by them to make all rational collections. If then the Soul of man be at the first like a fair smooth Table without any actual characters of knowledge imprinted in it; if all the knowledge which we have comes successively by sensation, instruction and rational collection; then must we not refer the apprehension of a Deity to any connate notion or inbred opinion; at least we are assured *God* never chargeth us with the knowledge of him upon that account.

Again, although others do affirm, that the existence of *God* is a truth evident of it self, so as whosoever hears but these terms once named, that *God is*, cannot chuse but acknowledge it for a certain and infallible truth upon the first apprehension; that as no man can deny that the whole is greater than any part, who knoweth only what is meant by *whole*, and what by *part*; so no man can possibly deny or doubt of the existence of *God*, who knows but what is meant by *God*, and what it is *to be*; Yet can we not ground our knowledge of *God's* existence upon any such clear and immediate evidence: nor were it safe to lay it upon such a ground, because whosoever should deny it, could not by this means be convinced; it being a very irrational way of instruction to tell a man that doubts of this truth, that he must believe it because 'tis evident unto him, when he knows that he therefore only doubts of it, because it is not evident unto him.

Although

Although therefore that, *God is*, be of it self an immediate, certain, necessary truth, yet must it be evidenced and made apparent unto us by its connexion unto other truths; so that the being of the Creatour may appear unto us by his Creature, and the dependency of inferior Entities lead us to a clear acknowledgement of the supreme and independent Being. The Wisdom of the Jews thought this method proper; ^a for by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the maker of them is seen: and not only they, but *S^c Paul* hath taught us, that ^b the invisible things of God from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead. For if *Phidias* could so contrive a piece of his own work, as in it to preserve the memory of himself, never to be obliterated without the destruction of the work; well may we read the great Artificer of the World in the Works of his own hands, and by the existence of any thing demonstrate the first Cause of all things.

^a Hæc propo-
sitiō, Deus est,
quæcum in se
est, per se nota
est, quia præ-
dicatum est i-
dem cum sub-
iecto, Deus enim
est inum esse.
Sed quia nos
non scimus de
Deo quid est,
non est nobis
per se nota, sed
indiget de-
monstrari per
ca que sunt

magis nota quoad nos, & minus nota naturam, scilicet per effectus. Aquin. 1. p. 2. art. 1. ¹ *Wisd. of Sol.* 13. 5.
^b *Rom.* 1. 20. This place must be vindicated from the false Gloss of Socinus, who contends that it cannot be proved from the Creation that there is a God, and therefore to this place of S. Paul answers thus: Sciendum est verba à creatione mundi debere conjungi cum verbo *Invisibilia* — Aut igitur eo in loco Apostolus, *æternam divinitatem Dei*, i. id quod nos Deus perpetuo facere vult, (*Divinitas enim hoc sensu alibi quoque apud ipsum enuntiatur, ut Col. 2. 9.*) *eternam; potentiam*, i. promissiones quæ nunquam intercedunt. (quo sensu paulò superius dixerat *Evangelium esse potentiam Dei*) hæc, inquam, quæ nunquam postquam mundus creatus est ab hominibus visa fuerant, i. non fuerant eis cognita, per opera, hoc est, per mirabile ipsius Dei & divinorum hominum, præsertim v. Christi & Apostolorum ejus, operationes, conspecta fuisse. *In which explication there is nothing which is not forced and distorted: for though his first observation seem plausible, yet there is no validity in it. He brings only for proof Mat. 13. 35 κελερμαλσα, & το κελσολκλκς κλσμκς, which proves not at all that & το κλσσεως has the same sense: and it is more probable that it hath not, because that is usually expressed by & το & ρκλκς κλσσεως, Mar. 10. 6. and 13. 19. 2 Pet. 3. 4. never by & το κλσσεως. Besides, the κελερμαλσα in S. Matthew bears not that Analogy with & το κλσσεως which Socinus pretends signifying not things unseen or unknown till then, but only obscure sayings or parables; for which purpose those words were produced out of the Psalms by the Evangelist, to prove that the Messiah was to speak in parables, in the Original קרן נבן קרן, LXX. & το κελσολκλκς κλσμκς, i. wise, ancient sayings, which were not unseen and unknown, for it immediately followeth, which we have heard and known, and our Fathers have told us, Psal. 78. 3. And though he would make out this Interpretation, by accusing other Interpreters of unfaithfulness, Pleriq; interpretes ex propositione à ex fecerunt, contra ipsorum Græcorum Codicum fidem, qui non & το κλσσεως sed & το κλσσεως habent: yet there is no ground for such a calumny, because & το may be, and is often, rendered è or ex as well as & το, as Mat. 3. 4. & το τερχων κελκλκς, è pils camelinis. 7. 4. & το & το & το κελκλκς σκ, ex oculo tuo, 16. & το & το κελκλκς, ex spinis; and even in the sense which Socinus contends for, Mat. 17. 12. & το & το κελκλκς, V. T. ex illâ horâ, as Tully, ex eo die, and Virgil, Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis, and Tempore jam ex illo casus inhi cognitus urbis Troianæ. So the Greek & το κελκλκς the Latins render èx parte, & το & το κελκλκς, ex æquo: of which examples are innumerable. There is no unfaithfulness then imputable to the Interpreters: no can such a pitiful Criticism give any advantage to the first part of Socinus's Exposition. However the Catholick interpretation depends not on those words & το κλσσεως, but on the consideration of the persons, that is the Gentiles, and the other words, & το κελκλκς, which he farther perverts, rendering them the miraculous Operations of Christ and his Apostles, or, as one of our Learned Men, their doings, mistaking & το κελκλκς, which is from the Passive & το κελκλκς, for & το κελκλκς, for & το κελκλκς is properly the thing made or created, not the operation or doing of it; as & το κελκλκς is sometimes taken for the Creature, sometimes for the Creation, but & το κελκλκς is the Creature only. As therefore we read, 1 Tim. 4. 4. & το κελκλκς Θεο κελκλκς. So Eph. 2. 10. & το κελκλκς & το κελκλκς. In this sense speak Thales properly, Πρεσβυτατον ης εν τον Θεο, & το κελκλκς, καλλισον κελκλκς, & το κελκλκς. Laert. The other Interpretations, which he was forced to, are yet more extravagant: as when he renders the eternal Godhead, that which God would always have us do, or, his everlasting will, and proves that rendition by another place of S. Paul, Col. 2. 9. For in him dwelled all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, that is, says he, all the will of God: (whereas it is most certain, that where the Godhead is, especially where the fulness, even all the fulness of the Godhead is, there must be all the Attributes as well as the Will of God.) and when he interprets the eternal Power to be the promises which shall never fail; and thinks he has sufficiently proved it, because the same Apostle calls the Gospel the power of God. For by this way of Interpretation no sentence of Scripture can have any certain sense. ¶ In the shield of Pallas. Arist. de mundo.*

We find by the experience of our selves, that some things in this World have a beginning before which they were not; the account of the years of our Age sufficiently infer our Nativities, and they our Conceptions, before which we had no Being. Now if there be any thing which had a beginning, there must necessarily be something which had no beginning, because nothing can be a beginning to it self. Whatsoever is, must of necessity either have been made, or not made; and something there must needs be which was never made, because all things cannot be made. For whatsoever is made, is made by another, neither can any thing produce it self; otherwise it would follow, that the same thing is and is not at the same instant in the same respect: it is, because a producer; it is not, because to be produced: it is therefore in being, and is not in being; which is a manifest contradiction. If then all things which are made were made by some other, that other which produ-

ced them either was it self produced, or was not: and if not, then have we already an Independent Being; if it were, we must at last come to something which was never made, or else admit either a circle of productions, in which the effect shall make its own cause, or an * infinite succession in casualities, by which nothing will be made: both which are equally impossible.

* Ἄλλο μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ χύ τισι, καὶ ἐκ ἀτέρως τῶ ἀτιαυτῶ ὄντων, ὡς οἱ ἐβουλεύσαντο, ὅτι κατ' ἄρθε, ἀλλοι. Ἀριστ. Μετεωρ. β. 2. c. 2. and ἄλλοι, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀνέδει τὸ πρῶτον, ὁλωσ ἀτιον ἐδείδει. ἢ ἵβθην ἐβλον οἱ δλωσ ἐπὶ θεις; ἐκ τῆς ὄντων συστάσεως τε καὶ διαμονῆς. Justin. Quest. 7. Resp. ad Græcos.

Something then we must confess was never made, something which never had beginning. And although these effects or dependent Beings singly considered by themselves, do not infer one supreme Cause and Maker of them all, yet the admirable order and || connexion of things shew as much; and this one supreme Cause is God. For all things which we see or know have their Existence for some end, which no man who considereth the uses and utilities of every Species can deny. Now whatsoever is and hath its being for some end, of that the end for which it is must be thought the Cause; and a final Cause is no otherwise the cause of any thing than as it moves the efficient Cause to work: from whence we cannot but collect a prime efficient Cause of all things, indued with infinite Wisdom, who having a full comprehension of the ends of all, designed, produced, and disposed all things to those ends.

* Ἐν ὅτις τι λθ τὶ ὄν, τὸ τὸ ἐνεκαπεράτῃ τὸ τερεν καὶ τὸ ἐρεθῆσ. ἀλλ' ὄν ἀσπεράτῃ ται, ὅτω τέτυκε καὶ ὡσπερ τέτυκεν, ἀν μῆτι ἐμποδίζῃ, ὡτω περάτῃ ται ἐκαστου. περάτῃ ται, ὅ ἐνεκά τω, καὶ τέτυκεν ἀεὶ τὰ τὰ ἐνεκα. Ἀριστ. Φυσ. β. 2. c. 8.

Again, as all things have their Existence, so have they also their operations for some * end; and whatsoever worketh so, must needs be directed to it. Although then those creatures which are indued with reason can thereby apprehend the goodness of the end for which they work, and make choice of such means as are proportionable and proper for the obtaining of it, and so by their own counsel direct themselves unto it: yet can we not conceive that other natural Agents, whose operations flow from a bare Instinct, can be directed in their actions by any counsel of their own. The stone doth not deliberate whether it shall descend, nor doth the wheat take counsel whether it shall grow or no. Even men in natural actions use no act of deliberation: we do not advise how our heart shall beat, though without that pulse we cannot live; when we have provided nutriment for our stomach, we take no counsel how it shall be digested there, or how the chyle distributed to every Part for the reparation of the whole; the Mother which conceives taketh no care how that *conceptus* shall be framed, how all the parts shall be distinguished, and by what means or ways the Child shall grow within her womb: and yet

ἢ ἄτοτοι τὸ μὴ οἰεῖσθαι ἐνεκα ὄν γίνεσθαι, ἐάν μὴ ἰδῶσι τὸ κατὰ βουλευσάμενον καὶ τοὺς ἢ τὴν ἐν ἢ ἐκ λείβεται καὶ ἢ ἐκ τὸ ἐν πᾶσι τῶ ἡ κατὰ ἠμῶν, οἰοῦντο ἀν τῆς συστάσεως. Ἀριστ. β. 2. c. 8.

all these operations are directed to their proper ends, and that with a greater Reason, and therefore by a greater Wisdom, than what proceeds from any thing of humane understanding. What then can be more clear, than that those natural Agents which work constantly for those ends which they themselves cannot perceive, must be directed by some high and over-ruling Wisdom? and who can be their director in all their operations tending to those ends, but he which gave them their being for those ends? and who is that, but the great Artificer who works in all of them? For Art is so far the imitation of Nature, that if it were not in the Artificer, but || in the thing it self which by Art is framed, the works of Art and Nature would be the same. Were that which frames a Watch within it, and all those curious wheels wrought without the hand of man, it would seem to grow into that form; nor would there be any distinction between the making of that Watch, and the growing of a Plant. Now what the Artificer is to works of Art, who orders and disposes them to other ends than by nature they were made, that is the Maker of all things to all natural Agents, directing all their operations to ends which they cannot apprehend; and thus appears the Maker to be the Ruler of the World, * the steerer of this great Ship, the law of this universal Commonwealth, the General of all the hosts of Heaven and Earth. By these ways, as

* Ἡσθίλω δὲ ἐν τῆσιν καὶ ἐργασίαισιν, ἐν ὅμοιοτατι τῶν ἐργασίαισιν, ὡς ἐν τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ἐν τῶν κατὰ τὸ ζῷον, ὡς ἐν τῶν κατὰ τὸ φυτόν. ἢ ὅμοιοτατι τῶν ἐργασίαισιν, ὡς ἐν τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ἐν τῶν κατὰ τὸ ζῷον, ὡς ἐν τῶν κατὰ τὸ φυτόν. ἢ ὅμοιοτατι τῶν ἐργασίαισιν, ὡς ἐν τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ἐν τῶν κατὰ τὸ ζῷον, ὡς ἐν τῶν κατὰ τὸ φυτόν. Ἀριστ. Μετεωρ. β. 2. c. 2.

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by the * testimony of the Creature, we come to find an eternal and independent Being, upon which all things else depend, and by which all things else are governed; and this we have before supposed to be the first notion of God.

Neither is this any private collection or particular ratiocination, but the publick and universal reason of the world. || No Age so distant, no Country so remote, no people so barbarous, but gives a sufficient testimony of this truth. When the Roman Eagle flew over most parts of the habitable world, they met with Atheism no-where, but rather by their miscellany Deities at Rome, which grew together with their victories, they shewed no Nation was without its God. And since the later Art of Navigation improved hath discovered another part of the world, with which no former commerce hath been known, although the Customs of the people be much different, and their manner of Religion hold small correspondency with any in these parts of the world professed, yet in this all agree, that some religious observances they retain, and a Divinity they acknowledge. Or if any Nation be discovered which maketh no profession of Piety, and exerciseth no religious observances, it followeth not from thence that they acknowledge no God: for they may only deny his Providence, as the Epicureans did; or if any go farther, their numbers are so few, that they must be inconsiderable in respect of mankind. And therefore so much of the Creed hath been the general Confession of * all Nations, *I believe in God.* Which were it not a most certain truth grounded upon principles obvious unto all, what reason could be given of so universal a consent? or how can it be imagined, that all men should || conspire to deceive themselves and their posterity?

Nor is the reason only general, and the consent unto it universal, but God hath still preserved and quickened the worship due unto his Name, by the patefaction of himself. Things which are to come are so beyond our knowledge, that the wisest man can but conjecture: and being we are assured of the contingency of future things, and our ignorance of the concurrence of several free causes to the production of an effect, we may be sure that certain and infallible predictions are clear divine patefactions. For none but he who made all things, and gave them power to work, none but he who ruleth all things, and ordereth and directeth all their operations to their ends, none but he upon whose will the actions of all things depend, can possibly be imagined to foresee the effects depending merely on those causes. And therefore by what means we may be assured of a Prophecy, by the same we may be secured of a Divinity. Except then all the Annals of the world were forgeries, and all remarks of History designed to put a cheat upon posterity, we can have no pretence to suspect God's existence, having so ample testimonies of his influence.

The works of nature appear by observation uniform, and there is a certain sphere of every body's power and activity. If then any action be performed which is not within the compass of the power of any natural agent, if any thing be wrought by the intervention of a body which beareth no proportion to it, or hath no natural aptitude so to work; it must be ascribed to a Cause transcending all natural causes, and disposing all their operations. Thus every Miracle proves its authour, and every act of omnipotency is a sufficient demonstration of a Deity. And that man must be possessed with a strange opinion of the weakness of our Fathers, and the testimony of all former Ages, who shall deny that ever any Miracle was wrought. *We have heard with our ears, O God, our Fathers have told us what works thou didst in their days, in the times of old. Blessed be the Lord God, who only doth wondrous works.*

Nor are we only informed by the necessary dependency of all things on God,

* Habet Dominus testimonium totum hec quod sumus, & in quantum sumus Tertul.
|| Ἀρχαίαι τῆς λόγου καὶ ἀ- τοῦ ἔστι πᾶσι. Ἰδού τοις, ὡς ἐκ θεῶν τοῦ πᾶσι, καὶ ἀ- τῶν ἡμῶν. Cuiusmodi. A- nti de Mondo.

* Nulla gens usquam est adeo contra leges morisque projecta, ut non aliquos Deos credat. Sen.
|| Nec in hunc furorem omnes mortales consensissent alloquendi furda numina & inefficaces Deos, Sen.

Psal. 44. 1.
72. 18.

God, as effects upon their universal cause, or his external satisfactions unto others, and the consentient acknowledgement of mankind; but every particular person hath a particular Remembrancer in himself, as a sufficient testimony of his Creatour, Lord, and Judge. We know there is a great force of Conscience in all men, by which their *thoughts* are ever *accusing, or excusing them*; they feel a comfort in those vertuous actions which they find themselves to have wrought according to their Rule, a sting and secret remorse for all vicious acts and impious machinations. Nay those who strive most to deny a God, and to obliterate all sense of Divinity out of their own Souls, have not been least sensible of this Remembrancer in their Breasts. 'Tis true indeed, that a false opinion of God, and a superstitious persuasion which hath nothing of the true God in it, may breed a remorse of Conscience in those who think it true; and therefore some may hence collect that the force of Conscience is only grounded upon an opinion of a Deity, and that opinion may be false. But if it be a truth as the testimonies of the wisest Writers of most different persuasions, and experience of all sorts of persons of most various inclinations, do agree, that the remorse of Conscience can never be obliterated, then it rather proveth than supposeth an opinion of a Divinity; and that man which most peremptorily denieth God's existence is the greatest argument himself that there is a God. Let *Caligula* profess himself an Atheist, and with that profession hide his head, or run under his bed, when the thunder strikes his ears, and lightning flashes in his eyes; those terrible works of nature put him in mind of the power, and his own guilt of the justice, of God; whom while in his wilful opinion he weakly denieth, in his involuntary action he strongly asserteth. So that a Deity will either be granted or extorted, and where it is not acknowledged it will be manifested. Only unhappy is that man who denies him to himself, and proves him to others; who will not * acknowledge his existence, of whose power he cannot be ignorant. ^a *God is not far from every one of us.* The proper discourse of *S. Paul* to the Philosophers of *Athens* was, that *they might feel after him and find him.* Some Children have been so ungracious as to refuse to give the honour due unto their Parent, but never any so irrational as to deny they had a Father. As for those who have dishonoured God, it may stand most with their interest, and therefore they may wish there were none; but cannot consist with their reason to assert there is none, when even the very Poets of the Heathen have taught us ^b *that we are his off-spring.*

* Hæc est
summa delicti,
nolle agnosce-
re quem igno-
rare non possis.
S. Cypri. de Idol.
Van.

^a *Act. 17. 27.*

^b *Act. 17. 28.*

It is necessary thus to believe there is a *God*, First, because there can be no Divine Faith without his belief. For all Faith is therefore only Divine because it relieth upon the authority of God giving testimony to the object of it; but that which hath no being can have no Authority, can give no Testimony. The ground of his Authority is his Veracity, the foundations of his Veracity are his Omniscience and Sanctity, both which suppose his essence and existence, because what is not is neither knowing nor holy.

Secondly, it is necessary to believe a Deity, that thereby we may acknowledge such a nature extant as is worthy of, and may justly challenge from us, the highest worship and adoration. For it were vain to be religious and to exercise devotion, except there were a Being to which all such holy applications were most justly due. Adoration implies submission and dejection, so that while we worship we cast down our selves: there must be therefore some great eminence in the object worshipped, or else we should dishonour our own nature in the worship of it. But when a Being is presented of that intrinsecal and necessary perfection, that it depends on nothing, and all things self depend on that, and are wholly governed and disposed by it, this worthily calls us to

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our knees, and shews the humblest of our devotions to be but just and loyal retributions.

This necessary truth hath been so universally received, that we shall always find all nations of the World more prone unto Idolatry than to Atheism, and readier to multiply than deny the Deity. But our Faith teacheth us equally to deny them both, and each of them are renounced in these words, *I believe in God*. First, *in God* affirmatively, *I believe* he is, against Atheism. Secondly, *in God* exclusively, not in Gods, against Polytheism and Idolatry. Altho' therefore the *Existence* and *Unity* of God be two distinct truths, yet are they of so necessary dependence and intimate coherence, that both may be expressed by * one word, and included in one || *Article*.

* Solum Deum confirmas quem tantum Deum nominas. Tertul de Testim Animæ, c. 2.

When Leo Bishop of Rome in an Epistle to Flavianus had written these words, Fidelium universitas profiteretur credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, & in Jesum Christum Filium ejus; one of the Eucyrians objected with this question, Cur non dixerit in unum Deum Patrem, & in unum Jesum? Nunc juxta Nicæni Decretum Concilii? To which Vigilus Bishop of Trent, or rather of Capus. gives this answer, Sed Roma & antequam Nicæna Synodus conveniret, à temporibus Apostolorum usque ad r. c. ita fidelibus Symbolum traditur, nec p. adjudicant verba ubi sensus incolumis permanet: magis enim cum D. J. Christi sententia hæc fidei professio facit dicentis, *creditis in eum & in me credere*: nec dixit in unum Deum Patrem, & in unum meipsum. Quis enim nesciat unum esse Deum, & unum J. Christum filium ejus? Vigil. l. 4. contr. Eucyeb. || Rab. Chafidai in Or. Adonai. R. Joseph albo in aikwarim.

And that the Unity of the Godhead is concluded in this Article is apparent, not only because the *Nicene Council* so expressed it by way of exposition, but also because this Creed in the * Churches of the East, before the Council of *Nice*. had that addition in it, *I believe in one God*. We begin our Creed then as || *Plato* did his chief and prime Epistles, who gave this distinction to his friends, that the Name of *God* was prefixed before those that were more serious and remarkable, but of *Gods*, in the plural, to such as were more vulgar and trivial. ^a *Unto thee it was shewed, saith Moses to Israel, that thou mightest know that the Lord he is God, there is none else beside him.* And as the Law, so the Gospel teacheth us the same, ^b *We know that an Idol is nothing in the World, and there is none other God but one.* This Unity of the Godhead will easily appear as necessary as the existence, so that it must be as impossible there should be more Gods than one, as that there should be none: which will clearly be demonstrated, first, out of the Nature of God, to which multiplication is repugnant; and, secondly, from the Government as he is Lord, in which we must not admit Confusion.

* Orientales Ecclesie omnes ista tradunt, *Credimus unum Deum patrem omnipotentem.* Russ. inymb. *Bo ne hæc omnia poterunt ad solæ hæreticos pertinere, quia falsaverunt Symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos, cum Deus unus sit.* Optat. l. 1. Nos enim & scimus, & legimus,

mus, & credimus, & tenemus, unum esse Deum, qui fecit cælum pariter ac terram, quoniam nec alterum novimus, nec nosse, cum nullus sit, aliquando poterimus. Novatianus de Trinit. c. 30. And before all these Irenæus, citing under the title of Scripture, a passage out of the book of Herinas called Pastor. Bene ergo Scriptura dicit, primò omnium crede quoniam unus est Deus, qui omnia constituit & consuminavit, & fecit ex eo quod non erat, ut essent omnia, omnium capax, & qui à nomine capiatur, l. 4. c. 37. || Euseb. in præp. Evang. the passage is yet extant in the Epistles of Plato. ^a Deut. 4. 35. ^b 1 Cor. 8. 4.

For first, the nature of God consists in this, that he is the prime and original cause of all things, as an independent Being upon which all things else depend, and likewise the ultimate end or final cause of all; but in this sense two prime causes are unimaginable, and for all things to depend of one, and to be more independent beings than one, is a clear contradiction. This primity God requires to be attributed to himself; *Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called, I am he, I am the first, I also am the last.* And from this primity he challengeth his Unity; *Thus saith the Lord the King of Israel, and his Redeemer the Lord of Hosts, I am the first, and I am the last, and beside me there is no God.*

Isai. 48. 12.

44. c.

Again, if there were more Gods than one, then were not all perfections in one, neither formally, by reason of their distinction, nor eminently and virtually, for then one should have power to produce the other, and that nature which is producible is not divine. But all acknowledge God to be absolutely and infinitely perfect, in whom all perfections imaginable which are simply such

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jection, we may learn to know whose that nature is to which we owe our adorations, lest our minds should wander and fluctuate in our worship about various and uncertain objects. If we should apprehend more Gods than one, I know not what could determinate us in any instant to the actual adoration of any one: for where no difference doth appear, (as, if there were many, and all by nature Gods, there could be none) what inclination could we have, what reason could we imagine, to prefer or elect any one before the rest for the object of our devotions? Thus is it necessary to believe the Unity of God in respect of us who are obliged to worship him.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe the Unity of God in respect of him who is to be worshipped. Without this acknowledgment we cannot give unto God the things which are God's, it being part of the worship and honour due unto God, to accept of no compartner with him. When the Law was given, in the observance whereof the Religion of the *Israelites* consisted, the first precept was this prohibition, *Thou shalt have no other gods before me*; and who-soever violateth this, denieth the foundation on which all the rest depend as the * *Jews* observe. This is the true reason of that strict precept by which all are commanded to give divine worship to *God only*, ^a *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*; because he alone is God: him only shalt thou fear, because he alone hath infinite power; in him only shalt thou trust, because *he only is our rock and our salvation*; to him alone shalt thou direct thy devotions, because *he only knoweth the hearts of the children of men*. Upon this foundation the whole heart of man is intirely required of him, and engaged to him. *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God: And* (or rather, *Therefore*) *thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might*. Whosoever were truly and by nature God, could not chuse but challenge our love upon the ground of an infinite excellency, and transcendent beauty of holiness: and therefore if there were more Gods than one, our love must necessarily be terminated unto || more than one, and consequently divided between them; and as our love, so also the proper effect thereof, our chearful and ready obedience, which, like the Child propounded to the judgment of *Solomon*, as soon as 'tis divided, is destroyed. ^b *No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other: or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.*

Exod. 20. 3.

* *Moses Maimon. de Fund. legis, c. 3.*
^a *Matt. 4. 10.*

Psal. 62. 2.

² *Chron. 6. 30.*

Deut. 6. 4, 5.

|| Numerus divinitatis summâ ratione constare deberet, vel quoniam & cultura ejus in anceps deduceretur.

Ecce enim,

duos intuens Deos tam pares quam duo summa magna, quid facerem si ambos colerem? vererer ne abundantia officii superstitionis potius quam religio crederetur: quia duos tam pares & in altero ambos possem in uno demereri: hoc ipso testimonium prestantis parilitati & unitati eorum, dum alterum in altero venerarer, dum in uno mihi duo sunt. *Tertul. adv. Marcum. l. 1. c. 5.* ^b *Matth. 6. 24.*

Having thus described the first *notion* of a *God*, having demonstrated the *Existence* and *Unity* of that *God*, and having in these three particulars comprised all which can be contained in this part of the Article, we may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian understand, what it is he says when he makes his *Confession* in these words, *I believe in God*; which in correspondence with the precedent discourse may be thus expressed:

Forasmuch as by all things created is made known the *eternal power and Godhead*, and the dependency of all limited Beings infers an infinite and independent essence; whereas all things are for some end, and all their operations directed to it, although they cannot apprehend that end for which they are, and in prosecution of which they work, and therefore must be guided by some universal and over-ruling wisdom; being this collection is so evident, that all the Nations of the earth have made it; being God hath not only written himself in the lively characters of his Creatures, but hath also made frequent paterfactions of his Deity by most infallible predictions and super-

tional agents he is * the Creatour, of rational, as so, the *Father* also; they are his Creatures, these his Sons. Hence he is stiled the ^a *Father of Spirits*, and the blessed Angels, when he laid the foundations of the Earth, his Sons; ^b *When the morning-stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy*: hence Man, whom he created after his own image, is called his ^c *off-spring*, and *Adam*, the immediate work of his hands, ^d *the son of God*: hence may we all cry out with the *Israelites* taught by the Prophet so to speak, ^e *Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us?* Thus the first and most universal Notion of God's Paternity in a borrowed or metaphorical sense is founded rather upon Creation than Procreation.

* So Plutarch answers the Question, why Plato terms God the Maker and Father of all things. Ἡ φύσις μὲν θεῶν οὐ γινώσκουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων πατὴρ οὐδὲ ποιητὴς ὁ φύσις ἀλόγων καὶ ἀψύχων; Father of Gods and

men, Maker of things inanimate and irrational. εἰ γὰρ χροεῖς ἦσαν χρύσιπποι πατέρα καλεῖσθαι τὸν παραχρῆμα τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς σπέρματος γεγονότων. Non enim agri pater, si Chrysippo credimus, is dicitur qui cum concepit, quam è semine deinde truges nascantur: as the Latine Translation most absurdly. For there is neither corn nor field, nor any seed belonging to them in the words of Plutarch: But χροεῖον (not χροεῖον) is the Secunda, the coat (or rather coats, in the acception of Chrysippus and the language of those times) in which the Fœtus is involved in the mother's womb. Though therefore both the Secunda and the Fœtus be made of the seed of the male in the Philosophy of Chrysippus, yet he is not called the Father of the after-birth, but of the child; the one being endued with life and reason, and the other not. ^a Heb. 12. 9. ^b Job 38. 7. ^c Acts 17. 28. ^d Luke 3. 38. ^e Malach. 2. 10.

Unto this act of Creation is annexed that of Conservation, by which God doth uphold and preserve in being that which at first he made, and to which he gave its Being. As therefore it is the Duty of the Parent to educate and preserve the Child, as that which had its Being from him; so this paternal education doth give the name of * *Father* unto Man, and Conservation gives the same to God.

* So Eustachius observes out of an ingenious Etymologist:

Again, Redemption from a state of misery, by which a people hath become worse than nothing, unto a happy condition, is a kind of *Generation*, which joined with love, care, and indulgence in the Redeemer, is sufficient to found a new *Paternity*, and give him another title of a *Father*. Well might *Moses* tell the people of *Israel*, now brought out of the land of *Egypt* from their brick and straw, unto their Quails and Manna, unto their Milk and Honey, ^a *Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee? hath he not made thee, and established thee?* Well might God speak unto the same people as to ^b *his Son, even his first born*, ^c *Thus saith the Lord thy Redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb; Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which are born by me from the belly, which are carried from the womb.* And just is the acknowledgment made by that people instructed by the Prophet, ^d *Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not; thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer, from everlasting is thy Name.* And thus another kind of paternal Relation of God unto the sons of men is founded on a Restitution or temporal Redemption.

Π. Ἡ θεὸς θεὸς μὲν, ὡς τὸ πᾶν τῆς οὐρανοῦ ἀνθρώπων πατὴρ οὐδὲ ποιητὴς τῆς οὐρανοῦ. Il. 10. ^a Deut. 32. 6.

^b Exod. 4. 22.

^c Isa. 44. 24. 46. 3.

^d Isa. 63. 16.

Besides, if to be born causeth Relation to *Father*, then to be born again maketh an addition of another: and if to generate foundeth, then to regenerate addeth a *Paternity*. Now though we cannot enter the second time into our mother's womb, nor pass through the same door into the Scene of life again; yet we believe and are persuaded, that ^e *except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.* A double birth there is, and the world consists of two, the first and the second man. And though the incorruptible seed be the Word of God, and the dispensers of it in some sense may say, as *S. Paul* spake unto the *Corinthians*, ^f *I have begotten you through the Gospel*: yet he is the true Father, whose Word it is, and that is God, even ^g *the Father of lights, who of his own will begat us with the word of truth.* Thus ^h *whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God*; which Regeneration is as it were a second Creation: ⁱ *for we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works.* And he alone who did create us out of nothing, can beget us again, and make

* Job. 3. 3: || Totum hominum genus quodammodo sunt homines duo, primus & secundus. Proff. ^a 1 Cor. 4. 15. ^b Jam. 1. 17, 18. ^c 1 Job. 5. 1. ^d Ephes. 2. 10.

Gen. 30. 1, 2.
 * Οὐδ' ἄλλο
 δεῖ ἐγὼ εἶμι
 πρὸς μὲν δυνά-
 μιν τὰς ψυ-
 χῶν μήτε
 ἀνοίγηται,
 καὶ σπείρειν ἐν
 αὐτῷ ἀρσῆδος,
 καὶ τοιεῖν ἐγ-
 κούονα; καὶ τι-
 τέσσα τὰ κα-
 λά. Philo de
 Alleg.
 b. Mat. 19. 28.
 c. Luke 20.
 35, 36.
 d. Rom. 8. 17.
 * Col. 3. 24.
 Heb. 9. 15.
 e. 1 Joh. 3. 2.
 καὶ ἔπω εἰσπε-
 ρῶν.

us of the new Creation. When Rachel called to Jacob, ^a Give me children or else I die; he answered her sufficiently with this question, *Am I in God's stead?* And if he only openeth the womb, who else can make the * Soul to bear? Hence hath he the name of *Father*, and they of *Sons* who are born of him; and so from that internal act of spiritual Regeneration another title of pater- nity redoundeth unto the Divinity.

Nor is this the only second birth or sole Regeneration in a Christian sense; the Soul, which after its natural Being requires a birth into the life of Grace, is also after that born again into a life of Glory. Our Saviour puts us in mind of *the Regeneration*, ^b when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory. The Resurrection of our bodies is a kind of coming out of the womb of the earth, and entering upon immortality, a nativity into another life. For ^c they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, are the sons of God, being the sons of the resurrection; and then as sons, ^d they become heirs, coheirs with Christ, * receiving the promise and reward of eternal inheritance. ^e Beloved, now we are the sons of God, saith S. John, even in this life by Regeneration, and it doth not yet appear, or, it hath not been yet made manifest, what we shall be; but we know, that if he appear, we shall be like him: the manifestation of the Father being a sufficient declara- tion of the condition of the Sons, when the Sonship it self consisteth in a simi- litude of the Father. And ^f blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead; to an inheritance incor- ruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for us. Why may not then a second kind of *Regeneration* be thought a fit addition of this paternal relation?

Neither is there only a natural, but also a voluntary and civil, foundation of Paternity: for the Laws have found a way by which a man may become a Father without procreation: and this imitation of || nature is called *Adoptio*- n, taken in the general * signification. Although therefore many ways God be a Father, yet lest any way might seem to exclude us from being his Sons, he hath made us so also by Adoption. Others are wont to fly to this, as to a comfort of their solitary condition, when either || Nature hath denied them, or death bereft them of their off-spring. Whereas God doth it not for his own, but for our sakes; nor is the advantage his, but ours. ^b Behold what manner of Love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God; that we, the sons of disobedient and condemned Adam by natural generation, should be translated into the glorious liberty of the sons of God by Adoption; that we, who were aliens, strangers and enemies, should be assumed ^b unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, on whom all the * family of heaven and earth is named, and be made partakers of ⁱ the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the Saints. For as in the legal Adoption, the Father hath as || full and absolute power over his adopted son as over his own issue; so in the spiritual, the adopted sons have a clear and undoubted right of inheri-

|| Cui Inst. 1. t. 5. §. 1. Adoptio natu- ra similitudo est. ut aliquis filium habere possit, quem non generavit. τί ἐστιν υἱοθε- σία; νομίμη πατρικὴ μιμο- μῆνη τῆς φύσε- τὸς πατρὸς παρὰ φύσιν ἀπειροπόλον. Theoph. Inst. 1. t. 11. * || υἱοθεσία ῥωμαϊκῆ ἐπι- λέγεται ἀ- δοτῆριον αὐτῆ ἅπα ἡλικῶν ὄνομα εἰς δύο διακρίσται, εἰς ἀδεργαλίονα, καὶ τὴν ὁμόνομον ἀδοτῆριονα. Theoph. ibid. || Cui Inst. 2. tit. 5. §. 4. Spadones autem, qui generare non possunt, adoptare possunt; & licet filios generare non possint, quos adoptaverunt filios habere possunt, Ulp. tit. §. 6. Hi qui generare non possunt, velut spado, utroque modo possunt adoptare. Idem juris est in cœlibe, Theoph. ib. 11. τυχὸν ἔκ' ἔχει τις παῖδα διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐπὶ γάμων, ἢ εἶναι μὲν, μὴ παιδοποιῆσαι ἢ, ἢ παιδοποιῆσαι μὲν, ἀποκαλεῖται ἢ τῆτος, τὸ ἐν τ' εὐσεως ἐλάττωμα ἢ τὸ Συμβάν δυσύχημα βελέωφθ' ἀπακρίσται, ἔλαβεν εἰς υἱοθεσίαν τινά. Leonis Novel 27. τοῖς ἀνογῶσιν ἀπαιδῶν λύσιν βελέωφθ' τὸ δυσύχημα νέμθ' υἱοθεσίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἀ γνάμη ἐπένο κλάθξ, ὃ μὴ ἀπορεν λαβεῖν παρὰ τ' εὐσεως. * 1 John 3. 1. ^b Eph 3. 15. * In alienam familiam tranfitus, is the description in Agellius, l. 5. 19. Cùm in alienam familiam inque liberorum locum extranei sumuntur, aut per prætorum fit, aut per populum: quod per prætorum fit, adoptio dicitur; quod per populum, arrogatio, Ib. ¹ Eph. 1. 12. || As appears out of the form of Rogation yet extant in this manner: Velitis, jubeatis, Quiritibus, uti Lucius Valerius Lucio Titio tam jure legeque Filius sibi fiet, quam si ex eo patre matreque familias ejus natus esset, utique ei vitæ necisque in co- poretas fiet, uti patris endo filio est? Ib.

tance. He then who hath ^a *predestinated us unto the adoption of Children by Jesus Christ to himself*, hath thereby another kind of paternal relation, and so we receive the ^b *Spirit of adoption whereby we cry, Abba, Father.*

^a Eph. 1. 5.
^b Rom. 8. 15.

The necessity of this faith in God as in our Father appeareth, first, in that it is the ground of all our filial fear, honour and obedience due unto him upon this relation. ^c *Honour thy Father is the first Commandment with promise*, written in tables of stone with the finger of God; and, *children obey your parents in the Lord*, is an Evangelical precept, but founded upon principles of reason and justice; for *this is right*, saith S. Paul. And if there be such a rational and legal obligation of honour and obedience to the *fathers of our flesh*, how much more must we think our selves obliged to him whom we believe to be our *heavenly and everlasting Father*? ^d *A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master. If then I be a father, where is my honour? and if I be a master, where is my fear?* saith the Lord of hosts. If we be heirs, we must be co-heirs with Christ; if sons, we must be brethren to the only-begotten: but being he came not to do his own will, but the will of him that sent him, he acknowledgeth no fraternity but with such as do the same; as he hath said, ^e *Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother.* If it be required of a Bishop in the Church of God, to be ^f *one that ruleth well his own House, having his Children in subjection with all gravity*; what obedience must be due, what subjection must be paid, unto the Father of the family?

^c Eph. 6. 1, 2
^d Mal. 1. 6
^e Matt. 12. 50.
^f 1 Tim. 3. 4.
^g Luk. 11. 2.
^h Matt. 6. 8.
ⁱ Matt. 7. 9, 10, 11.

The same Relation in the Object of our Faith is the life of our devotions, the expectation of all our petitions. Christ, who taught his disciples, and us in them, how to pray, propounded not the knowledge of God, though without that he could not hear us; neither represented he his power, though without that he cannot help us; but comprehended all in this Relation, ^g *When ye pray, say, Our Father.* This prevents all *vain repetitions* of our most earnest desires, and gives us full security to cut off all tautology; for ^h *Our Father knoweth what things we have need of before we ask him.* This creates a clear assurance of a grant without mistake of our petition: ⁱ *What man is there of us, who if his son ask bread, will give him a stone? or if he ask fish, will give him a serpent? If we then who are evil know how to give good gifts unto our children; how much more shall our Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?*

^g Matt. 12. 50.
^h 1 Tim. 3. 4.
ⁱ Luk. 11. 2.
^j Matt. 6. 8.
^k Matt. 7. 9, 10, 11.
ἀντι πέρους σκορπίον πατρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς τὰ χεῖρα αἰσθόμενον ἀντι τοῦ βελτίονος.
Zomb.
ὁ δὲ ἀντι τῆς σκορπίου ἀδελφός.
Iscophron.
Deus, 12.

Again, *this paternity* is the proper foundation of our Christian patience, sweetning all afflictions with the name and nature of fatherly corrections. ^k *We have had fathers of our flesh which corrected us, and we gave them reverence: shall we not much rather be in subjection to the father of Spirits, and live?* especially considering that *they chastened us after their own pleasure; but He for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness*: they, as an argument of their authority; He, as an assurance of his love: they, that we might acknowledge them to be our Parents; He, that he may persuade us that we are his Sons: *For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.* And what greater incitement unto the exercise of patience is imaginable unto a suffering soul, than to see in every stroke the hand of a *Father*, in every affliction a demonstration of his love? Or how canst thou repine, or be guilty of the least degree of impatience, even in the sharpest corrections, if ^l *thou shalt know with thine heart, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee?* How canst thou not be comforted, and even rejoice in the midst of thy greatest sufferings, when thou knowest that he which striketh pitieth, he which afflicteth is as it were afflicted with it? ^m *for like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.*

^k 1 Tim. 3. 16.
^l Heb. 12. 6.
^m Psal. 103. 13.
si à Domino nonnulla emendatione incuti, cui pro his patientiam quam Domino praebeamus? Quin insuper gratulari & gaudere nos docet dignatione divina castigacionis.
Ego, inquit, quos diligo castigo. O servum illum beatum cuius emendationi Dominus instat, cui dignatur irasci, quem admonendi dissimulatione non decipit! Tertul. de Pat.
ⁿ Deut. 8. 5.

Lastly,

Lastly, the same Relation strongly inferreth an absolute necessity of our imitation; it being clearly vain to assume the title of Son without any similitude of the Father. What is the * general notion of Generation but the production of the like; Nature, ambitious of perpetuity, striving to preserve the species in the multiplication and succession of individuals? And this similitude consisteth partly in essentials, or the likeness of nature; partly in accidentals or the likeness in figure, * or affections. ^a Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his image: and can we imagine those the sons of God which are no way like him? A similitude of nature we must not, of figure we cannot pretend unto: it remains then only that we bear some likeness in our actions and affections. ^b Be ye therefore followers, saith the Apostle, or rather imitators, of God, as dear children. What he hath revealed of himself, that we must express within our selves. Thus God spake unto the Children of Israel whom he styled his Son, ^c Ye shall be holy, for I am holy. And the Apostle upon the same ground speaketh unto us, as to obedient children, ^d As he that hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation. It is part of the general beneficence and universal goodness of our God, that ^e he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. These impartial beams and undistinguishing showrs are but to shew us what we ought to do, and to make us fruitful in the works of God; for no other reason Christ hath given us this command, ^f love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven. No other command did he give upon this ground, but, Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father is merciful.

* Πάντ' ὅσον
ἴσθ' ἕμιστον ἐ-
στὶν τὸ ἴσον.
Epiſt. Har. 76.
6.

† Τὸ ὅμοιον
γίνεσθαι τοῖς
ἴσους τὰ
ἐκγενοσ, & ἄλλο-
γεν. Aristot. de
Generat. Ani-
mal. l. 1. c. 9.

^a Foras cre-
antur fortibus
& bonis. Est in
juvencis, est in
equis patrum
Virtus, nec im-
bellum teroces
Progenerant a-
quila colum-
ban. Hor. Ode.

^b Gen. 5. 3.
^c Ephes. 5. 1.
μυμήσει. Filii
hominum sunt,
quando malè
faciunt; quan-
do bene, filii
Dei. S. Aug. in

Psal. 52. ^d Lev. 11. 44. and 19. 2. and 20. 7. ^e 1 Pet. 1 15. ^f Matt. 5. 44, 45. Vide S. Aug. in Psal. 100. ^g Luke 6. 35. Similitudinem patris actus indicent sobolis; similitudo operis similitudinem indicet generis: actus nomen confirmet, ut nomen genus demonstret. Aug. de Temp. Serm. 76.

So necessary is this faith in God as in our Father, both for direction to the best of actions, and for consolation in the worst of conditions.

But although this be very necessary, yet is it not the principal or most proper explication of God's Paternity. For as we find one person in a more peculiar manner the Son of God; so must we look upon God as in a more peculiar manner the Father of that Son. ^a I ascend unto my Father, and your Father, saith our Saviour; the same of both but in a different manner, denoted by the Article prefixed before the one, and not the other: which distinction in the original we may preserve by this translation, I ascend unto the Father of me, and Father of you; first of me, and then of you: not therefore his, because ours; but therefore ours, because his. So far we are the sons of God, as we are like unto him; and our similitude unto God consisteth in our conformity to the likeness of his Son. ^b For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren. He the first-born, and we sons, as brethren unto him: he ^c appointed heir of all things, and we heirs of God, as joint-heirs with him. Thus God ^d sent forth his Son, that we might receive the adoption of Sons. And because we are Sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father. By his mission are we adopted, and by his Spirit call we God our Fa-

^a Job. 20. 17.
ἀνέβη
πρὸς τὸν πατέρα
μου καὶ τὸν πατέρα
ὑμῶν. Had
πατέρας in both
places had us
article, there
would have
seemed two Fa-
thers: had the
article been pre-
fixed to πατέρα
ὑμῶν, he would
have seemed
first ours, then
Christ's: but
being prefixed to
πατέρα μου it
shows 1. to be

principally and originally Christ's, and by our reference unto him, our Father, Πατέρα μου μὲν χριστὸν ἐν τῇ θεότητι, καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν δὲ χάριτι ἐν τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι. Epiſtan Harref 69. S. 55. καὶ ἡμῶν, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ θεῶν, καὶ ἡμῶν πρῶτον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου, ὅσοι ἦν χριστὸν ἐν τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν, ὅσοι ἦν χριστὸν θεῶν. S. Cyril. Catech. 7. Ἐτερος ὁ ἀπὸ πατρός, καὶ ἕτερος ἡμῶν; πάντοτε ἓν. ἢ ἵδ' ἴδ' δὲ καὶ ἰσὺν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἵδ' ἴδ' ἀλλῶν ἀνθρώπων, πολλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ ἓν καὶ ἕνα. Ἐπιπέδον ἵδ' ἴδ' εἶπε, εἶπε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἵνα μὴ ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσυν τι φησιν ἀδελφῶν, δὲ ἰσὺν τὸ ὁμοιωθῆναι. S. Chryſt. ad hec. ^b Rom. 8. 29. ^c Heb. 1. 2. ^d Gal 4 4, 5, 6. Hoc facti: Deus ex filiis hominum filius Dei, quia ex filio Dei fecit Deus filium hominis. S. Aug. in Psal. 52.

ther. So are we no longer ^a servants, but now sons; and if sons, then heirs of ^a God, but still through Christ. 'Tis true indeed, that ^b both he that sanctifieth, that is, Christ, and they who are sanctified, that is, faithful Christians, are all of one, the same Father, the same God; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren: yet are they ^{*} not all of him after the same manner, not the ^c many Sons like the Captain of their Salvation: but Christ the beloved, the first-born, the only-begotten, the Son after a more peculiar and more excellent manner; the rest with relation unto and dependence on his Sonship; as given unto him, ^d Behold I, and the children which God hath given me; as being so by faith in him, ^e For we are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus; as receiving the right of Sonship from him. ^f For as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God. || Among all the sons of God there is none like to that one Son of God. And if there be so great a disparity in the Filiation, we must make as great a difference in the correspondent relation. There is one degree of Sonship founded on Creation, and that is the lowest, as belonging unto all, both good and bad: another degree above that there is grounded upon Regeneration, or Adoption, belonging only to the truly faithful in this life: and a third above the rest founded on the Resurrection, or Collation of the eternal inheritance, and the Similitude of God, appertaining to the Saints alone in the world to come: For ^g we are now the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him. And there is yet another degree of Filiation, of a greater eminency and a different nature, appertaining properly to none of these, but to the true Son of God alone, who amongst all his brethren hath only received the title of his ^{*} own Son, and a singular testimony from Heaven, ^h This is my beloved Son, even in the presence of John the Baptist, even in the midst of Moses and Elias, (who are certainly the sons of God by all the other three degrees of Filiation) and therefore hath called God after a peculiar way ⁱ his own Father. And so at last we come unto the most singular and eminent paternal relation, ^k unto the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore; the Father of him, and of us, but not the Father of us as || of him. Christ hath taught us to say, Our Father: a form of speech which he never used himself: sometimes he calls him the Father, sometimes my Father, sometimes your, but never our: he makes no such conjunction of us to himself, as to make no distinction between us and himself; so conjoining us as to distinguish, though so distinguishing as not to separate us.

^{*} Dicimur & fili
in Dei, sed ille
aliter filius Dei.
S. August. in
Psal. 83. *τὸ
πᾶν τὸ θεὸς
πᾶν τὸν υἱὸν
ταχισταὶς
πᾶν τὸν υἱὸν
μὲν φῶς ἔ
ἀληθινὰ τὸ μὲ
νοῦ ἑστίαι.*
S. Cyril Hieros.
Catech. 7.
^c Heb. 2. 10.
^d Iai. 8. 18.
Heb. 2. 13.
^e Gal. 3. 26.
^f John 1. 12.

|| Ergo nemo in
filiis Dei simi-
lis erat filio
Dei. Et ipse di-
ctus est filius
Dei. & nos di-
cti sumus filii
Dei: Sed quis
erit similis Do-
mino in filiis
Dei? Ille uni-
cus, nos multi.
Ille unus, nos
in illo unum.
Ille natus, nos
adoptati. Ille
ab aeterno filius
unigenitus per
naturam, nos
tempore facti
per gratiam. S.
Aug. Psal. 88.
^g 1 John 3. 2.
^{*} Rom. 8. 32.
Ut magnificen-
tia Dei dilec-
tionis ex com-
parationis ge-
nere nosceretur, non peperisse Patrem proprio filio suo docuit. Nec utique pro adoptandis adoptato, neque pro creatis creaturæ: sed pro alienis suo, pro connumerandis proprio. Hilary. l. 6. de Trin. ^h Mat. 3. 17. and 17. 5. Ante ibi in eo quod dicitur, Hic est, non hoc significare videtur, Alios quidem cognominatos ab eo filios, sed hic filius meus est; Donavi adoptionis plurimis nomen, sed iste mihi filius est? Id. ⁱ John 5. 18 *πατέρα ἰδίου λέγει ἑ δέον. as Rom 8. 32. θεὸς γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἰδίου ἑστίαι ἡμεῖς ἐστίαι.* ^k 2 Cor. 11. 31. || Non sicut Christi pater, ita & nostri pater. Nunquam enim Christus ita nos conjunxit, ut nullam distinctionem faceret inter nos & se. Ille enim filius aequalis patri, ille aeternus cum patre, patrique coaeternus: Nos autem facti per filium, adoptati per unicum. Proinde nunquam auditum est de ore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cum ad discipulos loqueretur, dixisse illum de Deo summo patre suo, Pater noster; sed aut Pater meus dixit, aut Pater vester; usque adeo ut quodam loco poneret hæc duo, Vado ad Deum meum, inquit, & Deum vestrum. Quare non dixit Deum nostrum? & patrem meum dixit, & patrem vestrum; non dixit nostrum? Sic jungit nè distinguat, nè distinguit ut non se-
jungat. Unum nos vult esse in se, unum autem patrem & se. S. Aug. in Joan. Tract. 21.

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Indeed I conceive this, as the most eminent notion of God's Paternity, so the original and proper explication of this Article of the Creed: and that not only because the ancient Fathers deliver no other exposition of it; but also because that which I conceive to be the first occasion, rise, and original of the Creed it self, requireth this as the proper interpretation. Immediately before the ascension of our Saviour, he said unto his Apostles, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing

Mat. 28. 18, 19.
them

so when I said, *I believe in God the * Father*, I must as necessarily be understood of the Father of him whom I call *his Son* in the second Article.

Now as it cannot be denied that God may several ways be said to be the Father of *Christ*; first, as he was begotten by the ^a Holy Ghost of the Virgin *Mary*; secondly, as he was sent by him with special authority, as ^b the King of *Israel*; thirdly, as he was ^c raised from the dead, out of the womb of the earth unto immortal life, and made heir of all things in his Father's house: so must we not doubt but, besides all these, God is the Father of that Son in a more eminent and peculiar manner, as he is and ever was ^d with God, and God: which shall be demonstrated fully in the second Article, when we come to shew how *Christ* is the only-begotten Son. And according unto this Paternity by way of Generation totally Divine, in which he who begetteth is God, and he which is begotten the same God, do we believe in God, as the eternal Father of an eternal Son. Which Relation is co-æval with his Essence: so that we are not to imagine one without the other; but as we profess him always God, so must we acknowledge him || always *Father*, and that in a far more * proper manner than the same title can be given to any Creature. Such is the fluctuant condition of humane generation, and of those relations which arise from thence, that he which is this day a son, the next may prove a father, and within the space of one day more, without any real alteration in himself, become neither son nor father, losing one Relation by the death of him that begot him, and the other by the departure of him that was begotten by him. But in the Godhead these Relations are more || proper, because fixed, the Father having never been a Son, the Son never becoming Father, in reference to the same kind of generation.

* Pater enim auctoris, Pater intelligit patrem qui filius supradictæ sic imago substantiæ. Russ. in Syn. ^a Luke 1. 35. ^b John 10. 36. and 1. 49. ^c Acts 13. 32, 33. ^d John 1. 1. ἢ ἄμα γὰρ ὄντι Θεὸς καὶ υἱὸς πατρὸς ἕξ ὁμοουσιότητος καὶ ἕνα τὸν θεόν οὐκ ἄλλ' ὅμοιόν τὸ ἔστι πατρὸς καὶ υἱοσύνης. καὶ νοσηρῶς. S. Cyril. Dial. de Trin. 2. Πῶς δὲ πατήρ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐν ᾧ ὁ υἱὸν ὁ πατὴρ πατήρ. Epiφ. Heres. 62. Sicut nunquam fuit non Deus, ita nunquam fuit non Pater, a quo filius natus.

Genad. de Eccles. dogm. c. 1. Credimus in Deum, eundem confitemur Patrem, ut eundem semper habuisse filium nos credamus. *Chrysol. Sermon. 59.* Inest Deo pietas, est in Deo semper affectio, paternitas permanet apud illum: semper ergo filium fuisse credas, ne patrem semper non fuisse blasphemias. *Id. Sermon. 62.* Advertite, quod cum Dei patris nomen in Confessione conjungit. ostendit quod non ante Deus esse coeperit & postea pater, sed sine ullo initio & Deus semper & pater est. *Aug. de Temp. Sermon. 132.* * Deus solus proprie verus est pater, qui sine initio & sine pater est; non enim aliquando cepit esse quod pater est, sed semper pater est, semper habens filium ex se genitum. *Faustinus, lib. contra Arianos.* Ἐστὶ δὲ θεότης μόνος ὁ πατὴρ κυρίου ὁ πατὴρ ὄντι, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κυρίου υἱὸς ὄντι, καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἑξ ὁμοίων ἔσκη τὸ πατὴρ αὐτὸ πατὴρ ἔστι, καὶ τὸ υἱὸς αὐτὸ υἱὸς ἔστι. S. Athanas. *Disput. contra Arianos.* ἢ Ἐπὶ μόνος τὸ θεότης τὸ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ υἱὸς ἕκαστος καὶ ἕστιν ἀπὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄνευ ἑτέρου ἄνθρώπων ἢ πατρὸς λέγεται, ἀλλ' ἕτερον γέγονεν υἱὸς, καὶ οὐ υἱὸς λέγεται, ἀλλ' ἕτερον λέγεται πατὴρ ἄνευ ἑτέρου ἄνθρώπων μὴ ἀλλοτρίως κυρίου τὸ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς ὄνομα. S. Athanas. *Tom. 1.* Πατὴρ κυρίου, ὅτι μὴ καὶ υἱὸς. ἄλλοι καὶ υἱὸς κυρίου ὅτι μὴ καὶ πατὴρ. τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερον ἢ κυρίου, ὅτι καὶ ἄμφω. *Greg. Naz. Orat. 35.*

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A farther reason of the propriety of God's Paternity appears from this, that he hath begotten a Son of the same nature and essence with himself, not only specifically, but individually, as I shall also demonstrate in the exposition of the second Article. For Generation being the production of the like, and that likeness being the similitude of * substance; where is the nearest identity of nature, there must be also the most proper Generation, and consequently he which generateth, the most proper Father. If therefore man, who by the benediction of God given unto him at his first creation in these words, ^a *Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth*, begetteth a Son ^b *in his own likeness, after his image*, that is, of the same humane nature, of the same substance with him, (which if he did not, he should not according to the benediction multiply himself or man at all,) with which similitude of nature many accidental disparities may consist, if by this act of Generation he obtaineth the name of Father, because, and in regard, of the similitude of his nature in the Son; how much properly must that name belong unto God himself, who hath begotten a Son of a nature and essence so totally like, so totally the same, that no accidental disparity can imaginably consist with that identity?

* Etiam si filius hominis homo in quibusdam similis, in quibusdam sit dissimilis patri; tamen quia ejusdem substantie est, negari verus filius non potest, & quia verus est filius, negari ejusdem substantie non potest. S. Aug. *l. 3. cont. Max. c. 15.* *Vide Tho. Sum. p. 1. quest. 33. art. 2. ad quart.*

^a Gen. 1. 28. ^b Gen. 5. 3.

That God is the proper and eternal Father of his own eternal Son is now declared: what is the eminency or excellency of this Relation followeth to be considered. In general then we may safely observe, that in the very * name of Father there is something of eminence which is not in that of Son; and some kind of priority we must ascribe unto him whom we call the first; in respect of him whom we term the second Person: and as we cannot but ascribe it, so must we endeavour to || preserve it.

Now that priviledge or * priority consisteth not in this, that the essence or attributes of the one are greater than the essence or attributes of the other; (for we shall hereafter demonstrate them to be the same in both) but only in this, that the Father hath that essence of himself, the Son by communication from the Father. From whence he acknowledgeth that he is ^a *from him*, that he ^b *liveth by him*, that the ^c *Father gave him to have life in himself*, and generally referreth all things to him, as received from him. Wherefore in this sense some of the Ancients have not stuck to interpret those words, ^d *the father is greater than I*, of Christ as the Son of God, as the second Person in the blessed Trinity; but still with reference not unto his Essence, but his Generation, by which he is understood to have his Being from the Father, who only hath it of himself, and is the original of all power and essence in the Son. ^e *I can of mine own self do nothing*, saith our Saviour, || because he is not of himself; and whosoever receives his Being, must receive his power from another, especially where the essence and the power are undeniably the same, as in God they are. ^f *The Son then can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do*, because he hath no * power of himself, but what the Father gave:

Ἄκουε τὸ θεοῦ
τοῦ ἐκείνου
ἐξ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ
ἐμοῦ. ἰ. 2.
c. 8. Intenator
nobis in Verbe
auctoritas, in il
lione nativitas. S.
Basil.
| Τὸ μὲν ἀρχοντί
ον ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ
ον ἀΐαμα ἐν
λακ ἐοικυμένῳ
καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
τὸ αὐτίον ἐξ
γοῖται. Alex.
apud The. det.
l. 1. c. 4.
Ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς
τὰ μὲν τῶν
ἐκείνων παρ
τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ
χρῆσις, τὸ
τὰ ἄλλων τὰ ἰ
ἢ παρ' ἐμοῦ
καὶ ἡμεῖς τῆς
ἐκείνου δύνα
μειν ἕκτι. S.
Basil. con. Eu
nom. l. 1.
ἢ 7. b. n. 2. 5.
ἢ John 6. 57. ἢ John 5. 26. ἢ John 14. 23. μετ' ἑαυτὸν, ἢ μετὰ τινὲ ἐξ ἐμῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδος γέν
νησι. S. Athanasius, contra Arianos, l. 2. λέπειται τοῖσι καὶ τῆς αἰτίας λόγον ἐλάθρα τὸ μετ' ἑαυτὸν λέγειν, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆ
πατρίδος ἢ ἀρχῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τὸ μετ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπαρῆ, ὡς αἰτία καὶ ἀρχή διὰ τοῦ κύειν ἢ εἶπεν, Ὁ πατὴρ μου μετ' ἑαυτὸν κατὰ
πατὴρ δυνάσται. τὸ δὲ πατὴρ τὴν ἀλλοτρίωσιν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν αἰτίας ἢ ἀρχῆ τῆ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντος; S. Basil. con. Eunom.
l. 1. And the same S. Basil doth not only acknowledge this to be true in respect of the Divine Nature of Christ, but thinketh the Divinity
of the Son may be proved from hence. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς, τὸ οὐκ ὄντων ἐν τῷ υἱὸν τὸ πατὴρ ἀλλὰ πεπεῖσται. τὰ
δὲ Συγκαίτοις εἶσα κρείως ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς δύσεως γενουδίας. ἀβελον γὰρ ἀβελου λέγουμεν μετ' ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων
ἀμαρτωλῶν, καὶ τῶν πλῆθ' ἀμαρτωλῶν. εἰ τοῖσι καὶ Συγκαίτοις ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμοειδῶν γινομένη, μετ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ Συγκαίτοις ἢ ἡμεῖς
ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔσμεν τὸ πατὴρ ἑαυτῶν. Ad Casarienses Epist. 141. τὸ μετ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῆς αἰτίας, τὸ δὲ ἴσον κατὰ τῆς φύσεως. Νικ.
ἰ. 2. ἢ 3. ἢ 4. ἢ 5. ἢ 6. ἢ 7. τὴν φύσιν τὸ μετ' ἑαυτὸν, καὶ τῶν αἰτίων δέ. Vide Epiph. in Ancor. c. 17. ἢ 3. ἢ 4. ἢ 5. ἢ 6. ἢ 7. ἢ 8. ἢ 9. ἢ 10.
καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἢ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς αἰτίας, ἢ τῆς αἰτίας καὶ τῆς φύσεως. S. Chrys. Homil. in Joan. 75. ἴσθ' τοιαυτὸν καὶ τῆς φύσεως λόγον ἀρχῶν
ὁ υἱὸς τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως. ἢ μετ' ἑαυτὸν ὄντων ὡς ἀναρχῶν, ἔχων ἀρχὴν καὶ μὴ ὄντων τὸ ἐξ ἑ, ἢ καὶ τῶν φύσεως
καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως. S. Cyril. thesaur. c. 11. and Isidore Pelusota, Epist. 334. l. 3. cites this saying of an ancient Father:
καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως. So Vigilius professes to believe the Son aequalis per omnia
Patri, excepto eo quod ille ingenuus est, & iste genitus. De Trinit. l. 11. Ideo totum quod habet, quod potest, non tribuit
sibi sed Patri, quia non est a seipso, sed a Patre. Aequalis enim Patri, sed hoc quoque accepit a Patre. S. Aug. Epist. 66.
Necesse est pro iam modo prior esse, qua Pater sit; quoniam anteedat necesse est eum qui habet originem, ille qui originem
rebet. Similiter ut hic minor sit, dum in illo esse se scit, habens originem, quia nascitur. Major itaque; Pater filio
est: plus maior, cui tantum donat esse quantum ipse est, cui innascibilitatis esse imaginem sacramento nativitatis impertit,
quem ex se in forma sua generat. S. Hilari. de Trin. l. 9. Non prastantem ququam cuiquam genere substantiae, sed subjectum
alterum alteri nativitate natura: Patrem in eo majorem esse quod Pater est, Filium in eo non minorem esse quod filius sit.
Id. de non e. vna Adams. Quis Patrem non potiore confitebitur ut ingenuum a genito, ut Patrem a filio, ut cum qui mi
nistris ad eo qui nullus est, ut volentem ab ipso qui obediatur? & ipse nobis testis est, Pater major me est. Id. de Trin. l. 3. In
eo quod in se sunt Dei, ex Deo Divinitatem cognoscere; in eo vero quod Pater major est, confessionem paternae auctoritatis
intelligit. Id. l. 11. And before all these Alexander Bishop of Alexandria; Τὸ δὲ ἀρχόντιον τὸ ἐκείνου ἰδίωμα παρεῖναι ἡ
μεῖς ἡμεῖς, ὅτι καὶ αἰτία εὐκαὶ ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς, Ὁ πατὴρ μου μετ' ἑαυτὸν κατὰ πατὴρ. Theodor. Hist. l. 1. c. 4. Lastly, we have the te
stimony of Irenaeus, that many of the ancient Fathers sh expounded it: Τὸ δὲ πατὴρ μου μετ' ἑαυτὸν κατὰ πατὴρ, ὡς ἐναρξεν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν,
διὰ τὸ ἐκείνου τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως. Epist. 175. Aequalis Patri; sed major
inter, quod ipse dedit ipsi omnia, & causa est ipsi Filio ut sit, ut illo modo sit. Videtur. Ap. r. l. 1. Pater, inquit, major me est;
merito non apor, quia solus hic auctor sine auctore est. Phyladus. ἢ John 5. 30. 19. | Quicquid filius habet ut faciat, a Patre ha
bet ut faciat. Quare Pater a Patre ut faciat? quia a Patre habet ut filius sit; quia a Patre habet ut possit; quia a Patre habet
ut sit. S. Aug. Hist. 2. in Joan. * Non alia potentia est in Filio, & alia substantia; sed ipsa est potentia qua substantia; sub
stantia ut sit, potentia ut possit. Ergo quia Filius de Patre est, ideo dixit, Non potest Filius a se facere quicquam: quia non est
Filius a se, ideo non potest a se sit. Totum quod est, de Patre est; totum quod potest, de Patre est; quoniam quod potest &
est, de Patre totum est. Id. Non potest Filius a se tacere quicquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem: quia de Patre est to
tum Filius, & tota substantia & potentia eius ex illo est qui genuit eum. Id. Trinit. 21. Et primum Filium cognosce, cum dicitur,
Non potest Filius a se facere quicquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem. Habes nativitatem Filii, quae ab te nihil potest facere
nisi quod a te. In eo autem quod a te nihil potest, innascibilitatis admittit errorem. Abs te enim non potest posse nativitas. S. Hi
lari. de Trin. l. 7. Dum non a se tacit, ad id quod agit secundum nativitatem sibi Pater auctor est. Id. l. 11. Autorem discerevit,
cum ait, Non potest a se facere: Oves dicitur tunc sibi dicitur, cum addit, Nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem. Id. de Syn.

and

and being he gave him all the power, as communicating his entire and undivided Essence, therefore *what things soever he doth, these also doth the Son likewise*, by the same power by which the Father worketh, because he had received the same Godhead in which the Father subsisteth. There is nothing more intimate and essential to any thing than the life thereof, and that in nothing so conspicuous as in the Godhead, where life and truth are so inseparable, that there can be no living God but the true, no true God but the living. ^a *The Lord is the true God, he is the living God, and an everlasting King*, saith the Prophet *Jeremy*; and *S. Paul* putteth the *Thessalonians* in mind, how they ^b *turned from idols, to serve the living and true God*. Now life is otherwise in God than in the Creatures: in him originally, in them derivatively; in him as in the fountain of absolute perfection, in them by way of dependence and participation: our life is in him, but his is in himself; and * *as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself*: || both the same life, both in themselves, both in the same degree, *as the one, so the other*; but only with this difference, the Father giveth it, and the Son receiveth it. From whence he professeth of himself, *that the living Father sent him, and that he liveth* by the Father*.

Filius autem habet vitam in semetipso quam Pater dedit. *S. Aug. Tract. 19. in Job.* Incommutabilis est vita Filii sicut & Patris, & tamen de Patre est: & inseparabilis est operatio Patris & Filii; sed tamen ita operari Filio de illo est de quo ipse est, id est, de Patre. *Id. de Trin. l. 2. c. 1.* || Sicut habet, dedit; qualem habet dedit; quantum habet, tantum dedit. *Id. contra Maxim. l. 3. c. 14.* Ergo quod dicitur *dedit filio*, tale est ac si diceretur, genuit filium; generando enim dedit. Quomodo enim dedit ut esset, sic dedit ut vita esset, & sic dedit ut in semetipso vita esset. *Id. Tract. 22. in Job.* Tali confessione originis sua indifferetia naturae perfecta nativitas est. Quod enim in utroque vita est, id in utroque significatur essentia; & vita quae generatur ex vita, id est, essentia quae de essentia nascitur, dum non dissimilis nascitur, scilicet quia vita ex vita est, tunc in se indissimilem naturam originis suae, quia & natae & gignentis essentia, id est, vitae quae habetur & data est, similitudo non discrepet. *S. Hilari. de Synod. advers. Arianos.* Quia ergo apparet vita Patris hoc esse quod ipse est; sicut habet vitam in se, sic dedit; sic dedit Filio habere vitam, id est, sic est esse Filii, sicut esse Patris. *Vigil. Africanus Disput.* In vita naturae & essentiae significatio est, quae sicut habetur, ita data esse docetur ad habendum. *S. Hilari. ib.* * Propter Patrem vivat Filius, quod ex Patre Filius est: propter Patrem, quod eructatum est verbum ex Patris corde, quod à Patre processit, quod ex paterno generatus est utero, quod sens Pater Filii est, quod radix Pater Filii est. *S. Ambrosii. de Fide, l. 4. c. 5.*

We must not therefore so far endeavour to involve our selves in the darkness of this mystery, as to deny that glory which is clearly due unto the Father; whose preeminence undeniably consisteth in this, that he is God not of any other, but of himself, and that there is no other person who is God, but is God of himself. It is no diminution to the Son, to say he is from another, for his very name imports as much; but it were a diminution to the Father to speak so of him: and there must be some preeminence, where there is place for derogation. * *What the Father is, he is from none; what the Son is, he is from him: what the first is, he giveth; what the second is, he receiveth.* The first is a Father indeed by reason of his Son, but he is not God by reason of him; whereas the Son is not so only in regard of the Father, but also God by reason of the same.

Filius verò & quod filius est, propter Patrem est, & quod est, à Patre est. *S. Aug. Tract. 19. in Job.* Filium dicimus Deum de Deo, Patrem autem Deum tantum, non de Deo. Unde manifestum est quod Filius habet alium de quo fit, & cui filius est; Pater autem non filium de quo fit habeat, sed cui Pater fit. Omnis enim filius de patre est quod est, & patri filius est: nullus autem pater de filio est quod est. *Id. de Trin. l. 2. c. 1.* Filius non hoc tantum habet nascendo, ut Filius sit, sed omnino ut sit. *Id. l. 5. c. 14.* Filius non tantum ut sit Filius quod relativè dicitur, sed omnino ut sit, ipsam substantiam nascendo habet. *Ibid. c. 15.* Pater non habet patrem de quo fit, Filius autem de Patre est ut sit, atque ut illi co-aeternus sit. *Ibid. l. 6. c. 10.* *Ab ipso*, inquit, *sum*; quia Filius de Patre, & quicquid est filius, de illo est cujus est Filius. Ideo Dominum Jesum dicimus Deum de Deo, Patrem non dicimus Deum de Deo: & dicimus Dominum Jesum lumen de lumine, Patrem non dicimus lumen de lumine, sed tantum lumen. Ad hoc ergo pertinet quod dixit, *Ab ipso sum.* *Id. Tract. in Job. 31.* Pater non est si non habeat Filium, & Filius non est si non habeat Patrem: sed tamen Filius Deus de Patre, Pater autem Deus, sed non de Filio: Pater Filii, non Deus de Filio; ille autem Filius Patris, & Deus de Patre. *Id. Tract. 30. in Job.* Hoc tamen inter Patrem & Filium interest, quia Pater à nullo hoc accepit, Filius autem per generationem omnia Patris accepit. *Ambr. in Epist. ad Eph. c. 7.* Est ergo Deus Pater omnium, institutor & creator, sedus originem nesciens. *Novat. de Trinit. c. 31.* *whereas he speaks after the Son*, Est ergo Deus, sed in hoc ipsum genitus, ut esset Deus. Pater est Deus de quo Filius est Deus, de quo autem Pater nullus est Deus. *S. Aug. Epist. 65.*

^a Jer. 10. 10.

^b 1 Cor. 1. 9.

* Job. 5. 26.

Sicut habet Pater vitam in semetipso, sic dedit & Filio vitam habere in semetipso: ut hoc solum inter sit inter Patrem & Filium, quia Pater habet vitam in semetipso quam nemo ei dedit.

* Pater de nullo patre, Filius de Deo Patre: Pater quod est, à nullo est; quod autem Pater est, propter Filium est. Fi-

Upon this preeminence (as I conceive) may safely be grounded the congruity of the Divine Mission. We often read that Christ was sent, from whence he bears the name of an *Apostle* himself, as well as those whom he therefore named so, because as the *Father sent him, so sent he them*: The Holy Ghost is also said to be sent, sometimes by the Father, sometimes by the Son: But we * never read that the Father was sent at all, there being an || authority in that Name which seems inconsistent with this Mission. In the Parable, *a certain householder which planted a vineyard first sent his servants to the husbandman, and again other servants, but last of all he sent unto them his Son*: It had been inconsistent even with the literal sense of an historical Parable, as not at all consonant to the rational customs of men, to have said, that last of all the Son sent his Father to them. So God, placing man in the Vineyard of his Church, first sent his servants the Prophets, by whom he ^b *spake at sundry times and in divers manners*; but *in the last days he sent his Son*: And it were as * incongruous and inconsistent with the Divine Generation, that the Son should send the Father into the world. ^c *As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father*, saith our Saviour; intimating, that by whom he lived, by him he was sent, and therefore sent by him because he lived by him, laying his Generation as the proper ground of his Mission. Thus he which begetteth sendeth, and he which is || begotten is sent. ^d *For I am from him, and he hath sent me*, saith the Son: from whom I received my Essence by communication, from him also received I this Commission. As therefore it is more worthy to give than to receive, to send than to be sent; so in respect of the Sonship there is some priority in the Divine Paternity: from whence divers of the * Ancients read that place of *S. John* with this addition, ^e *The Father (which sent me) is greater than I. He then is that God who sent forth his Son made of a woman, that God who hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father*, So that the authority of sending is in the Father: which therefore ought to be acknowledged, because upon this Mission is founded the highest testimony of his love to man; for *herein is love*, saith *S. John*, *not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins*.

Job. 2. 1.
John 20. 21.

* Pater enim solus nusquam legitur missus. S. Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 5. || Solus Pater non legitur missus, quia solus non habet auctorem à quo genitus sit, vel à quo procedat. Et ideo non propter naturæ diversitatem, sed propter ipsam auctoritatem, solus Pater non dicitur missus: non enim splendor aut fervor ignem, sed ignis mittitive splendorem sive fervorem. S. Aug. Sermon. contr. Arian. c. 4. Qui mittit, potestatem suam in eo quod mittit, ostendit. S. Hilar. l. 8. ^a Mat. 21. 33, &c. ^b Heb. 1. 1, 2.

* Si voluisset Deus Pater per subjectam creaturam visibiliter apparere, absurdissimè tamen aut à Filio, quem genuit, aut à Spiritu Sancto, qui de illo procedit, missus diceretur. S. August. de Trinit. lib. 4. cap. ult. ^c John 6. 57. || Filius est igitur à Patre missus, non Pater à Filio; quia Filius est à Patre natus, non Pater à Filio. Fulgent. l. 8. contra Fabianum, in Collect. Theodul. de S. S. Quis autem Christianus ignorat quòd Pater miserit, missusque sit Filius? Neque enim genitorem ab eo quem genuit, sed genitum à genitore mitti oportebat. S. Augustin. contra Maximin. lib. 3. c. 14. Ubi audis, *Ipse me misit*, noli intelligere naturæ dissimilitudinem, sed generantis auctoritatem. Idem Tract. 31. in Job. Ἐνταῦθα ἐν ὁ ἀποστείλας καὶ ὁ ἀπελλόμενος, ἵνα διέξῃ τῶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν μίαν ἴδ ἢ πηγὴν, τὰ ἐστὶ τὸ Πατέρος. Epiph. Hæres. 69. 54. Hence the language of the Schools, Missio importat processionem originis, as Thom. Aquin. 10. q. 43. art. 1. ad primum; or auctoritatem principii, as Durand. l. 1. dist. 15. q. 1. ^d John 7. 29. * Λέγουσι γὰρ τὸ ῥητὸν τῆ Εὐαγγελίου κατὰ ἑρμηνείας, ὅτι ὁ ἀποστείλας με πατὴρ μόνων με ἔδει, saith Epiphanius of the Arians; and answering, grants in these words which follow, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἀποστείλας με πατὴρ, ὁ ἄσκει, καὶ ἔχ ὁ κλίσας με. Hæres. 69. 53. To the same purpose Athanas. de Hum. Nat. lusc. & Cyril. Theaur. l. 11. read it, ὁ πέμψας με πατὴρ. and S. Basil makes Eunomius read it in his first Book against him, and with that addition answers it. So the second Confession of the Council of Sirmium, both in the Latine Original, and Greek Translation. S. Hilar. de Syn. S. Athanas. & Socr. l. 2. c. 3. ^e Job. 14. 28. ^f Gal. 4. 4.

Again, the dignity of the Father will farther yet appear from the order of the Persons in the blessed Trinity, of which he is undoubtedly the first. For although in some passages of the Apostolical discourses the Son may first be named, (as in that of *S. Paul*, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the holy Ghost be with you all*, the latter part of which is nothing but an addition unto his constant Benediction;) and in others the Holy Ghost precedes the Son (as, *Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all*;) yet where the three Persons are barely enumerated, and delivered unto us as

2 Cor 13. 14

1 Cor 12. 4, 5, 6

the

causa est ipsi filio ut sit. *S. S. Hilary.* Deum nasci, non est aliud quàm in ea natura esse quàm Deus est, quia nasci cùm causam nativitatis ostendat, non disproficit tamen in genere auctoris existere. *D. Trin. l. 11.* Ex Spiritu enim spiritus nascens, licet de proprietate Spiritus per quam & ipse Spiritus est, nascatur, non tamen alia ei præterquam perfectarum atque indemutabilium causarum ad id quod nascitur causa est, & ex causa, licet perfecta atque indemutabili nascens, necesse est ex causa in causa ipsius proprietate nascitur. *Id. l. 12.* Qui ex eo qui est natus est, intelligi non potest ex eo quod non fuit natus esse, quia eius qui est ad id quod est causa est, non etiam id quod non est origo nascendi est. *Ibid.* Deus omnium quæ tantæ causa est. Quod autem rerum omnium causa est, etiam sapientiæ suæ causa est, nec unquam Deus sine sapientia sua. Igitur sempiternæ suæ sapientiæ causa est sempiterna. *S. Aug. l. 83. q. 116.* *And as they called the Father the cause of the Son, so they accounted it the propriety of the Father to be without a cause; as appears out of Alexander the Bishop of Alexandria's Epist. before produced.*

* We have cited P. Labadius speaking of before; in which may be added, Si quis igitur adhuc & de Apollonio requirit dominicum statum, id est, singularis substantiæ dualitatem quæ per naturam auctoris suo generati

* the authour, the || root, the * fountain, and the || head of the Son, or the whole Divinity.

For by these titles it appeareth clearly, first, that they made a considerable difference between the person of the Father, of whom are all things, and the person of the Son, by whom are all things. Secondly, that the difference consisteth properly in this, That as the branch is from the root, and river from the fountain, and by their origination from them receive that being which they have; whereas the root receiveth nothing from the branch, or fountain from the river: so the Son is from the Father, receiving his subsistence by generation from him; the Father is not from the Son, as being what he is from none.

sed quam referret exi in certè ad Patrem, ut ad rerum omnium respiciat autorem. *S. Hilary is known to speak frequently of the Father as author of his Son; and several places have been already collected, especially by Petavius, to which may be added others what have been already produced.* Ipso quod Pater dicitur, eius quem genuit autor ostenditur, & quia non potius non filii dignitas sit paterna, & gloriosus autor sit ex quo is, qui tali gloria sit dignus, existit. *Ibid.* Aliud est tunc auto esse Imper. æternum, aliud quod patri, id est, auctori, est cœternum. Ubi enim pater autor, ibi & nativitas est. At vero ubi autor æternus est, ibi & nativitas æterna est: quia sicut nativitas ab autore est, ita ab æterno autore nativitas est. *Id. l. 12.* Quod verò ex æterno natum est, id si non æternum natum est, jam non erit & pater autor æternus. Si quid igitur ei qui ab æterno patre natus est ex æternitate defuerit, id ipsum auctori non est ambiguum defuisse. *Id.* Natum non post aliquid, sed ante omnia, ut nativitas tantum testetur autorem, non præposterum aliquid in te autore existere. *Ib.* Natus autem ita, ut nihil aliud quam te sibi significet autorem. *Ib.* Ipsiis tamen autor est Pater generando inæ initio. *Raff. in Symb.* Si propterea Deum Patrem Deo Filio dicitis autorem, quia ille genuit, genitus est ille, quia ille de illo est, non ille de illo; fateor & concedo. *S. Aug. contra Maxim. l. 3. c. 14.* ¶ Nec dubitaverim Filium dicere & radicis fruticem, & fontis fluvium, & Solis radium. *Tertul. adv. Praxem, c. 8.* Nec frutex tamen à radice, nec fluvius à fonte, nec radius à Sole discernitur; sicut nec à Deo sermo. *Id.* Ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τέλειον ἔχων τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἀνεσθές, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὗ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα Ἅγιον. *S. Basil. Homil. 26.* Dominus Pater, quia radix est Filii. *S. Ambros. in Luc. l. 10. c. 1. & de Fid. l. 4. c. 5.* *S. Cyril. of Alexandria speaking of the Baptist's institution, Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνωτάτω βίβαν, ἢ ἐπίτομα τὸ ὑψίστου ἐκείνου, ἐνεργῆσαι τὸν υἱατέρον τὸν δὲ ἑσθ' ἀνωτάτω βίβαν ἐκπερικύβια καὶ γενηναιόων παραδείξον τὸ υἱόν.* *De S. Trin. Dial. 2.* Ἄνερχομαι ὁ πατὴρ πηγῆ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνης τῆς αἰωνίου, καὶ ἀπορροῶντος ὁ πατὴρ. *Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 11.* In hac ergo natura filius est, & in hoc originis fonte subsistens processit ex sapiente sapientia, ex forti virtus, ex lumine splendor. *Vizl. Diss.* Ὁστίς πᾶσι θεοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν περικύβια, αἱτίον αὐτῶν ἔχων, ὡς πηγῆ ἐαυτοῦ, κατέβηεν παραδείξον. *Basil. Homil. 22.* Ἄνερχομαι ὁ πατὴρ ἢ θεοῦ γαλακτοῦ, καὶ ἵνα, ὡς ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὗ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα Ἅγιον. *Alth. Concil. Nic. l. 2. c. 22.* *And St. Cyril. of Alexandria, who often upon it is expressive, gives us the full signification of it in these words, upon 1 of S. John: Ἀληθής ἐστι ἡ ζωὴ ἣν ἐγένετο τὸ ἔκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν υἱόν ἐκτελεσάμενος τὸν υἱόν γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τῆς πηγῆς ἐκτέλει ὄνομα σημαίνει. Patrem quidem non genuit, non creavit, sed ingentium proficimur; ipse enim à nullo originem ducit, ex quo & Filius nativitate & Spiritus sanctus processione accepit. Fons ergo ipse & origo est totius divinitatis. *Concil. Tolet. an. 11.* Quantum magis Deum vocem credere iam est & manere in æternum, & sensu ac virtute comitari, quam de Deo Patre tanquam rivus de fonte tradaxit? *U. Lam. de Sala Sup. l. 3. c. 8. & Rufinus. c. 10.* Cùm igitur & Pater filium deiciat, & Filius Patrem, unà utriusque mens, unus spiritus, una substantia est: sed ille quàm exuberans fons est, hic tanquam defluens ex eo rivus; ille tanquam Sol, hic tanquam radius à Sole porrectus. ¶ Caput, quod est principium omnium, Filius; caput autem, quod est principium Christi, Deus. *Concil. Syn. acceptæ and expundetæ as Orthodoxæ by S. Hilary.* Caput enim omnium Filius, sed caput Filii Deus. *S. Ath. de Son.* Cùm ipse sit omnium caput, ipsius tamen caput est Pater. *Raff. in Symb.* Tu capitis caput, & primi tu totius origo. *Hieros. ad Leon in.* Ὅστις θεός ἐστι ἀρχὴ, ἀλλὰ κεφαλὴ τε υἱὸς πατρὸς, καὶ ἢ ἀρχή. *Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 11.* Caput tamen pater est, & caput spiritus sancti Filius, quia de ipso accepit. *S. Aug. Quæst. Vet. Test. 9.* *S. Chrysostome is so usual in the original text 1 C. 11. and he understood of Christ as God, that from thence he proves him to have the same Essence with the Father: Ἐν γὰρ κεφαλὴ ὡς πηγῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ, οὐκ ἐστι ἢ ἢ κεφαλὴ πᾶσι σῶματι. κεφαλὴ ἢ ἢ ὁ δεξιός, ἢ ἢ ὁ δεξιός τῆς ἀρχῆς. *S. I. (Theodoræ) upon the same place: Ἡ ἢ ὡς πηγῆς ἢ σῶμα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἀνθρώπου. ἢ ὁ δεξιός ἀρχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἀνθρώπου. *S. S. Cyril.* κεφαλὴ τὰ κεφαλὴ ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐγενήθη ὁ υἱός, ὡς πηγῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ δεξιός ἢ ἢ πηγῆς. *Ad Regim. Ep. 1.****

Some indeed of the Ancients may seem to have made yet a farther difference between the persons of the Father and the Son, laying upon that Relation terms of greater opposition. As if, because the Son hath not his Essence from himself, * the Father had; because he was not begotten of himself, the Father had been so; because he is not the cause of himself, * the Father were.

Whereas, if we speak properly, God the Father hath neither

Howsoever, it is most reasonable to assert that there is but one Person who is from none; and the very generation of the Son and procession of the Holy Ghost undeniably prove, that neither of those two can be that Person. For whosoever is generated is from him which is the Genitor, and whosoever proceedeth is from him from whom he proceedeth, whatsoever the nature of the generation or procession be. It followeth therefore that this Person is the *Father*, which name speaks nothing of dependence, nor supposeth any kind of priority in another.

ὁ Θεὸς ἐν εἰς ἁπλοῦς
ἑστὸς, καὶ πᾶσι
ἡμεῖς ἢ ἀρχὴ
ἡμεῖς, ὅταν
ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός,
ἡμεῖς ἁπλοῦς
ἡμεῖς καὶ ἁπλοῦς
ἡμεῖς, καὶ ὡς
ἡμεῖς τῶν ἡμεῖς
ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἡμεῖς
ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς

From hence it is observed that the name of *God*, taken * absolutely, is often in the Scriptures spoken of the Father: as when we read of *God sending his own Son*; of ^a *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God*; and generally wheresoever Christ is called the Son of God, or the Word of God, the name of God is to be taken particularly for the Father, because he is no Son but of the Father. From hence he is styled ^b *one God*, ^c *the true God*, ^d *the only true God*, ^e *the || God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*.

ὡς ἁπλοῦς, καὶ πᾶσι ἡμεῖς. Theod. Abucara Opusc. 42. ^a 2 Cor. 13. 14. ^b 1 Cor. 8. 6. Eph. 4. 6. ^c 1 Thess. 1. 9. ^d Joh. 17. 3. ^e 2 Cor. 1. 3. 1 Ph. 1. 3. Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus. Id enim quod ait, tuus, ad nativitatem refertur; ceterum non perimit naturam. Et ideo Deus eius est, qui ex Deo natus in Deum est. Non tamen per id quod Pater Deus est, non & Filius Deus est. Unxit enim te Deus, Deus tuus; designatā videlicet & authoris sui & ex eo geniti significatione, uno eodemque alio utramque illum in natura ejusdem & dignitatis nuncupatione constituit. S. Hilari. l. 4. Deo enim ex quo omnia sunt Deus nullus est qui sine initio æternus est. Filio autem Deus Pater est, ex eo enim Deus natus est. Id. paul. p. 67. Cū autem ex Deo Deus est, per id Deus Pater Deo Filio & nativitas eius Deus est, & natura Pater, quia Dei nativitas & ex Deo est, & in eo generis est natura quā Deus est. Id. l. 11. So S. Cyril. of Jerusalem, Catech. 11. Θεός ὁ ἡμεῖς, Θεός ὁ ἡμεῖς, Θεός ὁ ἡμεῖς πάντων. Θεός ὁ ἡμεῖς καὶ πᾶσι ἡμεῖς ὁ ἡμεῖς

Which, as it is most true, and so fit to be believed, is also a most necessary truth, and therefore to be acknowledged, for the avoiding * multiplication and plurality of Gods. For if there were more than one which were from none, it could not be denied but there were more Gods than one. Wherefore this || origination in the Divine Paternity hath anciently been looked upon as the assertion of the Unity: and therefore the Son and Holy Ghost hath been believed to be but one God with the Father, because both from the Father, who is one, and so the * union of them.

* Μίαι ἡμεῖς
ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός
ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός
ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός
ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός
ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός
ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός
ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός
ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός
ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός

S. Basil. Homil. 26. In duobus ingentis diversa Divinitas invenitur, in uno autem genito ex uno ingenito naturalis unitas demonstratur. Fulgen. Resp. contr. Arian. ad Obj. 5. Si quis innascibilem & sine initio dicat Filium, tanquam duo sine principio, & duo innascibilia, & duo innata dicens, duos faciat Deos, Anathema sit, Concil. Sirmi. Deus utique procedens ex Deo secundam personam efficiens, sed non eripiens illud Patri quod unus est Deus. Si enim natus non fuisset, innatus comparatus cum eo qui esset innatus, æquatione in utroque ostensā, duos faceret innatos, & ideo duos faceret Deos. Si non genitus esset, collatus cum eo qui genitus non esset, æquales inventi duos Deos merito reddidissent non geniti: atque ideo duos Deos reddidisset Christus, si sine origine esset ut Pater inventus; & ipse principium omnium et Pater, duo faciens principia, duos ostendisset nobis consequenter & Deos, &c. N. Tatian. de Trin. c. 21. ἡμεῖς ὁ ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός. S. Athan. Orat. 5. ἡμεῖς ὁ ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός. S. Gregor. Naz. Orat. 29. ἡμεῖς ὁ ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός. S. Basil. Homil. 26. Patri suo originem suam debens, discordiam Divinitatis de numero quorum Deorum facere non potuit, qui ex illo qui est unus Deus originem nascendo contraxit. N. Tat. c. 31. Confitemur non Deos duos, sed Deum unum, neque per id non & Deum Dei Filium, est enim ex Deo Deus; non innascibiles duos, quia autoritate innascibilitatis Deus unus est. S. Hilari. de Syrid. whise assentionis, Unum Deum esse ex quo omnia, unam virtutem innascibilem, & unam hanc esse sine initio potentiam: which words belong unto the Father, and then it followeth of the Son; Non enim Patri adimitur quod Deus unus est, quia & Filius Deus est. Est enim Deus ex Deo, unus ex uno. Ob id unus Deus, quia ex se Deus. Contra verò non minus per id Filius Deus, quia Pater Deus unus sit. Est enim unigenitus Filius Dei non innascibilis, ut Patri adimat quod Deus unus sit. D. Trin. l. 4. * ἡμεῖς ὁ ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός. Greg. Naz. Orat. 32. ἡμεῖς ὁ ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός. ὡς ἡμεῖς ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός.

Secondly, It is necessary thus to believe in the *Father*, because our Salvation is propounded to us by an access unto the Father. We are all gone away and fallen from God, and we must be brought to him again. There is no other notion under which we can be brought to God as to be saved, but the notion of the Father; and there is no other person can bring us to the Father, but the Son of that Father: For, as the Apostle teacheth us, *through him we have an access by one Spirit unto the Father*.

Eph. 2. 18.

Having

Having thus described the true nature and notion of the Divine Paternity, in all the several degrees and eminencies belonging to it, I may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian understand, what it is he speaks, when he makes his Confession in these words, *I believe in God the Father*: by which I conceive him to express thus much.

As I am assured that there is an infinite and Independent Being, which we call a *God*, and that it is impossible there should be more Infinities than one: so I assure my self that this one God is the *Father* of all things, especially of all men and Angels, so far as the mere act of creation may be styled generation; that he is farther yet, and in a more peculiar manner, the *Father* of all those whom he regenerateth by his Spirit, whom he adopteth in his Son, as heirs and co-heirs with him, whom he crowneth with the reward of an eternal inheritance in the heavens. But beyond and far above all this, besides his general off-spring, and peculiar people, *to whom he hath given power to become the sons of God*; I believe him the *Father*, in a more eminent and transcendent manner, of one singular and proper Son, his own, his beloved, his only-begotten Son: whom he hath not only begotten of the blessed Virgin, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the overshadowing of his power; not only sent with special authority as the King of *Israel*; not only raised from the dead, and made heir of all things in his house; but antecedently to all this, hath begotten him by way of eternal generation in the same Deity, and Majesty with himself: by which Paternity, coeval to the Deity, I acknowledge him always, *Father*, as much as always *God*. And in this relation, I profess that eminency and priority, that as he is the Original cause of all things as created by him, so is he the fountain of the Son begotten of him, and of the Holy Ghost proceeding from him.

I believe in God the Father Almighty.

After the relation of God's Paternity, immediately followeth the glorious Attribute of his ** Omnipotency*: that as those in Heaven in their Devotions, so we on earth in our confessions might acknowledge that *a Holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come*; that in our solemn meetings at the Church of God, with the joynt expression and concurring language of the Congregation, we might some way imitate that *b voice of a great multitude, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying, Allelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.*

Father, as Origen. l. 7. adv. Celsum. Ἐχρήμα ἢ αὐτὸν—ἐμθέειν αὐτῶν λέξουσιν τὰ περὶ φητείας· εἴτ' ἐν οἷς θεὸς Παντοκράτωρ ἐπιηράλλετο ἢ ὁ λόγος, εἴτ' ἐν αἷς ὁ ὕδρς πρὸ θεῶν, εἴτ' ἐν αἷς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον λέγον ἢ ὅπως δέετο. And according to this general Confession did Polycarpus begin his Prayer at his Martyrdom: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πρὸ ἀγαπητῆς καὶ εὐλογητῆς πατρὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατρὸς. Eccl. Smyrn. Epist. ἢ Revel. 4. 8. ἢ Revel. 19. 6. Ὅτι παρῆρσαν εἰληγῶτες ἢ παντοκράτωρ πατέρων καλῶν. Constit. Apost. l. 1. Proem.

** For the oldest & shortest Creed had always this Attribute expressed in it. In so much that Παντοκράτωρ was ordinarily by the Ancients taken for the*

This notion of *Almighty* in the *Creed* must certainly be interpreted according to the sense which the original word beareth in the New Testament: and that cannot be better understood than by the *Greek* Writers or Interpreters of the Old, especially when the Notion it self belongs unto the Gospel and the Law indifferently. Now the word which we translate ** Almighty*, the most ancient *Greek* Interpreters used sometimes for the title of God, the *Lord of hosts*, sometimes for his name *Shaddai*, as generally in the book of *Job*: by

zallium translates κοσμοκράτωρ munditentes) by Prudentius, omnipollens; by all, Omnipotens, (as S. Hilary translated κοσμοκράτωρ munditentes:) and, as I conceive, it is translated Capax universorum, by the Latin Interpreter of Hermas Primum omnium crede quod unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit, & contumnavit, & ex nihilo fecit. Ipse capax universorum, solus inmensus est. l. 2. Mand. 1. Which by the Interpreter of Irenaeus is thus translated, Omnium capax, & qui à nemine capitur. l. 4. c. 37.

** Παντοκράτωρ, translated by Tertul. and S. Aug. Omnipotens, as (Ter-*

the first they seem to signify the Rule and Dominion which God hath over all; by the second, the strength, force, or power by which he is able to perform all things. ^a *The heavens and the earth were finished, saith Moses, and all the host of them:* and he which begun them, he which finished them, is the Ruler and Commander of them. Upon the right of Creation doth he justly challenge this dominion. ^b *I have made the earth, and created man upon it; I, even my hands have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded.* And on this dominion or command doth he raise the title of * *the Lord of hosts;* which, though preserved in the || original language both by S. Paul and S. James, yet by S. John is turned into that word which we translate *Almighty*. Wherefore from the use of the sacred Writers, from the * notation of the word in Greek, and from the testimony of the ancient || Fathers, we may well ascribe unto God the Father, in the explication of this Article, the dominion over all, and the rule and government of all.

^a Gen. 2. 1.
^b Num. 45. 12.
 Κύριος σα-
 βαώθ.
 Ἐγὼ κύριος
 σαβαώθ ἔγχευ-
 τήλιπεν οὐρανόν
 καὶ τὴν γῆν.
 Rom. 9. 26. the
 words of Isa. 45.
 1. καὶ αἱ βουαὶ
 τῶν θεοῦ ἀντων
 ἡς τὰ ἄλλα κύ-
 ριος σαβαώθ ἐ-
 σκελεύθησαν.
 Jam. 5. 4. which
 are the words of
 S. James, in re-
 lation to Deut. 24. 15. Ἄριστος, ἄριστος, ἄριστος κύριος ὁ Θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Revel. 4. 8. which were before in Isaiah. Ἄριστος, ἄριστος, ἄριστος κύριος σαβαώθ. Isa. 6. 3. Τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἐρεῖται καὶ πάλιν ἡ Σαβαώθ οὐρανός, πολλαχῶς ἔσται ἔξω παρελαμβανόμενος: ὅτι ἐπιμελεθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα ἡς τὸ κύριος ἢ Ἰωαννοῦ, ἢ κύριος Ἰσραὴλ, ἢ Παντοκράτωρ. (Περὶ ἧς ἴδ' ἐν τῷ ἔξω Ἰσραὴλ ἐῖρησεν ὁνομασθεῖς αὐτὸ) ἢ δὲν ποιήσονται. Origen. contra Cels. l. 5. * That παντοκράτωρ should have the signification of government in it, according to the composition in the Greek Language, no man can doubt who but only considers those vulgar terms of their Politicks, Δημοκρατία, and Δεισπραξία, from whence it appears that μονοκρατία might as well have been used as μοναρχία: and in that sense αὐτοκράτωρ is the proper title given by the Greeks to the Roman Emperour, not only the later Historians, but even the Coins of Julius Caesar. Hesych. Ἀυτοκράτωρ, αὐτεξέσις, κοσμοκράτωρ, because the Roman Emperour was Ruler of the known World. So the Devils or Princes of the air are termed by S. Paul κοσμοκράτορες, Eph. 6. 12. which is all one with ἀρχαίαι τῶν κόσμων, as will appear Joh. 12. 31. and 14. 30. and 16. 11. As therefore Κράτος signifieth of it self Rule and Authority, Hesych. Κράτος, βασιλεία, ἐξουσία. Κράτης, ἀρχή, ἐξουσία: to which sense Eustathius hath observed Homer led the following Writers by those words of his, — ὄν ἢ κρατὸς αἰὲν ἀΐξην. Iliad. M. τὸ μὲν κρατὸς Κυδαιβάνεται τι τὸ ἔσθ' ἐξουσίαν βασιλείαν κρατὸς λίγχοσι: whence Aeschylus calls Agamemnon and Menelaus εὐχέρον κρατὸς Ἀχαιῶν, and Sophocles after him, δικαστῆς Ἀτρεΐδαι: and as κρατὸς to rule or govern, (Κρατῆ, κυριεύει, ἀρχή: from whence Κρατύς, ἀρχων, ἐξουσίαζων.) So also in composition, παντοκράτωρ the Ruler of all Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ δεῖς, παντῶν κρατῶν. Hesych. Παντοκρατορία, πανταρχία. Suid. || Αἰρετικοὶ ἢ οἰδαν ἓνα παντοκράτορα δεῖον: παντοκράτωρ γὰρ ὄν ὁ πάντων κρατῶν ὁ πάντων ἐξουσίαζων. οἱ ἢ λέγοντες ἢ μὲν ἢ τὴν ψυχῆς δεσπότιν, ἢ ἢ τὴν σώματος, ἢ τέλειον λίγχοσιν: ὁ γὰρ ψυχῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, σώματ' ἢ ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχων, πῶς παντοκράτωρ, ἢ ὁ δεσπότης σώματος μὴ ἐξουσίαζων ἢ πνεύματος, πῶς παντοκράτωρ: S. Cyril. Catech. 8. Theodorus apud Cl. Alex. p. 804. Ὡς γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἰσχυρότατον ἢ σιχέρον, καὶ πάντων κρατῶν, ἢ τὸ Θεὸς παντοδύναμος καὶ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ δὲ δυνάμει κρατῶσι, ποιήσιν, τρέψιν, αἰξίν, αἰξίν, σώξιν, σώξιν, σώματ' ἢ ψυχῆς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων. Unus est Dominus Jesus Christus per quem Deus Pater dominatum omnium tenet; unde & sequens sermo Omnipotentem pronunciat Dominum. Omnipotens autem ab eo dicitur, quod omnium teneat potestatem. Ruffin. in Symb.

This authority or power properly potestative is attributed unto God in the sacred * Scriptures: from whence those || names or titles which most aptly and fully express dominion are frequently given unto him; and the rule, empire, or government of the world is acknowledged to be wholly in him, as necessarily following that natural and eternal right of dominion.

* Ἐξουσία.
 Luke 12. 5.
 Acts 1. 7.
 Jude 25.
 Revel 5. 13.
 || Ἄς ὙΠΙΣ
 κύριος, δεσπό-
 τις ἐν μὲν τὸ
 κυριεύει καὶ πρῶ-
 τως ὄν, ἢ ἐν τῇ
 χυμείπιδ. Ἄς, καὶ
 ὡς πάντων δε-
 σπότης: τὰ γὰρ
 σωματῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ
 λέγει. Phot.
 l. 162.

What the nature of this authoritative power is, we shall the more clearly understand, if we first divide it into three degrees or branches of it: the first whereof we may conceive, a right of making and framing any thing which he willerth, in any manner as it pleaseth him, according to the absolute freedom of his own will; the second, a right of having and possessing all things so made and framed by him, as his own, properly belonging to him, as to the Lord and master of them, by virtue of direct dominion; the third, a right of using and disposing all things so in his possession, according to his own pleasure. The first of these we mention only for the necessity of it, on the dependence of the other two upon it. God's actual dominion being no otherways necessary, than upon supposition of a precedent act of Creation; because nothing, before it hath a being, can belong to any one, neither can any propriety be imagined in that which hath no entity.

But the second branch, or absolute dominion of this *Almighty*, is farther to be considered in the Independency and Infinity of it. First, it is independent in a double respect, in reference both to the original, and the use thereof. For God hath received no authority from any, because he hath all power originally

originally in himself and hath produced all things by the act of his own will, without any Commander, Counsellor, or Coadjutor. Neither doth the use or exercise of this dominion depend upon any one, so as to receive any direction or regulation, or to render any account of the administration of it; as being illimited, absolute, and supreme, and so the fountain from whence all dominion in any other is derived. Wherefore he being the ^a God of Gods, is also the Lord of Lords and King of Kings, the only Potentate; because he alone hath all power of himself, and whosoever else hath any, hath it from him, either by donation or permission.

The Infinity of God's Dominion, if we respect the Object, appears in the amplitude or extension; if we look upon the Manner, in the plenitude or perfection; if we consider the Time, in the eternity of duration. The amplitude of the Object is sufficiently evidenced by those appellations which the holy Writ ascribeth unto the Almighty, calling him the ^b Lord of heaven, the Lord of the whole earth, the Lord of heaven and earth; under which two are comprehended all things both in heaven and earth. This Moses taught the distrustful Israelites in the Wilderness: ^c Behold the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, the earth also with all that is therein. With these words David glorifieth God: ^d The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine; so acknowledging his dominion: as for the world and the fulness thereof, thou hast founded them; so expressing the foundation or ground of that dominion. And yet more fully, at the dedication of the Offerings for the building of the Temple, to shew that what they gave was of his own, he saith, ^e Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the Majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine. Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all. If then we look upon the Object of God's Dominion, it is of that amplitude and extension, that it includeth and comprehendeth all things; so that nothing can be imagined which is not his, belonging to him as the true owner and proprietor, and subject wholly to his will as the sole governour and disposer: in respect of which universal power we must confess him to be Almighty.

If we consider the manner and nature of this Power, the Plenitude thereof or perfection will appear: for as in regard of the extension, he hath power over all things; so in respect of the intension, he hath all power over every thing, as being absolute and supreme. This God challenged to himself, when he catechised the Prophet Jeremy in a Potter's house, saying, ^f O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the Lord. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, O house of Israel. That is, God hath as absolute power and dominion over every person, over every Nation and Kingdom on the Earth, as the Potter hath over the pot he maketh, or the clay he mouldeth. Thus are we wholly at the disposal of his will, and our present and future condition framed and ordered by his free, but wise and just, decrees. Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour? And can that earth-artificer have a freer power over his brother potsherd, (both being made of the same metal) than God hath over him, who by the strange fecundity of his omnipotent power, first made the clay out of nothing, and then him out of that?

The duration of God's dominion must likewise necessarily be eternal, if any thing which is be immortal. For, being every thing is therefore his, because it received its being from him, and the continuation of the creature is as much from him as the first production; it followeth that so long as it is continued it must be his, and consequently, being some of his Creatures are im-

^a Deut. 10. 17.
^b Psal. 135. 3.
^c 1 Tim. 6. 15.
 μόνος θεός σω-
 τήρ. Sap. 11. 46.
^d 6. Psal. 115. 3.
^e 2 Mac. 15. 29.
 ὁ θεός σω-
 τήρ. 23. σω-
 τήρ ὁ θεός.
^f 3. 24. ὁ θεός πα-
 τέρων υἱοῦ θε-
 οῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου
 θεοῦ σω-
 τήρ. 11. 9.
^g Dan. 5. 23.
 Job. 3. 11, 13.
 Psal. 97. 5.
 Luc. 4. 13.
 Zach. 4. 14.
 and 6. 5
 Matt. 11. 25.
 Acts 17. 24.
^h Deut. 10. 14.
ⁱ Psal. 89. 11.
^k 1 Chron. 29.
 11. 12.
 מוֹשֶׁל בְּכָל
 כּוֹנֵן מְבָרָךְ
 הַכִּיָּוֶן
 πάντων ὁ θεός
 τῶν θεῶν
 ὁ θεός, καὶ
 πάντων πάντων
 ἰσχυρὸς ὁ θεός
 κρατῆς. Ze-
 noph. de exped.
 Crit. l. 2.

^f Jer. 18. 5.

Rom. 9. 21.

^a 1 Tim. 1. 17.
 Τὸ βασίλειόν σου αἰώνιον.

^b Pſal. 145. 13.
 כבודך יהיה לעולם ועד

LXX. *ἀιώνια*
 τὸ βασίλειόν σου αἰώνιον.

^c Exod. 15. 13.
 יהיה לך יהוה לעולם ועד

LXX. *ἐπ' αἰώνων αἰώνων*

S. Hier. in Ecd.
 lam & ultra. So
 Apala, Theod.

and the fifth E-
 dit. in Pſal. 21.
 4. So the LXX.

again, Dm. 12.
 7. *οὐκ ἐστὶν αἰώνων*
 καὶ ἔτι and

Mich. 4. 5. οὐκ ἔστι αἰώνων καὶ ἐπιχθονία.

^d Pſal. 15 2.
 Ille nostra ser-
 vitude non in-
 diget, nos verò

dominatione illius indigemus, ut operetur & custodiat nos: & ideo verus & solus est Dominus, quia non illi ad suam, sed ad nostram utilitatem salutemq; servimus.

Nam si nobis indigeret eo ipſo non verus Dominus esset, cum per nos ejus adjuvaretur necessitas, sub qua & ipſe serviret. S. Au., de Gen. ad lu. l. 8. c. 11. Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu, quare? quoniam bonum non eges. Ille non eget nostri, nos egemus ipsius; ideo verus Dominus. Nam tu non valde verus Dominus servi tui; ambo homines, ambo egentes Deo. Si verò putas egere tui servum tuum, ut des panem, eges & tu servi tui, ut adjuvet labores tuos. Uterque vestrum altero vestrum indiget: itaq; nullus vestrum verè dominus, & nullus vestrum verè servus. Audi verum Dominum, cujus verus es servus, Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu: quare tui domi us? quoniam bonum meum non eges. Id. ad Pſal. 69. * Τὸ βασίλειόν σου αἰώνιον καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ αἰώνων καὶ ἐπιχθονία.

Israel. in Ainea Car. And again, "Ὅστι τιμᾶ τὸν θεὸν ὡς προσδεδήμενοι, οὐκ ἀλλήλων αἰώνων ἐκείνου τὸ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἡγεμονία."

mortal, his dominion must be eternal. Wherefore S. Paul expressly calleth God ^a the King eternal, with reference to that of David, ^b Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations. And Moses in his Song hath told us, ^c The Lord shall reign for ever and ever: which phrase ^d for ever and ever in the original signifieth thus much, that there is no time to come assignable or imaginable, but after and beyond that God shall reign.

The third branch of God's authoritative or potestative power consisteth in the use of all things in his possession, by virtue of his absolute dominion. For it is the general dictate of reason, that the use, benefit and utility of any thing, redoundeth unto him whose it is, and to whom as to the proprietor it belongeth. 'Tis true indeed, that God, who is all-sufficient and infinitely happy in and of himself, so that no accession ever could or can be made to his original felicity, cannot receive any real benefit and utility from the creature. ^d Thou art my Lord, saith David, my goodness extendeth not to thee. And therefore our only and absolute Lord, because his goodness extendeth unto us, and not ours to him, because his dominion is for our benefit, not for his own: for us who want, and therefore may receive; not for himself, who cannot receive, because he wanteth nothing, whose honour standeth not in his own, but in our * receiving.

But though the universal Cause made all things for the benefit of some creatures framed by him, yet hath he made them ultimately for himself; and God is as universally the final as the efficient cause of his operations. The Apostle hath taught us, that not only ^a of him, and by him, as the first Author, but also ^b to him, and for him, as the ultimate end, are all things. And 'tis one of the proverbial sentences of Solomon, ^c The Lord hath made all things for himself, yea even the wicked for the day of evil. For though he cannot receive any real benefit or utility from the creature, yet he can and doth in a manner receive that which hath some similitude or affinity with it. Thus God ^d rejoiceth at the effects of his wisdom, power and goodness, and taketh delight in the works of his hands. Thus doth he order and dispose of all things unto his own glory, which redoundeth from the demonstration of his Attributes.

An explicit belief of this authoritative power and absolute dominion of the Almighty is necessary, first for the breeding in us an awful reverence of his Majesty, and entire subjection to his will. For to the highest excellency the greatest honour, to the * supreme authority the most exact obedience is no more than duty. If God be our absolute Lord, we his servants and vassals, then is there a right in him to require of us whatsoever we can perform, and an obligation upon us to perform whatsoever he commandeth. Whosoever doth otherwise, while he confesseth, denieth him; while he acknowledgeth him with his tongue, he sets his hand against him. ^d Why call ye me Lord, Lord, saith our Saviour, and do not the things which I say?

Secondly, this belief is also necessary to breed in us equanimity and patience in our sufferings, to prevent all murmuring, repining, and objecting against

^a Rom. 11. 36.

^b Heb. 2. 11.

^c 1 Cor 8. 6.

^d Prov. 15 4.

^a Pſal. 104. 31.

^a Num. 14. 17.

^b Psalms 5. 12.

^c Psalms 135. 6.

^d Psalms 135. 6.

^e Psalms 135. 6.

^f Psalms 135. 6.

^g Psalms 135. 6.

^h Psalms 135. 6.

ⁱ Psalms 135. 6.

^j Psalms 135. 6.

^k Psalms 135. 6.

^l Psalms 135. 6.

against the actions or determinations of God, as knowing that he, who is absolute Lord, cannot abuse his power; he, whose will is a law to us, cannot do any thing unwisely or unjustly. ^a *Let the potsherd strive with the potsherd of the earth: shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou?* ^a *1. Tim. 45. 5.* But let the man after God's own heart rather teach us humble and religious silence. ^b *I was dumb, saith he, and opened not my mouth, because thou didst it.* ^b *Psal. 39. 9.* When *Shimi* cast stones at him, and cursed him, let us learn to speak as he then spake; ^c *The Lord hath said unto him, Curse David: who shall then say, Wherefore hast thou done so?* ^c *2 Sam. 16. 10.*

Thirdly, the belief of God's absolute dominion is yet farther necessary to make us truly and sufficiently sensible of the benefits we receive from him, so as by a right value and estimation of them to understand how far we stand obliged to him. No man can duely prize the blessings of Heaven, but he which acknowledgeth they might justly have been denied him: nor can any be sufficiently thankful for them, except it be confessed that he ought him nothing who bestowed them.

But as the original word for *Almighty* is not put only for the *Lord of Hosts*, but often also for the *Lord Shaddai*: so we must not restrain the signification to the power authoritative, but extend it also to that power which is properly operative and executive. In the title of the *Lord of Sabaoth* we understand the rule and dominion of God, by which he hath a right of governing all: in the name *Shaddai* we apprehend an infinite force and strength, by which he is able to work and perform all things. For whether we take this word in * composition, as signifying the *All-sufficient*; whosoever is able to suppeditate all things to the sufficing all, must have an infinite power: or whether we deduce it from the || Root denoting *vastation* or *destruction*; whosoever can destroy the being of all things, and reduce them unto nothing, must have the same power which originally produced all things out of nothing, and that is infinite. Howsoever, the first notion of *Almighty* necessarily inferreth the second, and the infinity of God's dominion speaketh him infinitely * powerful in operation. Indeed in earthly dominions, the strength of the Governour is not in himself, but in those whom he governeth: and he is a powerful Prince whose Subjects are numerous. But the King of kings hath in himself all power of execution, as well as right of dominion. Were all the force and strength of a Nation in the person of the King, as the authority is, obedience would not be arbitrary, nor could rebellion be successful: whereas experience teacheth us that the most puissant Prince is compelled actually to submit, when the stronger part of his own people hath taken the boldness to put a force upon him. But we must not imagine that the Governour of the world ruleth only over them which are willing to obey, or that any of his Creatures may dispute his commands with safety, or cast off his yoke with impunity. And if his dominion be uncontrollable, it is because his power is irresistible. For man is not more inclinable to obey God than man, but God is more powerful to exact subjection, and to vindicate rebellion. In respect of the infinity, and irresistibility of which active power we must acknowledge him *Almighty*; and so, according to the most vulgar acception, give the second explication of his || *Omnipotency*.

* So R. Solomon will have it compounded of W the pronoun, וי שיעודי באלקותי לכה ביה because in God there is sufficiency, that is, sufficient power over every creature: from whence the Lxx. Ruth. 1. 20, 21. Job 21. 15. & 31. 2. translate it וימדע, as Sym. Job 22. 3. and Aquila with him, Ezele. 1. 24. || שרר vastavit, destruxit, perdidit; from whence ורר the destroyer and because utter destruction requireth power equivalent to production, the Omnipotent; from whence the Lxx. Job 8. 3.

translate it: πάντα ποιῶν. And this Etymology rather than the former seemeth to be confirmed by the Prophet Isai. 13. 6. How ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, כשר משרי יבוי. It shall come as a destruction from the Almighty (destror) * Homer hath well joyned these two. Ιλ. θ'. Ω πάντες ἡμέτερος κενεῖσθε, ὑπάρτε κρηόντων, Εὐ το κῆ ἡμῶς ἰσχυροῦσθε εἰς εὐχαισίν. || Hoc nunc credamus, periclitatur ipsum nostræ fidei Confessionis initium, quâ nos in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem credere cōfitemur. Neque enim veraciter ob aliud vocatur Omnipotens, nisi quia quicquid vult potest, nec voluntate cujuspiam creaturæ voluntatis omnipotentis impeditur effectus. S. Aug. Enchir. c. 96.

* But

king what, and when, and how he pleased, of possessing whatsoever he maketh by direct dominion, of using and disposing as he pleaseth all things which he so possesseth. This dominion I believe most absolute in respect of its Independency, both in the Original, and the Use or exercise thereof: this I acknowledge Infinite for amplitude or extension, as being a power over all things without exception; for plenitude or perfection, as being all power over every thing without limitation; for continuance or duration, as being eternal without end or conclusion. Thus *I believe in God the Father Almighty,*

Maker of Heaven and Earth.

Although this last part of the First Article were not expressed in the * ancient Creeds, yet the sense thereof was delivered in the || first Rules of Faith, and at last these particular words inserted both in the *Greek and Latin* Confessions. And indeed the work of Creation most properly followeth the Attribute of Omnipotency, as being the foundation of the first, and the demonstration of the second explication of it. As then we believe there is a God, and that God *Almighty*; as we acknowledge that same God to be the *Father* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and in him of us: so we also confess that the same God the *Father* made both *heaven and earth*. For the full explication of which operation, it will be sufficient, first, to declare the latitude of the Object, what is comprehended under the terms of *heaven and earth*; secondly, to express the nature of the action, the true notion of creation, by which they were made; and thirdly, to demonstrate the Person to whom this operation is ascribed.

* For we find it not mentioned by S. Augustine de Fide & Symbolo; neither hath Rufinus expounded it in the Aquileian, or noted it to be found in the Roman or Oriental Creeds. Leo, reciting the three first Articles in his Epistle to Flavianus, maketh no mention of it. Epist. 10. Ma-

ximus Taurinensis hath it not in Traditione Symboli, nor Petrus Chryzologus in his Sermon, amongst six several expositions. It is not in the Homilies of Eusebius Gallicanus, or the Exposition of Venantius Fortunatus. Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra left it not at Rome with Julius: Nor did Arius in his Catholick Confession unto Constantine acknowledge it. Neither are the words to be found in the Latin or Greek Copy of the Creed written about the beginning of the eighth Century, and published out of the MSS. by the most Reverend and Learned Archbishop of Armagh; or in that which Etherius and Beatus produced against Elipandus Archbishop of Toledo, towards the end of the seventh Century. || As in that delivered by Irenæus, Εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ἢ ποιητὴν τῆς οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς θαλάσσης, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. *Adver. Hæc. l. 1. c. 2.* And that by Tertul. Unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit. *De præser. adv. Hæc. c. 13.* And that under the name of Novatian, not in formal words, but with an (id est) by way of explication. Regula exigit veritatis ut primo omnium credamus in Deum Patrem & Dominum Omnipotentem, id est, rerum omnium perfectissimum conditorem, qui cælum alta sublimitate suspenderit, terram dejecta mole solidavit, maria soluto liquore diffudit, & hæc omnia propriis & condignis instrumentis & ornata & plena digestit. *De Trin. c. 1.* It was also observed by Origen, that the Christians were wont most frequently to mention God under that as the most common title. Ἡ γὰρ ἀοείτως ὁμολογεῖται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα, τὸ θεός, ἢ καὶ ὡς πατριάρχης ἢ, ὁ δημιουργός ἢ ὁ λαν, ὁ ποιητὴς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. *Adv. Celsum, l. 1.* Eusebius delivered the first Article thus in his Confession to the Nicene Council: Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ἢ ὡς ἀπάντων ὄντων τε καὶ ἀσώκτων ποιητὴν. and that Council expressed the same without alteration in their Creed. But after the Nicene Council, we find added τὸν τὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, by S. Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechism, and Epiphanius in Ancorato: which addition was received, confirmed and transmitted to us by the Council of Constantinople. By which means at last we find this Article thus expressed in the Western Confessions, Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cæli & terræ.

For the first, I suppose it cannot be denied as the sense of the Creed, that under the terms of *heaven and earth* are comprehended all things; because the first Rules of Faith did so express it, and the most ancient Creeds had either instead of these words, or together with them, *the maker of all things visible and invisible*, which being terms of immediate contradiction, must consequently be of universal comprehension; nor is there any thing imaginable which is not visible, or invisible. Being then these were the words of the *Nicene Creed*; being the addition of *heaven and earth* in the *Constantinopolitan* could be no diminution to the former, which they still retained together with them, saying, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible*; it followeth, that they which in the *Latin Church* made use only of this last addition, could not choose but take it in the full latitude of the first expression.

And

And well may this be taken as the un'doubted sense of the *Creed*, because it is the known language of the sacred Scriptures. *In six days*, saith *Moses*, the Lord made heaven and earth: in the same time, saith God himself, the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is. So that all things by those two must be understood which are contained in them: and we know no Being which is made or placed without them. When God would call a general rendezvous, and make up an universal Auditory, the Prophet crys out, *Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth*. When he would express the full splendour of his Majesty, and utmost extent of his actual dominion, *Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool*. When he would challenge unto himself those glorious attributes of Immensity and Omnipresence, *Do not I fill heaven and earth?* saith the Lord. These two then taken together signifie the Universe, or that which is called the world. *S. Paul* hath given a clear exposition of these words in his explication of the *Athenian Altar*; *God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands*. For being God is necessarily the Lord of all things which he made, (the right of his direct dominion being clearly grounded upon the first Creation) except we should conceive the Apostle to exempt some creature from the authoritative power of God, and so take some work of his hand out of the reach of his Arm; we must confess that *heaven and earth* are of as large extent and ample signification as the *world and all things therein*. Where it is yet farther observable, that the Apostle hath conjoynd the speech of both Testaments together. For the ancient *Hebrews* seem to have had no word in use among them which singly of it self did signifie the world, as the *Greeks* had, in whose language *S. Paul* did speak; and therefore they used in conjunction the *heaven and earth*, as the * grand extremities within which all things are contained. Nay, if we take the exposition of the later Writers in that language, those two words will not only as extremities comprehend between them, but in the extension of their own significations contain all things in them. For when they divide the Universe into || three worlds, the inferiour, superiour, and the middle world; the lower is wholly contained in the name of *earth*, the other two under the name of *heaven*. Nor do the *Hebrews* only use this manner of expression, but even the *Greeks* themselves; and that not only before, but * after || *Pythagoras* had accustomed them to one name. As therefore under the single name of * World or Universe, so also under the conjunctive expression of *heaven and earth*, are contained all things material and immaterial, visible and invisible.

* Καλῶς δὲ πάντες οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν λέγουσιν, ὡς δὲ ἀξίως, ὁμοίως τὸ μέγα συμπαιχνύμενον ἄνευ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πάντων ἢ γῆς, πέρας δὲ τῶν ὁρίων αἰθέρος.

πανόρατος ἢ ἀνωθεν ἀρχὴ μὲν ὁ οὐρανός, τέρας δὲ πάλιν ἡ γῆ· ὡς δὲ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ τὰ λοιπὰ τεῖρα περικλυτοῦ καὶ ἀεὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. *Jo. Philop. de Mundi Creat. l. 1. c. 5.* Τῶ μὲν οὐρανῷ (ὡμοίως ἢ οὐρανός) τὸ πρῶτον τὸ πάντος ἀπέναντι, πρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐν ᾧ (ὡμοίως ἢ οὐρανός) μὲν τὸ κέντρον ἀρχὴ ἀλλὰς δὲ οὐρανός, ἢ οὐρανός. *Hierol. in Aur. Carm. 1.* For the *Rabins* usually divide the whole frame of things into *עולם עליון* three worlds: the first, *העולם הנחתון* the inferior, or *עולם הזה* the depressed and lowest world; *עולם הזה* that is this world, *סוף העולם* the sphere of earth on which we live. This they divide into three parts; *ים, נהרות, נחלים* the sea, lakes and rivers, *מדבר* the desert, solitary and uninhabitable places, *הארץ* far from the habitations of men, and *ישוב* *על פני הארץ*, the earth inhabited. The second is called *העולם התיכון* the middle or inmost world; *עולם הזה* this is the world of the fishes, containing the aerial region and the stary heavens. The third is *העולם העליון* the superiour world; *עולם הזה* this is the world of Angels, *עולם הזה* of God, *עולם הזה* of Souls, *עולם הזה* the spiritual world. Now being these three comprehend all things imaginable; being the first is sufficiently expressed in *אדמה* the earth, and the two last in *עולם הזה*; it followeth that, in the sense of the *Hebrews*, heaven and earth signifie all things. * *Εἰς ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀεὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὡς ἐστὶ θεός, ὡς ἐστὶν ἄνευ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ γῆς ἀρχὴ πάντων ἢ γῆς, πέρας δὲ τῶν ὁρίων αἰθέρος.* *Plat. de Plat. Philosoph. l. 2. c. 1.* * *Si Mundum dixeris, illic erit & caelum, & quia in eo, sicut in luna, & sidera, & astra, & terra, & freta, & omnis census elementorum. Omnia dixeris, cum id dixeris quod ex omnibus constat.* *Ignat. de Vng. Veland. c. 4.* *Φασι δὲ αἱ σοφοὶ καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπους πάλιν κοινῶς ἑκατέρωθεν καλεῖσθαι, καὶ κοσμογονίαν, καὶ σωτηρίαν, καὶ δικαιοσύνην.* * τὸ ἕλον τῶτο διὰ ταῦτα κέσμεν καλεῖσθαι. *Jambli. Iambli. de the words are Plato's in Gorgia.*

But as the Apostle hath taught us to reason, *When he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him*: so when we say, all things were made by God, it is as manifest that he is excepted who made all things. And then the Proposition is clearly thus delivered; All beings whatsoever beside God were made. As we read in S. John concerning the Word, that *the world was made by him*; and in more plain and express words before, *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made*. Which is yet farther illustrated by S. Paul: *For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him*. If then there be nothing imaginable which is not either in heaven or in earth, nothing which is not either visible or invisible, then is there nothing beside God which was not made by God.

Joh. 1. 10 3.

Col. 1. 16.

This then is the unquestionable doctrine of the Christian Faith, That the vast capacious frame of the World, and every thing any way contained and existing in it, hath not its essence from or of it self, nor is of existence absolutely necessary; but what it is, it hath not been, and that being which it hath was made, framed and constituted by another. And as *every house is builded by some man*; for we see the Earth bear no such creature of it self; Stones do not grow into a wall, or first hew and square, then unite and fasten themselves together in their generation; Trees sprout not cross like dry and sapless beams, nor do spars and tyles spring with a natural uniformity into a roof, and that out of stone and mortar: these are not the works of Nature, but superstructions and additions to her, as the supplies of Art, and the testimonies of the understanding of Man, the great Artificer on earth: So if the World it self be but an * house, if the Earth, which ^a *hangeth upon nothing*, be the foundation, and the glorious spheres of Heaven the roof, (which hath been delivered as the most universal Hypothesis) if this be the habitation of an infinite Intelligence, the || Temple of God; then must we acknowledge the world was built by him, and, consequently, that *he which built all things is God*.

Heb. 3. 4.

* Ο οὐρανός ἐστι κόσμος ἡ δὲ γῆ ἀραδιὸν ὄν ἢ οὐρανός. Philo de somn.
κόσμος ἐν πρῶτῳ, ἡ ἔστωμος ὁ οὐρανός. ἡ δὲ γῆ ἀραδιὸν ὄν. Id. de Plant. Noe.
ὁ οὐρανὸς τὸ μέγιστον ὅ ἐστιν κόσμος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ἀραδιὸν ὄν. Id. de mundi Incorr.
^a Job 26. 7.
|| *Incorruptus caeli* the Heavens mundi maximum & verlatile templum, l. 5.
τὸ ἀνεπίπετον ἡ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐστὶν θεὸς νομιζέμενον ὅτι πάντα καὶ κόσμον. Id. Philo de Mmarch.
^b Psal. 104. 3.
^c 2 Cor. 12. 2.

From hence appears the truth of that distinction, Whatsoever hath any being is either made or not made: whatsoever is not made, is God; whatsoever is not God, is made. One uncreated and independent essence; all other depending on it, and created by it. One of eternal and necessary existence; all other indifferent, in respect of actual existing, either to be or not to be, and that indifferency determined only by the free and voluntary act of the first Cause.

Now because to be thus made includes some imperfection, and among the parts of the world some are more glorious than others; if those which are most perfect presuppose a maker, then can we not doubt of a creation where we find far less perfection. This house of God, though uniform, yet is not all of the same materials, the footstool and the throne are not of the same mould; there is a vast difference between the heavenly expansions. This first aerial Heaven, where God setteth up his pavilion, where ^b *he maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind*, is not so far inferior in place as it is in glory to the next, the seat of the Sun and Moon, the two great lights, and Stars innumerable, far greater than the one of them. And yet that second Heaven is not so far above the first as beneath the ^c *third*, into which S. Paul was caught. The brightness of the Sun doth not so far surpass the blackness of a wandering cloud, as the glory of that Heaven of presence surmounts the fading beauty of the starry firmament. For in this great Temple

ple of the world, in which the Son of God is the High Priest, the Heaven which we see is but the Veil, and that which is above, the Holy of Holies. This Veil indeed is rich and glorious, but one day to be rent, and then to admit us into a far greater glory, even to the Mercy-seat and Cherubins. For this third Heaven is the ^a proper habitation of the blessed Angels, which constantly attend upon the Throne. And if those most glorious and happy spirits, those ^b morning stars which sang together, those sons of God which shouted for joy when the foundations of the earth were laid, if they and their habitation were made; then can we no ways doubt of the production of all other creatures, so much inferiour unto them.

^a Ἰδιον εἰρησῆ-
εσσι.
Jude v. 6.
^b Job 38. 7. 4.

Forasmuch then as the Angels are termed the *sons of God*, it sufficiently denoteth that they are from him, not of themselves; all filiation inferring some kind of production: And being God hath but one proper and only-begotten Son, whose propriety and singularity consisteth in this, that he is of the same increated essence with the Father, all other offspring must be made, and consequently even the Angels created sons; of whom the Scripture speaking saith, *Who maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.* For although those words, as first spoken by the Psalmist, do rather express the nature of the wind and lightning: yet being the Authour of the Epistle to the Hebrews hath applied the same to the Angels properly so called, we cannot but conclude upon his authority, that the same God who created the wind, and made a way for the lightning of the thunder, hath also produced those glorious spirits; and as he furnished them with that activity there expressed, so did he frame the subject of it, their immaterial and immortal essence.

Psal. 104. 4.

Amos 4. 13.
Job 28. 25.

If then the Angels and their proper habitation, the far most eminent and illustrious parts of the World, were made; if only to be made be one character of imperfection; much more must we acknowledge all things of inferiour nature to have dependence on their universal Cause, and consequently this great Universe, or, all things, to be made, beside that one who made them.

This is the first part of our Christian Faith, against some of the ancient Philosophers, who were so wildly fond of those things they see, that they imagined * the Universe to be infinite and eternal, and, what will follow from it, to be even God himself. 'Tis true that the most ancient of the Heathen were not of this opinion, but || all the Philosophy for many Ages delivered the World to have been made.

* Mundum, & hoc quod nunc nunc aliococculum appellare libuit, cujus circumflexu teguntur cuncta, numen esse credi par est aeternum, immensum, neque genitum, neque interitum unquam.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 1. || Γενόμενον μὲν ἔνταυτες εἶναι θασον, says Aristotle, De Caelo, l. 1. c. 10. confessing it the general opinion, that the World was made. Which was so ancient a Tradition of all the first Philosophers, that from Linus, Musaeus, Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod and the rest, they all mentioned the Original of the world, entitling their Books Κοσμογονία, or Θεογονία, or the like. Εἰσι γὰρ τινες οἱ θασιν ἐν ἀρχῆν ἢ ἡσίοδος, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι ἡσίοδος ἢ τὰ μὲν ἀρχαία διακρίων, τὰ δὲ πάλιν θηροεθες· μάλα μὲν οἱ πάλιν ἡσίοδος, ὅσα, ἢ καὶ ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολογιστῆς, says Aristotle, de Caelo, l. 3. c. 1. In which words he manifestly attributes the doctrine of the Creation of the World not only to Hesiod, but to all the first natural Philosophers: which learning, beginning with Prometheus the first Professor of that Science, continued in that family amongst the Atlantiade, who all successively delivered that truth. After them the Ionian Philosophy did acknowledge it, and the Italian received it by Pythagoras, whose Scholars all maintained it beside Ocellus Lucanus, the first of them that fancied the World not made, whom Plato, though he much esteemed him, yet followed not; for there is nothing more evident than that he held the world was made. λέγουσιν δὲ, διὰ τὸ αἰτίαν ἡσίοδος καὶ τὸ πᾶν τὸδε ὁ θεὸς εὐεχέσθαι ἡσίοδος, ἀγαθὸς δὲ. In which words he delivers not only the generation of the Universe, but also the true cause thereof, which is the goodness of God. For he which asks this plain and clear question, πότερον ἡσίοδος, ἢ εὐεχέσθαι ἀρχὴν ἢ ἡσίοδος, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρχαίως; and answers the question briefly with a γέγονεν. He which gives this general rule upon it, πᾶσι δ' αὖ ἡσίοδος θασον ὅτι αἰτίαν τινος ἀνέγκλυ ἢ ἡσίοδος; and then immediately concludes, τὸν μὲν ἔνταυτες καὶ πάλιν τὸδε τὸ παντὸς ἀρῶν τε ἔργον, καὶ ἀρῶν αἰς πάντας ἀδωάσθαι λέγειν· cannot, (withstanding all the shifts of his Greek Expositors) be imagined to have conceived the world not made. And Aristotle, who best understood him, tells us clearly his opinion ἐν τῷ Τιμαίω, from whence I cited the precedent words, εἰσὶ γὰρ εἰσι τὸ εὐεχέσθαι (where by the way observe that in Plato's Timaeus εὐεχέσθαι and κόσμος are made synonymous) ἡσίοδος μὲν, ὁ μὲν εὐεχέσθαι.

When this tradition of the Creation of the world was delivered in all places down successively by those which seriously considered the frame of all things, and the difference of the most ancient Poets and Philosophers from Moses

Moses was only in the manner of expressing it; those which in after-ages first denied it made use of very frivolous and inconcluding arguments, grounding their new opinion upon weak foundations.

For that which in the first place they take for granted as an Axiom of undoubted truth, that *Whatever hath a beginning, must have an end*, and consequently, *Whatever shall have no end, had no beginning*, is grounded upon no general reason, but only upon particular observation of such things here below as from the ordinary way of Generation tend in some space of time unto Corruption. From whence, seeing no tendency to corruption in several parts of the world, they conclude that it was never generated, nor had any cause or original of its being. Whereas, if we would speak properly, future existence or non-existence hath no such relation unto the first production. Neither is there any contradiction that at the same time one thing may begin to be, and last but for an hour, another continue for a thousand years, a third beginning at the same instant remain for ever: the difference being either in the nature of the things so made, or in the determinations of the will of him that made them. Notwithstanding then their universal rules, which are not true but in some limited particulars, it is most certain the whole world was made, and of it part shall perish, part continue to all eternity; by which something which had a beginning shall have an end, and something not.

The second fallacy which led them to this novelty was the very name of Universe, which comprehendeth in it all things; from whence they reasoned thus: || If the World or Universe were made, then were all things made; and if the world shall be dissolved, then all things shall come to nothing: which is impossible. For if all things were made, then must either all, or at least something, have made it self, and so have been the cause of it self as of the effect, and the effect of it self as of the cause, and consequently in the same instant both have been and not been; which is a contradiction. But this fallacy is easily discovered: for when we say the Universe or all things were made, we must be always understood to except him who made all things, neither can we by that name be supposed to comprehend more than the frame of heaven and earth, and all things contained in them; and so * he which first devised this argument hath himself acknowledged.

Far more gross was that third conceit, that if the world were ever made, it must be after the vulgar way of ordinary natural generations; in which || two mutations are observable, the first from less to greater, or from worse to better; the second from greater to less, or from better to worse. (The beginning of the first mutation is called Generation, the end of it Perfection: the beginning of the second is from the same Perfection, but concludeth in Corruption or dissolution.) * But none hath ever yet observed that this frame of the world did ever grow up from less to greater, or improve it self from worse to better: nor can we now perceive that it becomes worse or less than it was, by which decrection we might guess at a former increase, and from a tendency to corruption collect its original generation. This conceit, I say, is far more gross. For certainly the Argument so managed proves nothing at all, but only this, (if yet it prove so much) that the whole frame of the world, and the parts thereof which are of greater perfection, were not generated in that manner in which we see some other parts of it are: which no man denies. But that there can be no other way of production beside these

ζονθ' οτι το μειον, κ' τλω σπο το βελιονθ' οτι το χειρον. Εαν εν κ' το ελον κ' το παν ηυνηλον ην κ' εβαρδον. ηυωδμον σπο το μειονθ' οτι το μειζον μελεβαλε, κ' οτι το χειρονθ' οτι το βελιον. Ocellus. * Το δε γε ελον κ' το παν εδεν ημιν εξ αυτη παρεχεται τεκμηριον τοιουτον: οτε γδ ηυωδμον αυθ εδουδω, οηε μ' οτι το βελιον κ' το μειζον μελεβαλλον, οηε χειρον ποηη η μειον ηυωδμον. ολλ' εηη κη ταυτη κ' ωταυτας δια' ελεθ. κ' Ισον κ' ομοιον αυτο εαντο. Ocellus.

* Ocellus Lucanus, οτι της το παντος ουσεως, which both Aristotle hath made use of, and transferred in many parts.

|| Το παν γινεσθαι (ωι τα σι γινεσθαι. και το θειωδμον σωι παπ εθωρεται. και σπο το γε εδουδωον. ανσερον εν κ' ατελεσθαι το παν Ocellus.

* Το δε γε ελον κ' το παν ομοιω οδον σμταντα κωσμον δια το πτο κ' η πτοσσηρεις ετυχε, εν ηθ' επαβηρον δη κοσμηθεισ. Ocellus.

|| Παν το ηυωδμον εδουδω εινησος κ' διαλυσεισ οδεθλον κοινωσσαι δυο οπι ελεθαι μελεβαλας μιν μ' τλω σπο το μειονθ' οτι το μειζον, κ' τλω σπο το χειρονθ' οτι το βελιον. οδω εαν θ' τλω σπο το μειονθ' οτι το μειζον μελεβαλε, κ' οτι το χειρονθ' οτι το βελιον. Ocellus. * Το δε γε ελον κ' το παν εδεν ημιν εξ αυτη παρεχεται τεκμηριον τοιουτον: οτε γδ ηυωδμον αυθ εδουδω, οηε μ' οτι το βελιον κ' το μειζον μελεβαλλον, οηε χειρον ποηη η μειον ηυωδμον. ολλ' εηη κη ταυτη κ' ωταυτας δια' ελεθ. κ' Ισον κ' ομοιον αυτο εαντο. Ocellus.

perty generations, or that the World was not some other way actually produced, this Argument doth not endeavour to infer, nor can any other prove it.

The next Foundation upon which they cast off the constant doctrine of their Predecessors, was that general Assertion, That it is * impossible for any thing to be produced out of nothing, or to be reduced unto nothing: from whence it will inevitably follow, that the matter of this World hath always been, and must always be. The clear refutation of which difficulty requires an explication of the manner how the World was made: the second part before propounded for the exposition of this Article.

* Αὐτόχρονον
ἢ τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐκ
οὐθέντος, ἢ καὶ τὸ
μὴ ἐκ ἀγαλλο-
θουσι. ἀεὶ παρ-
τε. ἢ ἐκ τῆς
ἀπὸ τῆς οὐκ οὐθέντος.
αὐτόχρονον.

Now that the true nature and manner of this Action may be so far understood as to declare the Christian Faith, and refute the errors of all opposers, it will be necessary to consider it first with reference to the Object or Effect; secondly, in relation to the Cause or Agent; thirdly, with respect unto the Time or Origination of it.

The Action by which the Heaven and Earth were made, considered in reference to the effect, I conceive to be the production of their total Being; so that whatsoever entity they had when made, had no real existence before they were so made. And this manner of production we usually term *Creation*, as excluding all concurrence of any material cause, and all dependence of any kind of subject, as presupposing no privation, as including no motion, as signifying a production out of nothing; || that is, by which something is made, and not any thing preceding out of which 'tis made. This is the proper and peculiar sense of the word *Creation*: not that it signifies so much by virtue of its origination or vulgar use in the * *Latine* tongue; nor that the *Hebrew* word used by *Moses*, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*, hath of it self any such peculiar acception. For it is often used || synonymously with words which signifie any kind of production or formation, and by it self it seldom denotes a production out of nothing, or proper creation, but most frequently the making of one substance out of another preexisting, as the ^a fishes of the water, and ^b man of the dust of the earth; the ^c renovating or restoring any thing to its former perfection, for want of *Hebrew* words in composition; or, lastly, the doing some new or * wonderful work, the producing some strange and admirable effect, as the ^d opening the mouth of the earth, and the signal ^e judgments on the people of *Israel*.

¶ *Latine*, *creatio*
est effectus
et productio
et generatio
et origo
et formatio
et constructio
et edificatio
et institutio
et creatio
et generatio
et origo
et formatio
et constructio
et edificatio
et institutio
et creatio

* *Creatio*, apud
Grecos generatio
vel nativitas
dicitur. apud
Graecos vero
sub nomine
creatio nis ver-

bum factus est conditionis accipitur. S. Hieron. ad Eph. 4. || בָּרָא is promiscuously used with יָצַע, which is of the greatest latitude, denoting any kind of action; and with יָצַע, which rather implies a formation out of something, from whence יָצַע a better. For the first, we read Gen. 2. 2. that God rested from all his work בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת: not that in six days he made the world of nothing, that they might afterward produce the like, as Aben Ezra; nor these or any other Fancies of the Rabbines: as בָּרָא signified one work and יָצַע another; for they both express the production, as appears clearly in the following verse, These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth, בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָאָהּ when they were created, בְּיוֹם עֲשׂוֹת in the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth. So Isa. 45. 12. I have made the earth, and created man upon it: none are to be expected in the p. 120. the second the improper creation. Which indifferent acception appeareth in collating Psal. 115. 15. and 121. 2. with Isa. 42. 5. and 45. 12. or also Isa. 17. 7. with Eccl. 12. 1. From whence the LXX. translate בָּרָא indifferently τὸ κτίρειν. For the second, יָצַע is usually rendered by the Targum בָּרָא, and by the LXX. though generally κτάνειν, yet in some places κτίρειν. And that it hath the same signification will appear by conferring Gen. 2. 7. with Isa. 45. 12. and Psal. 104. 24. with the like verse, Isa. 42. 1. Now thus saith the Lord בָּרָא that created thee, O Jacob, יָצַעךְ and he that created thee O Israel. Lastly, all these are jointly used in the same validity of expression, Isa. 43. 7. Every one that is called by my name: יָצַעְתִּי בָרָא I have created him for my glory, יָצַעְתִּי I have formed him, יָצַעְתִּי I have named him. * Gen. 1. 21. * Gen. 1. 27. and 2. 7. * Psal. 51. 10. Ista. 65. 17. * Creatio atque conditio nunquam nisi in magna operibus nominantur: verbi causa, mundus creatus est, urbs condita est, domus verò, quamvis magna sit, adificata potius dicitur. quam condita vel creata. In magnis enim operibus atque facturis verbum creationis assumitur. S. Hier. ad Eph. c. 4. * Numb. 16. 5. * Isa. 45. 7.

We must not therefore weakly collect the true nature of Creation from the force of any word which by some may be thought to express so much, but we must collect it from the testimony of God the Creator, in his word, and

and of the world created, in our reason. The opinion of the Church of the Jews will sufficiently appear in that zealous mother to her seventh and youngest son; *I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not*: which is a clear description of *Creation*, that is, production out of nothing. But because this is not by all received as Canonical, we shall therefore evince it by the undoubted testimony of *S. Paul*, who expressing the nature of *Abraham's* faith, propoundeth *him whom he believed as God who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not, as though they were*. For as to be called in the language of the Scripture is to be, (*Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God*, saith *S. John* in his Epistle, who in his Gospel told us, *he had given us power to become the sons of God*;) so to call is to make, or cause to be. As where the Prophet *Jeremy* saith, *Thou hast caused all this evil to come upon them*, the original may be thought to speak no more than this, *thou hast called this evil to them*. He therefore calleth those things which be not, as if they were, who maketh those things which were not, to be, and produceth that which hath a being out of that which had not, that is, out of nothing. This reason, generally persuasive unto Faith, is more peculiarly applied by the Apostle to the belief of the Creation: for *through faith*, saith he, *we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear*. Not as if the earth, which we see, were made of air, or any more subtle body, which we see not; nor as if those things which are seen were in equal latitude commensurable with the worlds which were framed: but that those things which are seen, that is, which are, were made of those which * did not appear, that is, which were not.

2 Macc. 7. 28

1 John 3. 1.

Jer. 32. 23.
נִקְרָא

Heb. 11. 3.

* For *Itabe* μὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν in this place to

be equivalent unto *ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν* in the *Maccabees*, and that of the same sense with *ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν*, as the *Syriac Translation*. *ex his quæ non conspiciuntur*. Which manner of speech may be observed even in the best Greek Authors: as in *Aristotle*, *μεταβάλλει ἀπὸ τῶν μεταβάλλον τέλεα χῶς· ἢ γὰρ ἐξ ἀποκειμένου, εἰς ἀποκειμένου, ἢ ἐκ ἐξ ἀποκειμένου εἰς ἀποκειμένου, ἢ μὴ ἐξ ἀποκειμένου εἰς ἀποκειμένου, ἢ ἐξ ἀποκειμένου εἰς μὴ ἀποκειμένου*. Where *ἐκ ἐξ ἀποκειμένου* is the same with *ἐξ ἀποκειμένου*, and *μὴ ἐξ ἀποκειμένου* with *ἐκ μὴ ἀποκειμένου*.

Vain therefore was that opinion of a real matter coæval with God as necessary for production of the world by way of subject, as the eternal and Almighty God by way of efficient. For if some real and material Being must be presupposed by indispensable necessity, without which God could not cause any thing to be, then is not he independent in his actions. nor of infinite power and absolute activity; which is contradictory to the divine perfection. Nor can any reason be alledged why he should be dependent in his operation, who is confessed independent in his Being.

And as this coeternity of matter opposeth God's Independency, the proper notion of the Deity, so doth it also contradict his All-sufficiency. For if without the production of something beside himself he cannot make a demonstration of his Attributes, or cause any sensibility of his power and will for the illustration of his own glory; and if without something distinct wholly from himself he cannot produce any thing, then must he * want something external: and whosoever wanteth any thing is not all-sufficient. And certainly he must have a low opinion and poor conception of the infinite and eternal God, who thinks he is no otherwise known to be Omnipotent than by the || benefit of another. Nor were the Framers of the Creed so wise in prefixing

* Nemo enim non eget eo de cuius utitur; nemo non subicitur ei cuius eget ut possit uti sic & nemo de alieno utendo,

non minor est eo de cuius utitur; & nemo qui prestat de suo uti, non in hoc superior est eo cui prestat uti. Tertul. adv. Hermog. c. 8. || Grande revera beneficium contulit, ut haberet hodie per quem Deus cognosceretur & omnipotens vocaretur: nisi quod jam non omnipotens, si non & hoc potens, ex nihilo omnia proferre. Ibidem. Quomodo ab homine divina illa vis differet, si, ut homo, sic etiam Deus ope indigeat aliena? Indiget autem si nihil moliri potest, nisi ab altero illi materia ministraret. Lactan. l. 2. c. 9.

the Almighty before maker of heaven and earth, if, out of a necessity of material concurrence, the making of them left a mark of impotency rather than omnipotency.

The supposition then of an eternal Matter is so unnecessary where God works, and so derogatory to the infinity of his power, and all-sufficiency of himself, that the later * Philosophers, something acquainted with the truth which we profess, though rejecting Christianity, have reproved those of the School of Plato who delivered, as the doctrine of their Master, an eternal Companion, so injurious to the Father and Maker of all things.

* As Hierocles, καὶ τί κατὰ λέγω. Cui τό- τις, ὅτι καὶ ἡ σὴν Ἰλαρίωνι- κῶν τινες καὶ ἐρβλὺ * αὐτῶν. ὅτι δημιουργῶ θεῶ διασώζουσιν ἐπινοίας, καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἡτέρον εἶναι ἀθήσαντων ὁμοιοῦσιν ἐπινοίας δὲ αὐτῶν κείνων εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν κῶν. De Plat. ἢ Epist. ἢ Πλάτ. ἢ ἐπινοίας ἀνὰ γὰρ γίνεσθαι ἢ ἐξ ὄντων ἢ ἐκ μηδ' ὄντων. τῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐκ μηδ' ὄντων γίνεσθαι ἀδύνατον. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. Physic. l. 4. c. 1. * Ut igitur Faber cum quid edificaturus est, non ipse facit materiam, sed ea utitur quae sic parata, fictorque item cerâ: sic illi providentiæ divinæ materiam præstare oportuit, non quam ipse taceret, sed quam haberet paratam. Cicero de Nat. Deorum. Ἀπικασίον τὸ μὲν θεῶ τὸν τεχνίτην, τὸν δὲ ἀνδρείαντα τὸ κόσμον. Methodius αὐτῶν ἡ ἀπορία. ἢ So Hierocles calls him κοσμοποιὸν καὶ ἀειστέχνην θεὸν, in Aur. Carm. * Οὐδὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσα ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐξ ὑποκειμένων τινος γίνεσθαι, ὅτι σκοπεῖν ἔχουσιν ἂν γινώσκον. αὐτῶν γὰρ ὅτι τὸ ὑπέκεινται, ἐξ ὧν γίνεσθαι τὸ γινώσκον, ὅτι τὰ φύσιν καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἐκ αὐτῶν αὐτῶν. Arist. Phys. l. 1. c. 7.

Wherefore to give an answer to that general position, That out of nothing nothing can be produced, which || Aristotle pretends to be the opinion of all natural Philosophers, I must first observe, that this Universal Proposition was first framed out of particular considerations of the works of art and nature. For if we look upon all kinds of * artificers, we find they cannot give any specimen of their art without materials. Being then the beauty and uniformity of the world shews it to be a piece of art most exquisite, hence they concluded that the maker of it was the most exact || Artificer, and consequently had his matter from all eternity prepared for him. Again, considering the works of nature and all parts of the world subject to generation and corruption, they also * observed that nothing is ever generated but out of something preexistent, nor is there any mutation wrought but in a subject, and with a presupposed capability of alteration. From hence they presently collected, that if the whole world were ever generated, it must have been produced out of some subject, and consequently there must be a matter eternally preexisting.

Now what can be more irrational, than from the weakness of some creature to infer the same imbecillity in the Creator, and to measure the arm of God by the finger of man? Whatsoever speaketh any kind of excellency or perfection in the Artificer may be attributed unto God: whatsoever signifieth any infirmity, or involveth any imperfection, must be excluded from the notion of him. That wisdom, prefcience, and preconception, that order and beauty of operation which is required in an Artist, is most eminently contained in him, who hath ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight: but if the most absolute Idea in the Artificer's understanding be not sufficient to produce his design without hands to work, and materials to make use of, it will follow no more that God is necessarily tied unto preexisting Matter, than that he is really compounded of corporeal parts.

Again, 'tis as incongruous to judge of the production of the world by those parts thereof which we see subject to generation and corruption, and thence to conclude, that if it ever had a cause of the Being which it hath, it must have been generated in the same manner which they are; and if that cannot be, it must never have been made at all. For nothing is more certain than that this manner of generation cannot possibly have been the first production even of those things which are now generated. We see the Plants grow from a seed; that is their ordinary way of generation: but the first plant could not be so generated, because all seed in the same course of nature is from the preexisting plant. We see from spawn the fishes, and from eggs the fowls receive now the original

Met. l. 1. c. 2.

original of their being : but this could not at first be so, because both spawn and egg are as naturally from precedent fish and fowl. Indeed because the seed is separable from the body of the plant, and in that separation may long contain within it self a power of germination ; because the spawn and egg are sejungeable from the fish and fowl, and yet still retain the prolifick power of generation ; therefore some might possibly conceive that these feminal bodies might be originally scattered on the earth, out of which the first of all those creatures should arise. But in viviparous Animals, whose offspring is generated within themselves, whose seed by separation from them loseth all its feminal or prolifick power, this is not only improbable, but inconceivable. And therefore being the *Philosophers themselves confesse, that whereas now all animals are generated by the means of seed, and that the animals themselves must be at first before the seed proceeding from them ; it followeth that there was some way of production antecedent to and differing from the common way of generation, and, consequently, what we see done in this generation can be no certain rule to understand the first production. Being then that universal Maxim, that *nothing can be made of nothing*, is merely calculated for the meridian of natural causes, raised solely out of observation of continuing creatures by successive generation, which could not have been so continued without a Being antecedent to all such succession ; it is most evident, it can have no place in the production of that antecedent or first being, which we call Creation.

* These words of Aristotle are very observable, in which he disputes against Spensippus and the Pythagoreans, who thought the rudiments of things first made, out of which they grew unto perfection :
 Ὅσοι ἢ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ὡσπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Σπενσίππῳ

τὸ ἀείρον καὶ κάλλιστον μὴ ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αἰτία μὴ εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καλὸν καὶ τὸ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τούτων, ἢ ἐρθῶς διοίλαι. τὸ δὲ σπέρμα ἐξ ἐτέρων ἐστὶ περὶ τὴν τελείων· καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἢ σπέρμα ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλειον. οἷς πρότερον ἀνθρώπων ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔστι εἶναι τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τούτων γινώσκων, ἀλλ' ἔτερον ἐστὶ τὸ σπέρμα. By which words Aristotle hath sufficiently destroyed his own Argument, which we produced before out of the first of the Physicks, and is excellently urged in that Philosophical Piece attributed unto Justin Martyr : Εἰ πρῶτον ἐστὶ τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ ὕστερον τὸ ἐκ σπέρματος γινώσκων, καὶ γινώσκων ἀμειότερα, τῷ μὲν γινώσκῳ τῷ κενώτρῳ ἐκ σπέρματος γινώσκων ὑποκείσθαι τὸ σπέρμα· τῷ δὲ γινώσκῳ τῷ σπέρματι ὑποκείσθαι τὸ σπέρμα ἢ διωκόμενον. ἢ ἀρα οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ζῶα καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἐκ σπέρματος. Aristot. Dozm. Evens. Plat. Sympos. l. 2. Probl. 3. Ὅθεν εὐθὺς λέγει τὸ σπέρματι εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἢ δὲ τὰ ὄντα εἶναι τὴν ἀλεκτρυόνα· τὸ δὲ ἀλεκτρυόνα τὸ ὄντι, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τὸ ἀνθρώπου λέγομεν.

Now when we thus describe the nature of Creation, and under the name of *Heaven and Earth* comprehend all things contained in them, we must distinguish between things created. For some were made immediately out of nothing, by a proper, some only mediately, as out of something formerly made out of nothing, by an improper kind of Creation. By the first were made all immaterial substances, all the orders of Angels, and the Souls of men, the Heavens and the simple or elemental bodies, as the earth, the water, and the air.

^a *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth ; so in the beginning*, as without any preexisting or antecedent matter : this earth, when so *in the beginning* made, was ^b *without form and void*, covered with waters likewise made not out of it, but with it, the same which, ^c *when the waters were gathered together unto one place, appeared as dry land*. * By the second, all the *hosts of the earth*, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea. ^d *Let the earth, said God, bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind.* ^e *Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may flie above the earth ;* and more expressly yet, ^f *Out of the ground God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air.* And well may we grant these plants and animals to have their origination from such principles, when we read, ^g *God formed man of the dust of the ground ;* and said unto him whom he created in his own image, ^h *Dust thou art.*

^a Gen. 1. 1.
^b Verse 2.
^c Verse 9.
 * Hic vitibilis mundus ex materia que à Deo facta fuerat, factus est & ornatus. Gemad. c. 10.
^d Gen. 1. 11.
^e Verse 20.
^f Gen. 2. 19.
^g Gen. 2. 7.
^h Gen. 3. 19.

Having thus declared the notion of *Creation* in respect of those things which were created, the next consideration is of that action in reference to the Agent who created all things. Him therefore we may look upon first

their action. To conceive any such necessity in the Divine operations, were to deny all knowledge in God, to reduce him into a condition inferiour to some of the works of his own hands, and to fall under the censure contained in the Psalmist's question, *He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see? he that teacheth man knowledge, shall he not know?* Those creatures which are endued with understanding, and consequently with a will, may not only be necessitated in their actions by a greater power, but also as necessarily be determined by the proposal of an infinite good: whereas neither of these necessities can be acknowledged in God's actions, without supposing a power beside and above Omnipotency, or a real happiness beside and above All-sufficiency. Indeed if God were a necessary Agent in the works of Creation, the Creatures would be of as necessary Being as he is; whereas the necessity of being is the undoubted prerogative of the first Cause. *He worketh all things after the counsel of his own will,* saith the Apostle: and wherefore counsel is, there is election, or else 'tis vain; where a will, there must be freedom, or else 'tis weak. We cannot imagine that the all-wise God should act or produce any thing but what he determineth to produce; and all his determinations must flow from the immediate principle of his will. If then his determinations be free, as they must be coming from that principle, then must the Actions which follow them be also free. Being then the goodness of God is absolutely perfect of it self, being he is in himself infinitely, and eternally happy, and this happiness as little capable of augmentation as of diminution; he cannot be thought to look upon any thing without himself as determining his will to the desire, and necessitating to the production of it. If then we consider God's goodness, he was moved; if his All-sufficiency, he was not necessitated: if we look upon his will, he freely determined; if on his power, by that determination he created the World.

Wherefore that ancient conceit of a necessary emanation of God's goodness in the eternal creation of the World will now easily be refuted, if we make a distinction in the equivocal notion of Goodness. For if we take it as it significeth a rectitude and excellency of all vertue and holiness, with a negation of all things morally evil, vicious, or unholy; so God is absolutely and necessarily good: but if we take it in another sense, as indeed they did which made this Argument, that is, rather for beneficence, or communicativeness of some good to others; then God is not necessarily, but freely, Good, that is to say, profitable and beneficial. For he had not been in the least degree evil or unjust, if he had never made the World or any part thereof, if he had never communicated any of his perfections by framing any thing beside himself. Every proprietary therefore being accounted master of his own, and thought freely to bestow what're he gives; much more must that one eternal and independent Being be wholly free in the communicating his own perfections without any necessity or obligation. We must then look no farther than the determination of God's will in the creation of the World.

For this is the admirable power of God, that with him to will is to effect, to determine is to perform. So the Elders speak before him that sitteth upon the Throne; *Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure* (that is, by thy will) *they are and were created.* Where there is no resistance in the object, where no need of preparation, application, or instrumental advantage in the Agent, there the actual determination of the Will is a sufficient production. Thus God did make the Heavens and the Earth by * willing them to be. This was the first command unto the creatures, and their existence was their first obedience. || *Let there be light,* this is the injunction; *and there was light,* that's the creation. Which two are so intimately and immediately the same,

I that

Psalm. cxxxix.

Eph. i. 11.

Rev. 4. 11.
** So Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of God, Φιλῶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαπῶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἠγάπησα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐθέλωσα αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔσθαι τὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς. Prologus.*
 || *Τὸ ἐπιθέτω εὐδίας καὶ τὸ προσποιήματα ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ. S. Basil.*
"Οταν ὁ θεὸς βούληται εὐδοῦν καὶ ἠγαπῆσαι καὶ ἀγαπῆσαι καὶ ἠγάπησεν αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔσθαι τὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἠγάπησεν ἐν αὐτῷ. S. Basil.
Τινὸς ἐπιθέτω εὐδίας καὶ τὸ προσποιήματα ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ. S. Basil.
Ἡ ἀγαπῆσαι καὶ ἀγαπῆσαι καὶ ἠγάπησεν αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔσθαι τὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἠγάπησεν ἐν αὐτῷ. S. Basil.

But for their number of years nothing is more certain than their forgery: for the *Egyptians* did preserve the antiquities of other Nations as well as their own, and by the evident fallacy in others have betrayed their own vanity. When *Alexander* entred *Egypt* with his victorious army, the Priests could shew him out of their sacred Histories an account of the *Persian* Empire, which he gained by conquest, and the *Macædonian*, which he received by birth, of each for * 8000 years: whereas nothing can be more certain out of the best Historical account, than that the *Persian* Empire, whether begun in *Cyrus* or in *Medus*, was not then 300 years old, and the *Macædonian*, begun in *Coranus*, not 500. They then which made so large additions to advance the antiquity of other Nations, and were so bold as to present them to those which so easily might refute them (had they not delighted to be deceived to their own advantage, and took much pleasure in an honourable cheat) may without any breach of charity be suspected to have extended the Account much higher for the honour of their own Country. Beside, their Catalogues must needs be ridiculously incredible, when the *Egyptians* make their first Kings reigns above || 1200 years apiece, and the *Assyrians* theirs above 40000: except ye take the *Egyptian* years for * months, the *Assyrians* for days; and then the Account will not seem so formidable.

* This is the appearance of the Epistle which Alexander wrote to his mother Olympias, mentioned by Athenagoras, Minucius Felix, S. Cyprian, and S. Augustine. Persarum autem & Macedonum imperium usq; ad ipsum Alexandrum, cui loquebatur, plurimum octo millium annorum

ille constituit; cum apud Græcos Macedonum usque ad mortem Alexandri quadringenti octoginta quinque reperirentur anni, Persarum verò, donec ipsius Alexandri victoria finirentur, ducenti & triginta tres computentur. S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 12. c. 10. || As Diodorus Siculus takes notice of the *Egyptians*, and Abydenus of the *Chaldeans*, whose ten first Kings reigned 120 Sari. Ὡς καὶ πάντας ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς δέκα ἄν ὁ χρόνος ἡ βασιλεία Κοιῆζε σέξας ἑκατὸν ἑξασ. Now the word σέξας was proper to the Babylonian or Chaldean account. Helych. Σάρθ ἀειμήδης τις παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους, but what this number was he tells us not. In the Fragment of Abydenus preserved by Eusebius, Σάρθ δε ὅταν ἐξῆκόσω καὶ τετρακόντα ἦσαν, every Σάρθ is 3600 years, and consequently the 120 σάρθ belonging to the Reign of the ten Kings 432000 years. Neither was this the account only of Abydenus, but also of Eerofus; neither was the Interpretation only of Eusebius, but also of Alexander Polyhistor, who likewise expresseth ἡ χρόνος τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν σέξας ἑκατὸν ἑκασί, ἦτοι ἐπὶ μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα τρεῖς καὶ δύο χιλιάδας. This seemed so highly incredible, that two ancient Monks, Anianus and Panodorus, interpreted these Chaldean years to be but days, so that every σάρθ should consist of 3600 days, that is, 9 years, 10 months and a half, and the whole 120 σάρθ for the ten Kings 1183 years, 6 months, and odd days. This is all which Jos. Scaliger, or Jacobus Goar of late could find concerning this Chaldean Computation: and the first of these complains that none but Helychius makes mention of this account. I shall therefore supply them not only with another Author, but also with a diverse and distinct interpretation. Σάρθ μίτηρον καὶ ἀειμήδης παρὰ Χαλδαίους. οἱ γὰρ ἐκ' σάρθ ποιῶσιν ἐνιαυτὸν βσικ', οἱ γίνονται ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖ καὶ μύδας ἑξ. that is, according to the Translation of Portus, Sari apud Chaldaeos est mensura & numerus: nam 120 Sari faciunt annos 2222, qui sunt anni 18 & sex menses. Well might he fix his N. L. or, non liquet, to these words; for as they are in the printed Books there is no sense to be made of them; but by the help of the MS. in the Vatican Library we shall both supply the defect in Suidas, and find a third valuation of the σάρθ. Thus then that MS. represents the words: Οἱ γὰρ ἐκ' σάρθ ποιῶσιν ἐνιαυτὸν βσικ' καὶ τὴν Χαλδαίων ἡρόον, εἴθ' ὁ σάρθ ποιῶ μύδας σελωιακῶν σικ', οἱοὶ γίνονται ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖ καὶ μύδας ἑξ. And so the sense is clear. Σάρθ, according to the Chaldee account, comprehends 222 months, which come to 18 years and six months; therefore 120 σάρθ make 2220 years; and therefore for βσικ', I read, leaving out the last β, βσικ', that is, 2220. * Εἰ δ' ἔβ' ὁ φησὶν Εὐδοξὸς ἀληθές, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μύδα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάλεον, καὶ ἂν ἡ ἡσ' πολλῶν τέτων ἐνιαυτῶν ἀπαριθμησὶς ἔχοι τὴν Σαυμαζόν. Proclus in Timæum 31. 50.

Again for the calculation of Eclipses, as it may be made for many thousand years to come, and be exactly true, and yet the world may end to morrow; because the calculation must be made with this tacite condition, If the bodies of the Earth and Sun and Moon do continue in their substance and constant motion so long: so may it also be made for many millions of years past, and all be true, if the world have been so old; which the calculating doth not prove, but suppose. He then which should in the *Egyptian* Temples see the description of so many Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, could not be assured that they were all taken from real observation, when they might be as well described out of proleptical supposition.

Besides, the motions of the Sun, which they mention together and with authority equal to that of their other observations, are so incredible and palpably fabulous, that they take off all credit and esteem from the rest of their narrations. For with this wild account of years; and seemingly accurate observations of the heavens, they left it written to posterity, that the whole course of the celestial motions were four times changed: so that

as fertile, as populous as any. The *Hercynian* trees, in the time of the *Cæsars*, occupying so great a space, as to take up a journey of * 60 days, were thought even then || coeval with the World. We read without any shew of contradiction, how this Western part of the world hath been peopled from the East; and all the pretence of the *Babylonian* antiquity is nothing else, but that we all came from thence. Those eight persons saved in the Ark, descending from the *Gordiean* Mountains, and multiplying to a large collection in the Plain of *Sinaar*, made their first division at that place; and that dispersion, or rather dissemination, hath peopled all other parts of the world, either never before inhabited, or dispeopled by the Flood.

* Sylvarum, Hercynia die-rum sexaginta iter occupans, ut major allis, ita & notior. *Nela*, l. 3. c. 2. || Hercyniæ syl-væ roborum vastitas intacta avis & conge-nita mundo, prope immor-tali sorte mira-cula excedit. *Plin.* l. 16. c. 2.

These Arguments have always seemed so clear and undeniable, that they have put not only those who make the world eternal, but them also who confess it made, (but far more ancient than we believe it) to a strange answer, to themselves uncertain, to us irrational.

For to this they replied, * That this World hath suffered many alterations; by the utter destructions of Nations and depopulations of Countries, by which all monuments of antiquity were defaced, all Arts and Sciences utterly lost, all fair and stately Fabricks ruined, and so mankind reduced to paucity, and the world often again returned into its infancy. This they conceived to have been done oftentimes in several Ages, sometimes by a deluge of Water, sometimes by a torrent of Fire; and lest any of the elements might be thought not to conspire to the destruction of mankind, the Air must sweep away whole Empires at once with infectious plagues, and earthquakes swallow up all ancient Cities, and bury even the very ruins of them. By which answer of theirs they plainly afford two great advantages to the Christian Faith. First, because they manifestly shew that they had an universal tradition of *Noah's* Flood, and the overthrow of the old world: Secondly, because it was evident to them, that there was no way to salve the eternity or antiquity of the World, or to answer this argument drawn from History and the appearances of things themselves, but by supposing innumerable deluges and deflagrations. Which being merely feigned in themselves, not proved, (and that || first by them which, say they, are not subject themselves unto them, as the *Egyptians* did, who by the * advantage of their peculiar situation feared neither perishing by fire nor water) serve only for a confirmation of *Noah's* Flood so many Ages past, and the surer expectation of *S. Peter's* fire, we know not how soon to come.

* Thus Ocellus, who maintained the world was never made, answers the Argument brought from the Greek Histories which began with Inachus, as the first subject, not author of History, (as Negarola in his Annotations mistakes Ocellus) Διὸς καὶ τοῖς λέγουσι ἅ τ' Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας ἀρχὴν εἶναι Ἰνάχου τῆς Ἀργείας, ἀπεστελέειον ἕ- τως, ἐχ' ὡς εἶπεν Ἰνάχου πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ τ' γενε- αὐτῆς μεταβο- λῆς καὶ αὐ- τῆς. So that he will have Ina- chus hath been be-

chus to be the first not absolutely, but since the last great alteration made in Greece: and then he concludes that Greece hath often been, and will often be, barbarous, and lose the memory of all their actions. Πολλὰς γὰρ καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἔσται βάρβαρος ἢ Ἑλλὰς, ἐχ' ὡς ἀνθρώπων μόνον γινώσκῃ μετὰ τὸν Ἰνάχου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις ἔστι μείζων ἢ ἐν μείον ὡς αὐτῆς γινώσκῃς, ἀλλὰ γὰρ νεώτερας αὐτῆς καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀρχὴν λαμβανούσης. Ocellus de Universo, c. 3. Thus Plato, who asserted the creation of the world, but either from eternity, or such antiquity as does not much differ from it, brings in Solon inquiring the age of the Greek Histories, as of Phoroneus and Niobe, Deucalion and Pyrrha; and an Egyptian Priest answering, that all the Greeks were Boys, and not an old man amongst them, that is, they had no ancient monuments, or history of any antiquity, but rested contented with the knowledge of the time since the last great mutation of their own Country. Πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πολλὰ φησὶ γέροντες ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔσονται, πνεῖ μὲν καὶ ὑδατι μέγισται, μνεῖσις ἢ ἄλλοις ἕτεροι βραχυότεροι. in Timæo. Origen of Celsus. Τὸ ποιεῖς ἐν ταν- τῷ αὐτῷ πυρώσει γερονταί, πολλὰς δ' ὀπκλύσεις, καὶ νεώτερον εἶναι τὸν ὅτι Δουκαλιῶν καὶ κλυστὸν ἔναρχον γαβριήλον, σαφῶς τοῖς ἀκύν αὐτῶ δυνάμεις παρῆσαι τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν τῆ κόσμου ἀρχήν, l. 1. And Luctetius the Epi- curean, who thought the world but few thousand years old, as we believe, and that it should at last be consumed, as we also are persua- ded, thinks this answer of theirs so far from being a refutation of the former, that he admits it as a confirmation of the latter part of his opin. De rerum natura, l. 5.

Quod si foret fuisset antehac eadem omnia credis,
Sed periisse hominum torrenti secla vapore,
Aut cecidisse urbes magno vexamine mundi,
Aut ex imbris alliduis exisse rapaces
Per terras, annes atque oppida cooperuisse:
Tanto quippe magis victus tateare necesse est,
Exitium quoque terrarum cœlique futurum.

|| Ἐρωτῶν ἢ τὸ Κέλευθον τῶ ἀπὸ τῶ ἐμπυρώσειν καὶ Ἐξουδατιστῶν μὴ διδύσκαλοι εἰ καὶ αὐτὸν Κορώτασι Αἰγυπτίῳι. *Orig. adv. Celsium*, l. 1. * So that Egyptian Priest in Plato's Timæus tells Solon, that the Fable of Phæacthon did signify a real Conflagration of the world; but so as all they which lived in mountains or dry parts of the earth were scorched and consumed, but of th f:

Ποταμῶν ἠὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐκείνων, ἡμεῖς ἐκείνην ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ὁ Νεῦρος ἦν τε τὰ πάντα οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὕδατος. Thus the Egyptians pretend Nilus saved them from the flames of Phaethon. Nilus they say came from Conflagrations, but from Inundations also. For when in Greece or other parts a Deluge happened, then all things were swept away into the Sea: Κατὰ τὴν γῆν δὲ ἤχθησαν, says the Priest. ἕτεροι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸς ἑσπέρων ἰσχυροὺς ἐπιπέσειν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν ἐκείνην. ἕτεροι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸς ἑσπέρων ἰσχυροὺς ἐπιπέσειν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν ἐκείνην. Egypt receiving not their waters from above by clouds, but from below by Springs filling the river Nile, was out of danger in a Deluge, and thereby preserved the most ancient monuments and records. But, alas, this is a poor shift to them which believe that in the great and universal Flood all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened, Gen. 7. 11.

It remaineth then that we stedfastly believe, not only that the heavens and earth and all the host of them were made, and so acknowledge a Creation, or an actual and immediate dependence of all things on God; but also that all things were created by the hand of God, in the same manner, and at the same time, which are delivered unto us in the Books of Moses by the Spirit of God, and so acknowledge a novelty, or no long existence of the Creature.

Neither will the novelty of the World appear more plainly unto our conceptions, than if we look upon our own successions. The vulgar accounts, which exhibit about 5600 years, though sufficiently refuting an eternity, and allaying all conceits of any great antiquity, are not yet so properly and nearly operative on the thoughts of men, as a reflexion upon our own generations. The first of men was but six days younger than the being, not so many than the appearance, of the earth: and if any particular person would consider how many degrees in a direct line he probably is removed from that single person Adam, who bare together the name of man and of the earth from whence he came, he could not choose but think himself so near the original fountain of mankind, as not to conceive any great antiquity of the World. For though the ancient Heathens did imagine * innumerable ages and generations of men past, though || Origen did fondly seem to collect so much by some misinterpretations of the Scriptures; yet if we take a sober view, and make but rational collections from the Chronology of the Sacred Writ, we shall find no man's pedigree very exorbitant, or in his line of generation descent of many score.

* So Cicero indeed speaks, innumerabilia secula, in his Book of Divination: and Socrates in Plato's Theætetus brings this argument a-

gainst the pride of great and noble Families, that they which mention a succession of their Ancestors which have been rich and powerful, do it merely ὡς ἀποδείξασθαι, ἢ δεικνύσαντες τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ βλέπειν, ἢ δὲ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι πάντων καὶ περιόντων μυριάδες ἐκάστω γενόσασιν ἀνασθίσονται, ἐν αἷσι τέλει καὶ πτωχοὶ, καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δούλοι, βάρβαροι τε καὶ Ἕλληες πολλὰ μύρια γενόσασιν ἑσπέρων. as if every person were equally honourable, having innumerable Ancestors, rich and poor, servants and Kings, learned and barbarous. Origen did not only collect the eternity of the world from the coexistence of all God's Attributes, as because he is παντοκράτωρ and ἀμειωτός, therefore he was always so, (for how could he be δεικνύσαντες ἀνὸ δεικνύσαντων, or παντοκράτωρ ἀνὸ παντοκράτων;) but also from the 90 Psalm, From everlasting to everlasting, thou art God. For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday, and that at the beginning of Ecclesiasticus, Who can number the sand of the sea, and the drops of the rain, and the days of eternity? But Methodius, Bishop and Martyr, hath well concluded that disputation: Ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Θεός: ἡμεῖς ἀθάνατοι, καὶ ὅσα οἷα πάσαι.

When the age of man was long, in the infancy of the World, we find ten generations extend to 1656 years, according to the shortest, which is thought, because the Hebrew, therefore the best account, according to the longest, which, because the Septuagints, is not to be contemned, 2262, or rather 2256. From the Flood brought at that time upon the earth for the sins of men which polluted it, upon the birth of Abraham, the Father of the faithful, not above ten generations, if so many, took up 292 years, according to the least, 1132, according to the largest account. Since which time the ages of men have been very much alike proportionably long; and it is agreed by all that there have not passed since the birth of Abraham 3700 years. Now by the experience of our Families which for their honour and greatness have been preserved, by the genealogies delivered in the sacred Scriptures, and thought necessary to be presented to us by the blessed Evangelists, by the observation and concurrent judgment of former Ages, three

* genera-

* generations usually take up a hundred years. If then it be not yet 3700 years since the birth of Abraham, as certainly it is not; if all men which are or have been since have descended from Noah, as undoubtedly they have; if Abraham were but the tenth from Noah, as Noah from Adam, which Moses hath assured us: then is it not probable that any person now alive is above 130 generations removed from Adam. And indeed thus admitting but the Greek account of less than 5000 years since the Flood, we may easily bring all sober or probable accounts of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Chineses, to begin since the Dispersion at Babel. Thus having expressed at last the time, so far as is necessary to be known, I shall conclude this second Consideration of the nature and notion of Creation.

* By the Greeks called γενεαι which are successions of generations from Father to Son: as in St. Mat. 1. 17. Indeed sometimes they take it for other spaces of time: as Artemidorus observes, for seven years. Κ' ε' ενις μ' ετη ζ' εθρ' ε λεγουσι

σιν οι ιαλεικοι, ης δυο ημεων (not περ ης as Wolphius and Portus would correct it) μηδεν (not μη δεν, as τωμειν, η τισαρεσκαδεκατη (not τισαρεσκαδεκατον, as Suidas transcribing h'm negligently) λ γονες interpret it 20, 25, or 30 years, as appears by Helychius. And by that last account they reckoned the years of Nestor, εθεν κ' η Νεστορα βελονται ος εννενηκοντα ετη γαργεναι. So Artemidorus and the Grammarians. Although I cannot imagine that to be the sense of Homer. Ιλ. α.

Τωδ' ηδη δυο μ' ημεα μεερον ανθρωπων
'Ερθιαθ', οι οι πεδεν αμα τεερεν ηδ' εηοντο.

And I conceive that gloss in Helychius. 'Επι διασηματ' χρονων ης μη κατ' αυτ'ο βεβαιωτον, to be far more properly applicable to that place. But, in the sense of which now we speak, it is taken for the third part ordinarily of an hundred years: as Herodotus, mentioning the Egyptians feigned Genealogies; καιτοι τεικνους μ' ανδρων ημεα δωδεκα αι μυρια ετα. 300 generations equalize 10000 years, ημεα γδ τρις ανδρων εκατον ετα εστι. And after him Clemens Alex. Strom. l. 2. Εις τα εκατον ετη τρεις καταλεγονται ημεαι.

Now being under the terms of heaven and earth, we have proved all things beside God to be contained, and that the making of all these things was a clear production of them out of nothing; the third part of the explication must of necessity follow, that he which made all things is God. This truth is so evident in it self, and so confessed by all men, that none did ever assert the World was made, but withal affirmed that it was God who made it. There remaineth therefore nothing more in this particular, than to assert God so the Creator of the World as he is described in this Article.

Being then we believe in God the Father maker of heaven and earth, and by that God we expressed already a singularity of the Deity; our first assertion which we must make good is, That the one God did create the World. Again, being whosoever is that God cannot be excluded from this act of Creation, as being an emanation of the Divinity, and we seem by these words to appropriate it to the Father, beside whom we shall hereafter shew that we believe some other persons to be the same God; it will be likewise necessary to declare the reason why the Creation of the World is thus signally attributed to God the Father.

The first of these deserves no explication of it self, it is so obvious to all which have any true conception of God. But because it hath been formerly denied, (as there is nothing so senseless, but some kind of Hereticks have embraced, and may be yet taken up in times of which we have no reason to presume better than of the former) I shall briefly declare the Creation of the World to have been performed by that one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

As for the first, there is no such difference between things of the world, as to infer a diversity of makers of them, nor is the least or worst of creatures in their original any way derogatory to the Creator. God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good, and consequently like to come from the fountain of all goodness, and fit always to be ascribed to the same. Whatsoever is evil, is not so by the Creator's action, but by the creature's defecton. Gen. 1. 31.

In vain then did the Hereticks of old, to remove a seeming inconvenience, renounce a certain truth; and whilst they feared to make their own God evil, they made him partial, or but half the Deity, and so a companion at least with an evil God. For dividing all things of this world into natures substantially evil, and substantially good, and apprehending a necessity of an origination conformable to so different a condition, they imagined one God essentially good, as the first principle of the one, another God essentially evil, as the original of the other. And this strange Heresie began upon the first spreading of the Gospel; as if the greatest light could not appear without a shadow.

* Inde Manichæus, ut Deum à conditione malorum liberet, alterum mali inducit autorem. S. Hier. in Nahum, c. 2. [I have will not to be up a Manes as the first Author of the Heresie, though they which followed him were called from him Manichæans. Nor must we be satisfied with the relation of Socrates, who all to the Beginning of that heresie μαχέντιον - εδεν ην Κωνσταντινου χηται, a little before Constantine; being Epiphanius asserts the first Author of it, εδιδεξεν η προειρηθη τα λεγόμενα του χητους ην Αποστολων: to have gone to Jerusalem concern about the Apostles times. Manes then, formerly called Cubricus. (not Urbicus, as S. Aug.) who disseminated this Heresie in the days of Aurelianus or Probus the Emperour, about the year 277, had a Predecessour, though not a Master, called first Terentianus, asier Eudidas. For this Eudidas left his Books and Estate to a Widow, who, saith Epiphanius, ζευσε τον ω παδ χητου εταος, continued with his Estate and Books a long time, and at last bought Cubricus for her servant. This Eudidas had a former Master called Scythianus, the first Author of this Heresie. Beside these, between Scythianus and Cubricus there was yet another teacher of the doctrine, called Zaranas. Ην η περ ταυ (Μανη) η ετερο η κακια διδασκαλ ταυτης, Ζωδους ονοματι, ομωρον αυτη εδιδου. If then we insert this Zaranas into the Manichæan Pedegree, and consider the time of the Widow between Eudidas and Cubricus, and the age of Cubricus, who was then but seven years old, as Socrates testifies, when she resolved to buy him, and discover the Heresie to him; there will be no reason to doubt of the relation of Epiphanius, that Scythianus began them the Apostolical times. Nor need we any of the allegations in the Animadversions of Petavius, much less that rearguement of Epiphanius, who cites Origen as an assessor of the Christian Faith against this Heresie; for though he certainly died before Manes spread his doctrine, yet it was written in several Books before him, not only in the time of Eudidas, to whom Socrates and Eudidas attribute them, but of Scythianus, whom S. Cyril and Epiphanius make the author of them. Neither can it be objected that they were not Manichæans before the appearance of Manes; for I conceive the name of Manes (though by the Greeks to be a name taken up by Cubricus, and proper to him) not to be any proper or peculiar name at all, but the general title of Heretick in the Syriack tongue. For I am loth to think that Theodoret or the Author in Suidas were so far mistaken, when they call Scythianus, Manes, as to conceive Cubricus and he were the same person: when we may with much better reason conclude that both Scythianus and Cubricus had the same title. For I conceive Manes at first rather a title than a name, from the Hebrew מן or מנן signifying a Heretick. And although some of the Rabbins derive their מן from Manes, yet others make it more ancient than he was, referring it to Tzadok and Bajethos, called מן הן הן הן the first or chief Hereticks, who lived 100 years before Christ. Wherefore it is far more rational to assert, that he which began the Heresie of the Manichæes was called מן as an Heretick in the Oriental tongues, and from thence Manes by the Greeks (to comply with μαγια or Maljey in their language) than that Manes was first the name of a man counted an Heretick by the Christians; and then made the general name for all Hereticks, and particularly for the Christians by the Jews. Which being granted, both Scythianus and Cubricus might well at first have the name of Manes, that is Heretick. However, the antiquity of that Heresie will appear in the Marcionites, who differed not in this particular from the Manichæes. Duos Ponticus Deos assert tanquam duas symplegadas naufragii sui: quem negare non potuit, id est, creatorem, id est, nostrum; & quem probare non potuit, id est, suum. Pausus in teitis hujus presumptionis instinctum de simplici capitulo Dominica pronuntiationis, in homines non in Deos disponentis exempli illa bona & mala arboris, quod neque bona malos neque mala bonos proferat fructus. Tertul. l. 1. c. 2. This Marcion lived in the days of Antoninus Pius, and as Eusebius testifieth, Justin Martyr wrote against him. Hist. li. 4. c. 11. Irenæus relates how he spoke with Polycarpus Bishop of Smyrna, who was taught by the Apostles, and conversed with divers which saw our Saviour, l. 2. c. 3. Neither was Marcion the first which taught it at Rome, for he received it from Cerdon. Habuit Cerdenem quendam informatorum scandali huius, quo facilius duos Deos cæci existimaverunt. This Cerdon succeeded Heraclon, and so at last this Heresie may be reduced to the Gnosticks, who derived it from the old Gentile Philosophers, and might well be embraced by Manes in Persia, because it was the doctrine of the Persian Magi, as Aristotle testifieth. Αεισιθελης εν πρατω πα εινουσειας η προσουτερος (του Μανης) εδ ην Αιγυπτιον, η δυο κατ αυτου εδ αρχαι, αγαθον δειμονα η κακον δειμονα. Laert. in proximo. And this acclamation well observed by Timotheus Presbyter of Constantinople, speaking thus of Manes: Ημερ η Μανηων η ην εδ εν εθηκεν ωρεσποιων η δυνασεων η ην ην Περιστα μαγων αρομα λαβων εζοματι ζη δυο αρχας.

Whereas there is no Nature originally sinful, no substance in it self evil, and therefore no Being which may not come from the same fountain of goodness. *I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I the Lord do all these things,* saith he who also said, *I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God besides me.* Vain then is that conceit which framed two Gods, one of them called Light, the other Darkness; one good, the other evil; refuted in the first words of the Creed, *I believe in God, maker of heaven and earth.*

Job. 45. 7, 5.

But as we have already proved that one God to be the Father, so must we yet farther shew that one God the Father to be the Maker of the World. In which there is no difficulty at all: the whole Church at Jerusalem hath sufficiently declared this truth in their devotions; *Lord, thou art God which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is: against thy holy child*

child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were gathered together. Jesus then was the child of that God which made the Heaven and the Earth, and consequently the Father of Christ is the Creator of the World.

We know that Christ is the light of the Gentiles, by his own interpretation; we are assured likewise that his Father gave him, by his frequent assertion: we may then as certainly conclude that the Father of Christ is the Creator of the World, by the Prophet's express prediction: For thus saith God the Lord, *Iſa. 42. 5, 6.* he that created the heavens and stretched them out, he which spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it; I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles.

And now this great facility may seem to create the greater difficulty: for being the Apostles teach us that the Son made all things, and the Prophets, that by the Spirit they were produced, how can we attribute that peculiarly in the Creed unto the Father, which in the Scriptures is assigned indifferently to the Son and to the Spirit? Two reasons may particularly be rendered of this peculiar attributing the work of creation to the Father. First, in respect of those Heresies arising in the infancy of the Church, which endeavoured to destroy this truth, and to introduce another Creator of the World, distinguished from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. An Error so destructive to the Christian Religion, that it raseth even the foundations of the Gospel, which refers it self wholly to the promises in the Law, and pretends to no other God but that God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; acknowledgeth no other speaker by the Son, than him that spake by the Prophets; and therefore whom Moses and the Prophets call Lord of Heaven and Earth, of him our blessed Saviour signifies himself to be the Son, rejoicing in spirit, and saying, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth.* Secondly, in respect of the Paternal priority in the Deity, by reason whereof that which is common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, may be rather attributed to the Father, as the first Person in the Trinity. In which respect the Apostle hath made a distinction in the phrase of emanation or production: *To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.* And our Saviour hath acknowledged, *The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do;* which speaketh some kind of priority in action, according to that of the Person. And in this sense the Church did always profess to believe in God the Father, * Creator of Heaven and Earth.

Luke 10. 22.

1 Cor. 8. 6.

* Stabat fides semper in Creatore & Christo ejus. Tertul. adv. Marcion. l. 1. Non alia agnoscenda erit traditis Apostolorum, quam que hodie apud ipsorum Ecclesiam editur. Nullam autem Apostolici centus Ecclesiam invenias que non in Creatore Christianizet. B. *1 Rom. 1. 20.* *Jer. 10. 12.* and *51. 15.* *Psal. 104. 24.*

The great necessity of professing our faith in this particular appeareth several ways, as indispensably tending to the illustration of God's glory, the humiliation of mankind, the provocation to obedience, the aversion from iniquity, and all consolation in our duty.

God is of himself infinitely glorious, because his perfections are absolute, his excellencies indefective: and the splendour of this glory appeareth unto us in and through the works of his hands. *a The invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead.* *b For he hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion.* After a long enumeration of the wonderful works of the Creation, the Psalmist breaketh forth into this pious meditation. *c O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all.* If then the glory of God be made apparent by the Creation, if he have *d made all things for himself,* that is, for the manifestation of his glorious Attributes, if the *e Lord* *rejoiceth*

Prov. 15. 4.

Psal. 104. 24.

in his works, because his glory shall endure for ever; then is it absolutely necessary we should confess him Maker of heaven and earth, that we may sufficiently praise and glorify him. Let them praise the name of the Lord, saith David, for his name alone is excellent, his glory is above the earth and heaven. Thus did the Levites teach the Children of Israel to glorify God: Stand up and bless the Lord your God for ever and ever: and blessed be thy glorious name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise. Thou even thou art Lord alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their hosts, the earth and all things that are therein. And the same hath S. Paul taught us: For of him, and through him, and to him are all things, to whom be glory for ever, Amen. Furthermore, that we may be assured that he which made both Heaven and Earth will be glorified in both, the Prophet calls upon all those celestial hosts to bear their part in his Hymn: Praise ye him all his Angels, praise ye him all his hosts. Praise ye him Sun and Moon, praise him all ye Stars of light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord, for he commanded, and they were created. And the 24 Elders in the Revelation of S. John fall down before him that sitteth on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their Crowns, the emblems of their borrowed and derived glories, before the Throne, the seat of infinite and eternal Majesty, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour; and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created. Wherefore, if the heavens declare the glory of God, and all his works praise him; then shall his Saints bless him, they shall speak of the glory of his kingdom, and talk of his power. And if man be silent, God will speak; while we through ingratitude will not celebrate, he himself will declare it, and promulgate. I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power, and by my out-stretched arm.

Secondly, the Doctrine of the World's Creation is most properly effectual towards man's Humiliation. As there is nothing more destructive to humanity than Pride, and yet not any thing to which we are more prone than that; so nothing can be more properly applied to abate the swelling of our proud conceptions, than a due consideration of the other works of God, with a sober reflexion upon our own original. *When I considered the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained; when I view those glorious apparent bodies with my eye, and by the advantage of a glass find great numbers before, beyond the power of my sight, and from thence judge there may be many millions more which neither eye nor instrument can reach; when I contemplate those far more glorious spirits, the inhabitants of the Heavens, and attendants on thy Throne; I cannot but break forth into that admiration of the Prophet, What is man, that thou art mindful of him? what is that off-spring of the earth, that dust and ashes? what is that son of man, that thou visitest him? what is there in the progeny of an ejected and condemned Father, that thou shouldest look down from Heaven, the place of thy dwelling, and take care or notice of him? But if our Original ought so far to humble us, how should our Fall abase us? That of all the creatures which God made, we should comply with him who first opposed his Maker, and would be equal unto him from whom he new received his Being. All other works of God, which we think inferiour to us, because not furnished with the light of understanding, or endued with the power of election, are in a happy impossibility of sinning, and so offending of their Maker: The glorious Spirits which attend upon the Throne of God, once in a condition of themselves to fall, now by the grace of God preserved, and placed beyond all possibility of sinning, are entred upon the greatest happiness of which the workmanship of God*

God is capable : But men, the sons of fall'n *Adam*, and sinners after the similitude of him, of all the creatures are the only companions of those *Angels* Judg. 1. which left their own habitations, and are delivered into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment. How should a serious apprehension of our own corruption, mingled with the thoughts of our creation, humble us in the sight of him, whom we alone of all the creatures by our unrepented sins drew unto Repentance? How can we look without confusion of face upon that monument of our infamy, recorded by *Moses*, who first penned the original of Humanity, *It repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart?* Gen. 6. 5.

Thirdly, this Doctrine is properly efficacious and productive of most cheerful and universal Obedience. It made the Prophet call for the Commandments of God, and earnestly desire to know what he should obey. *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me: give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments.* Psal. 119. 73. By virtue of our first production, God hath undeniably absolute dominion over us, and consequently there must be due unto him the most exact and compleat obedience from us. Which reason will appear more convincing, if we consider, of all the creatures which have been derived from the same fountain of God's goodness, none ever disobeyed his voice but the Devil and Man. *Mine hand, saith he, hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spann'd the heavens; when I call unto them they stand up together:* The most loyal and obedient servants which stand continually before the most illustrious Prince are not so ready to receive and execute the commands of their Sovereign Lord, as all the Hosts of Heaven and earth to attend upon the will of their Creator. *Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their hosts by number: he calleth them all by names, by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power, not one faileth, but every one maketh his appearance, ready prest to observe the designs of their Commander in chief.* Thus the Lord commanded, and *they fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.* Judg. 5. 20. He commanded the *Ravens to feed Elias, and they brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening;* and so one Prophet lived merely upon the obedience of the Fowls of the air. He spake to the devouring Whale, and *it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land;* and so another Prophet was delivered from the jaws of death by the obedience of the Fishes of the Sea. Do we not read of *fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind fulfilling his word?* Psal. 148. 8. Shall there be a greater coldness in man than in the snow? more vanity in us than in a vapour? more inconstancy than in the wind? If the universal obedience of the creature to the will of the Creator cannot move us to the same affection and desire to serve and please him, they will all conspire to testify against us and condemn us, when God shall call unto them, saying, *Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.* Isa. 1. 2.

Lastly, the Creation of the World is of most necessary meditation for the Consolation of the servants of God in all the variety of their conditions. *Happily is he whose hope is in the Lord his God, which made heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is.* This happiness consisteth partly in a full assurance of his power to secure us, his ability to satisfy us. *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein.* Psal. 24. 1, 2. For he hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods. By virtue of the first production he hath a perpetual right unto and power to dispose of all things: and he which can order and dispose of all, must necessarily be esteemed able to secure and satisfy any Creature. *Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard that the* Isa. 40. 28.

everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? There is no external resistance or opposition where Omnipotency worketh, no internal weakness or defection of power where the Almighty is the Agent; and consequently there remaineth a full and firm persuasion of his ability in all conditions to preserve us. Again, this happiness consisteth partly in a comfortable assurance, arising from this Meditation, of the will of God to protect and succour us, of his desire to preserve and bless us. *My help cometh from the Lord, who made heaven and earth: He will not suffer thy foot to be moved,* saith the Prophet David; at once expressing the foundation of his own expectancy and our security. *God will not despise the work of his hands,* neither will he suffer the rest of his Creatures to do the least injury to his own image. *Behold, saith he, I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work. No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord.*

Wherefore to conclude our explication of the first Article, and to render a clear account of the last part thereof, that every one may understand what it is I intend, when I make confession of my faith in the *Maker of heaven and earth*, I do truly profess, that I really believe, and am fully persuaded, that both Heaven and earth and all things contained in them have not their being of themselves, but were made in the beginning; that the manner by which all things were made was by mediate or immediate creation; so that antecedently to all things beside, there was at first nothing but God, who produced most part of the World merely out of nothing, and the rest out of that which was formerly made of nothing. This I believe was done by the most free and voluntary act of the will of God, of which no reason can be alledged, no motive assigned, but his goodness; performed by the determination of his will at that time which pleased him, most probably within one hundred and thirty generations of men, most certainly within not more than six, or at farthest seven, thousand years. I acknowledge this God Creator of the World to be the same God who is the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*: and in this full latitude, *I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.*

ARTICLE II.

And in *Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord.*

THE second Article of the *Creed* presents unto us, as the object of our Faith, the second Person of the blessed Trinity; that as in the Divinity there is nothing intervening between the Father and the Son, so that immediate union might be perpetually expressed by a constant conjunction in our Christian Confession. And that upon no less authority than of the *Author and Finisher of our Faith*, who in the persons of the Apostles gave this command to us, *Ye believe in God, believe also in me.* Nor speaketh he this of himself, but from the Father which sent him: *for this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ.* According therefore to the Son's prescription, the Father's injunction, and the Sacramental institution, as we are baptized, so do we * believe in the name of the Father, and the Son.

Our blessed Saviour is here represented under a threefold description: first, by his Nomination, as *Jesus Christ*; secondly, by his Generation, as the *only Son* of God; thirdly, by his Dominion, as *our Lord*.

But

^a Joh. 14. 1.
^b 1 Joh. 3. 23.
 * Eadem regula veritatis docet nos credere post Patrem etiam in Filium Dei, Christum Jesum, Dominum Deum nostrum, sed Dei Filium; huius Dei qui & unus & solus est. conditor scilicet rerum omnium. Novat. de Trinit. c. 5.

But when I refer *Jesus Christ* to the Nomination of our Saviour, because he is in the Scriptures promiscuously and indifferently sometimes called *Jesus*, sometimes *Christ*, I would be understood so as not to make each of them equally, or in like propriety, his name. ^a *His name was called Jesus, which was so named of the Angel before he was conceived in the womb:* ^b *who is also called Christ, not by * name, but by office and title.* Which observation, seemingly trivial, is necessary for the full explication of this part of the Article: for by this distinction we are led unto a double notion, and so resolve our Faith into these two Propositions. I believe there was and is a man, whose name was actually, and is truly in the most high importance, *Jesus*, the Saviour of the world. I believe the man who bare that name to be the *Christ*, that is, the *Messias* promised of old by God, and expected by the *Jews*.

^a *Mat. 2. 21.*
^b *Mat. 1. 16.*
 * Si tamen nomen est Christus, & non appellatio potius; Unus enim significatur. Unctus autem non magis nomen est quam vestitus, quam calceatus, acci-

dens nomini res. *Tertul. adv. Prax. c. 28.* Quorum nominum alterum est proprium, quod ab Angelo impositum est; alterum accidens, quod ab unctione convenit. *Ibid.* Christus commune dignitatis est nomen, Jesus proprium vocabulum Salvatoris. *S. Hieron. in Matt. 16. 20.* Jesus inter homines nominatur; nam Christus non proprium nomen est, sed nuncupatio potestatis & regni. *Lactan. de Falsa Sap. l. 4. c. 7.* Dum dicitur Christus, commune nomen dignitatis est; dum Jesus Christus, proprium vocabulum Salvatoris est. *Isidor. Orig. l. 7. c. 2.* Ἰησοῦς καλεῖται φερωνύμως. *S. Cyril. Catech. 10.*

For the first, it is undoubtedly the proper name of our Saviour given unto him, according to the custom of the *Jews*, at his Circumcision: and as the Baptist was called *John*, even so the *Christ* was called *Jesus*. Beside, as the imposition was after the vulgar manner, so was the name it self of ordinary use. We read in the Scriptures of ^a *Jesus which was called Justus, a fellow-worker with S. Paul;* and of a certain Sorcerer, a *Jew, whose name was Barjesus*, that is, the Son of *Jesus*. *Josephus* in his History mentioneth one *Jesus* the Son of *Ananus*, another the Son of *Saphates*, a third the Son of *Judas*, slain in the Temple: and many of the high Priests, or Priests, were called by that name; as the Son of *Dammeus*, of *Gamaliel*, of *Onias*, of *Phabes*, and of *Thebuth*. *Ecclesiasticus* is called the Wisdom of *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*, and that *Sirach* the Son of another *Jesus*. ^b *S. Stephen* speaks of the *Tabernacle of witness brought in with Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles:* and the Apostle in his explication of those words of *David*, *To day if you will hear his voice*, observeth, that, ^c *if Jesus had given them rest, then would he not afterwards have spoken of another day.* Which two Scriptures being undoubtedly understood of *Joshua*, the Son of *Nun*, teach us as infallibly that *Jesus* is the same name with *Joshua*. Which being at the first * imposition in the full extent of pronunciation *Jehoshuah*, in process of time contracted to *Jeshuah*, by the omission of the last letter, (strange and difficult to other languages) and the addition of the Greek termination, became *Jesus*.

^a *Col. 4. 11.*
Act. 13. 6.
 Habuit & Judaea quosdam *Jesus*, quorum vacuis gloriatur vocabulis. Illa enim nec lucent, nec patiscunt, nec menduntur. *Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 15.*
^b *Act. 7. 45.*
^c *Heb. 4. 8.*

Wherefore it will be necessary, for the proper interpretation of *Jesus*, to look back upon the first that bare that name, who was the Son of *Nun*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, the successor of *Moses*, and so named by him, as it is written, ^d *And Moses called Osbea the son of Nun Jehoshua.* His first name then imposed at his Circumcision was *Osbea*, or *Hoseah*; the same with the name of the ^e *son of Azaziah, ruler of Ephraim*, of the ^f *son of Elah, king of Israel*, of the ^g *son of Beerli, the Prophet:* and the interpretation of this first name || *Hoseah* is

* First יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, as generally in the Books of Moses, in *Joshuah*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, the *Kings*, *even in Haggai* and *Zachariah*: then contracted into יְשׁוּעַ, as in the 1 *Chron. 24. 11.* 2 *Chro. 31. 15.* and constantly in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. Next the last letter *y* was but lightly pronounced, as appears

by the Greek Translation, 1 *Chron. 7. 27.* where יְהוֹשֻׁעַ is rendered in the Roman and Alexandrian Copy Ἰησοῦς, in the Aldus and Complutensian Editions Ἰωσὴδ, and by Eusebius, who expresseth it truer than these Copies, Ἰωσὴδ. At last *y* was totally left out both in the pronunciation and the writing, and the whole name of *Joshuah* contracted to *W*. ^d *Numb. 13. 15.* ^e 1 *Chron. 27. 20.* ^f 2 *Kings 17. 1.* ^g *Hos. 1. 1.* || *Osee* in lingua nostra Salvatorem sonat, quod nomen habuit etiam *Josue* filius *Nun*, antequam ei a Deo vocabulum mutaretur. *S. Hier. in Osee, c. 1. v. 1. & l. 1. adv. Joventianum.* I read indeed of other interpretations among the Greeks, in good expositors of the Hebrew names: as in an ancient MS. of the LXX. Translation of the Prophets, now in the Library of Card. n. d. Barberini, at the beginning of *Holcah*. Ὠσηδ, λυτῶν ἁμαρτιῶν and again, Ὠσηδ, ἁρπαξ ἁμαρτιῶν, ἢ ἁρπαξ ἁμαρτιῶν. (Of which the first and last are far from the Original: and the middle agreeable with the root, not with the conjugation, as being deduced from *y* *W* not in Niphath, but in Hiphath) And in another MS. of the Prophets in the King's Library at S. James's, Ὠσηδ, ἐκείνων, ἢ ἁμαρτιῶν: and again, Ὠσηδ, ἔργον σωζόμενων. which is the interpretation inserted into Hesychius; in whom for Ὠσηδ we must read Ὠσηδ: and so I suppose Salmiatus intended it, though the Holland Edition hath made his emendation Ὠσηδ.

Saviour;

Saviour. Now we must not imagine this to be * no mutation, neither must we look upon it as a total alteration, but observe it as a change not trivial or * inconsiderable. And being *Hofeab* was a name afterwards used by some, and *Jehoshuah*, as distinct, by others, it will necessarily follow, there was some difference between these two names; and it will be fit to inquire what was the addition, and in what the force of the alteration doth consist.

|| So Justin Martyr speaks of Hofeab as *αἰσίουμαθεῖν* τὸ Ἰησοῦ ὀνομασί. And comparing it with the alteration of Jacob's name; τὸ ἐπώνυμον Ἰακώβ πρὸ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι κληθῆναι ἐδόθη, καὶ τὸ Αὐτῷ ὀνομασθῆναι Ἰησοῦ ἐπεκλήθη. *And as he says by his mistake in supposing him first named Israel, and after called Jacob, he makes the alteration of Hofeab to Jeshua the same that of Jacob to Israel. The reason whereof was the Greek version of the name, who for Hofeab translated it Αἰσίουμαθεῖν.* Num. 12. 16. *Deum Moyses successor destinaretur Ajes filius Nave, transferretur eorū de pristino nomine, & in ipis vocari Jeshus, Testul. adv. Jud. & ad. Marcion. l. 3. §. 16. Igitur Moyses his administrans Aules vocaretur, Moses iussit eum Jesum vocari. Clem. l. 1. Recognit. Qui cum primum Aules vocaretur, Moses iussit eum Jesum vocari. Lactan. de vera sap. c. 17. Οὐ πιστεύουσιν γὰρ (Μωϋσῆος) ἢ αὐτῶς ἐκείνου τὸ πρὸ Ἰσραὴλ κληθῆναι τρεῖς αἰσίουμαθεῖν, ὀνομασί ἢ ἑτέρω τὸ Αὐτῷ, ὅτι εἰ ἀναγινώσκεις αὐτὸ τέθεικται, καλέωμεν, Ἰησοῦν αὐτὸς ἀναγινώσκεις.* Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 3. *This was the Hofeab's mething disguised by Aules, and was further estranged on by this; which frequently called him Ναυῶης, as Euseb. Demonst. Ev. l. 5. c. 17. thrice. * This Justin Martyr charges upon the Jews as no lessed by them, and affirms the reason why they received not Jesus for the Christ, was their not observing the alteration of Hofeab into Joshua of Jesus Αἰσίουμαθεῖν Ἰησοῦν Μωϋσῆος ἐκάλεισι, ταῦτα αὐτὸ Ἰησοῦς. διὰ αὐτὴν ἐπέκεινται, ἐκ ἀπορίας, ἢ ἀδελφότητος. ἢ τοιαυτὴν ἀλιθίαν ἐπὶ χειρῶν, ἢ ἀναγινώσκων ἢ σωθῆναι.* And whereas they speak much of the change made in the name of Abram and Sarai, which were but of a letter, they took no notice of this total alteration of the name: so he, *Διὰ τὴν ἄλλα πρὸ τῶν πατέρων τῶν Ἀβραάμ ὀνομασθῆναι θεολογίας, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄλλα τῶν Σαράϊ ἐν ἑνὶ ὀνόματι κομπολογίας. διὰ τὴν τὸ παρῆθεν ὄνομα πρὸ Αὐτῷ τὸ ἦν Ναυῶ ὅλον μετενόηται αὐτὸ Ἰησοῦ, ἢ Ἰησοῦς. Ὡς οὖν, τοῖσις by the adding of a letter, the second a change of Ἰ into Ἠ, he would make that of Hofeab into Jesus a far more considerable alteration than that of Abraham or of Sarab.*

First therefore, we observe that all the original letters in the name * *Hofeab* are preserved in that of *Joshuah*: from whence 'tis evident that this alteration was not made by a verbal mutation, as when *Jacob* was called *Israel*, nor by any literal change, as when *Sarai* was named *Sarah*, nor yet by diminution or mutilation; but by addition, as when *Abram* was called *Abraham*. Secondly, it must be confessed that there is but one literal addition, and that of that letter, which is most frequent in the *Hebrew* names: but being thus solemnly added by *Moses*, upon so remarkable an occasion as the viewing of the land of *Canaan* was, and that unto a name already known, and after used; it cannot be thought to give any less than a || present designation of his person to be a *Saviour* of the people, and future certainty of salvation included in his name unto the *Israelites* by his means. Thirdly, though the number of the letters be augmented actually but to one, yet it is not improbable that another may be virtually added, and in the signification understood. For being the first letter of *Hofeab* will not endure a duplication, and if the same letter were to be added, one of them must be absorbed; 'tis possible another of the same might be by *Moses* intended, and one of them suppressed. If then unto the name *Hofeab* we join one of the titles of God, which is *Jah*, there will result from both, by the custom of the *Hebrew* tongue, *Jehoshuah*; and so not only the * instrumental, but also the original cause of the *Jews* deliverance will be found expressed in one word: as if *Moses* had said, This is the person by whom God will save his people from their Enemies.

|| For it may well be thought that Ἰ is added to make the name יְהוֹשֻׁעַ the same with the third person of the same in Hiphil, יְהוֹשִׁיעַ For although ה the characteristic letter of the conjugation Hiphil be excluded in the future tense, and so the regular word be יְשׁוּעַ frequently in use; yet sometimes it is expressed, as in 1 Sam. 17. 47.

יְהוֹשֻׁעַ
יְהוֹשִׁיעַ
יְשׁוּעַ

And all the assembly shall know that the Lord saveth (or will save) not with sword and spear: and Psa. 116. 6. יְהוֹשִׁיעַ יְהוָה וְיָרַד יְהוֹשִׁיעַ I was brought low, and he helped me. And although there be another י in the future than in the name, yet being it is also found sometimes with the lesser Chiric, and so without the letter י, or without any Chiric at all, as frequently with the addition of י יְשׁוּעַ, there is no reason but יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, the name of the son of Nun, may be of the same force, as consisting of the same letters, with the third person of the future in Hiphil. Again, being י added to the Future, as formative thereof, stands in the place of י (so the avoiding of confusion with י conjunctive) which is nothing else than the abbreviation of יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, we may well apprehend at least this Emphasis to the mutation which *Moses* made; that whereas before there was nothing but Salvation barely in his name, now there is no less than he shall save, in which the יְהוֹשֻׁעַ or י is a peculiar designation of the person, and the shall or Tense a certainty of the salvation. Thus will the design of *Moses* appear to be nothing else but a prediction or conjunction of that which was not before, but by way of divine nomination; and this only by changing the Imperative into the Future, יְשׁוּעַ serva, the expectation of the people, into יְשׁוּעַ יְהוָה servabit, the ratification of *Moses*. *So did the Ancients understand it: to the Greeks Jesus is Ἰησοῦς ὁ Θεός, to the Latines, Salvator Dei. So Euseb. Demonst. Ev. l. 4. ad finem. Ἐπὶ ἧς σωθῆναι Θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἔλθαι εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ Ἰησοῦ μετακλήθη ὄνομα σωτήριον. Ἰσααὶ δὲ πρὸ Ἐβραίων σωθῆναι, ἢ εἰς Ναυῶ πρὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἰω. 6.

Ἰησοῦς ὀνομάζεται· Ἰησοῦς δὲ ὄντι Ἰαὼ σωτῆρα, πῶς ἔστι, Θεὸς σωτήριον. Where nothing can be more certain than that *Ἰαὼ* is taken for the name of God, and *Ἰαὼ σωτῆρα* together, the Salvation of God. And yet Theophylact has strangely mistaken it, *Mat. 1. 1.* τὸ Ἰησοῦς ὄνομα ἔχει Ἑλληνικὸν ὄντι, ἀλλ' Ἑβραϊκόν, ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ σωτῆρ, ἰαὼ γὰρ ἡ σωτῆρα παρ' Ἑβραίων λέγεται· which words seem plainly to signify that Jesus is interpreted Saviour, because *ἰαὼ* in the Hebrew tongue signifieth Salvation. I confess the words may be strained to the same sense with those of Eusebius, but not without some force, and contrary to what he seemeth to intend. Especially considering those which followed him in the same mistake, as Moschopolus *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἰησοῦς, Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰαὼ γίνεσθαι, ὃ ἀπλοῦ παρ' Ἑβραίων ἔστι σωτῆρα.* Whereas *ἰαὼ* in Eusebius is certainly no other than *יהוה* and *Ἰαὼ* than *יהוה*, and so *Ἰησοῦς* contracted of *ἰαὼ Ἰησὺς*, the salvation of God. Nor is this only the opinion of Eusebius, but of S. Hierome, a man much better acquainted with the Hebrew language; who on the first Chapter of *Hoseah*, shewing that *Josuah* had first the same name with that of the Prophet, saith, Non enim (ut malè in Græcis codicibus legitur & Latinis) *Ause dictus est, quod nihil omnino intelligitur; sed Osee, id est, Salvator: & additum est ejus nomini Dominus, ut Salvator Domini diceretur.* What then was it but *יהוה* the Dominus added to his name? For as in the name of *Elaias*, S. Hierome acknowledges the addition of the name of God, Interpretatur autem *Esaias Salvator Domini*; in the same manner did he conceive it in the name of *Josuah*, only with this difference, that in the one it begins, in the other concludes the name.

Now being we have thus declared that *Jesus* is the same name with *Josuah*, being the name of *Josuah* was first imposed by Divine designation, as a certain prediction of the fulfilling to the *Israelites*, by the person which bare the name, all which was signified by the name, being *Jesus* was likewise named by a more immediate imposition from Heaven, even by the ministraton of an Angel; it followeth, that we believe he was infallibly designed by God to perform unto the sons of men whatsoever is implied in his nomination. As therefore in *Hoseah* there was expressed Salvation, in *Josuah* at least was added the designation of that single person to save, with certainty of preservation, and probably even the name of God, by whose appointment and power he was made a Saviour; so shall we find the same in *Jesus*. In the first salutation, the Angel *Gabriel* told the blessed Virgin, she should conceive in her womb, and bring forth a son, and should call his name *Jesus*. In the Dream of *Joseph* the Angel of the Lord informed him not only of the nomination, but of the interpretation or * Etymology; *Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.* In which words is clearly expressed the designation of the person, *He*, and the futurity of Salvation certain by him, *he shall save.* Beside, that other addition of the name of God, propounded in *Josuah* as probable, appeareth here in some degree above probability, and that for two reasons. First, because it is not barely said that *He*, but as the Original raiseth it, *He himself shall save.* *Josuah* saved *Israel* not by his own power, not of himself, but God by him; neither saved he his own people, but the people of God: whereas *Jesus* himself, by his own power, the power of God, shall save his own people, the people of God. Well therefore may we understand the interpretation of his name to be *God the Saviour*. Secondly, immediately upon the prediction of the name of *Jesus*, and the interpretation given by the Angel, the Evangelist expressly observeth, *All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the Prophet, saying, Behold, a Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is, God with us.* Several ways have been invented to shew the fulfilling of that Prophecy, notwithstanding our Saviour was not called *Emmanuel*; but none can certainly appear more proper, than that the sense of *Emmanuel* should be comprehended in the name of *Jesus*: and what else is *God with us*, than *God our Saviour*? Well therefore hath the Evangelist conjoynd * the Prophet and the Angel asserting *Christ* was therefore named *Jesus*, because it was foretold he should be called *Emmanuel*, the Angelical *God the Saviour* being in the highest propriety the Prophetical *God with us*.

Luke 1. 31.

* *Jesus* Hebrao sermone. *Saba* auctor dicitur. Etymologium ergo nominis ejus Evangelista signavit, dicens, *Vocabis nomen ejus Jesus, qui ipse saluum faciet populum suum.* S. Hier. || *Αὐτὸς, ipse.*

² *Mat. 1. 22. 23.*
* *Βλέπει ἰαὼ εὐαγγελιστῆς ἡ πρώτη φωνὴ ῥήσεως; μεθερμηνεύοντων γὰρ τὸ μεθ' ἡμεῶν ὁ Θεὸς, ὃ ὄντι σωτῆρα πᾶσι λαοῖς, τὸ μετ' ἡμῶν θεῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμετέροισιν.* *Andreas Cretensis in Concilio.*

However, the constant Scripture-interpretation of this name is *Saviour*. So said the Angel of the Lord to the amazed Shepherds, *Unto you is born this day in the City of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.* So S. Paul to the Jews and Gentile Profelytes at *Antioch*, *Of this man's seed hath God,* accord-

^b Luke 2. 11.

^c *Act. 13. 23.*
ing

Now what the full import and ultimate sense of the Title of *Saviour* might be, seemed not easie to the Ancients: and the *best of the *Latins* thought the *Greek* word so pregnant and comprehensive, that the *Latin* tongue had no single word able to express it.

res inscribed Sotera, quæ est, Hoe quantum est? ita magnum, ut Latino uno verbo exprimi non possit. But the *place before* the time there was no *Latin* word used in that sense; yet not long after it was familiar. For as in the *Greek* inscriptions we read often *Dedications* Διὶ Σοτῆρι. So in the *Latin* we find often *Jovi servatori*, or *Conservatori*, sometimes *Jovi Salvatori*, or *Salutari*: all which are nothing else but the *Latine* expressions of the *Greek* inscriptions. And without question *Σοτῆρι* may have been rendred *Sospitator*; and even *Sospes*, as it was used in the days of *Ennius*. *Sospes, salvus*: *Ennius* tamen *sospitem* pro *servatore* posuit. *Vesuvius*. Neither indeed could the *Sicilians* mean any more of *Verres* by the word *Sotera*, than *Tully* spake of himself, when he styled himself *Servatorem* reipub. At least *Tacitus* did conceive that *Conservator* is as much as *Soter*, when, talking of *Milichus*, who detected the conspiracies to *Nero*, he saith, *Milichus pramiis ditatus Conservatoris sui nomen, Græco eius rei vocabulo, assumpit. Annal. l. 15.* He took to himself the Name of *Conservator*, in a *Greek* word which signifies so much: and without question that must be *Σοτῆρι*: However, the first *Christians* of the *Latin* Church were sometimes in doubt what word to use as the constant interpretation of *Σοτῆρι*, so frequent and essential to *Christianity*. *Tertullian* useth *Salutificator*, or, as some books read it, *Salvificator*: Ergo jam non unus *Deus*, nec unus *Salutificator*, si duo salutis artifices, & utrique alter altero indigens. *De Carne Christi, c. 14.* and shows it was so translated in the *Philippians* 3. 20. Et quidem de terra in cœlum, ubi nostrum nunciipatum *Philippenses* quoque ab *Apostolo* discunt; unde & *Salutificatorem* nostrum expectamus *Jesum Christum. De Resur. Carnis, c. 47.* *S. Hilary* thought *Salutaris* a sufficient interpretation. Est autem *salutaris* ipso illo nomine quo *Jesús* nuncupator: *Jesús* enim secundum *Hebraicam* linguam *Salutaris* est. in *Psal. 118.* *S. Anguiline* is indifferent between that and *Salvator*: *Deus* salvos faciendi *Dominus* est *Jesús*, quod interpretatur *Salvator*, sive *Salutaris*: and so *Lactant.* At last they generally used the word *Salvator*. First, *Tertullian*, *Christus* in illo significabatur, taurus ob utramque dispositionem; aliis *serus*, ut *Judex*, aliis *manuctus*, ut *Salvator. adv. Marcion. l. 3. c. 18.* Which word of his was rather followed by his *Imitator* *S. Cyprian*, after whom *Arnobius* used it, after him his *Disciple* *Lactantius*: and from thence it continued the constant language of the Church, till the late *Innovators* thrust it out of the *Latine* Translation.

But whatsoever notion the Heathen had of their Gods or Men which they styled *Saviours*, we know this name belongeth unto *Christ* in a more sublime and peculiar manner. Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved.

It remaineth therefore that we should explain how and for what reasons *Christ* truly is and properly is called, our *Saviour*. First then, I conceive one sufficient cause of that appellation to consist in this, that he hath opened and declared unto us the only true way for the obtaining eternal Salvation, and by such patefaction can deserve no less than the name of *Saviour*. For if those *Apostles* and preachers of the *Gospel*, who received the way of Salvation from him, which they delivered unto others, may be said to save those perions which were converted by their preaching; in a far more eminent and excellent manner must he be said to save them, who first revealed all those truths unto them. *S. Paul* provoked to emulation them which were his flesh, that he might save some of them; and was made all things to all men, that he might by all means save some. He exhorted *Timothy* to take heed unto himself, and unto the doctrine, and continue in them; for in doing this, he should both save himself and them that heard him. And *S. James* speaks in more general terms; Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him; Let him know, that he which converteth a sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death. Now if these are so expressly said to save the Souls of them which are converted by the doctrine which they deliver, with much more reason must *Christ* be said to save them, whose Ministers they are, and in whose name they speak. For it was he which came and preached peace to them which were afar off, and to them that were nigh. The Will of God concerning the Salvation of man was revealed by him. No man hath seen God at any time: the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him. Being then the *Gospel* of *Christ* is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, being they which preach it at the command of *Christ* are said to save the Souls of such as believe their word, being it was *Christ* alone who brought life and immortality to light through the gospel; therefore he must in a most eminent and singular manner be acknowledged thereby to save, and consequently must not be denied, even in this first respect, the title of *Saviour*.

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Secondly,

Secondly, this *Jesus* hath not only revealed, but also procured, the way of Salvation: not only delivered it to us: but also wrought it out for us: and to God sent his Son into the world, that the world through him might be saved. We were all concluded under sin, and, being the wages of sin is death, we were obliged to eternal punishment, from which it was impossible to be freed, except the sin were first remitted. Now this is the constant rule, that without shedding of blood is no remission. It was therefore necessary that Christ should appear to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And so he did, for he shed his blood for many, for the remission of sins, as himself professeth in the Sacramental institution: he bare our sins in his own body on the tree, as *S. Peter* speaks; and so in him we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. And if while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us: much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath by him. Again, we were all enemies unto God, and having offended him, there was no possible way of Salvation, but by being reconciled to him. If then we ask the question, as once the *Philistines* did concerning *David*, *Wherewith should we reconcile our selves unto our Master?* we have no other name to answer it but *Jesus*. For God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them. And as under the Law the blood of the sin-offering was brought into the tabernacle of the congregation to reconcile withal in the holy place; so it pleased the Father through the Son, having made peace by the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself. And thus it comes to pass, that us who were enemies in our mind by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled in the body of his flesh through death. And upon this reconciliation of our persons must necessarily follow the Salvation of our Souls. For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled unto God by the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life. Furthermore, we were all at first enslaved by sin, and brought into captivity by Satan, neither was there any possibility of escape but by way of Redemption. Now it was the Law of *Moses*, that if any were able he might redeem himself: but this to us was impossible, because absolute obedience in all our actions is due unto God, and therefore no act of ours can make any satisfaction for the least offence. Another law gave yet more liberty, that he which was sold might be redeemed again; one of his brethren might redeem him. But this in respect of all the millions of men was equally impossible, because they were all under the same captivity. Nor could they satisfy for others, who were wholly unable to redeem themselves. Wherefore there was no other brother, but that Son of man which is the Son of God, who was like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, which could work this redemption for us. And what he only could, that he freely did perform. For the Son of man came to give his life a ransom for many: and as he came to give, so he gave himself a ransom for all. So that in him we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins. For we are bought with a price: for we are redeemed, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold; but with the precious blood of Christ, as a lamb without blemish and without spot. He then which hath obtained for us remission of sins, he who through himself hath reconciled us to God, he who hath given himself as a ransom to redeem us, he who hath thus wrought out the way of Salvation for us, must necessarily have a second and a far higher right unto the name of *Jesus*, unto the title of our Saviour.

Thirdly, beside the promulging and procuring, there is yet a farther act, which is, conferring of Salvation on us. All which we mentioned before was wrought by virtue of his death, and his appearance in the Holy of holies: but we must still believe, he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto

unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For now being set down at the right hand of God, he hath received all power both in Heaven and Earth; and the end of this power which he hath received is, to confer Salvation upon those which believe in him. For the Father gave the Son this power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as he hath given him; that he should raise our bodies out of the dust, and cause our corruptible to put on incorruption, and our mortal to put on immortality: and upon this power we are to expect Salvation from him. For we must look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, from heaven, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself. And unto them that thus look for him shall he appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation. Being then we are all to endeavour that our spirits may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus; being S. Peter hath taught us, that God hath exalted Christ with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour; being the conferring of that upon us which he promised to us, and obtained for us, is the reward of what he suffered; therefore we must acknowledge that the actual giving of Salvation to us is the ultimate and conclusive ground of the title Saviour.

Joh 17. 2.
Phil. 3. 20, 21.
Heb. 9. 28
1 Cor. 5. 5
Acts 5. 31.

Thus by the virtue of his precious blood Christ hath obtained remission of our sins, by the power of his grace hath taken away the dominion of sin, in the life to come will free us from all possibility of sinning, and utterly abolish death the wages of sin: wherefore well said the Angel of the Lord ^a Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins; well did Zacharias call him ^b an horn of salvation; Simeon, ^c the salvation of God; S. Paul, ^d the captain and author of eternal salvation; S. Peter, ^e a Prince and a Saviour, correspondent to those Judges of Israel, raised up by God himself to deliver his people from the hands of their enemies, and for that reason called Saviours. ^f In the time of their trouble, say the Levites, when they cried unto thee, thou heardest them from heaven, and according to thy manifold mercies thou gavest them Saviours, who saved them out of the hand of their enemies.

^a Matt. 1. 21.
^b Luke 1. 32.
^c Luke 2. 30.
^d Heb. 5. 0.
^e Heb. 2. 10.
^f Acts 5. 35.
1 Nohem. 9. 27.
^b Eccl. 45. 1.
^c Acts 7. 35.
^d Hoheb. * De-
suo. ποτις, ου-
τε τις. and a-
gum. Σωτηρ ο
Zδ' ο ελδ' οβ-
ειδ' η αυγου-
τις.

The correspondency of Jesus unto those temporal Saviours will best appear, if we consider it particularly in Josuah, who bare that Salvation in his name, and approved it in his actions. For, as the son of Sirach saith, ^b Jesus the son of Nave was valiant in the wars, and was the successor of Moses in prophecies, who, according to his name, was made great for the saving of the elect of God. Although therefore Moses was truly and really ^b a ruler and deliverer, which is the ^{*} same with Saviour; although the rest of the Judges were also by their office Rulers and Deliverers, and therefore stiled Saviours, as expressly Othniel and Ehud are; yet Josuah, far more particularly and exactly than the rest, is represented as a Type of our Jesus, and that typical singularity manifested in his || name. For first, He it was alone, of all which passed out of Egypt, who was design'd to lead the children of Israel into Canaan, the land of promise, flowing with milk and honey. Which land as it was a type of the Heaven of Heavens, the inheritance of the Saints, and eternal joys flowing from the right hand of God; so is the Person which brought the Israelites into that place of rest ^{*} a Type of him who only can bring us into the presence of God, and there prepare our mansions for us, and assign them to us, as Josuah divided the land for an inheritance to the Tribes. Besides, it is farther observable, not only what Josuah did, but what Moses could not do. The hand of Moses and Aaron brought them out of Egypt, but left them in the Wilderness, and could not seat them in Canaan. Josuah, the successor, only could effect that in which Moses failed. Now nothing is more frequent in the phrase of the Holy Ghost; than to take Moses for the doctrine delivered, or the books

|| Quantum an-
net ad p. ophet-
ticum. opar-
tum, nec geri
nec dici ali-
quid possit in-
signius, quan-
doquidem res
perducta est
usq; nominis
expressionem.
S. Aug. contra
Faust. 10. 19.
* Ον τεσπορ
εαδουθ' εσθη-
ραzen εις τδ
αγιαν γδουτιν
λαδου, οχι Μω-
σης. ηι' ος ε-
κδ' εν αυ-
τω εστιν ομο-
ωτυ τδου, ετ'
σλθησι αυτ'
αυτω. ετ' η
ησθ' ο Χει-
ρ' η' Δουσο-
ου τδ λαδ' ο
πρεβδου, η'
δισμ' αυτ' τδου
εγ' αυτω γ' η
ερασ. Justin.
Dial. contra G.

ARTICLE II.

* Heb. 10. 17.
Rom. 2. 13.
Gal. 3. 12.
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Gal. 3. 14.
Gal. 3. 15.
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Gal. 3. 100.

written by him, that is, the * Law; from whence it followeth, that the death of Moses and the succession of Josuah presignified the continuance of the Law till Jesus came, a by whom all that believe are justified from all things, from which we could not be justified by the Law of Moses. b The Law and the Prophets were until John: since that the kingdom of God is preached. Moses must die, that Josuah may succeed. c By the deeds of the Law there shall no flesh be justified, (for by the Law is the knowledge of sin;) but the righteousness of God without the Law is manifested, even the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe. Moses indeed seems to have taken Josuah with him up into the Mount: but if he did, sure it was to enter the cloud which covered the Mount where the glory of the Lord abode: for * without Jesus, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, there is no looking into the secrets of Heaven, no approaching to the presence of God. The command of Circumcision was not given unto Moses, but to Josuah; nor were the Israelites circumcised in the Wilderness, under the conduct of Moses and Airon, but in the land of Canaan, under their Successour. For d at that time the Lord said unto Josuah, Make thee sharp knives, and circumcise again the children of Israel the second time. Which speaketh || Jesus to be the true circumciser, the author of another circumcision than that of the flesh commanded by the Law, even e the circumcision of the heart in the spirit, and not in the Letter; that which f is made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, which is therefore called the circumcision of Christ.

Successor Moysi designaretur Aules filius Nave, transfertur certe de pristino nomine, & incipit vocari Jesu. Certè, inquit, Hanc prius dicimus figuram futuri juvile. Nam quia Jesus Christus secundum populum, quod vulgus nec, nationes in seculi deceto commemorantes antea, introduiturus esset in terram repromissionis melle & lacte manantem, id est, in vitam æternæ possessionem, quâ nihil dulcius, idque non per Moysen, id est, non per Legis disciplinam, sed per Jesum, id est, per novæ Legis gratiam, provenire habebat, circumcisus nobis petrina acie, id est, Christi præceptis. (petra enim Christus multis modis & figuris prædicatus est;) ideo is vir qui in hujus Sacramenti imagine parabatur, etiam hominis Dominiici inauguratus est figuræ, ut Jesu nominaretur Tertul. adv. Judæos, c. 9. & adv. Marcion. l. 3. c. 15. Idcirco Moysi etiam successit, ut ostenderet novam legem, per Jesum Christum datam, veteri legi successuram, quæ data per Moysen fuit. Lactan. de Vera Sap. l. 4. c. 17. In ejus comparatione (Moyses) imprecabatur est, ut non ipse introduceret populum in terram promissionis; ne videlicet Lex per Moysen, non ad salvandum, sed ad convincendum peccatorem, data, in regnum cælorum introducere putaretur, seu gratia veritas per Jesum Christum facta. S. Aug. contra Faustian, l. 15. c. 19. Jesus dux qui populum eduxerat de Aegypto, Jesus qui interpretatur Salvator, Moise mortuo & sepulto in Moab, hoc est, Lege mortuo, in Evangelium cupit inducere populum terram. S. Hieron. in Psal. 85. * Acts 13. 30. Luke 16. 15. Rom. 2. 20, 21, 27. || Ezech. 24. 13. * Moyses in nubem intravit, ut operta & occulta cognosceret, adherente sibi socio Jesu, quia nemo sine vero Jesu potest incerta sapientia, & occulta comprehendere. Et ideo in specie Jesu Nave veri Salvatoris significabatur affutura præsentia, per quem fierent omnes locubiles Dei, qui Legem aperiret, Evangelium revelaret. S. Ambros. in Psalm. 47. d Jof. 5. 2. || Non enim propheta sic ait, Et dicit Dominus ad me; sed ad Jesum: ut ostenderet quod non de se loqueretur, sed de Christo, ad quem cum Deus orabat. Christi enim figuram gerebat ille Jesus. Lactan. l. 4. c. 17. Rom. 2. 29. Col. 2. 11.

* Ezech. 24. 13.
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Rom. 14. 2.
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* Gal. 3. 12.
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Thus if we look upon Josuah as the a minister of Moses, he is even in that a type of Christ, the b minister of the circumcision for the truth of God. If we look on him as the successour of Moses, in that he representeth Jesus, inasmuch as c the Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. If we look on him as now Judge and Ruler of Israel, there is scarce an action which is not clearly predictive of our Saviour. * He begins his office at the banks of Jordan, where Christ is baptized, and enters upon the publick exercise of his propheticall office. He chuseth there twelve men out of the people, to carry twelve stones over with them; as our Jesus thence began to chuse his twelve Apostles, those foundation-stones in the Church of God, whose d names are in the twelve foundations of the wall of the holy City, the new Jerusalem. It hath been * observed, that the saving Rahab the Harlot alive foretold what Jesus once should speak to the Jews, e Verily I say unto you, that

... the land by twelve men, δωδεκα δ̄ διαμενῶσαι τῶν κληρονομίαν κτίσεισιν ὁ τῶ Νεωτῶν, καὶ δωδεκα τῶν Ἀποστόλων κληρονομίας εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν εὐκλειῆν ἀπεσείλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Ibid. d Rom. 21. 14. * By the same S. Cyril, Περὶ δωδεκῶν Ἰσραὴλ τῶν ἐπισημῶν ὁ τοῦ τακῆς ὁ δ̄ ἀληθῆς ριστῆς, ἰδὲ οἱ τελευτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ ἀγάσσειν ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὴν βασιλίαν 98 Θ.δ. [Mouth. 21. 31.]

the Publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. ^a He said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon: and the Sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. Which great miracle was not only wrought by the power of him whose name he bare, but did also * signify that in the latter days, toward the setting of the Sun, when the light of the world was tending unto a night of darkness, *the Sun of righteousness should arise with healing in his wings*, and, giving a check to the approaching night, become ^b *the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the World.*

But to pass by more particulars, *Josuah* smote the *Amalekites*, and subdued the *Canaanites*; by the first making way to enter the Land, by the second giving possession of it. And *Jesus* our *Prince and Saviour*, whose kingdom was not of this world, in a spiritual manner goeth in and out before us against our spiritual enemies, subduing sin and Satan, and so opening and clearing our way to Heaven; destroying the last enemy, Death, so giving us possession of eternal life. || Thus do we believe the man called *Jesus* to have fulfilled, in the highest degree imaginable, all which was but typified in him who first bare the name, and in all the rest which succeeded in his office, and so to be the Saviour of the world; ^c *whom God hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David, That we should be saved from our enemies, and the hands of all that hate us.*

ritatem. S. Ambros. Apolo. David. post. c. 4. Ille imperavit Soli ut staret; & stetit, & istius typo ille magnus erat. Ille imperabat, sed Dominus efficiebat. S. Hieron. in Psal. 76. ^b John 1. 9. || Τι λέγει τάλιν Μωσής πρὸ Ἰησοῦ πρὸ τῆς Ναυῆ υἱοῦ Νηφθί. ὁπθεις αὐτῷ τὸτο ὄνομα ὄντι περρητη; ἵνα μόνον ἀλίσσῃ πᾶς λαός, ὅτι πάντα ὁ πατὴρ φανερεῖ σὺ τῶ ἡδ Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ. ἢ ὁπθεις τὸτο ὄνομα ὁπότε ἐπεμφε κατασκοπον τὸ γῆς. λάβε βιβλίον εἰς τὰ χεῖρας σου, ἢ γράσον αὐ λέγει Κύριος. ὅτι ἐκ βιβλίων ἐκκόψαι πάντα τὸν οἶκον τῶ Αὐσαλτικ ὁ υἱός τῶ Θεοῦ ἐστ' ἐχάτων ἡμερῶν. Οἱ β (1τ ἰδὲ) τάλιν Ἰησοῦς ἔχ ὁ υἱός ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' ὁ υἱός τῶ Θεοῦ, τύπω β' ἐν Γαργι φανερωθή. Barnabæ Epist. c. 9. ^c Luke 1. 69, 71.

^a Job. 1. 12, 13.

* Stetit Sol, quia in Jesus typum tuturi agnoscebat & nomen. Neque enim in sua virtute Jesu Nave, sed in Christi mysterio celestibus luminibus imperabat. Designatur enim Dei filium in hoc seculum esse venturum, qui mundani luminis concidentis, & jam vergentis in tenebras, virtute divina differret occasum, lucem redderet, inveheret cla-

The necessity of the belief of this part of the Article is not only certain, but evident: because there is no end of Faith without a Saviour, and no other name but this by which we can be saved, and no way to be saved by him but by believing in him. For *this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ: and he that keepeth his commandment dwelleth in him, and he in him.* From him then, and from him alone, must we expect Salvation, acknowledging and confessing freely there is nothing in our selves which can effect or deserve it from us, nothing in any other creature which can promerit or procure it to us. For *there is but one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.* 'Tis only the beloved Son, in whom God is well pleased: *he is clothed with a vesture dypt in blood; he hath trod the wine-press alone. We like sheep have gone astray, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. By him God hath reconciled all things to himself, by him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven.* By him alone is our Salvation wrought: for his sake then only can we ask it, from him alone expect it.

¹ John 3. 23, 24.

¹ Tim. 2. 5.

Isa. 53. 6. Col. 1. 20.

Secondly, this Belief is necessary, that we may delight and rejoyce in the name of *Jesus*, as that in which all our happiness is involv'd. At his nativity an Angel from Heaven thus taught the Shepherds, the first witnesses of the blessed Incarnation; *Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day, in the City of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.* And what the Angel delivered at present, that the Prophet *Isaiah*, that old Evangelist, foretold at distance. When *the people which walked in darkness should see a great light; when unto us a child should be born, unto us a son should be given; then should they joy before God, according to the joy of harvest, and as men rejoyce when they divide the spoil. When God shall come with*

Luke 2. 10, 11.

Isa. 9. 2, 6, 3.

Isa. 35. 4, 12. with

with recompence, when he shall come and save us; then the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Sion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads.

Thirdly, the belief in Jesus ought to inflame our affection, to kindle our love toward him, engaging us to hate all things in respect of him, that is, so far as they are in opposition to him, or pretend to equal share of affection with him. *He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me,* saith our Saviour; so forbidding all prelation of any natural affection, because our spiritual union is far beyond all such relations. Nor is a higher degree of love only debarr'd us, but any equal pretension is as much forbidden. *If any man come to me,* saith the same Christ, *and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.* Is it not this Jesus in whom the love of God is demonstrated to us, and that in so high a degree as is not expressible by the pen of man? *God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son.* Is it not he who shewed his own love to us far beyond all possibility of parallel? for *greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends: but while we were yet sinners,* that is, enemies, *Christ died for us,* and so became our Jesus. Shall thus the Father shew his love in his Son? shall thus the Son shew his love in himself? and shall we no way study a requital? or is there any proper return of love but love? The voice of the Church, in the language of Solomon, is, *My love:* nor was that only the expression of a Spouse, but of * Ignatius, a man, after the Apostles, most remarkable. And whosoever considereth the infinite benefits to the sons of men flowing from the actions and sufferings of their Saviour, cannot choose but conclude with S. Paul, *If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maran-atha.*

Lastly, the confession of faith in Jesus is necessary to breed in us a correspondent esteem of him, and an absolute obedience to him. That we may be raised to the true temper of S. Paul, who *counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, for whom he suffered the loss of all things, and counted them but dung, that he might win Christ.* Nor can we pretend to any true love of Jesus, except we be sensible of the readiness of our obedience to him: as knowing what language he used to his Disciples, *If ye love me, keep my commandments;* and what the Apostle of his bosom spake, *This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments.* His own Disciples once marvelled, and said, *What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?* How much more should we wonder at all disobedient Christians, saying, *What manner of men are these, who refuse obedience unto him whom the senseless creatures, the winds and the sea, obeyed?* Was the name of Jesus at first sufficient to cast out devils? and shall man be more refractory than they? Shall the Exorcist say to the evil spirit, *I adjure thee by the name of Jesus,* and the devil give place? shall an Apostle speak unto us in the same name, and we refuse? Shall they obey that name, which signifieth nothing unto them; for *he took not on him the nature of Angels,* and so is not their Saviour? and can we deny obedience unto him, who *took on him the seed of Abraham, and became obedient to death even the death of the Cross,* for us, that we might be raised to full power and absolute dominion over us, and by that power be enabled at last to save us, and in the mean time to rule and govern us, and exact the highest veneration from us? For *God hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.*

Having thus declared the Original of the name Jesus, the means and ways by

by which he which bare it expressed fully the utmost signification of it; we may now clearly deliver, and every particular Christian easily understand what it is he says, when he makes his confession in these words, *I believe in Jesus*: which may be not unfitly in this manner described. I believe not only that there is a God who made the World; but I acknowledge and profess that I am fully perswaded of this, as of a certain and infallible truth, that there was and is a man, whose name by the ministry of an Angel was called *Jesus*, of whom, particularly *Jesuah*, the first of that name, and all the rest of the Judges and Saviours of *Israel*, were but types. I believe that *Jesus*, in the highest and utmost importance of that name, to be the Saviour of the world; inasmuch as he hath revealed to the sons of men the only way for the salvation of their Souls, and wrought the same way out for them by the virtue of his Blood, obtaining remission for sinners, making reconciliation for enemies, paying the price of redemption for captives; and shall at last himself actually confer the same salvation, which he hath promulged and procured, upon all those which unfeignedly and stedfastly believe in him. I acknowledge there is no other way to Heaven beside that which he hath shewn us, there is no other means which can procure it for us but his blood, there is no other person which shall confer it on us but himself. And with this full acknowledgment, *I believe in Jesus*.

And in Jesus Christ.

HAVING thus explained the proper Name of our Saviour, *Jesus*, we come unto that Title of his Office usually joyned with his name, which is therefore the more diligently to be examined, because the * *Jews* who always acknowledged him to be *Jesus*, ever denied him to be *Christ*, and agreed together; ^a that if any man did confess that he was *Christ*, he should be put out of the *Synagogue*.

* *Ἰησοῦς ἦν ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀθεῖον οὐκ ἔστι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰησοῦς ἦν ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀθεῖον οὐκ ἔστι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ*. S. Cyril. Cat. 10.
^a *John 9. 22.*

For the full explication of this Title, it will be necessary, first, to deliver the signification of the word; secondly, to shew upon what grounds the *Jews* always expected a *Christ* or *Messias*; thirdly, to prove that the *Messias* promised to the *Jews* is already come; fourthly, to demonstrate that our *Jesus* is that *Messias*; and fifthly, to declare in what that *Uction*, by which *Jesus* is *Christ*, doth consist, and what are the proper effects thereof. Which five particulars being clearly discussed, I cannot see what should be wanting for a perfect understanding that *Jesus is Christ*.

For the first, we find in the Scriptures two several names, *Messias* and *Christ*, but both of the same signification; as appeareth by the speech of the woman of *Samarit*, *I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ*; and more plainly by what *Andrew* spake unto his brother *Simon*, *We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ*. *Messias* in the *Hebrew* tongue, *Christ* in the *Greek*. * *Messias*, the language of *Andrew* and the woman of *Samarit*, who spake in *Syriack*; *Christ*, the interpretation of *S. John*, who wrote his Gospel in the *Greek*, as the most general language in those days: and the signification of them both is, *the Anointed*. *S. Paul* and the rest of the Apostles, writing in that language, used the *Greek* name, which the *Latins* did retain, calling him constantly *Christus*; and we in *English* have retained the same, as universally naming him *Christ*.

John 4. 25.
John 1. 41.

Ἰησοῦς ἦν ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀθεῖον οὐκ ἔστι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰησοῦς ἦν ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀθεῖον οὐκ ἔστι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ

* *Ἰησοῦς ἦν ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀθεῖον οὐκ ἔστι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ*

Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ and מְשִׁיחַ unctus, in the Syriac מְשִׁיחָא: in the Greek, by changing ψ into ως, by omitting τ and putting in pronunciation, and by adding ς as their ordinary termination, ΜΗΧΩΣ is turned into Μεσσίας. That this, as the Greek Μεσσίας and the Latin Christus, is evident; and yet the Latins living at a distance, strangers to the customs of the Jews, and the doctrine of the Christians, mistook this name, and called him Chrestus from the Greek χρεστῆς. So Suetonius in the life of Claudius, c. 25. Iudeos in partibus Christum afflicto tumultuantes Roma expulsi. Which was not only his mistake, but generally the Romans at first, as they named him Chrestus, so they called us Chrestiani, Petri. adv. Gentes. Sed & cum peperam Christiani pronuntia-

That there was among the *Jews* an expectation of such a *Christ* to come, is most evident. The woman of *Samaria* could speak with confidence, *I know that Messias cometh.* And the unbelieving *Jews*, who will not acknowledge that he is already come, expect him still. Thus we find *all men musing in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not.* When *Jesus* taught in the Temple, those which doubted said, *When Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is;* those which believed said, *When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?* Whether therefore they doubted, or whether they believed in *Jesus*, they all expected a *Christ* to come; and the greater their opinion was of him, the more they believed he was that *Messias.* Many of the people said, *Of a truth this is the Prophet:* others said, *This is the Christ.* As soon as *John* began to baptize, the *Jews* sent *Priests* and *Levites* from *Jerusalem*, to ask him, *Who art thou?* that is, whether he were the *Christ*, or no, as appeareth out of his answer, *And he confessed and denied not, but confessed, I am not the Christ.* For as they asked him after, *What then? Art thou Elias?* and he said, *I am not: Art thou that Prophet?* and he answered, *No:* So without question their first demand was, * *Art thou the Christ?* and he answered, *I am not.* From whence it clearly appeareth that there was a general expectation among the *Jews* of a *Messias* to come; nor only so, but it was always counted among them an Article of their Faith, which all were obliged to believe who professed the Law of *Moses*, and whosoever denied that, was thereby interpreted to deny the Law and the Prophets. Wherefore it will be worth our enquiry to look into the grounds upon which they built that expectation.

It is most certain that the *Messias* was promised by God, both before and under the Law. God said unto *Abraham*,^a *In Isaac shall thy seed be called:* and we know that was a promise of a *Messias* to come, because *S. Paul* hath taught us, ^b *Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, unto seeds, as of many, but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ.* The Lord said unto *Moses*, *I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee.* And *S. Peter* hath sufficiently satisfied us, that this Prophet promised to *Moses* is *Jesus the Christ.* Many are the Prophecies which concern him, many the promises which are made of him: but yet some of them very obscure; others, though plainer, yet have relation only to the person, not to the notion or the word *Messias.* Whosoever he is spoken of as the Anointed, it may well be first understood of some other person; except one place in *Daniel*, where *Messiah* is foretold to be cut off: and yet even there the Greek Translation hath not the *Messias*, but the *Unction.* It may therefore seem something strange, how so universal an expectation of a Redeemer under the name of the *Messias* should be spread through the Church of the *Jews.*

But if we consider that in the space of seventy years of the *Babylonish* Captivity the ordinary *Jews* had lost the exact understanding of the old *Hebrew* language before spoken in *Judæa*, and therefore when the Scriptures were read unto them, they found it necessary to interpret them to the people in the *Chaldee* language, which they had lately learned: As when *Ezra* the Scribe brought the book of the Law of *Moses* before the Congregation, the *Levites* are said to have caused the people to understand the Law, because they read in the book, in the Law of God, distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading. Which constant interpretation begat at last a *Chaldee* Translation of the Old Testament to be read every Sabbath in the Synagogues: And that being not exactly made word for word with the *Hebrew*, but with a liberty of a brief exposition by the way, took in, together with the Text, the general opinion of the learned *Jews.* By which means it

John 4. 25.

Luke 3. 15.

John 7. 27.

Verse 31.

Verse 40, 41.

John 1. 19.

Verse 20.

Verse 21.

* So Nonnus hath expressed, what in the Evangelist is to be understood; Μυστικός δ' ἔρενον ἰμῆ- λυδες δεξι- μύθη, Τίς Ἰσ- πέλας; μὴ Χριστός ἔστι; || Author Sopher Ickarim, l. 4. c. ult. Blaimon. Tract. de Regibus, c. 11. ^a Gen. 21. 12. ^b Gal. 3. 16.

Aits 3. 22.

Dan. 9: 26.

Nehem. 8. 8.

came to pass that not only the doctrine, but the Name also, of the *Messias* was very frequent and familiar with them. Inſomuch that even in the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe now extant there is expreſs mention of the *Messias* in above ſeventy places, beſide that of *Daniel*. The * *Jews* then informed by the plain words of *Daniel*, inſtructed by a conſtant interpretation of the Law and the Prophets read in their Synagogues every Sabbath-day, relying upon the inſallible predictions and promiſes of God, did all unanimouſly expect out of their own Nation, of the Tribe of *Judah*, of the Family of *David*, a *Messias*, or a *Chriſt*, to come.

* Celfus the Epicurean acknowledged that both the Jews and Chriſtians did confeſs that the Prophets did foretel a Saviour of the world. Οἴεται μὴδὲν Ἐπίκουρος εἶναι ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ καὶ Χριστιανισμῷ περὶ ἀλλήλους ζήσησι· πισδόντων μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι τὸν θεὸν Πανδουζῶν περιεργασθῆναι τις ἐπισημύσαν Σωτῆρα πρὸ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπων. Orig. adv. Celsum, l. 3. And this Saviour, saith Origen, was to be called, χριστὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πάντας, Χριστός.

Now this being granted, as it cannot be denied, our next consideration is of the Time in which this promise was to be fulfilled: which we shall demonstrate out of the Scriptures to be past, and consequently that the promised *Messias* is already come. The prediction of *Jacob* on his death-bed is clear and pregnant, ^a *The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and to him shall the gathering of the people be.*

^a Gen. 49. 10. * For instead of עַד כִּי יבֵּא שִׁילֹה

enkelos renders עַד דְּרִיבִיתִי מְשִׁיחָא

and Jonathan and the Jerusalem Targum.

עַד וְכִי דְרִיבִיתִי מְשִׁיחָא

Beside, the Catholics did generally so interpret it, because

עַד יְבִיא שִׁילֹה according to their computation, make the same Number

with the Letters of מְשִׁיחָא; and in the Talmud, ed. Sanhedrim,

Rabbi Joſuan asking what was the name of the *Messias*, the

of the School of R. Sebilu answer, שִׁילֹה

his name is Shiloh, according to that

which is written, until Shiloh come.

^b Ex. 11. 1. ^c Mic. 4. 1. ^d Gen. 49. 8.

^e Mal. 3. 1. הארון הוֹיָא מִדְּ הַמְּשִׁיחָא

Kimchi on the place.

But the Scepter is departed from *Judah*, neither is there one Law-giver left between his feet. Therefore *Shiloh*, that is, the *Messias*, is already come. That the *Jewish* government hath totally failed, is not without the greatest folly to be denied: and therefore that *Shiloh* is already come, except we should deny the truth of Divine predictions, must be granted. There remains then nothing to be proved, but that by *Shiloh* is to be understood the *Messias*: which is sufficiently manifest both from the consent of the ancient *Jews*, and from the description immediately added to the name. For * all the old Paraphraſts call him expreſly the *Messias*, and the words which follow, *to him shall the gathering of the people be*, ſpeak no leſs; as giving an explication of his Perſon, Office, or Condition, who was but darkly deſcribed in the name of *Shiloh*.

For this is the ſame character by which he was ſignified unto *Abraham*; *In thy ſeed ſhall all the nations of the earth be bleſſed*: by which he is decyphered in *Iſaiah*; ^b *In that day there ſhall be a root of Jeſſe, which ſhall ſtand for an enſign of the people; to it ſhall the Gentiles ſeek, and his reſt ſhall be glorious*: and in *Micah*, ^c *The mountain of the Houſe of the Lord ſhall be eſtabliſhed on the top of the mountains, and it ſhall be exalted above the hills, and people ſhall flow unto it.*

And thus the bleſſing of *Judah* is plainly intelligible: ^d *Judah thou art he whom thy brethren ſhall praife; thy hand ſhall be in the neck of thine enemies, thy father's children ſhall bow down before thee.* Thou ſhalt obtain the primogeniture of thy brother *Reuben*, and by virtue thereof ſhalt rule over the reſt of the Tribes: the government ſhall be upon thy ſhoulders, and all thy brethren ſhall be ſubject unto thee. And that you may underſtand this bleſſing is not to expire until it make way for a greater, know that this government ſhall not fail, until there come a ſon out of your loins who ſhall be far greater than your ſelf: for whereas your dominion reacheth only over your brethren, and ſo is confined unto the Tribes of *Iſrael*; his kingdom ſhall be univerſal, and all nations of the earth ſhall ſerve him. Being then this *Shiloh* is ſo deſcribed in the text, and acknowledged by the ancient *Jews* to be the *Messias*, being God had promiſed by *Jacob* the government of *Iſrael* ſhould not fail until *Shiloh* came; being that government is viſibly and undeniably already failed: it followeth inevitably, that the *Messias* is already come.

In the ſame manner the Prophet *Malachy* hath given an expreſs ſignification of the coming of the *Messias* while the Temple ſtood. ^e *Behold, I will ſend my meſſenger, and he ſhall prepare the way before me; and the Lord whom ye ſeek ſhall*

shall suddenly come to his Temple, even the messenger of the Covenant whom ye delight in. And Haggai yet more clearly; Thus saith the Lord of hosts, *Yet once it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; And I will shake all nations; and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than the glory of the former, saith the Lord of hosts.* It is then most evident from these predictions, that the *Messias* was to come while the second Temple stood. It is as certain that the second Temple is not now standing. Therefore except we contradict the Veracity of God, it cannot be denied but the *Messias* is already come. Nothing can be objected to enervate this argument, but that these Prophecies concern not the *Messias*; and yet the ancient Jews confessed they did, and that they do so cannot be denied. For, first, those titles, *the Angel of the Covenant, the delight of the Israelites, the desire of all nations,* are certain and known characters of the *Christ* to come. And, secondly, it cannot be conceived how the glory of the second Temple should be greater than the glory of the first, without the coming of the *Messias* to it. For the Jews themselves have observed that five signs of the Divine glory were in the first Temple, which were wanting to the second: as the Urim and Thummim, by which the High Priest was miraculously instructed of the will of God; the Ark of the Covenant, from whence God gave his answers by a clear and audible voice; the Fire upon the Altar, which came down from Heaven, and immediately consumed the Sacrifice; the Divine presence or habitation with them, represented by a visible appearance, or given, as it were, to the King and High Priest by anointing with the oyl of unction; and, lastly, the Spirit of Prophecy, with which those especially who were called to the prophetic office were indued. And there was no comparison between the beauty and glory of the structure or building of it, as appeared by the tears dropt from those eyes which had beheld the former, (*For many of the Priests and Levites, and chief of the Fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first House, when the foundation of this House was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice;*) and by those words which God commanded Haggai to speak to the people for the introducing of this Prophecy, *Who is left among you that saw this House in her first glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?* Being then the structure of the second Temple was so far inferior to the first, being all those signs of the Divine glory were wanting in it with which the former was adorned; the glory of it can no other way be imagined greater, than by the coming of him into it in whom all those signs of the Divine glory were far more eminently contained: and this Person alone is the *Messias*. For he was to be the glory of the people *Israel*, yea even of the God of *Israel*; he was the Urim and Thummin, by whom the will of God, as by a greater Oracle, was revealed; he the true Ark of the Covenant, the only Propitiatory by his blood; he which was to baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, the true Fire which came down from Heaven, he which was to take up his habitation in our flesh; and to dwell among us, that we might behold his glory; he who received the Spirit without measure, and from whose fulness we do all receive. In him were all those signs of the Divine glory united, which were thus divided in the first Temple; in him they were all more eminently contained than in those: therefore his coming to the second Temple was, as the sufficient, so the only, means by which the glory of it could be greater than the glory of the first. If then the *Messias* was to come while the second Temple stood, as appeareth by God's prediction and promise; if that Temple many Ages since hath ceased to be, there being not one stone left upon a stone; if it certainly were before the destruction of it in

Hag. 2. 6, 7, 9

Exod. 3. 12.

Hag. 2. 3.

greater glory than ever the former was; if no such glory could accrue unto it but by the coming of the *Messias*: then is that *Messias* already come.

Having thus demonstrated out of the Promises given to the *Jews*, that the *Messias* who was so promised unto them must be already come, because those events which were foretold to follow his coming are already past; we shall proceed unto the next particular, and prove that the man *Jesus*, in whom we believe, is that *Messias* who was promised. First, it is acknowledged both by the *Jew* and *Gentile*, that this *Jesus* was born in *Judæa*, and lived and died there, before the Commonwealth of *Israel* was dispersed; before the second Temple was destroyed, that is, at the very time when the Prophets foretold the *Messias* should come. And there was no other beside him, that did with any shew of probability pretend to be, or was accepted as, the *Messias*. Therefore we must confess he was, and only he could be, the *Christ*.

Secondly, all other Prophecies belonging to the *Messias* were fulfilled in *Jesus*, whether we look upon the Family, the Place, or the manner of his Birth; neither were they ever fulfilled in any person beside him: he then is, and no other can be, the *Messias*. That he was to come out of the Tribe of *Judah* and Family of *David*, is every where manifest. * The *Jews*, which mention *Messias* as a Son of *Joseph* or of *Ephraim*, do not deny, but rather dignifie, the Son of *David* or of *Judah*, whom they confess to be the greater *Christ*. There shall come forth a ^a rod out of the stem of *Jesse*, and a branch shall grow out of his roots, and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, saith the Prophet *Isaiab*. And again, || In that day there shall be a root of *Jesse*, which shall stand for an ensign of the people: to it shall the *Gentiles* seek, and his rest shall be glorious. Now who was it but *Jesus* of whom the Elders spake, Behold the Lion of the tribe of *Judah*, the root of *David*? who but he said, ^b I am the root and offspring of *David*, and the bright and morning star? The *Jews* did all acknowledge it, as appears by the question of our Saviour, ^c How say the Scribes that *Christ* is the Son of *David*? ^d What think ye of *Christ*? whose son is he? They say unto him, the son of *David*: and that of the people, amazed at the seeing of the blind, and speaking of the dumb, ^e Is not this the son of *David*? The blind cried out unto him, *Jesus*, thou son of *David*, have mercy on us; and the multitude cried, ^f Hosanna to the son of *David*. The Genealogy of *Jesus* shews his Family: the first words of the Gospel are, ^g The book of the generation of *Jesus Christ* the son of *David*. The Prophecy therefore was certainly fulfilled in respect of his lineage; ^h for it is evident that our Lord sprang out of *Judah*.

* The Jews have invented a double Messias: to one they attribute all those places which mention his low estate and sufferings; to the other such as speak of his power and glory. The one they style

משיח בן יוסף, the other משיח בן דוד

The son of Joseph they name also the son of Ephraim, and the son of David the son of Judah: as the Targum Cant.

4. 5. Thy two breasts are like two young roes, תרין מריקות

משיח בן דוד ומשיח בן אפרים

Two are thy redeemers, Messias the son of David, and Messias the son of Ephraim.

* Isa. 11. 1. 10. || Which the

Chaldee Paraphrase thus translates, ויפוך מלכא מבנוהי דישי ומשיחא מבני בנוהי יתדבי, and the Messias out of his sons sons. So Rabbi Solomon and Kimchi. ^b Rev. 5. 5. and 22. 16. ^c Mar. 12. 35. ^d Matt. 22. 42. ^e Matt. 12. 23. ^f Matt. 21. 9. ^g Matt. 1. 1. ^h Heb. 7. 14. ⁱ Matt. 2. 4. 5. ^k John 7. 41, 42. * Which expressly translatheth it thus, בנך קדמי יפוך משיחא למהוי עביר שגטן על ישראל, Out of thee shall come before me the Messias, that he may exercise domination in Israel. So R. Solomon, מסך לי יצא משיח בן דוד. So Kimchi and Abarbiniel, הוא מסך המשיח. ¹ Matt. 2. 5. 6

Judah,

Judah, for out of thee shall come a governour that shall rule my people Israel. This prediction was most manifestly and remarkably fulfilled in the Birth of Jesus, when by the providence of God it was so ordered that Augustus should then tax the world, to which end every one should go up into his own City. Whereupon Joseph and Mary his espoused Wife left Nazareth of Galilee, their habitation, and went into Berhlehem of Judaa, the City of David, there to be taxed, because they were of the house and lineage of David. And while they were there, as the days of the Virgin Mary were accomplished, so the prophecy was fulfilled; for there she brought forth her first-born Son; and so unto us was born that day in the City of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.

But if we add unto the Family and Place, the manner of his Birth, also foretold, the argument must necessarily appear conclusive. The Prophet Isaiah spake thus unto the house of David; The Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and shall call his name Immanuel. What nativity could be more congruous to the greatness of a Messias than that of a Virgin, which is most miraculous? what name can be thought fitter for him than that of Immanuel, God with us, whose Land Judaa is said to be? The Immanuel then thus born of a Virgin was without question the true Messias. And we know Jesus was thus born of the blessed Virgin Mary, that it might be fulfilled which was thus spoken of the Lord by the Prophet. Wherefore being all the prophecies concerning the Family, Place and manner of the Birth of the Messias were fulfilled in Jesus, and not so much as pretended to be accomplished in any other; it is again from hence apparent that this Jesus is the Christ.

Thirdly, he which taught what the Messias was to teach, did what the Messias was to do, suffered what the Messias was to suffer, and by suffering obtained all which a Messias could obtain, must be acknowledged of necessity to be the true Messias. But all this is manifestly true of Jesus. Therefore we must confess he is the Christ. For first, it cannot be denied but the Messias was promised as a Prophet and Teacher of the people. So God promised him to Moses; I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee. So Isaiah, Ezekiel and Hoseah have expressed him, as we shall hereafter have farther occasion to shew. And not only so, but as a greater Prophet, and more perfect Doctor, than ever any was which preceded him, more universal than they all. I have put my spirit upon him, saith God: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles, and the Isles shall wait for law. Now it is as evident that Jesus of Nazareth was the most perfect Prophet, the * Prince and Lord of all the Prophets, Doctors and Pastors, which either preceded or succeeded him. For he hath revealed unto us the most perfect will of God both in his precepts and his promises. He hath delivered the same after the most perfect manner, with the greatest authority; not like Moses and the Prophets, saying, Thus saith the Lord, but ^a I say unto you; nor like the Interpreters of Moses, for ^b he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes: with the greatest perspicuity, not, as those before him, under types and shadows, but plainly and clearly; from whence both he and his Doctrine is frequently called Light: with the greatest universality, as preaching that Gospel which is to unite all the Nations of the earth into one Church, that there might be one Shepherd and one Flock. Whatsoever then that great Prophet the Messias was to teach, that Jesus taught; and whatsoever works he was to do, those Jesus did.

When John the Baptist had heard the works of Christ, he sent two of his Disciples with this message to him, Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another? And Jesus returned this answer unto him; shewing the ground of

Luke 2. 4.

Luke 2. 11.

Isa. 7. 14

Isa. 8. 8.

Mat. 1. 21.

Isa. 42. 1, 4.

* Ἀρχιποι-
μῶν 1 Pet. 5. 4.
ὁ ποιμὴν τῆς
ἐκκλησίας ὁ
πρωτεύων ἐν
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
Heb. 13. 20.
ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ ἑ-
πίσκοπος τῆς
ἐκκλησίας,
1 Pet. 2. 25.
^a Mat. 5. 27.
^b Mat. 7. 29.

Mat. 11. 2, 3.

that message, *the works of Christ*, was a sufficient resolution of the question sent; *Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up.* And as *Jesus* alledged the works which he wrought to be a sufficient testimony that he was the *Messias*; so did those *Jews* acknowledge it, who said, *When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man doth?* And *Nicodemus*, a Ruler among them, confessed little less: *Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou dost, except God be with him.* Great and many were the miracles which *Moses* and the rest of the Prophets wrought for the ratification of the Law, and the demonstration of God's constant presence with his people; and yet all those wrought by so many several persons, in the space of above three thousand years, are far short of those which this one *Jesus* did perform within the compass of three years. The ambitious diligence of the *Jews* hath reckoned up seventy six miracles for *Moses*, and seventy four for all the rest of the Prophets: and supposing that they were so many, (though indeed they were not) how few are they in respect of those which are written of our Saviour! how inconsiderable, if compared with all which he wrought! when *S. John* testifieth with as great certainty of truth as height of Hyperbole, that *there are many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, he supposed that even the world it self could not contain the books that should be written.* Nor did our Saviour excel all others in the number of his miracles only, but in the power of working. Whatsoever miracle *Moses* wrought, he either obtained by his prayers, or else, consulting with God, received it by command from him; so that the power of miracles cannot be conceived as immanent or inhering in him. Whereas this power must of necessity be in *Jesus*, in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and to whom the Father had given to have life in himself. This he sufficiently shewed by working with a word, by commanding the winds to be still, the Devils to fly, and the dead to rise: by working without a word or any intervenient sign; as when the woman which had an issue of blood twelve years touched his garment, and straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up by the virtue which flowed out from the greater fountain of his power. And lest this example should be single, we find that the *men of Genesaret*, the people out of all *Judaea* and *Jerusalem*, and from the sea-coast of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, even the whole multitude sought to touch him; for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all. Once indeed *Christ* seemed to have prayed, before he raised *Lazarus* from the grave; but even that was done because of the people which stood by: not that he had not power within himself to raise up *Lazarus*, who was afterward to raise himself; but that they might believe the Father had sent him. The immanency and inherency of this power in *Jesus* is evident in this, that he was able to communicate it to whom he pleased, and actually did confer it upon his Disciples: *Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy.* Upon the Apostles: *Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give.* Upon the first Believers: *These signs shall follow them that believe; in my name they shall cast out devils. He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do.* He then which did more actions divine and powerful than *Moses* and all the Prophets ever did, he which performed them in a manner far more divine than that by which they wrought, hath done all which can be expected the *Messias*, foretold by them, should do.

Nor hath our *Jesus* only done, but suffered, all which the *Messias* was to suffer. For we must not with the *Jews* deny a suffering *Christ*, or fondly of our

own invention make a double *Messias*, one to suffer, and another to reign. It is clear enough by the Prophet *Isaias* what his condition was to be, whom he calls the *^ Servant of God*: and the later *Jews* cannot deny but their *^ fathers* constantly understood that place of the *Messias*.

Now the sufferings of *Christ* spoken of by the Prophet may be reduced to two parts: one in respect of contempt, by which he was despised of men; the other in respect of his death, and all those indignities and pains which preceded and led unto it. For the first, the Prophet hath punctually described his condition, saying, *^ He hath no form or comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men.* He || seems to describe a personage no way amiable, an aspect indeed rather uncomely: and so the most *^ ancient Writers* have interpreted *Isaias*, and

² *Ihi.* 52. 13.
[^] For first, instead of those words Behold my servant shall deal prudently, the Targum hath it plainly הנה יהוה עבדו יושע בן דוד Behold, my son the Messias shall prosper. and Solomon

Iarchi on the place, רכותינו מקמי לה במשיח. Our Rabbins understand this of the *Messias*. And the reason which he renders of their interpretation is very observable. For they say, says he, that the *Messias* is stricken, as it is written, He took our infirmities and bare our griefs; which are the words of the 4. verse of the 53. Chapter. From whence we may perceive how the ancient *Jews* did join the latter part of the 52. Chapter with the 53. and expound them of the same person. Besides, he cites a certain Midrash or Gloss, which attributes the same verse to the *Messias*, and that is to be found in Bereshit Rabba upon Gen. 23. 10. where falling upon that place in Zach. 4. 7. What art thou, O great mountain, before Zerubbabel? he answers, הנה יהוה עבדו יושע בן דוד that great Mountain is the *Messias*. Then asking again, Why doth he call the *Messias* a great mountain? he gives this answer, שהוא גורל מן האבות שנה הגדולה שנה עבדו יושע בן דוד. Because he is greater than the *Fathers*, as it is written, Behold, my servant shall understand, that is, the *Messias*; which are the words of the verse before cited. And the same Bereshit Rabba, upon Gen. 24. 67. saith, *Messias* the King was in the generation of the wicked; that he gave himself to seek for mercies for Israel, and to fasting and humbling himself for them, as it is written; and so produces the words of La. 53. 5. From whence it appears again, that the Author thereof interpreted both the chapters of the same *Messias*. And further it is observable, that the Midrash upon Ruth 2. 14. expounds the same verse in the same manner. And Rabbi Moses Allshech speaks yet more fully of the consent of the ancient *Jewish Doctors* upon this place, הנה יהוה עבדו יושע בן דוד אחד קיי מוקבלו בני ער מלך המשיח וזו בר. Behold our *Doctors* of happy memory conclude with one mouth, as they have received from their ancestors, that this is spoken of the *Messias*. From hence it appears that it was originally the general sense of the *Jews*, that all that piece of *Isaias* is a description of the *Messias*, and consequently that the *Apostles* cannot be blamed by them now for applying it to *Christ*; and that the modern *Jews* may well be suspected to frame their contrary explications out of a wilful opposition to *Christianity*. *Isa.* 52. 2, 3. || The first וזו בר seems to signify no less, as being from the root ובר which signifieth to form, figure, fashion or delineate; from whence the *Noun* attributed to any person signifieth the feature, complexion, shape, or composition of the body: as Rachel was ובר (בר) form pulchra, Gen. 9. 17. and so Joseph, ובר (בר) Gen. 36. 6. so Abigail and Esther, and in general, Deut. 21. 11. with an addition of fair added to ובר whereas David is called, without such addition, ובר (בר) but with the full signification, ο αριος αγαθος πολυαισθη. In Judges 8. 18. אחד כהאר בני וזמר. εις δυναμικα υβ βασιλευς, for the Roman; but the Aldus and Complut. better, ως εις υων βασιλευς. according to that verse of Euripides cited by Athenaeus and Porphyrius, Πρωτον μιν εις αιματον τυραννιδου. The *Messias* was to be a King, whose external form and personage spake no such Majesty. [^] As Justin Martyr, p. 232. Ο υιος ηρωδου εις τω πρωτω παρρησιαν τω Χριστω, εν η και ατιμη, και αμειδης, και θνητος εν νουθετι κενουρωσθησεν. Ελθουσι τω Ιησου οτι Ιερουσαλη, και ρομιζουμις Ιασηρ τω τελευτω υβ σπαρχην, και αμειδης ως αιρησασθαι εν ελευσισον, εαυτουμιλυς. Dial. cum Tyrph. Επιστην γο οι εν εραγω αρχοντες εωρον αειδη και ατιμον το εις και αμειδον εν οφθαλμοις αυτων, ε γνωριζουτες αυτων επωθανον ηο. Τις δην εις ο βασιλευς τ δος; Ibid. And Clem. Alex. Τον υιον αυτων ο οφθαλμοσχερον γαρ εναι διδ' Ησαια το πνευμα μαρτυρει. Και εδιδωκε αυτων, και εις εχεν εις &c. Ped. 3. c. 1. "Οτι γε και ωτις η εφθαλη της Εκκλησιας εν σαρκι μιν αειδης διεληλυθε και αμωροσ. Strom. 2. And *Celsus*, impiously as a negat' until the descent of the Holy Ghost upon our *Saviour*, says, it is impossible that any body in which/ something of the Divinity were should not differ from others. Τδο υ, the body of *Christ*, εδεν αλλο διερεν, αλλ' ως οραπ, μικρον, και δυναμικον, και αμειδης, και αμειδης λυ: For which *Cels* s' body is ο αμειδης seems to take from the common report of *Christians* in his age, Origen will have him take it out of *Isaias*. and upon that acknowledgment το δυναμικον, & the other two, μικρον and αμειδης, he denies. Ομοιοτητως τοιγω γαρ ερεπει τα εδεν δυναμικον εναι τδ Ιησου σωμα, ε μιν ως κληθεσθαι, και αμειδης, ε δει σαρωσ διαλυται οτι μικρον λυ' εχεν υ β και εστις ετω παρο το εδεν αμειδης, &c. and then cites this place, and so returns it as an answer to the argument of *Celsus*, that he says he was first led to be as he was, he must be the *Son of God*. Μεγαλη και ασωφει η ετι τδ ε αμωροσ δυναμικον η Ιησυν υιον η δεοσ. το εδεν αμειδης εδεν υ υγιεσως αυτω πετρησησθη και σελ τδ εδης αυτω. Orig. contra Celsum. l. 6. In the same sense did S. Cyril take these words of the Prophet; who, speaking of that place of the Psalmist, speciosus forma pra filiis hominum, ο αμειδης this must be understood of his Divinity, Κενας γο αυτω και ταπεινωσ τ υβ σαρκος οικονομιασ ελον εδεν το μυστηριον. γαρ εις δυναμικον και οφθαλμοσφητης Ησαιασ σελ αυτω, Ουκ εχεν εις εδ, εδεν και λυ, &c. and again, Εν εδεν τερθεν ο υδε πολλαν ακολυεσαστω. Tertullian speaks plainly as to the prophecy, and too freely in his way of expression: Sed carni terrene non mira conditio ipsa erat quae cetera eius miranda faciebat, cum dicerent, Unde huic doct' vni hae ty signa ista? adeo nec humanae honestatis corpus fuit, nedum coelestis claritatis. Tacentibus apud nos quoque prophetis (Ihu. 52. 2.) de ignobili aspectu ius, ipse passiones ipseque contumelia loquuntur. Passiones quidem humanam carnem, contumelia vero inhonestam probaverunt. An ausus ellet atque ungue summo perstringere corpus novum, sputaminibus contaminare faciem nisi merentem? De carne Christi, c. 4. And that we may be sure he pointed at that place in *Isaias*, he says, that *Christ* was ne aspectu quid in honestus: Annunciavi enim, inquit, de illo sicut puerulus, sicut radix in terra siccanti, & non est species eius neque gloria. Adv. Marcion. l. 2. c. 17. & ad. Judaeos, c. 14. This humility of *Christ*, in taking upon him the nature of man without the ordinary ornaments of man at first acknowledged, was afterwards denied, as appears by S. Hierome, on *Isaias* 55. Inglorius erat inter homin' aspectus eius, nisi quo formae significat faeditatem, sed quod in humilitate venerit & pauperitate. And Epist. 140. Abique passionibus crucis in aeternis pulchrior est virgo de virgine, qui non ex voluntate Dei, sed ex Deo natus est. Nisi enim habuisset & in vuln' q' addidit oculis que sidereum, nunquam cum statim secuti fuissent Apostoli, nec qui ad comprehendendum eum venerat corrumpent. So S. Chryostome interprets the words of *Isaias* of his Divinity, or Humility, or his Passion; but those of the Psalmist, of his natural carnal beauty. Ουδε γο θαυμαστρον λυ θαυμαστος μινος, αλλα και στανουδου α τλωσ πολλις ενας χρεσθησθηστω: ετ τοσ εσαη της δυνατων λεγει, Ορατω και λυ πασ τοι υδς ηυ ανδρωπων. Humil. 28. in Mat. Afterwards they began to magnify the external beauty of his body, and confined themselves to one kind of picture or portraiture, with a zealous pretence of a likeness not to be denied

denied, which 800. years since was known by none, every several Country having a several Image. Whence came that argument of the Iconoclasts by way of Curie, which of those Images was the true : Πότερον ἢ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους, ἢ ἡμεῖς Ἰνδοὶ γεγόνησιν, ἢ ἢ παρὰ Ἑλλήσιν, ἢ ἢ παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις ; ἢ ἢ ὁμοίαι ἀλλήλων αὐταί. And well might none of these be like another, when every nation painted our Saviour in the nearest similitude to the people of their own Country. Ἐλλήνες μὲν αὐτοῖς ἕμοιον ὅτι γὰρ εἰκάζει ἢ Χριστὸν νομίζουσιν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μάλλον ἑαυτοῖς εἰκάζουσι. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ πάλιν μορφῇ τῇ αὐτῇ, καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἄλλοι ὡς ἑαυτοῖς. Phorius, Epist. 64. And the difference of opinions in this kind is sufficiently apparent out of these words in Suidas, Ἰστοῦν δὲ ὅτι εἰσὶν οἱ ἀπειρεσίσοι οἱ Ἰσθρικῶν, ὡς τὸ ἄλλο καὶ ὀλιγοτερον οἰκιστέον ὅτι γεγέννη ὅτι ἢ κλέον τὸ Χριστῷ.

confessed the fulfilling of it in the body of our Saviour. But what the aspect of his outward appearance was, because the Scriptures are silent, we cannot now know : and it is enough that we are assured, the state and condition of his life was in the eye of the Jews without honour and inglorious. For though, *being in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God : yet he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant.* For thirty years he lived with his mother Mary and Joseph his reputed father, of a mean profession, and was subject to them. When he left his mother's house, and entered on his prophetic office, he passed from place to place, sometimes received into a house, other times lodging in the fields : for while *the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, the Son of man had not where to lay his head.* From this low estate of life and condition, seemingly inglorious, arose in the Jews a neglect of his works, and contempt of his Doctrine. *Is not this the Carpenters son ?* nay farther, *Is not this * the Carpenter, the son of Mary ? and they were offended at him.* Thus was it fulfilled in him, *he was despised and rejected of men, and they esteemed him not.*

This contempt of his personage, condition, doctrine and works, was by degrees raised to hatred, detestation, and persecution to a cruel and ignominious death. All which if we look upon in the gross, we must acknowledge it fulfilled in him to the highest degree imaginable, that he was *a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief.* But if we compare the particular predictions with the Historical passages of his sufferings, if we joyn the Prophets and evangelists together, it will most manifestly appear the *Messias* was to suffer nothing which *Christ* hath not suffered. If *Zachary* say *they weighed for my price thirtypieces of Silver* ; *S. Matthew* will shew that *Judas* sold *Jesus* at the same rate : for the chief Priests *covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver.* If *Isaiab* say *that he was wounded, if Zachary, they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, if the Prophet David yet more particularly, they pierced my hands and my feet* ; the Evangelist will shew how he was fastened to the Cross, and *Jesus* himself *the print of the nails.* If the *Psalmist* tell us, *they should laugh him to scorn, and shake their head, saying, He trusted in the Lord that he would deliver him ; let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him* ; *S. Matthew* will describe the same action, and the same expression : *For they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, He trusted in God, let him deliver him now, if he will have him ; for he said, I am the son of God.* Let *David* say, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?* and the Son of *David* will shew in whose person the Father spake it, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani.* Let *Isaiab* foretel, *he was numbred with the transgressours* ; and you shall find him crucified between two thieves, one on his right hand, the other on his left. Read in the *Psalmist*, *In my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink* ; and you shall find in the Evangelist, *Jesus, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, said, I thirst : And they took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.* Read farther yet, *They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture* ; and, to fulfil the prediction, the Souldiers shall make good the distinction, *who took his garments, and made four parts, to every souldier a part, and also his coat : now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.* They said therefore among themselves, *Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be.*

Lastly,

Phil. 2. 6, 7.

Luke 2. 51.

Mat. 2. 20.

^a Mat. 13. 55.
^b Mar. 6. 2.
 * καὶ τὸν
 ἰσονομίζον
 ἰδὲν ταύτην
 τὰ τεχνονικὰ
 ἔργα εὐχόμενος
 ἐν αἰθροποῖς
 ἂν ἀεῖεσθαι
 ζυγα.

Just. Mart. Di-
 al. cum Tryph.
 * Isa. 53. 3.

Zach. 11. 12.

Mat. 26. 15.
 Isa. 53. 5.
 Zach. 12. 10.
 Psal. 22. 16.

John 20. 25.
 Psal. 22. 7, 8.

Mat. 27. 39, 43.

Psal. 22. 1.

Mat. 27. 45.
 Isa. 53. 12.
 Mar. 15. 27.

Psal. 69. 21.

John 19. 28.
 Mar. 27. 48.

Psal. 22. 12.

John 19. 23, 24.

Lastly, let the Prophets teach us, that *he shall be brought like a lamb to the slaughter, and be cut off out of the land of the living*; all the Evangelists will declare how like a Lamb he suffered, and the very Jews will acknowledge that he was cut off. And now may we well conclude, *Thus it is written, and thus it behoved the Christ to suffer*; and what it so behoved him to suffer, that he suffered.

Neither only in his Passion, but after his death all things were fulfilled in *Jesus* which were prophesied concerning the *Messias*. *He made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death*, saith the Prophet of the *Christ* to come: and as the thieves were buried with whom he was crucified, so was *Jesus*, but laid in the Tomb of *Joseph of Arimathæa*, an honourable Counsellor. *After two days will he revive us, in the third day he will raise us up*, saith *Hoseah* of the people of *Israel*: in whose language they were the * type of *Christ*; and the third day *Jesus* rose from the dead. *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand*. Now *David* is not ascended into the heavens, and consequently cannot be set at the right hand of God; but *Jesus* is already ascended, and set down at the right hand of God: and so all the house of *Israel* might know assuredly, that God hath made that same *Jesus*, whom they crucified, both Lord and *Christ*. For, he who taught whatsoever the *Messias*, promised by God, foretold by the Prophets, expected by the people of God, was to teach; he who did all which that *Messias* was by virtue of that office to do; he which suffered all those pains and indignities which that *Messias* was to suffer; he to whom all things happened after his death, the period of his sufferings, which were according to the Divine predictions to come to pass; he, I say, must infallibly be the true *Messias*. But *Jesus* alone taught, did, suffered and obtained all these things, as we have shewed. Therefore we may again infallibly conclude that our *Jesus* is the *Christ*.

Fourthly, if it were the proper note and character of the *Messias*, that all Nations should come in to serve him; if the Doctrine of *Jesus* hath been preached and received in all parts of the world, according to that character so long before delivered; if it were absolutely impossible that the Doctrine revealed by *Jesus* should have been so propagated as it hath been, had it not been Divine; then must this *Jesus* be the *Messias*: and when we have proved these three particulars, we may safely conclude he is the *Christ*.

That all Nations were to come in to the *Messias*, and so the distinction between the *Jew* and *Gentile* to cease at his coming, is the most universal description in all the Prophecies. God speaks to him thus, as to his Son; *Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession*. It was one greater than *Solomon* of whom these words were spoken, *All kings shall fall down before him, and all nations shall serve him*. It shall come to pass in the last days, saith *Isaiab*, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it. And again, *In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek*. And in general, all the Prophets were but instruments to deliver the same message, which *Malachy* concludes, from God: *From the rising of the Sun, even to the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts*. Now being the bounds of *Judæa* were settled, being the promise of God was to bring all nations in at the coming of the *Messias*, being this was it which the Jews so much opposed, as loth to part from their ancient and peculiar privilege; he which actually wrought this work must certainly be the *Messias*: and that *Jesus* did it, is most evident.

That all nations did thus come in to the Doctrine preached by *Jesus*, cannot be denied. For although he ^a were not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; although of those many *Israelites* which believed on him while he lived, very few were left immediately after his death: yet when the Apostles had received their Commission from him to ^b go teach all nations, and were ^c endued with power from on high by the plentiful effusion of the holy Ghost; the first day there was an accession of ^d three thousand souls; immediately after we find ^e the number of the men, beside women, was about five thousand; and still ^f believers were more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women. Upon the persecution at *Jerusalem*, they went through the ^g regions of *Judea*, *Galilee* and *Samarita*, and so the Gospel spread; insomuch that *S. James* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* spake thus unto *S. Paul*, ^h Thou seest, brother, how many thousands (or rather, how many myriads, that is, ten thousands) of the Jews there are which believe. Beside, how great was the number of the believing Jews strangers, scattered through *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, *Bithynia*, and the rest of the *Roman* Provinces, will appear out of the Epistles of *S. Peter*, *S. James*, and *S. John*. And yet all these are nothing to the fulness of the Gentiles which came after. First, those which were before Gentile-worshippers, acknowledging the same God with the Jews, but not receiving the Law: who had before abandoned their old Idolatry, and already embraced the true Doctrine of one God, and did confess the Deity which the Jews did worship to be that only true God; but yet refused to be circumcised, and so to oblige themselves to the keeping of the whole Law. Now the Apostles preaching the same God with *Moses*, whom they all acknowledged, and teaching that Circumcision and the rest of the legal Ceremonies were now abrogated, which those men would never admit, they were with the greatest facility converted to the Christian Faith. For being present at the Synagogues of the Jews, and understanding much of the Law, they were of all the Gentiles readiest to hear, and most capable of the Arguments which the Apostles produced out of the Scriptures to prove that *Jesus* was the *Christ*. Thus many of the ⁱ Greeks which came up to worship at *Jerusalem*, ^k devout men out of every nation under heaven, not men of Israel, but yet fearing God, did first embrace the Christian Faith. After them the rest of the Gentiles left the idolatrous worship of their Heathen gods, and in a short time in infinite multitudes received the Gospel. How much did *Jesus* work by one *S. Paul* to ^l the obedience of the Gentiles by word and deed? how did he pass from *Jerusalem* round about through *Phœnice*, *Syria* and *Arabia*, through *Asia*, *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, even to *Illyricum*, fully preaching the Gospel of *Christ*? How far did others pass beside *S. Paul*, that he should speak even of his time, that the ^m Gospel was preached to every creature under heaven? Many were the Nations, innumerable the people, which received the Faith in the Apostles days: and in not many years after, notwithstanding millions were cut off in their bloody persecutions, yet did their ⁿ numbers equalize half the *Roman* Empire: and little above two Ages after the death of the last Apostle, the Emperours of the world gave in their names to *Christ*, and submitted their scepters to his laws, that the ^o Gentiles might come to his light, and Kings to the brightness of his rising; that ^p Kings might become the nursing fathers, and Queens the nursing mothers, of the Church.

From hence it came to pass, that according to all the predictions of the Prophets, the one God of *Israel*, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, was acknowledged through the World for the only true God: that the Law given to *Israel* was taken for the true Law of God, but as given to that people, and so to cease when they ceased to be a people; except the moral part thereof, which, as an universal rule common to all people, is still acknowledged for the Law of God, given unto all, and obliging every man: that all the Oracles of the Heathen Gods, in all places where Christianity was received, did presently cease, and all the Idols or the Gods themselves, were rejected and condemned as spurious. For the Lord of Hosts had spoken concerning those times expressly; *It shall come to pass in that day, that I will cut off the names of the Idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered: also I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land.* Zech. 13. 2.

Now being this general reception of the Gospel was so anciently, so frequently, foretold, being the same was so clearly and universally performed, even this might seem sufficient to persuade that *Jesus is Christ*. But lest any should not yet be fully satisfied, we shall further shew, that it is impossible *Jesus* should have been so received for the true *Messias*, had he not been so; or that his Doctrine, which teacheth him to be the *Christ*, should be admitted by all nations for divine, had it not been such. For whether we look upon the Nature of the Doctrine taught, the Conditions of the Teachers of it, or the manner in which it was taught, it can no way seem probable that it should have had any such success, without the immediate working of the hand of God, acknowledging *Jesus* for his Son, the Doctrine for his own, and the fulfilling by the hands of the Apostles what he had foretold by the Prophets.

As for the Nature of the Doctrine, it was no way likely to have any such success. For, first, it absolutely condemned all other Religions, settled and corroborated by a constant succession of many Ages, under which many nations and kingdoms, and especially at that time the *Roman*, had signally flourished. Secondly, it contained Precepts far more ungrateful and troublesome to flesh and blood, and contrariant to the general inclination of mankind; as the abnegation of our selves, the mortifying of the flesh, the love of our enemies, and the bearing of the Cross. Thirdly, it enforced those Precepts seemingly unreasonable, by such Promises as were as seemingly incredible and unperceivable. For they were not of the good things of this world, or such as afford any complacency to our Sense; but of such as cannot be obtained till after this life, and necessarily presuppose that which then seemed as absolutely impossible, the Resurrection. Fourthly, it delivered certain predictions which were to be fulfilled in the persons of such as should embrace it, which seem sufficient to have kept most part of the world from listening to it, as dangers, losses, afflictions, tribulations, and, in sum, *All that would live godly in Christ Jesus should suffer persecution.* 2 Tim. 3. 12.

If we look upon the Teachers of this Doctrine, there appeared nothing in them which could promise any success. The first Revealer and Promulgger bred in the house of a Carpenter, brought up at the feet of no Professor, despised by the High-priests, the Scribes and Pharisees, and all the learned in the Religion of his Nation; in the time of his preaching apprehended, bound, buffeted, spit upon, condemned, crucified; betrayed in his life by one Disciple, denied by another; at his death distrusted by all. What advantage can we perceive toward the propagation of the Gospel in this Author of it, *Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness?* 1 Cor. 1. 23. What in those which followed him, sent by him, and thence called Apostles,

men by birth obscure, by education illiterate, by profession low and inglorious? How can we conceive that all the Schools and Universities of the World should give way to them, and the Kingdoms and Empires should at last come in to them, except their Doctrine were indeed Divine, except that *Jesus*, whom they testified to be the *Christ*, were truly so?

If we consider the manner in which they delivered this Doctrine to the world, it will add no advantage to their persons, or advance the probability of success. For in their delivery they used no such rhetorical expressions, or ornaments of eloquence, to allure or entice the world; they affected no such subtilty of wit, or strength of argumentation, as thereby to persuade and convince men; they made use of no force or violence to compel, no corporal menaces to affright mankind unto a compliance. But in a plain simplicity of words they nakedly delivered what they had seen and heard, *preaching, not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit.* It is not then rationally imaginable, that so many Nations should forsake their own Religions, so many Ages professed, and brand them all as damnable, only that they might embrace such precepts as were most unacceptable to their natural inclinations, and that upon such promises as seemed not probable to their reason, nor could have any influence on their sense, and notwithstanding those predictions which did assure them, upon the receiving of that Doctrine, to be exposed to all kind of misery: that they should do this upon the Authority of him who for the same was condemned and crucified, and by the persuasion of them who were both illiterate and obscure: that they should be enticed with words without eloquence, convinced without the least subtilty, constrained without any force. I say, it is no way imaginable how this should come to pass, had not the Doctrine of the Gospel, which did thus prevail, been certainly Divine; had not the light of the Word, which thus dispelled the clouds of all former Religions, come from Heaven; had not that *Jesus*, the *author and finisher of our faith*, been the true *Messias*.

To conclude this discourse. He who was in the world at the time when the *Messias* was to come, and no other at that time or since pretended; he who was born of the same family, in the same place, after the same manner, which the Prophets foretold of the birth of the *Messias*; he which taught all those truths, wrought all those miracles, suffered all those indignities, received all that glory, which the *Messias* was to teach, do, suffer, and receive; he whose Doctrine was received in all Nations, according to the character of the *Messias*; he was certainly the true *Messias*. But we have already sufficiently shewed that all these things are exactly fulfilled in *Jesus*, and in him alone. We must therefore acknowledge and profess that this *Jesus* is the promised *Messias*, that is, the *Christ*.

Having thus manifested the truth of this proposition, *Jesus is the Christ*, and shewed the interpretation of the word *Christ* to be *Anointed*; we find it yet * necessary for the explication of this Article, to enquire what was the end or immediate effect of his unction, and how or in what manner he was anointed to that end.

For the first, as the *Messias* was foretold, so was he typified: nor were the actions prescribed under the Law less predictive than the words of the Prophets. Nay, || whosoever were then anointed, were therefore so, because he was to be anointed. Now it is evident that among the *Jews* they were wont to * anoint those which were appointed as Kings over them: So *Samuel said unto Saul*, *The Lord sent me to anoint thee to be King over his people, over Israel.* When *Saul* was rejected, and *David* produced before *Samuel*, *the Lord said, Arise, anoint him, for this is he.* And some || may have contented themselves

with

1 Cor. 2. 4.

* In Christi nomine subauditur qui unctus est, & ipse qui unctio in qua unctus est.
Iren. l. 3. c. 20.
|| Οὐ βασιλεὺς παύσης ἕξ ἐὶ γρηγοῖ δὲ τὰ τὰ μετὰ τὸν ἕξ βασιλεὺς καὶ γρηγοῖ ἕξ ἐὶ δὲ δὴ.
Dial.
* Christus à chrimate dicitur: quia tunc antequam reges a sacerdotibus electo sacro profundebantur, sic Christus Sp.S. infusione repletus est. Author Ser. l. 1. de Temp. l. 1. Sam. 15. 1. Chap. 16. 12. | Sicut nunc Romanis indumentum in purpura insigne est regis dignitatis assumptum: sic illis antioctifici ungenti nomen ac potestatem regiam conferrebat. Lactan. l. 4. c. 7.

with this, that the *Messias* was to be a King. But not only the Kings, but beside, and long before them, the High Priests were also anointed; insomuch as the * *Anointed*, in their common language, signified their High Priest. And because these two were most constantly anointed, therefore || divers have thought it sufficient to assert that the *Messias* was to be a King and a Priest. But being not only the High Priests and Kings were actually anointed, (though they principally and most frequently;) for the Lord said unto Elias, ^a *Go anoint Hazael to be King over Syria, and Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be King over Israel, and Elisba the son of Shaphat shalt thou anoint to be Prophet in thy room*: therefore hence it * hath been concluded that the three Offices of Prophet, Priest, and King, belonged to *Jesus* as the *Christ*, and that upon good reason. For the Commonwealth of *Israel* was totally ordered and disposed, both in the Constitution and administration of it, for and with respect unto the *Messias*. The Constitution of that people was made by a conjunction and separation of them from all other nations on the earth: and this began in *Abraham*, with a peculiar promise of a seed in whom all the nations should be blessed, and be united into one Religion. That promised seed was the *Messias*, the type of whom was *Isaac*. This separation was continued by the administration of that Commonwealth, which was a *royal priesthood*: and that Administration of the people did consist in three functions, prophetic, regal, sacerdotal; all which had respect unto the || *Messias*, as the scope of all the Prophets, and the complement of their prophecies, as the Lord of the Temple, and the end of all the Sacrifices for which the Temple was erected, as the heir of an eternal Priesthood *after the order of Melchizedeck*, and of the Throne of *David*, or an everlasting Kingdom. Being then the Separation was to cease at the coming of the *Messias*, being that could not cease so long as the Administration of that people stood, being that Administration did consist in those three functions; it followeth that those three were to be united in the person of the *Messias*, who was to make all one, and consequently that the *Christ* was to be Prophet, Priest and King.

* For though at the first the sons of Aaron were anointed as well as Aaron, as appears Exod. 40. 15. Thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may administer to me in the Priests office: yet they were not after anointed, but the successors of Aaron only. For, saith the Text, their anointing shall surely be an everlasting Priesthood throughout their generations: and therefore after this just anointing they shall need no more, only the successors in the High-priesthood shall reiterate the unction: from whence the Priest that is anointed afterward signified

the High Priest, as Lev. 4. 3. **וַיִּשָׁחֲטוּ** LXX. δ' ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ καὶ χειροῦσθε by way of explication: whereas verse the 5. and the 16. of the same chapter, and 6. 22. they render it by a bare translation, ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ χειροῦσθε which by the vulgar Latin is translated, Sacerdos qui jure patri succederet, because no other but the Son which succeeded the Father in the office of the High Priest was afterwards anointed: as the Arabick, & similitur Sacerdos successor de filiis suis. For in the anointing of Aaron and his Sons, **וַיִּשָׁחֲטוּ כָל הַבָּאִים אַחֲרָיו לְהַיָּוֶה לְהַיָּוֶה כְּהֵנִים לְהַיָּוֶה לְמִשְׁחָתוֹ אַחַד כִּי אֶבְרָהָם נָדָב** *Levi Ben Gerson* 1 Kings 1. || As Lactan. Erat Judæis ante præceptum ut sacrum conficerent unguentum, quo perungi possent ii qui vocabantur ad sacerdotium vel ad regnum. l. 4. c. 7. And S. Aug. Prioribus Veteris Testamenti temporibus ad duas solas personas pertinuit unctio. Enarr. 2. Psal. 21. Christus vel Pontificale vel Regium nomen est. Nam prius & Pontificis unguento chrisimatis consecrabantur & Reges. Russ. in Symb. * 1 King. 19. 15, 16. * Τὸ τοῦ χρίσματος μὴ μόνον Ἀρχιερεῶσι παρεδίδωται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς καὶ ταῦτα Περσῆται καὶ Βασιλεύσιν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ τοῦ χρίσματος μόνον ἔχον ἔδον ἡμῶν τῷ κύριῳ. Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. l. 4. c. 15. & Hist. l. 1. c. 4. Wherefore S. Augustine recollecting a place in his 33 Questions, in which he had taught, the two fishes in the Gospel, duas illas personas significare quibus populus ille regebatur, ut per eas consiliorum moderamen acciperet, regiam scilicet & sacerdotalem, ad quas etiam sacramenta illi unctio pertinebat, makes this particular Retraction; Dicendum potius fuit, maxime pertinebat, quoniam unctos aliquando legimus & Prophetas. Retract. l. 1. c. 26. || Οὐ μόνον ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη τετιμημένη τὸ τοῦ χρίσματος κατεκόσμηται παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ὅς καὶ αὐτῶν νεύματι θεῶν περιούται χριστεῖς, εἰκονικῶς τινὰς χριστεῖς ἀπειραζόντο· ὅτι διὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς τοῦ μόνου καὶ ἀληθοῦς χριστεῖς, τῶ καὶ πάντων βασιλεύοντο θεῶν λόγῳ, βασιλικῆς καὶ ἀρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν τύπων δι' ἐαυτῶν ἔρερον, ἡδὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἡδὴ περιούται τινὰς διὰ χρίσματος χριστεῖς ἐν τύπῳ γεγονέναι παραλήφωμεν. ὡς τῶν ἀσπαραγῶν ἡδὴ τῶν ἀληθῶν χριστεῖς, ἡ ἔνθεον καὶ ἕρπυλλον λόγον, ἀνατορῶν ἔχον· μόνον ἀρχιερεῖα ἡδὴ ἔχον, καὶ μόνον ἀπάσις τῶν κλησιαστικῶν βωπιλέων, καὶ μόνον περιούται ἀρχιερωσύνη τῶ πατρὸς τυχόντων. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 3.

Again, the Redemption or Salvation which the *Messias* was to bring, consisteth in the freeing of a sinner from the state of sin and eternal death into a state of righteousness and eternal life. Now a freedom from sin in respect of the guilt could not be wrought without a sacrifice propitiatory, and therefore there was a necessity of a Priest; a freedom from sin in respect of the dominion could not be obtained without a revelation of the will of God, and of his wrath against all ungodliness, therefore there was also need of a Prophet;

Prophet; a translation from the state of death into eternal life is not to be effected without absolute authority and irresistible power, therefore a King was also necessary. The *Messias* then, the Redeemer of *Israel*, was certainly anointed for that end, that he might become Prophet, Priest, and King. And if we believe him whom we call *Jesus*, that is, our Saviour and Redeemer, to be *Christ*, we must assert him by his unction sent to perform all these three Offices.

That *Jesus* was anointed to the Prophetical Office, though we need no more to prove it than the prediction of *Isaiah*, *The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor*; the explication of our Saviour, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears*; and the confession of the Synagogue at *Nazareth*, who all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth: yet we are furnished with more ample and plentiful demonstrations: for whether we consider his Preparation, his Mission, or his Administration, all of them speak him fully to have performed it. To *Jeremiah* indeed God said, *Before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a Prophet unto the Nations*; and of *John* the Baptist, *He shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb*. And if these became singular Prophets by their preparative sanctification, how much more eminent must his prophetic preparation be, to whose mother it is said, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee*? If the *Levites* must be thirty years old, every one that came to do the service of the ministry; *Jesus* will not enter upon the publick administration of this Office till he begin to be about thirty years of age. Then doth the *Holy Ghost* descend in a bodily shape like a *Dove* upon him: then must a voice come from heaven, saying, *Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased*. Never such preparations, never such an inauguration of a Prophet.

As for his Mission, never any was confirmed with such letters of credence, such irrefragable testimonials, as the formal testimony of *John* the Baptist, and the more virtual testimony of his Miracles. Behold, *I will send you Elijah the Prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord*, saith God by *Malachy*. And *John* went before him in the spirit of *Elias*, saith another *Malachy*, even an Angel from Heaven. This *John*, or *Elias*, saw the Spirit descend on *Jesus*, and bare record that this is the Son of God. The *Jews* took notice of this testimony, who said unto him, *Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come unto him*; and *Jesus* himself puts them in mind of it, *Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth*; nay they themselves confessed his testimony to be undeniable, *John* did no miracle, but all things that *John* spake of this man were true. But though the witness of *John* were thus cogent, yet the testimony of Miracles was far more irrefragable. *I have greater witness than that of John*, saith our Saviour; *for the works which my Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me*. Notwithstanding the precedent record of *John*, *Jesus* requireth not an absolute assent unto his Doctrine without his Miracles: *If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not*. But upon them he challengeth belief: *But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him*. If then *Moses* and other Prophets, to whom God gave the power of Miracles, did assert their mission to be from God by the Divine works which they wrought; much more efficacious to this purpose must the Miracles of *Jesus* appear, who wrought more wonders than they all. Never therefore was there so manifest a Mission of a Prophet.

Now

Now the Prophetical Function consisteth in the promulgation, confirmation, and perpetuation of the Doctrine containing the will of God for the Salvation of Man. And the perfect Administration of the Office must be attributed unto Jesus. For *no man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.* He gave unto the Apostles the words which his Father gave him. Therefore he hath revealed the perfect will of God. The Confirmation of this Doctrine cannot be denied him, who lived a most innocent and holy life to perswade it, for *he did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who wrought most powerful and divine works to confirm it, and was thereby known to be a teacher from God; who died a most painful and shameful death to ratifie it, witnessing a good profession before Pontius Pilate; which in it self unto that purpose efficacious, was made more evidently operative in the raising of himself from death.* The Propagation and perpetual succession of this Doctrine must likewise be attributed unto Jesus, as to no temporary or accidental Prophet, but as to him who instituted and instructed all who have any relation to that Function. For *the Spirit of Christ was in the Prophets: and when he ascended up on high, he gave gifts unto men.* For he gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Pastors and Teachers; for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ. It is then most apparent that Jesus was so far Christ, as that he was anointed to the Prophetical Office, because his Preparation for that Office was most remarkable, his Mission unto that Office was undeniable, his Administration of that Office was infallible.

Now as Jesus was anointed with the Unction of *Elizems* to the Prophetical, so was he also with the Unction of *Aaron* to the Sacerdotal Office. Not that he was called after the Order of *Aaron*; ^a for it is evident, that our Lord sprang out of *Judah*, of which tribe *Moses* spake nothing concerning priesthood: but after a more ancient Order, according to the prediction of the Psalmist, *The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedeck.* But though he were of another Order, yet whatsoever *Aaron* did as a Priest was wholly typical, and consequently to be fulfilled by the *Messias*, as he was a Priest. For the Priesthood did not begin in *Aaron*, but was translated and conferred upon his family before his consecration. We read of ^b the Priests which came near the Lord; of ^c young men of the children of *Israel* which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord: which without question were no other than the ^{*} first-born, to whom the Priesthood did belong. Jesus therefore, as the first begotten of God, was by right a Priest, and being anointed unto that Office, performed every function, by way of Oblation, Intercession and Benediction. ^d Every high priest is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is of necessity that this man, Jesus, if he be an High Priest, have somewhat also to offer. Not that he had any thing beside himself, or that there was any peculiar Sacrifice allowed to this Priest; to whom, ^e when he cometh into the world, he saith, *Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me:* and, ^f by the offering of this body of Jesus Christ are we sanctified. For he who is our Priest hath ^g given himself an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour.

Now when Jesus had thus given himself a propitiatory Sacrifice for sin, he ascended up on high, and entered into the Holy of holies not made with hands, and there appeared before God as an atonement for our sin. Nor is he prevalent only in his own oblation once offered, but in his constant Intercession. *Who is he that condemneth?* saith the Apostle: *it is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God; who also maketh intercession*

John 1. 18.

John 17. 8, 14.

1 Pet. 2. 22.

John 3. 2.

1 Tim. 6. 13.

1 Pet. 1. 11.

Eph. 4. 8, 11, 12.

^a Heb. 7. 14, 21.

^b Exod. 19. 22.

^c Exod. 24. 5.

^{*} For the Hebrew

בְּרֵאשִׁית

signifying juve-

nes, by all the

Targams is ren-

dered בְּרֵאשִׁית

that is, primo-

geniti: and so

the Arabick and

Persian Transla-

tions.

^d Heb. 8. 3.

^e Heb. 10. 5.

^f Heb. 10. 10.

^g Eph. 5. 2.

Unus ipse erat

qui offerebat,

& quod offere-

bat. S. Aug.

Unum cum illo

manebat qui of-

ferrebat, unum

in se fecit pro

quibus offere-

bat; unus ipse

erat qui offe-

rebat, & quod

offerebat. *Id.*

de Trinit.

Rom. 8. 34.

Heb. 7. 25.

* Παρεκλησιον
εχουω Ιησυν
* χως ωερ η
μυτρεκαλιν
δουμουτοτα
τες κη πρεσ
πιτοιτα δυ
λικως απαρ
* δελω δυ
τως ωονοιαν
κη αναταν το
πιδματ
ετε γδ τα πα
τες τοτο επι
ζητην, ετε τ
εδ παρον, η
ως ωυ δευ
διαγοηδ δι
κομον αλλ ωις
πεπορθεν ως
ανθρωπ
πυθη καρτε
ρεν ως λογι
κη παραινετις
πετο γουται
μαι η παρ
κλισης. S.Greg.

Naz. Orat. 36.
1 Chron. 23.
13.
b Gen. 14. 19,
20.
c Luke 1. 8, 21,
22.
d Luke 24. 50.

cession for us. Upon this foundation he buildeth our persuasion, that he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. Nor must we look upon this as a * servile or precarious, but rather as an efficacious and glorious, Intercession, as of him to whom all power is given both in Heaven and Earth. Beside these offerings and intercedings, there was something more required of the Priest, and that is Blessing. ^a Aaron was separated, that he should sanctifie the most holy things, he and his sons for ever, to burn incense before the Lord, to minister unto him, and to bless in his name for ever. We read of no other sacerdotal act performed by Melchizedek the Priest of the most High God, but only that of blessing, and that in respect both of God and man: First, ^b he blessed man, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most High God, possessor of heaven and earth: then, Blessed be the most High God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thine hand. Now it is observable what the Rabbins have delivered, that at the morning-sacrifice the Priests under the Law did bless the people with the solemn form of Benediction, but at the evening-sacrifice they blessed them not; to shew that in the evening of the world, the last days, which are the days of the *Messias*, the benediction of the Law should cease, and the blessing of the *Christ* take place. When *Zachariah* the Priest, the father of *John Baptist*, the forerunner of our Saviour, ^c executed his office before God in the order of his course, and the whole multitude of the people waited for him, to receive his benediction, he could not speak unto them, for he was dumb; shewing the power of benediction was now passing to another and far greater Priest, even to *Jesus*, whose Doctrine in the Mount begins with *Blessed*; who, when he left his Disciples, ^d lift up his hands, and blessed them. And yet this function is principally performed after his resurrection, as it is written, Unto you first, God having raised up his Son *Jesus*, sent him to bless you, in turning every one of you from his iniquities. It cannot then be denied that *Jesus*, who offered up himself a most perfect sacrifice and oblation for sin, who still maketh continual intercession for us, who was raised from the dead, that he might bless us with an everlasting benediction, is a most true and most perfect Priest.

¶ For the Chaldee Paraphrase in the most places where it mentioneth the *Messias*, doth it with the addition of King,
מלך
c Psal. 2. 6.
d Isai. 5. 6.
e Jer. 7.
f Luke 1. 32,
33.

The third Office belonging to the *Messias* was the regal, as appeareth by the most ancient || tradition of the Jews, and by the express predictions of the Prophets. ^e Yet have I set my King, saith the Psalmist, upon my holy hill of *Sion*. ^f Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder, saith the Prophet *Isaiab*, who calleth him the *Prince of Peace*, shewing the perpetuity of his power, and particularity of his seat. ^g Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end upon the throne of *David*, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice, from hence forth even for ever. All which most certainly belongs unto our *Jesus*, by the unerring interpretation of the Angel *Gabriel*, who promised the blessed *Virgin* that the Lord God should give unto her Son ^h the throne of his father *David*, and he shall reign over the house of *Jacob* for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end. He acknowledgeth himself this Office, though by a strange and unlikely representation of it, the riding on an *Afs*: but by that it was fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, Tell ye the daughter of *Sion*, Behold thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting on an *afs*. He made as strange a confession of it unto *Pilate*; for when he said unto him, Art thou a King then? *Jesus* answered, Thou sayest that I am a King. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. The solemn inauguration into this Office was at his ascension into Heaven, and his session at the right hand of God: not but that he was by right a King before, but the full and publick execution was deferred till then, when God raised him

Mat. 21. 4, 5.
John 18. 37.
5 k. 1. 20, 21.

from

from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion. Then he, whose name is called the word of God, had on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of kings, and Lord of lords.

Rev. 19. 13, 16

This Regal Office of our Saviour consisteth partly in the ruling, protecting and rewarding of his people; partly in the coercing, condemning and destroying of his enemies. First, he ruleth in his own people, by delivering them a Law, by which they walk; by furnishing them with his grace, by which they are enabled to walk in it. Secondly, he protecteth the same, by helping them to subdue their lusts, which reign in their mortal bodies; by preserving them from the temptations of the world, the flesh and the Devil; by supporting them in all their afflictions; by delivering them from all their enemies. Thirdly, whom he thus rules and protects here, he rewards hereafter in a most royal manner, making them *Kings and Priests unto God and his Father*. On the contrary, he sheweth his Regal dominion in the destruction of his enemies, whether they were temporal or spiritual enemies. Temporal, as the *Jews* and *Romans*, who joined together in his Crucifixion. While he was on earth he told his Disciples, *There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his Kingdom*: and in that Kingdom he was then seen to come, when he brought utter destruction on the *Jews* by the *Roman* Armies, not long after to be destroyed themselves. But beside these visible enemies, there are other spiritual, those which hinder the bringing in of his own people into his Father's Kingdom, those which refuse to be subject unto him, and consequently deny him to be their King; as all wicked and ungodly men, of whom he hath said, *These mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me*. Thus Sin, Satan, and Death, being the enemies to his Kingdom, shall all be destroyed in their order. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet: and the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. Thus is our *Jesus* become the *Prince of the Kings of the earth*; thus is the *Lamb* acknowledged to be *Lord of lords, and King of kings*.

Rev. 1. 6.

Math. 16. 28.

Luke 19. 27.

1 Cor. 15. 25, 26.

Rev. 1. 5. and 17. 14.

Wherefore seeing we have already shewed that the Prophetical, Sacerdotal and Regal Offices were to belong unto the promised *Messias*, as the proper end and immediate effect of his *Unction*; seeing we have likewise declared how *Jesus* was anointed to these Offices, and hath and doth actually perform the same in all the functions belonging to them: there remaineth nothing for the full explication of this particular concerning the *Christ*, but only to shew the manner of this *Unction*, which is very necessary to be explained. For how they were anointed under the Law, who were the types of the *Messias*, is plain and evident, because the manner was prescribed, and the materials were visible: God appointed an Oyl to be made, and appropriated it to that use; and the pouring that Oyl upon the body of any person was his anointing to that Office for which he was designed. But being that Oyl so appropriated to this use was lost many hundred years before our Saviour's birth, being the custom of anointing in this manner had a long time ceased, being howsoever we never read that *Jesus* was at all anointed with Oyl; it remaineth still worth our enquiry, how he was anointed, so as to answer to the former unctions; and what it was which answered to that Oyl, which then was lost, and was at the first but as a Type of this which now we search for.

The * *Jews* tell us, that the anointing Oyl was hid in the days of *Josiah*, and

* בומור
המשיח
עתיד
הקדוש
כבוד הוי'
להחיות
לעמו
אותו שמן
המשהח
שעשה
משה
שננועט
הארץ וכו'
זמנתו
הגורמים
והכהנים
הגדולים
כינוי ההם

In the days of

the *Messias* God will restore unto his people the oyl of unction which *Moses* made, which was hidden with the Ark and the Kings and High Priests shall be anointed with it in those days. *Abaranel Comment. ad 30. Exodi.* Now the *1st* of that *1.* which they call the hiding of it, may well be thought to foretel the period of the *Misraical* Administration, being toov careful that after that they never had any Priests anointed, because they had no power to make the same oyl. So plainly consisteth the same

Abaranel: לא היה בהן מושח בבית שני לפי שכבר היה ננועט שמן המשהח שננועטו יאשיהו עס שאר דיבריהם הקדושים ולא היה להם רשות לעטו חו

O that

that it shall be found and produced again when the *Messias* comes, that he may be anointed with it, and the Kings and High Priests of his days. But though the loss of that Oyl bespake the destruction of that Nation, yet the *Christ* which was to come needed no such unction for his Consecration; there being as great a difference between the Typical and correspondent Oyl, as between the representing and represented *Christ*. The Prophet *David* calleth it not by the vulgar name of Oyl of unction, but the ^a *oyl of gladness*. For though that place may in the first sence be understood of *Solomon*, whom when *Zadoc* the Priest anointed ^b *they blew the Trumpet, and all the people said, God save king Solomon. And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them*; though from thence it might be said of him, *Thy God hath anointed thee with the oyl of gladness above thy fellows*: yet being those words are spoken unto God, as well as of God, (** therefore God thy God,*) the Oyl with which that God is anointed must in the ultimate and highest sence signifie a far greater *gladness* than that at *Solomon's* Coronation was, even the fountain of all joy and felicity in the Church of God.

^a Psal. 45. 7.

^b 1 King. 1. 39, 40.

* Duas personas, eius qui unctus est Dei, & qui unxit, intellige. Unde & Aquila Elohim עֲלֵימָהּ verbum Hebraicum non nominativo casu, sed vocativo, interpretatur, dicens דַּיָּוִד & nos propter intelligentiam Dei posuimus, quod Latina Lingua non accipit, ne quis perversè putet Deum dilecti & amantissimi & regis his Patrem nominari, S. Hieron. Epist. 104. Quod sequitur, Dixit te, Deus, Deus tuus, primum nomen Dei vocativo casu intelligendum est, sequens nominativo; satis miror cur Aquila non, ut cepit in

The || Ancients tell us that this Oyl is the Divinity it self, and in the language of the Scriptures it is the Holy Ghost. *S. Peter* teacheth us *how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power*. Now though there can be no question but the Spirit is the Oyl, yet there is some doubt, when *Jesus* was anointed with it. For we know the Angel said unto the blessed Virgin, ^c *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God*. From whence it appeareth that from the Conception, or at the Incarnation, *Jesus* was sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest; and so consequently, as *S. Peter* spake, he was ** anointed then with the Holy Ghost and with power*. Again, being we read that after he was thirty years of age, the Spirit like a Dove descended and lighted upon him, and he; descending in the power of the Spirit into *Galilee*, said unto them of *Nazareth*, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears*, meaning that of *Isaiab*, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel*; hence || hath it been also collected, that his unction was performed at his Baptism. Nor need we to contend which of these two was the true time of our Saviour's unction, since neither is destructive of the other, and consequently both may well consist together. *David*, the most undoubted type of the *Messiah*, was anointed at *Bethlehem*; for there ^d *Samuel took the horn of oyl, and anointed him in the midst of his brethren: and the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward*. Of which unction those words of God must necessarily be understood, ^e *I have found David my servant; with my holy oyl have I anoin-*

prino vehiculo, vocativo casu interpretatus sit, sed nominativo, his nominans Deum qui supradictum unxit Deum. *L. Ib.* || So Greg. Naz. expounds the place: "Ον ἔχειεν ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοῦ μετόχου αὐτοῦ, χεῖρας τῶν ἀνθρωπότητι τῷ θεῷ. ἄς ποιῆται τὰ ἀμφοτέρω. εν. And again, χεῖρας ὅ δὴ τῶν θεότησι: (not that his Divinity was anointed, or Christ anointed in respect of his Divinity; but that he was anointed in his Humanity by his Divinity) χεῖρας ὅ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι ἐστὶν ἄλλος χεῖρας ἀγαλλιάσεως, παρουσία ὅ δὲ τῶν χεῖρας, ἢ ἔργον ἀνθρώπων ἀκῶσαι τῶν χεῖρας, ἢ ποιῆσαι θεῶν τὸ ἔργον. Orat. 2. de Filio. Luke 1. 35. * Χεῖρας ἐχέειν ὡς βασιλῆος ἢ ἱερέως τὸ χεῖρας τῆς συγκράσεως. Germanus Constant. Καχεῖρας ὅ ἐχ' ἑτέρας σαυτὸν τὸν υἱόν, ἢ ὅτι χεῖρας σάρκα ἡρώδου, διαλονῶντι τὰς ἡμέρας, ἢ ἐνανθροπώσαντα. Titus B Henf. Deus est qui unxit, & Deus qui secundum carnem ungitur Dei filius. Denique quæ habet unctionis sui Christus nisi in carne particeps? Vides igitur quia Deus à Deo unctus, sed in assumptione nature unitus humanæ Dei filius designatur. S. Ambros. de Fide, l. 1. c. 2. Hæc omnia carni conveniunt, cum piissimum & gloriosissimum verbum unitum est pro salute eunctorum. Casiodorus in Psal. 44. || S. Hierome, mentioning that place of the *Psalm*, Quando censures nominantur, naturam carnis intellige, quia Deus consortes substantiæ suæ non habet. Et quia erat unctio per carnem & nequaquam humani corporis, (ut fuit in sacerdotibus Judæorum) ideo præ consortibus, id est, cæteris tantis, unctus esse memoratur. Cujus unctio illo expleta est tempore quando baptizatus est in Jordane, & Spiritus Sanctus in specie columbæ descen sit super eum, & mansit in illo. Comment. in Eflatam, c. 61. In illa columba quæ super ipsum post baptismum descendit, cum sacramento Baptismatis, & veri sacerdotii jura suscepit, fuso videlicet super eum oleo extollationis, de quo Psalmista canit; Unxit te, inquit Deus, Deus tuus. Petrus Damianus, Opuscul. 6. c. 4. ¹ 1 Sam. 16. 13. ² Psal. 89. 20.

that divine influx, nay, the Divinity it self, the Godhead dwelling in him bodily.

In respect of the matter, they give two causes why it was Oyl, and not any other liquour. First, because of all other it signifies the greatest glory and excellency. The Olive was the first of Trees mentioned as fit for Sovereignty, in regard of its fatness, wherewith they honour God and man. Therefore it was fit that those persons which were called to a greater dignity than the rest of the Jews, should be consecrated by Oyl, as the best sign of election to Honour. And can there be a greater honour than to be the Son of God, the beloved Son, as Jesus was proclaimed at this Unction, by which he was consecrated to such an Office as will obtain him a Name far above all names? Secondly, they tell us that Oyl continueth uncorrupted longer than any other liquour. And indeed it hath been observed to preserve not only it self, but other things, from corruption. Hence they conclude it fit, their Kings and Priests, whose succession was to continue for ever, should be anointed with Oyl, the most proper emblem of Eternity. But even by this reason of their own, their Unction is ceased, being the succession of their Kings and Priests is long since cut off, and their eternal and eternizing Oyl lost long before. And only that one Jesus, who was anointed with the most spiritual Oyl, continueth for ever; and therefore hath an unchangeable Priesthood, as being made not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.

Jude 5.

Unguentum oleo primæ servatur in alabastris, odores in oleo. Plin. Hist. l. 13, c. 2. Exiit matur & ebri vindicando à carie utile esse. Certè simulacrum Saturni Romæ intacto oleo repleta est. Hist. 15, c. 7. And whosoev made that Statue at Rome, seems to have had his Art out of Greece. f. in that fine Ivory statue made by Phidias. ΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΜΥ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΑΣΚΑΔΑΣΑΙ ΠΙΣΤΩΝ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ, (ΟΥΧ ΕΛΕΓΑΝΤΕ Η ΓΕΤΟ ΛΕ) ΕΛΑΙΟΝ ΑΧΡΕΙΩΣ - ΣΕΤΟ ΕΙΝ ΑΜΟΙ ΤΩ ΤΕΙΣΑΙ, ΕΜΤΕ ΔΕΝ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΛΜΑΙΣ, ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΩΙΜΙΝ ΦΥΛΑΞΑΝ ΟΥΤΕ. Proclus apud Eriphan. Hist. 14. §. 12. Heb. 7. 24, 15.

Beside, they observe, that simple Oyl without any mixture was sufficient for the Candlestick; but that which was designed for Unction must be compounded with principal Spices, which signify a good name, always to be acquired by those in places of greatest dignity by the most laudable and honourable actions. And certainly never was such an admixture of Spices as in the Unction of our Saviour, by which he was endued with all variety of the Graces of God, by which he was enabled to offer himself a sacrifice for a sweet-smelling savour. For as he was full of grace and truth; so of his fulness have we all received, grace for grace: and as we have received anointing of him; so we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ.

Joh. 1. 14, 16. Joh. 7. 27. 2 Cor. 2. 15.

Again, it was sufficient to anoint the Vessels of the Sanctuary in any part; but it was particularly commanded that the Oyl should be poured upon the Head of the Kings and Priests, as the seat of all the animal Faculties, the fountain of all Dignity, and original of all the members of the body. This was more eminently fulfilled in Jesus, who by his Unction, or as Christ, became the head of the Church; nay, the head of all principality and power, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.

* According to the Etymology in the Hebrew Language, of which Abarhanel here takes notice; וְהָיָה כְּרִנְתּוֹ וְכִי יִשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת הַיַּיִן מִבְּרִיתוֹ וְהָיָה כְּרִנְתּוֹ וְכִי יִשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת הַיַּיִן מִבְּרִיתוֹ וְהָיָה כְּרִנְתּוֹ

Lastly, they observe, that though in the Vessels nothing but a single Unction was required; yet in the Kings and Priests there was commanded, or at least practised, both Unction and Effusion, (as it is written, He poured of the anointing oyl upon Aaron's head, and anointed him to sanctifie him;) the first to signifie their Separation, the second to assure them of the falling of the Spirit upon them. Now what more clear than that our Christ was anointed by Affusion, whether we look upon his Conception, the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee; or his Inauguration, the Spirit descended and lighted upon him? And thus, according unto all particulars required by the Jews themselves to compleat their legal Unctions, we have sufficiently shewed that Jesus was, as most eminently, so most properly, anointed with the Spirit of God.

Col. 2. 11. 17. 1 Cor. 2. 12.

Where-

Wherefore being we have shewn that a *Messias* was to come into the World; being we have proved that he is already come, by the same predictions by which we believe he was to come; being we have demonstrated that *Jesus* born in the days of *Herod* was and is that promised *Messias*; being we have farther declared that he was anointed to those Offices which belonged to the *Messias*, and actually did and doth still perform them all; and that his anointing was by the immediate effusion of the Spirit, which answereth fully to all things required in the Legal and Typical Unction: I cannot see what farther can be expected for explication or confirmation of this Truth, that *Jesus is the Christ*.

The necessity of believing this part of the Article is most apparent, because it were impossible he should be our *Jesus*, except he were the *Christ*. For he could not reveal the way of Salvation, except he were a Prophet; he could not work out that Salvation revealed, except he were a Priest; he could not confer that Salvation upon us, except he were a King; he could not be Prophet, Priest, and King, except he were *the Christ*. This was the fundamental doctrine which the Apostles not only testified, as they did that of the Resurrection, but argued, proved, and demonstrated out of the Law and the Prophets. We find *S. Paul* at *Thessalonica* three Sabbath-days reasoning with them out of the Scriptures, opening and alledging that *Christ* must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this *Jesus* whom I preach unto you, is *Christ*. We find him again at *Corinth* pressed in spirit, and testifying to the *Jews*, that *Jesus* was *Christ*. Thus *Apollos*, by birth a *Jew*, but instructed in the Christian Faith by *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, mightily convinced the *Jews*, and that publickly, shewing by the Scriptures, that *Jesus* was *Christ*. This was the Touchstone by which all men at first were tried whether they were Christian or Antichristian. For whosoever believeth, saith *S. John*, that *Jesus* is the *Christ*, is born of *God*. What greater commendation of the assertion of this Truth? *Who is a liar*, saith the same Apostle, but he that denied that *Jesus* is the *Christ*? *This man is the Antichrist*, as denying the Father and the Son: What higher condemnation of the negation of it?

Secondly, as it is necessary to be believed as a most fundamental Truth, so it hath as necessary an influence upon our conversations; because except it hath so, it cannot clearly be maintained. Nothing can be more absurd in a disputant, than to pretend to demonstrate a Truth as infallible, and at the same time to shew it impossible. And yet so doth every one who professeth Faith in *Christ* already come, and liveth not according to that profession: for thereby he proveth, as far as he is able, that the true *Christ* is not yet come, at least that *Jesus* is not he. We sufficiently demonstrate to the *Jews* that our Saviour, who did and suffered so much, is the true *Messias*; but by our lives we recal our arguments, and strengthen their wilful opposition. For there was certainly a Promise, that when *Christ* should come, the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard should lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child should lead them; that is, there should be so much love, unanimity and brotherly kindness in the Kingdom of *Christ*, that all ferity and inhumanity being laid aside, the most different natures and inclinations should come to the sweetest harmony and agreement. Whereas if we look upon our selves, we must confess there was never more bitterness of spirit, more rancour of malice, more heat of contention, more manifest symptoms of envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness, than in those which make profession of the Christian Faith. It was infallibly foretold, that when the law should go forth out of *Zion*, and the word of the Lord from *Jerusalem*, they should beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears

into pruning-hooks: nation should not lift up sword against nation, neither should they learn war any more. Whereas there is no other Art so much studied, so much applauded, so violently asserted, not only as lawful, but as necessary. Look upon the face of Christendom divided into several Kingdoms and Principalities; what are all these but so many publick Enemies, either exercising or designing War? The Church was not more famous, or did more encrease, by the first blood which was shed in the Primitive times through the external violence of ten Persecutions, than now 'tis infamous, and declines through constant violence, fraud and rapine, through publick engagements of the greatest Empires in Arms, through civil and intestine Wars, and, left any way of shedding Christian blood should be unassayed, even by Massacres. It was likewise prophesied of the days of the *Messias*, that all Idolatry should totally cease, that all false Teachers should be cut off, and unclean spirits restrained. And can we think that the *Jews*, who really abhor the thoughts of worshipping an Image, can ever be persuaded there is no Idolatry committed in the Christian Church? Or can we excuse our selves in the least degree from the plague of the Locusts of *Egypt*, the false Teachers? Can so many Schisms and Sects arise, and spread, can so many Heresies be acknowledged and countenanced, without false Prophets and unclean spirits? If then we would return to the bond of true Christian Love and Charity, if we would appear true lovers of Peace and Tranquillity, if we would truly hate the abominations of Idolatry, false Doctrine and Heresie, let us often remember what we ever profess in our Creed, that *Jesus* is the *Christ*, that the Kingdom of the *Messias* cannot consist with these Impieties.

Thirdly, the necessity of this Belief appeareth in respect of those Offices which belong to *Jesus* as he is the *Christ*. We must look upon him as upon the Prophet anointed by God to preach the Gospel, that we may be incited to hear and embrace his Doctrine. Though *Moses* and *Elias* be together with him in the Mount, yet the Voice from Heaven speaketh of none but *Jesus*, *Hear ye him.* He is that Wisdom, the *delight of God*, crying in the *Proverbs*, *Blissed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors. There is one thing needful*, saith our Saviour; *and Mary chose that good part, who sate at Jesus feet, and heard his words.* Which devout posture teacheth us, as a willingness to hear, so a readiness to obey: and the proper effect which the belief of this Propheticall Office worketh in us, is our *Obedience of Faith.* We must farther consider him as our High Priest, that we may thereby add Confidence to that Obedience. For we have *boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus*; yea, *having an High-priest over the house of God, we may draw near with a true heart in full assurance of Faith.* And as this breedeth an adherence and assurance in us, so it requireth a resignation of us. For if *Christ* have redeemed us, we are his; if he died for us, it was that we should live to him: if we be *bought with a price*, we are no longer our own; but we must *glorifie God in our body and in our spirit, which are God's.* Again, an apprehension of him as a King is necessary for the performance of our true and entire allegiance to him. *Send the lamb of the Ruler of the earth*, do him homage, acknowledge him your King, shew your selves faithful and obedient subjects. We can pretend, and he hath required, no less. As soon as he let the Apostles understand that *All power was given unto him in heaven and in earth*, he charged them to *teach all nations, to observe all things whatsoever he commanded them.* Can we imagine he should so strictly enjoyn subjection to *higher powers*, the highest of whom are here below, and that he doth not expect exact obedience to him who is exalted *far above all principalities and powers, and is set down at the right hand of God?* It is observable, that in the

Descri-

Description of the coming of the Son of man, it is said, *The King shall say unto them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you* : which title as it secures hope, in respect of his power; as it magnifies our reward by the excellency of our inheritance; so also it teacheth us the indispensable condition of Obedience.

Fourthly, the belief of *Jesus the Christ* is necessary to instruct us what it is to be a Christian, and how far we stand obliged by owning that name. Those who did first embrace the Faith were styled * *Disciples*, (as when *the number of Disciples was multiplied*;) or *Believers*, or *Brethren*, or *men of the Church*, or *Callers upon the name of Christ*, or * *men of the way*; or by their Enemies, *Nazarens*, and *Galileans*. But in a short time they gained a Name derived from their Saviour, though not from that name of his which signifieth Salvation; for from *Christ* they were called *Christians*. A title so honourable, and of such concernment, that S. Luke hath thought fit to mention the City in which that name first was heard. *And the Disciples were called Christians first at Antioch*, as the Scriptures assure us; so named by *Euodius* the Bishop of that place, as Ecclesiastical History inform us. A name no sooner invented, but embraced by all Believers, as bearing the most proper signification of their Profession, and relation to the Author and Master whom they served. In which the Primitive Christians so much delighted, that before the face of their enemies they would acknowledge * no other Title but that, though hated, reviled, tormented, martyred for it. Nor is this Name of greater honour to us, than obligation. There are two parts of the Seal of the foundation of God, and one of them is this, *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity*. It was a common answer of the Ancient Martyrs, *I am a Christian, and with us no evil is done*. The very name was thought to speak something of * emendation; and whosoever put it on, became the better man. Except such Reformation accompany our Profession, there is no advantage in the appellation; nor can we be honoured by that title, while we dishonour him that gives it. If he be therefore called *Christ*, because anointed; as we derive the name of *Christian*, so do we receive our * *Unction*, from him. For as *the precious ointment upon the head ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard, and went down to the skirts of his garments*: so the Spirit, which without measure was poured upon *Christ* our head, is by him diffused through all the members of his *body*. For *God hath established and anointed us in Christ*: *We have an unction from the Holy One, and the anointing which we have received from him abideth in us*. Necessary then it cannot chuse but be, that we should know *Jesus* to be the *Christ*: because as he is *Jesus*, that is, our Saviour, by being *Christ*, that is, anointed; so we can have no share in him as *Jesus*, except we become truly *Christians*, and so be in him as *Christ*, * anointed with that *Unction* from the Holy One.

Acts 6. 1. 7.
* For when our Saviour gave that command to his Apostles, περιεβλέψας δε μαθητὰς πάντας τὰς ἑθνεῖς, go make all nations disciples, they which delivered the Gospel were μαθητῶντες, they which were taught it and received it were at that time μαθητῶδες, and after by a name habitual μαθηταί, translated by Tertul. Discipentes, ordinarily Discipuli. Μαθητὴς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς μανθάνομεν παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου, τὰς ὁπὸς Κυρίου προσεχόμενοι, ὡς ἀκολουθοῦμεν αὐτῷ, τῆστιν, ἀκείνῃ ἢ λόγον αὐτοῦ, τὸ εἶδέν τε καὶ περὶ δεῖξαι αὐτοῦ ὡς δεσποτῆς καὶ βασιλέως καὶ διδασκαλοῦ ἀληθινῆς. ἐπὶ ἐκείνῃ ζῶντος αἰώνιως. Thus then, in the language of the Scriptures

μαθητῶν τινῶν is to make a Disciple; as μαθητῶσαντες ἱκανοί, Acts 14. 21. μαθητῶν τινῶν, to be a Disciple; as Joseph of Arimathæa ἐμαθήτωσε τὸν Ἰησοῦν, Mat. 27. 57; μαθητῶν τινῶν the same; as χαυμαίνεις μαθητῶν εἰς τὸ βασιλεῦν ἢ ἑργῶν, Mat. 13. 52. Thus μαθητῶν τινῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, is often used by S. Basil de Baptifmate, whose title is, Ὅτι δὲ πρῶτον μαθητῶν τινῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τότε καταζωοῦνται τὰ ἄνω βασιλείαι, according to our Saviours method. Hence those which were first converted to the Faith were called μαθηταί, as the Disciples of Christ their Master and Saviour. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, as when Herod stretched forth his hand καὶ ἔσχε τινὰ ἢ τινὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, to mitchet some of those which were of the Church. * As when Saul went down to Damascus with a Commission, ὅτις ἐστὶν τινὰς ἐξ ἐθνῶν τοῦ κόσμου ἀνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, δεδωκέντος ἀγγέλου εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, Acts 9. 2. we translate it, any of this way, when there was no way mentioned to which the Pronoun this should have relation; nor is ἡ ὁδὸς in Greek any more than the way. So when S. Paul went to the Synagogue at Corinth, divers were hardened and believed not, κακολογεῖντες ἃ ἔδον ἐνάστιον τὰ πλάθη, Acts 17. 9. here we translate it, spake evil of that way; but Beza has left his Arctuleus pronominis vice fungitur, which he had from Erasmus, and hath otherwise supplied it, male loquentes de via Dei: and the Old Translation, which in the former had Viam via, in this hath simply maledicentes via: and certainly ἡ ὁδὸς is not h, but the way. Again, at Ephesus ἐξ ἑτέρου ἢ ἕτερου καὶ ἕτερου τῶν ὁδῶν, Acts 19. 23. de via, V. Transl. Beza again ob viam Dei, but it is nothing but, the way. Thus Fox has put off S. Paul, ἐκείνῃ ἐξ ἑτέρου τῶν ὁδῶν, till he had a more exact knowledge of the way, i. e. Transl. de via hac, Beza, ad lectam istam. Where as then the phrase is so simply and so frequently the same, it can be nothing else but the word then in, i. e. τῆς

The Religion which the Christians professed. And so some also of the Ancients seem to have spoken, as appears by the language of the Martyr Perpetua, *Χριστιανὸν ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς καλεσθῆναι πολλῶν ὁδῶν εἰς μίαν ταύτην ἔγνων ἐπειδὴ ἀπέστρεψα ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάντων καὶ ὤπισθεν ἦλθον πρὸς ἡμᾶς*. And that in the description of the Gallican Persecution, *Ἔμμεναν ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἔγνωσαν ὡς ἔδειξε ἡμεῖς ὡς ἔδειξε ἡμεῖς*. Tertullian says it was ancient at the reign of Tiberius, *Apolog. c. 5.* Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introiit. But Tertullian indeed he speaks not of the name, but of the Religion: for so he may well be thought to expound himself, saying *Magister, Confessus in disciplina, ut iam edidimus, a Tiberio est, c. 7.* However, the name of Christian is not so ancient as Tertullian, nor, as Hieron., as Caius. Some ancient Author in Suidas assures us, that it was first named in the reign of Claudius, when S. Peter had obtained Eudodius Bishop of Antioch. *Ἰστέον ὅτι ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου βασιλέως Ῥώμης, Πέτρος τὸ ὄνομα ἔθηκετο τοῖς ἁγίοις Ἐυδοίου, μετὰ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτοῦ. οἱ τάλαι λεγόμενοι Ναζωραῖοι καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι, Χριστιανοί.* said. in *Ναζωραῖοι* and in *Χριστιανοί*. And Johannes Antiochenus confirms not only the time, but tells us that that Eudodius the Bishop was the Author of the name. *Καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸ (Κλαυδίου) Χριστιανὸν ὠνομάσθησαν, τὸ αὐτὸ ὅτι σκόπευε Εὐδοῖος προσομιλήσαι: ὁ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπίθηνται ὡς αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὗτοῦ Ναζωραῖοι καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι ἐκαλέθησαν οἱ Χριστιανοί.* Thus the name of Christian was first brought into use: Antioch, by Eudodius the Bishop of the place, and hath ever since been continued as the most proper appellation which could be given unto our Profession, being derived from the Author and Finisher of our Faith. At nunc Secta oritur in nomine utique Ibi Autoris. Quid novi si aliqua disciplina de Magistro cognomentum Sectatoribus suis inducit? Nonne Philosophi de Autoribus suis nuncupantur Platonici, Epicurei, Pythagorici? Etiam à locis convenculorum & stationum suarum Stoici, Academici? Neque Medici ab Erasistrato, & Grammatici ab Aristarcho, Cocci etiam ab Apicio? Neque tamen quenquam offendit professio nominis cum institutione transmissa ab institutore. Tertul. *Apolog. c. 3.* * As we read of sanctus, a Deacon at Vienna, in a holy persecution of the French Church, who, being in the midst of tortures, was troubled with several Questions, which the Gentiles usually then asked, to try if they could extort any confession of any wicked actions practised secretly by the Christians; yet would not give any other Answer to any question, than that he was a Christian. *Τοσάυτη πνευματικῆ ἀνιστασθῆναι αὐτοῖς, ὅσε μίτη τὸ ἵσον καλῆσθαι ὄνομα, μίτη ἔθνος μίτη πόλιος ὅθεν ὤνομα, μίτη εἰ δὲν ἢ ἐλευθεροεῖται ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐσθωτά ὄνομα ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ Ῥωμαῖῶν Χριστιανός εἰμι: τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὄνομα, καὶ ἀντὶ πόλιος, καὶ ἀντὶ γένους, καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἐπαλλήλου ὠμολόγη.* Euclab. *Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 1.* * The same doth S. Chrysostome testify of S. Lucian: *Ποῖος ἢ παλαῖδος; Χριστιανός εἰμι, ἐπὶ τί ἔχεις ἐπιτίθεσθαι; Χριστιανός εἰμι: τίνας περγόνους; ὃ ὅτι πρὸς ἀπαντα ἐλεῖς, ὅτι Χριστιανός εἰμι.* * 2 Tim. 2. 15. || So Blandina in the French Persecution: *ὡς αὐτὴ ἀναληθῆς καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἀναληθῆς καὶ Συμβασιόντων. τὸ λέγειν ὅτι Χριστιανὸς εἰμι, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ὄνομα ἔχειν γένεσθαι.* Euclab. *Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 1.* * Alii quos ante hoc nomen vages, viles, improbos noverant, ex ipso denotant quod laudent, cæcitate odii in suffragium impingunt. Quæ mulier! quam lasciva! quam festiva! qui juvenis! quam lascivus! quam amabilis! facti sunt Christiani: ita nomen emendationis impetratur. Tertull. || Forum in id revolvitur, ut qui Christiani nominis opus non agit, Christianus non esse videatur. Nomen enim sine actu atque officio sive nihil est. *Salvian de Provid. l. 4.* *Ἐάν τις τὸ ὄνομα λαβὼν τὸ Χριστιανισμὸν ἐνυβεῖται ἢ Χριστιανὸν, ἢ δὲν ὄνομα ἢ αὐτὸ ὄνομα ἢ σφραγισθῆναι. S. Basil. ad Amphiboch.* * Christianus vero, quantum interpretatio est, de unctioe deducitur. Tertull. *Apolog. c. 3.* * *Psal. 133. 2.* || Inde apparet Christi corpus nos esse, qui omnes ungitur, & omnes in illo & Christi & Christus sumus, quia quodammodo totus Christus caput & corpus est. *S. August. in Psal. 25.* * 2 Cor. 1. 21. * 1 Job. 2. 20, 27. * *Τοιοῦτον ἡμεῖς τὸ ὄνομα ἐλάμβανεν Χριστιανοί, ὅτι χειρομέθρα ἔλαβον οὐτοῦ. Theophilus ad Antol. l. 1.*

Thus having run through all the Particulars at first designed for the explanation of the title *Christ*, we may at last clearly express, and every Christian easily understand, what it is we say when we make our Confession in these words, *I believe in Jesus Christ*. I do assent unto this as a certain truth, that there was a man promised by God, foretold by the Prophets to be the *Messias*, the Redeemer of *Israel*, and the expectation of the Nations. I am fully assured by all those predictions that the *Messias* so promised is already come. I am as certainly perswaded, that the man born in the days of *Herod* of the *Virgin Mary*, by an Angel from Heaven called *Jesus*, is that true *Messias*, so long, so often promised: that, as the *Messias*, he was anointed to three special Offices, belonging to him as the Mediator between God and man: that he was a Prophet, revealing unto us the whole will of God for the Salvation of man; that he was a Priest, and hath given himself a Sacrifice for sin, and so hath made an atonement for us; that he is a King, set down at the right hand of God, far above all Principalities and Powers, whereby, when he hath subdued all our enemies, he will confer actual, perfect and eternal Happiness upon us. I believe this Unction by which he became the true *Messias* was not performed by any material Oyl, but by the Spirit of God, which he received as the Head, and conveyeth to his Members. And in this full acknowledgment, *I believe in Jesus Christ*,

His Only Son.

After our Saviour's Nomination immediately followeth his Filiation: and justly, after we have acknowledged him to be *the Christ*, do we confess him to be the *Son of God*; because these two were ever inseparable, and even by the *Jews* themselves accounted equivalent. Thus *Nathanael*, that true *Israelite*, maketh his confession of the *Messias*; *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel*. Thus *Martha* makes expression of her Faith; *I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world*. Thus the High-priest maketh his inquisition; *I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be Christ, the Son of God*. This was the famous Confession of *S. Peter*; *We believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God*. And the Gospel of *S. John* was therefore written, that *we might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*. Certain then it is that all the *Jews*, as they looked for a *Messias* to come, so they believed that *Messias* to be the Son of God: (although since the coming of our Saviour they have *denied it) and that by reason of a constant interpretation of the second Psalm, as appropriated unto him. And the Primitive Christians did at the very beginning include this filial Title of our Saviour together with his names into the compass of || one word. Well therefore, after we have expressed our Faith in *Jesus Christ*, is added that which had so great affinity with it, *the only Son of God*.

John 1. 49.
John 11. 27.
Math. 26. 63.
John 6. 69.
John 20. 31.

*For when Celsus, in the person of a Jew, had spoken these words, ἡ ἀπειρήτος περὶ τῆς ἐμοῦ προσώτου ἐν ἑβραϊσμοῖς ποτὲ, ὅτι ἦν υἱὸς θεοῦ υἱός,

ὡς ὁσίαν κελίης, καὶ ἡ ἀδίκων καλασῆς, Origen says they were most improperly attributed to a Jew, who did look indeed for a *Messias*, but not for the *Son of God*, i. e. not under the notion of a *Son*. Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ὁμολογῆσαι ὅτι προσώτου τις εἶπεν ἦσαν θεοῦ υἱόν· ὁ δὲ λέγων οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτι ἦν υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ πολλὰ κεν ἔζητεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν ἐνθάδε, ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ ὄντι· τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε προσήλυτος. Adv. Cels. l. 1. || That is, ΙΧΘΥΣ. Nos pisciculi secundum I. I. nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur. Tertul. de Bapt. c. 1. which is thus interpreted by Optatus, Cujus piscis nomen secundum appellationem Græcam in uno nomine per singulas literas turbam sanctorum nominum continet, ἰχθύς, quod est Latine, Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator, lib. 3.

In these words there is little variety to be observed, except that what we translate the **only Son*, that in the phrase of the Scripture and the *Greek Church* is, the *only begotten*. It is then sufficient for the explication of these words, to shew how *Christ* is the *Son of God*, and what is the peculiarity of his Generation; that when others are also the sons of God, he alone should so be his Son, as no other is or can be so; and therefore he alone should have the name of the *only begotten*.

* The Latines, indeed, generally use the word Unicum. So Rufinus. Et in unico filio ejus: which is so far from being in his appre-

bension the same with unigenitus, that he refers it as well to Lord as Son. Hic ergo Jesus Christus, filius unicus Dei, qui est & Dominus noster unicus, & ad filium referri & ad dominum potest. So St. August. in Enchiridiz, c. 24. and Leo, Epist. 10. Which is therefore to be observed, because in the ancient Copies of those Epistles, the word unicum was not to be found, as appeareth by the discourse of Vigilius, who, in the fourth Book against Euryches, hath these words: Illa primitus uno dilucens volumine quæ Leonis obijciuntur Epistolæ, cujus hoc sibi primo capitulum iste nescio quis proposuit; Fidelium Univeritas proficetur credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, & in Jesum Christum, filium ejus, Dominum nostrum. That which he aims at is the tenth Epistle of Leo, in which these words are found, but with the addition of unicum, which, as it seems, then was not there; as appears yet further by the words which follow: Miror ramen quomodo hunc locum ille moravit, & illum prætermisit, ubi unici filii commemorationem idem Beatus Leo facit, dicens, Idem verò sempiterni genitoris unigenitus sempiternus, natus de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine; which words are not to be found in the same Epistle. However it was in the first Copies of Leo, both Rufinus, and St. Augustine, who were before him, and Maximus Taurinensis, Chrysoſogus, Erherius and Beatus, who were later, read it, & in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum. But the word used in the Scriptures, and kept constantly by the Greeks, is μονογενής, the only-begotten.

First then, it cannot be denied that *Christ* is the *Son of God*, for that reason, because he was by the Spirit of God born of the *Virgin Mary*; for that which is conceived (or || *begotten*) in her, by the testimony of an Angel, is of the *Holy Ghost*; and because of him, therefore the *Son of God*. For so spake the An-

|| For the Original is τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἁγνῶνται, and 'tis the Generation of S. Paul, ἐκ ἁγνῶ-

ταυ, τὸ κνηθὲν, ἀλλὰ, τὸ ἁγνῶνθην. Indeed the Vulgar Translation renders it, quod in ea natum est, and in S. Luke, quod natus sanctum; and it must be confessed this was the most ancient Translation. For St. Tertullian read it, Per virginem dicitur natum,

tum, non ex virgine, & in vulva, non ex vulva, quia &c. Angelus in fomis ad Joseph, Nam quod in ea natum est, inquit, de Sp. S. est. De Carne Christi, c. 19. and of that in S. Luke, Hæc & ab Angelo exceperat secundum nostrum Evangelium, Propterea quod in te nascetur vocabitur sanctum, filius Dei. adv. Marcion. l. 4. c. 7. Yet quod in ea natum est cannot be proper, while it is yet in the womb; nor can the child first be said to be born, and then that the mother shall bring it forth. 'Tis true indeed, ἄνδρα signifies not always to beget but sometimes to bear or bring forth; as ἡ γυνὴ τῷ Ἐλισάβετ ἔσθ' ἑνὶ κοίτῃ σου, Luke 1. 13. and v. 57. ἡ ἑσθ' ἑνὶ κοίτῃ σου. So τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσθ' ἑνὶ κοίτῃ σου, Math. 2. 1. must necessarily be understood of Christ's nativity, for it is most certain that he was not begotten or conceived at Bethlehem. And this without question must be the meaning of Herod's inquisition, πῶς ὁ Χριστὸς γενήσεται, where the Messias was to be born. But though γενᾶν have sometime the signification of bearing or bringing forth; yet τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γενᾶν cannot be so interpreted, because it speaks of something as past, when as yet Christ was not born; and though the conception was already past, and we translate it so, which is conceived; yet S. Basil rejects that interpretation, γενᾶν is one thing, συλλαμβάνειν another. Seeing then the Nativity was not yet come, and γενᾶν speaks of something already past, therefore the old Translation is not good, quod in ea natum est. Seeing, though the Conception indeed were past, yet γενᾶν signifieth not to conceive, and so is not properly to be interpreted, that which is conceived; seeing γενᾶν is most properly to beget, as ἡ γεννητικὴ the generative faculty: therefore I conceive the fittest interpretation of those words, τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γενᾶν, that which is begotten in her. And because the Angel in S. Luke speaks of the same thing, therefore I interpret τὸ συλλαμβάνειν ἐν τῷ, in the same manner, that which is begotten of thee.

gel to the Virgin; *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: Therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee (or, which is begotten of thee) shall be called the Son of God.* And the reason is clear, because that the Holy Ghost is God. For were he any Creature, and not God himself, by whom our Saviour was thus born of the Virgin, he must have been the Son of a Creature, not of a God.

Secondly, it is undoubtedly true, that the same *Christ*, thus born of the Virgin by the Spirit of God, was designed to so high an Office by the special and immediate will of God, that by virtue thereof he must be acknowledged the *Son of God*. He urgeth this argument himself against the Jews; *Is it not written in your Law, I said, Ye are Gods?* Are not these the very words of the eighty second Psalm? *If he called them Gods, if God himself so spake, or the Psalmist from him, if this be the language of the Scripture, if they be called Gods unto whom the word of God came, (and the Scripture cannot be broken, nor the authority thereof in any particular denied;)* Say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, whom he hath consecrated and commissioned to the most eminent and extraordinary Office, say ye of him, *Thou blasphemest, because I said I am the Son of God.*

John 10. 34.
35, 36.

Thirdly, Christ must therefore be acknowledged the *Son of God*, because he is raised immediately by God out of the earth unto immortal life. For God hath fulfilled the promise unto us, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second Psalm, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* The grave is as the womb of the earth; Christ, who is raised from thence, is as it were begotten to another life; and God, who raised him, is his Father. So true it must needs be of him, which is spoken of others, who are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection. Thus was he defin'd, or constituted, and appointed the *Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead*: neither is he called simply the first that rose, but with a note of generation, *the first-born from the dead.*

Acts 13. 33.

Luke 20. 36.

Rom. 1. 4.

Col. 1. 18.

Fourthly, *Christ*, after his resurrection from the dead, is made actually heir of all things in his Father's House, and Lord of all the Spirits which minister unto him, from whence he also hath the title of the *Son of God*. He is set down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; Being made so much better than the Angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the Angels said he at any time, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?* From all which testimonies of the Scriptures it is evident, that *Christ* hath this fourfold right unto the Title of the *Son of God*: by generation, as begotten of God; by commission, as sent by him; by resurrection, as the first-born; by actual possession, as heir of all.

Heb 1. 3, 4, 5.

But beside these four, we must find yet a more peculiar ground of our Saviour's Filiation, totally distinct from any which belongs unto the rest of the Sons of God, that he may be clearly and fully acknowledged the *only-begotten Son*.

Son.

Son. For although to be born of a Virgin be in it self miraculous, and justly entitles *Christ* unto the *Son of God*; yet it is not so far above the production of all mankind, as to place him in that singular eminence which must be attributed to the only-begotten. We read of *Adam the Son of God*, as well as *Seth* July 3. 2^o the *Son of Adam*: and surely the framing *Christ* out of a Woman cannot so far transcend the making *Adam* out of the Earth, as to cause so great a distance as we must believe between the first and second *Adam*. Beside, there were many while our Saviour preached on earth who did believe his doctrine, and did confess him to be the *Son of God*, who in all probability understood nothing of his being born of a Virgin; much less did they foresee his rising from the dead, or inheriting all things. Wherefore supposing all these ways by which *Christ* is represented to us as the *Son of God*, we shall find out one more yet, far more proper in it self, and more peculiar unto him, in which no other Son can have the least pretence of share or of similitude, and consequently in respect of which we must confess him the *Only-begotten*.

To which purpose I observe, that the actual possession of his inheritance, which was our fourth title to his Sonship, presupposes his Resurrection, which was the third: and his commission to his Office, which was the second, presupposeth his generation of a Virgin, as the first. But I shall now endeavour to find another generation, by which the same *Christ* was begotten, and consequently a Son, before he was conceived in the Virgin's womb. Which that I may be able to evince, I shall proceed in this following Method, as not only most facile and perspicuous, but also most convincing and conclusive. First, I will clearly prove out of the holy Scriptures, that *Jesus Christ*, born of the Virgin *Mary*, had an actual being or subsistence before the Holy Ghost did come upon the Virgin, or the power of the Highest did overshadow her. Secondly, I will demonstrate from the same Scriptures, that the being which he had antecedently to his conception in the Virgin's womb was not any created being but essentially Divine. Thirdly, we will shew that the Divine essence which he had, he received as communicated to him by the Father. Fourthly, we will declare this communication of the Divine nature to be a proper generation, by which he which communicateth is a proper Father, and he to whom it is communicated, a proper Son. Lastly, we will manifest that the Divine essence was never communicated in that manner to any person but to him, that never any was so begotten besides himself, and consequently, in respect of that Divine generation, he is most properly and perfectly *the only begotten Son of the Father*.

As for the first, that *Jesus Christ* had a real being or existence, by which he truly was, before he was conceived of the Virgin *Mary*, I thus demonstrate. He which was really in Heaven, and truly descended from thence, and came into the world from the Father, before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended into Heaven or went unto the Father, he had a real being or existence before he was conceived in the Virgin, and distinct from that being which was conceived in her. This is most clear and evident, upon these three suppositions not to be denied. First, that *Christ* did receive no other being or nature after his Conception before his Ascension, than what was begotten of the Virgin. Secondly, that what was begotten of the Virgin had its first being here on Earth, and therefore could not really be in Heaven till it ascended thither. Thirdly, that what was really in Heaven, really was; because nothing can be present in any place, which is not. Upon these suppositions, certainly true, the first proposition cannot be denied. Wherefore I assume; *Jesus Christ* was really in Heaven, and truly descended from thence, and came into the World from the Father, before that which was begotten of

the Virgin ascended into Heaven, or went unto the Father; as I shall particularly prove by the express words of the Scripture. Therefore I conclude, that *Jesus Christ* had a real being or existence before he was conceived in the Virgin, and distinct from that being which was conceived in her. Now that he was really in Heaven before he ascended thither, appeareth by his own words to his Disciples; *What and if you shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?* For he speaketh of a real ascension, such as was to be seen or looked upon, such as they might view as Spectators. The place to which that ascension tended was truly and really the Heaven of heavens. The Verb substantive, not otherwise used, sufficiently testifieth, not a figurative, but a real, being, especially considering the opposition in the word *before*. Whether we look upon the time of speaking, then present, or the time of his ascension, then to come, his being or existing in Heaven was *before*. Nor is this now at last denied, that he was in Heaven before the ascension mentioned in these words, but that he was there before he ascended at all. We shall therefore farther shew that this ascension was the first; that what was born of the Virgin was never in Heaven before this time of which he speaks: and being in Heaven before this ascension, he must be acknowledged to have been there before he ascended at all. If Christ had ascended into Heaven before his death, and descended from thence, it had been the most remarkable action in all his life, and the proof thereof of the greatest efficacy toward the disseminating of the Gospel. And can we imagine so Divine an action of so high concernment could have passed, and none of the Evangelists ever make mention of it? Those which are so diligent in the description of his Nativity and Circumcision, his oblation in the Temple, his reception by *Symeon*, his adoration by the Wise men; those which have described his descent into *Aegypt*; would they have omitted his ascent into Heaven? Do they tell us of the wisdom which he shewed when he disputed with the Doctors? and were it not worthy our knowledge whether it were before he was in Heaven or after? The diligent seeking of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and her words when they found him, *Son, why hast thou dealt so with us?* shew that he had not been missing from them till then, and consequently not ascended into Heaven. After that he went down to *Nazareth*, and *was subject unto them*: and I understand not how he should ascend into Heaven, and at the same time be subject to them; or there receive his Commission and Instructions as the great Legate of God, or Embassador from Heaven, and return again unto his old subjection; and afterwards to go to *John* to be baptized of him, and to expect the descent of the Spirit for his Inauguration. Immediately from *Jordan* he is carried into the Wilderness to be tempted of the Devil: and 'twere strange if any time could then be found for his Ascension: for *he was forty days in the wilderness*, and certainly Heaven is no such kind of place; he was all that time *with the beasts*, who undoubtedly are none of the celestial Hierarchy; and *tempted of Satan*, whose dominion reacheth no higher than the Air. Wherefore in those forty days *Christ* ascended not into Heaven, but rather Heaven descended unto him; for *the Angels ministred unto him*. After this *he returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee*, and there exercised his Prophetical Office: after which there is not the least pretence of any reason for his Ascension. Beside, the whole frame of this antecedent or preparatory Ascension of *Christ* is not only raised without any written testimony of the Word, or unwritten testimony of Tradition, but is without any reason in it self, and contrary to the revealed way of our Redemption. For what reason should *Christ* ascend into Heaven to know the will of God, and not be known to ascend thither? Certainly the Father could reveal his will unto the Son as well on earth as in Heaven.

John 6. 62.
 εὐαγγελιστῆς. as
 it came to pass,
 ἐλθὼν ἰσχυρῶς
 πρὸ ἐπιπέδου.
 Acts 1. 9.
 ὅπου ἦν.

John 6. 48.

Mark 1. 13.

Mark 1. 13.
 Luke 4. 14.

ven. And if men must be ignorant of his ascension, to what purpose should they say he ascended, except they imagine either an impotency in the Father, or dissatisfaction in the Son? Nor is this only asserted without reason, but also against that rule to be observed by *Christ* as he was anointed to the Sacerdotal Office. For the Holy of holies *made with hands* was the figure of the true, (that is, *Heaven it self*) into which the *High-priest alone went once every year*: and *Christ* as our High-priest *entred in once into the holy place*. If then they deny *Christ* was a Priest before he *preached the Gospel*, then did he not enter into Heaven, because the High-priest alone went into the type thereof, the Holy of holies. If they confess he was, then did he not ascend till after his death, because he was to enter in but *once*, and that not without blood. Wherefore being *Christ* ascended not into Heaven till after his death, being he certainly was in Heaven before that ascension, we have sufficiently made good that part of our Argument, that *Jesus Christ* was in Heaven before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended thither. Now that which followeth will both illustrate and confirm it; for as he was there, so he descended from thence before he ascended thither. This he often testifieth and inculcatheth of himself: *The bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven*; and, *I am the living bread which came down from heaven*. He opposeth himself unto the Manna in the Wilderness, which never was really in Heaven, or had its Original from thence. *Moses gave you not that bread from heaven*: but the Father gave *Christ* really from thence. Wherefore he saith, *I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me*. Now never any person upon any occasion is said to descend from Heaven, but such as were really there before they appeared on earth, as the Father, the Holy Ghost, and the Angels: but no man, however born, however sanctified, sent, or dignified, is said thereby to descend from thence; but rather when any is opposed to *Christ*, the opposition is placed in this very origination. *John* the Baptist was filled with the holy Ghost even from his mother's womb; born of an aged father and a barren mother, by the power of God: and yet he distinguisheth himself from *Christ* in this; *He that cometh from above is above all: he that is of the earth is earthy, and speaketh of the earth; he that cometh from heaven is above all*. *Adam* was framed immediately by God, without the intervention of man or woman; and yet he is so far from being thereby from Heaven, that even in that he is distinguished from the second *Adam*. For *the first man is of the earth earthy, the second man is the Lord from heaven*. Wherefore the descent of *Christ* from Heaven doth really presuppose his being there, and that antecedently to any ascent thither. For *that he ascended, what is it, but that he also descended first*? So *S. Paul*, asserting a descent as necessarily preceding his ascension, teacheth us never to imagine an ascent of *Christ* as his first motion between heaven and earth; and consequently, that the first being or existence which *Christ* had, was not what he received by his conception here on earth, but what he had before in heaven, in respect whereof he was with the Father, from whom he came. His Disciples believed that he *came out from God*: and he commended that Faith, and confirmed the object of it by this assertion; *I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world*: again, *I leave the world and go to the Father*. Thus having by undoubted testimonies, made good the latter part of the Argument, I may safely conclude, that being *Christ* was really in Heaven, and descended from thence, and came forth from the Father, before that which was conceived of the Holy Ghost ascended thither; it cannot with any shew of reason be denied, that *Christ* had a real being and existence antecedent unto his conception here on earth, and distinct from the being which he received here.

Secondly, we shall prove not only a bare priority of existence, but a pre-existence

existence of some certain and acknowledged space of duration. For whosoever was before *John* the Baptist and before *Abraham*, was some space of time before *Christ* was man. This no man can deny, because all must confess the blessed Virgin was first saluted by the Angels six months after *Elizabeth* conceived, and many hundred years after *Abraham* died. But *Jesus Christ* was really existent before *John* the Baptist, and before *Abraham*, as we shall make good by the testimony of the Scriptures. Therefore it cannot be denied but *Christ* had a real being and existence some space of time before he was made man. For the first, it is the express testimony of *John* himself; *This is he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me; for he was before me.* In which words, First, he taketh to himself a priority of time, speaking of *Christ, he that cometh after me*: for so he came after him into the womb, at his Conception; into the world, at his Nativity; unto his Office, at his Baptism; always after *John*, and at the same distance. Secondly, he attributeth unto *Christ* a priority of dignity, saying, *he is preferred before me*, as appeareth by the reiteration of these words; *He it is who, coming after me, is preferred before me, whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose.* The addition of which expression of his own unworthiness sheweth, that to be preferred before him is the same with being *worthier than he*, to which the same expression is constantly added by all the other three Evangelists. Thirdly, he rendreth the reason or cause of that great dignity which belonged to *Christ*, saying, *for, or rather, because he was before me.* And being the cause must be supposed different and distinct from the effect, therefore the priority last mentioned cannot be that of dignity. For to assign any thing as the cause or reason of it self, is a great absurdity, and the expression of it a vain tautology. Wherefore that priority must have relation to time or duration, (as the very tense, *he was before me*, sufficiently signifieth) and so be placed in opposition to his coming after him. As if *John* the Baptist had thus spoke at large: This man *Christ Jesus*, who came into the world, and entred on his Prophetical Office six months after me, is notwithstanding of far more worth and greater dignity than I am; even so much greater, that I must acknowledge my self unworthy to stoop down and unloose the latchet of his shoes: and the reason of this transcendent dignity is from the excellency of that nature which he had before I was; for though he cometh after me, yet he was before me.

Now as *Christ* was before *John*, which speaks a small, so was he also before *Abraham*, which speaks a larger time. *Jesus* himself hath asserted this pre-existence to the Jews; *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was I am.* Which words, plainly and literally expounded, must evidently contain this truth. For first, *Abraham* in all the Scriptures never hath any other signification than such as denotes the person called by that name; and the question to which these words are directed by way of answer, without controversy, spake of the same person. Beside, *Abraham* must be the subject of that proposition, *Abraham* was; because a proposition cannot be without a subject, and if *Abraham* be the predicate, there is none. Again, as we translate *Abraham was*, in a tense signifying the time past; so it is most certainly to be understood, because that which he speaks unto, is the pre-existence of *Abraham*, and that of long duration; so that whatsoever had concerned his present estate or future condition had been wholly impertinent to the precedent question. Lastly, the expression, *I am*, seeming something unusual or improper to signify a priority in respect of any thing past, because no present instant is before that which precedeth, but that which followeth: yet the * use of it sufficient-

* S. N. nus

h. rem. v. b. r. i. c. h. a. u. s. i. p. l. a. n. t. l. y. t. h. a. n. u. s. u. a. l. : A. B. C. D. E.

-εἰν ἦν ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐγὼ πάλαι. So Joh. 14. 9. τοσαύτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκατέ με; Have I been so long time with you. and yet have ye not known me? and Joh. 15. 27. ὅτι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μετ' ἡμῶν ἔστε, because ye have been (or continued)

tinued) with me from the beginning. Thus Nonnus, Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγαυτες ὄλων θητόρες ἔργων. John 6. 24. "Οτε δὲ ἔειπεν ὁ ὄχλος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ, When the people saw that Jesus was not there. Nor only doth S. John use this the present tense for that which is past, but as frequently for that which is to come. For as before, τοσούτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, so on the contrary, ἔτι μικρόν χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι, John 7. 33. and ὅπου εἰμι ἐγὼ, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ δάκρυον ὁ ἐμὸς ἔστι, John 12. 25. 14. 2. 17. 24. Wherefore it is very indifferent whether (John 7. 34.) we read, ὅπου εἰμι ἐγὼ, or ὅπου εἰμι. For Nonnus seems to have read εἰμι by his translation, εἰς ἀπείρονον χρόνον ὁ δὲ δόσω. and the question, πῶς ἔπ' ἔμελλε πορεύεσθαι; shows they understood it for this εἰμι, though of a present form, is of a future signification. Hesych. Εἰμι, πορεύσομαι. And so it agreeth with that which follows, John 8. 21. ὅπου ἐγὼ ἄρα γὰρ, ὑμεῖς δὲ διώκατε ἐλθεῖν. If we read εἰμι, as the old Translation, ubi ego sum, it will have the force of ἔσομαι, and agree with the other; ἵνα ὅπου εἰμι ἐγὼ, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτε. Howsoever it is clear, S. John useth the present εἰμι either in relation to what is past, or what is to come, and is therefore to be interpreted as the matter in hand requireth. And certainly the place now under our consideration can admit no other relation but to the time already past, in which Abraham lived. And we find the present tense in the same manner joyned with the Aorist elsewhere: as Psal. 90. 2. πρὸ τῶ ὄρου γυνθλιῶσαι, καὶ τλαθῆναι ἢ γλῶσσο καὶ ἢ ἀκουσθῆναι, καὶ πρὸ αἰῶν ὄρωσ ἕως τῶ αἰῶν, οὐ εἶ. What can be more parallel than, πρὸ τῶ ὄρου γυνθλιῶσαι, το πλεῖν Ἀβραάμ. ἡμῶν, and οὐ εἶ, το, ἐγὼ εἰμι; In the same manner, though by another word, πρὸ τῶ ὄρου ἐδραστηῖαι, πρὸ δὲ τάντων βανῶν, ἡμῶν, Prov. 8. 25.

ly maintaineth, and the nature of the place absolutely requireth, that it should not here denote a present being, but a priority of existence, together with a continuation of it till the present time. And then the words will plainly signify thus much: Do you question how I could see Abraham, who am not yet fifty years old? Verily, verily, I say unto you, || Before ever Abraham, the person whom you speak of, was born, I had a real being and existence, (by which I was capable of the sight of him) in which I have continued until now. In this sense certainly the Jews understood our Saviour's answer, as pertinent to their question, but in their opinion blasphemous; and therefore they took up stones to cast at him.

This literal and plain explication is yet farther necessary; because those which once recede from it, do not only wrest and pervert the place, but also invent and suggest an answer unworthy of and wholly misbecoming him that spake it. For (setting aside the addition, of the light of the world, which there can be no * shew or reason to admit;) whether they interpret the former part (before Abraham was) of something to come, as the calling of the Gentiles, or the latter (I am) of a pre-existence in the Divine foreknowledge and appointment; they represent Christ with a great asseveration highly and strongly asserting that which is nothing to the purpose to which he speaks, nothing to any other purpose at all: and they propound the Jews senselessly offended and foolishly exasperated with those words, which any of them might have spoken as well as he. For the first interpretation makes our Saviour thus to speak: Do ye so much wonder how I should have seen Abraham, who am not yet fifty years old? Do ye imagine so great a contradiction in this? I tell you, and be ye most assured that what I speak unto you at this time is most certainly and infallibly true, and most worthy of your observation, which moves me not to deliver it without this solemn asseveration, (Verily, verily, I say unto you) Before Abraham shall perfectly become that which was signified in his name, the father of many Nations, before the Gentiles shall come in, I am. Nor be ye troubled at this answer, or think in this I magnifie my self: for what I speak is as true of you as 'tis of me; before Abraham be thus made Abraham, ye are. Doubt ye not therefore, as ye did, nor ever make that question again, whether I have seen Abraham. The second explication makes a sense of another nature, but with the same impertinency. Do ye continue still to question, and that with so much admiration? Do ye look upon my age, and ask, Hast thou seen Abraham? I confess 'tis more than eighteen hundred years since that Patriarch died, and less than forty since I was born at Bethlehem: but look not on

|| So the Ethiopic Version, Amen dico vobis, priusquam Abraham natus fuisset, tui ego; and the Persian, Vere, vere vobis dico, quod nondum Abraham factus erat, cum ego eram.
* This is the drift of the Socinians, who maketh the speech of Christ elliptical, and then jump it from the 12. verse. I am the light of the world. Quod vero ex verba, Ego sum, sine ad eum modum supplenda, ac si ipse subiecit illis, Ego sum lux mundi, superius ἐπιειπτο τοῦ ὁράτου, v. 12. & hinc quod Christu bis te ipsum midam, Ego sum, lucem mundi vocaverit, v. 24. & 28. d. prehendi potest. Catech. Rac v. Whereas there is no ground for any such connexion. The discourse of the light of the

world was in the Treasury, v. 20. that which followeth was not, at least appeareth not to be so. Therefore the ellipsis of the 24. and 28 verses is not to be supplied by the 12, but the 24, from the 23. ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάθη ἐμῆ, and the 23. e ther from the same, of that which is most general, his Office, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ χριστός. Again, v. 31. 'tis very probable that a new discourse is again to be us, and therefore if there were an ellipsis in the words alledged, it would have no relation to either of the former supplies, or if to either to the latter; but indeed it hath to neither.

this computation, for before *Abraham* was born, I was. But mistake me not, I mean in the foreknowledge and decree of God. Nor do I magnifie my self in this, for ye were so. How either of these answers should give any reasonable satisfaction to the question, or the least occasion of the *Jews* exasperation, is not to be understood. And that our Saviour should speak any such impertinences as these interpretations bring forth, is not by a Christian to be conceived. Wherefore being the plain and most obvious sense is a proper and full answer to the question, and most likely to exasperate the unbelieving *Jews*; being those strained explications render the words of *Christ*, not only impertinent to the occasion, but vain and useless to the hearers of them; being our Saviour gave this answer in words of another language, most probably uncapable of any such interpretations: we must adhere unto that literal sense already delivered, by which it appeareth *Christ* had a being as before *John*, so also before *Abraham*, (not only before *Abram* became *Abraham*, but before *Abraham* was *Abram*) and consequently that he did exist two thousand years before he was born, or conceived by the Virgin.

Thirdly, we shall extend this pre-existence to a far longer space of time, to the end of the first world, nay, to the beginning of it. For he which was before the Flood, and at the Creation of the world, had a being before he was conceived by the Virgin. But *Christ* was really before the Flood, for he preached to them that lived before it; and at the Creation of the world, for he created it. That he preached to those before the Flood, is evident by the words of *S. Peter*, who saith, that *Christ* was put to death in the *Flesh*, but quickned by the Spirit; By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, Which sometimes were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of *Noah*, while the ark was a preparing. From which words it appeareth, that *Christ* preached by the same Spirit by the virtue of which he was raised from the dead: but that Spirit was not his Soul, but something of a greater power. Secondly, that those to whom he preached were such as were disobedient. Thirdly, that the time when they were disobedient was the time before the Flood, while the Ark was preparing. It is certain then that *Christ* did preach unto those persons which in the days of *Noah* were disobedient all that time the long-suffering of God waited, and consequently, so long as repentance was offered. And it is as certain that he never preached to them after they died; which I shall not need here to prove, because those against whom I bring this Argument deny it not. It followeth therefore, that he preached to them while they lived, and were disobedient; for in the refusing of that mercy which was offered to them by the preaching of *Christ*, did their disobedience principally consist. In vain then are we taught to understand *S. Peter* of the promulgation of the Gospel to the Gentiles after the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles, when the words themselves refuse all relation to any such times or persons. For all those of whom *S. Peter* speaks, were disobedient in the days of *Noah*. But none of those to whom the Apostles preached, were ever disobedient in the days of *Noah*. Therefore none of those to which the Apostles preached were any of those of which *S. Peter* speaks. It remaineth therefore that the plain interpretation be acknowledged for the true, that *Christ* did preach unto those men which lived before the Flood, even while they lived, and consequently that he was before it. For though this was not done by an immediate act of the Son of God, as if he personally had appeared on earth, and actually preached to that old world; but

1 Pet. 3. 18,
19, 20.

ἸΑΠΗΡΕΩΝ
ΤΟΤΕ, ὅΤΙ ἂν
ΤΑΞ ἘΞΕΔΕΧ-
ΤΟ ἢ ΤΟ ΘΕῶΣ
ΜΑΚΡΟΘΥΜΙΑ
ἘΝ ἡΜΕΡΑΣ
ΝΩΕ.

by

by the * ministry of a Prophet, by the sending of Noah, ^a the eighth preacher of righteousness: yet to do any thing by another not able to perform it without him, as much demonstrates the existence of the principal cause, as if he did it of himself without any intervening instrument.

* Propheta ad ipso habentes donum in plurim propheta verunt Barabae Epist.

^a 2 Pet. 2. 5. I have thus translated this place of S. Peter, because it may add some advantage to the argument: for if Noah were the eight Preacher of righteousness, and he were sent by the Son of God; no man, I conceive, will deny that the seven before him were sent by the same Son: and so by this we have gained the pre-existence of another 1000 years. However the e words, ογδοον Νωε δικαιοσυνης κηρυξα ηπουλαζε, may be better interpreted than they are, when we translate them, but saved Noah the eight person, a preacher of righteousness. For, first, if we look upon the Greek phrase, ογδοον Νωε may be not the eight person, but one of eight, or Noah with seven more; in which it signifieth not the order in which he was in respect of the rest, but only signifies the number which were with him. As when we read in the Supplices of Aeschylus, Το γδ τεκνυσιων τετασ, Τειτον τετασ εσθροισ Δικαι γεγγενη μεμαρτιουσ, we must not understand it, as if Honour due to Parents were the third Commandment at Athens, but one of the three remarkable Laws left at Eleusis by Triptolemus. So Porphyrius, φρασι η η Τειτον λεγουον Αθουαοισ νομοθιτισου, η ησ νομου αυτη τετεις επι Ξενοκρατης ο φιλοσοφου λεγει διαμεινεν Ηλδουνη τις δε Γουεις τετων Γουεις κατεταεις εραλλειν Ζωα μη σινειδου. De Abstinent. l. 4. Which words are thus translated by S. Hierome, who hath made use of most part of that fourth Book of Porphyrius: Xenocrates Philosophus de Triptolemi legibus apud Athenienicis tuis tantum praecepta in Templo Eleusina revidere scribit; Honorandos Parentes, Venerandos Deos, Carnibus non vescendum. Adv. Jo. in. in. l. 2. Where we see Honour due to Parents the first precept, though by Aeschylus called the third, not in respect of the order, but the number. Thus Dinarchus the Oratour, και τας Σεμνας δεαυ αυτην εσεποιδε κατατας δεαυ αυτην ε From whence we must not collect that the person of whom he speaks was the tenth in order of that Office, so that nine were necessarily before or above him, and many more might be after or below him: but from hence it is inferred, that there were ten εσεποιδε waiting in the Σεμνας δεαυ, and no more, of which number that man was one. After this manner speak the Attick Writers, esp ecially Thucydides. And so we may understand S. Peter, that God preserved Noah (a preacher of righteousness) with seven more, of which he deserueth to be named the first, rather than the last or eighth. But, secondly, the Ordinal ογδοον may possibly not belong to the name or person of Noah, but to his title or office; and then we must translate, ογδοον Νωε δικαιοσυνης κηρυξα. Noah the eighth preacher of righteousness. For we read at the birth of Enos, that men began to call upon the name of the Lord, Gen. 4. 26. which the ancients understood peculiarly of his person: as the LXX, ετ ου ηλπισον ετικαλειδου το ονομα Κυριε το Θεου, and the vulgar Latine, Ille cepit invocare nomen Domini. The Jews have a tradition, that God sent in the Sea upon mankind in the days of Enos, and destroyed many. From whence it seems Enos was a Preacher, or Prophet, and so the rest that followe him; and that Noah is the eighth.

The second part of the Argument, that Christ made this world, and consequently had a real being at the beginning of it, the Scriptures manifestly and plentifully assure us. For the same Son, by whom in these last days God spake unto us, is he by whom also he made the worlds. So that, as through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so must we * also believe that they were made by the Son of God. Which the Apostle doth not only in the entrance of his Epistle deliver, but in the sequele prove. For shewing greater things have been spoken of him than ever were attributed to any of the Angels, the most glorious of all the creatures of God; amongst the rest he saith, the Scripture spake ^a unto the Son, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever. And not only so, but also, Thou Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest: and they shall wax old as doth a garment; And as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail. Now whatsoever the person be to whom these words were spoken, it cannot be denied but he was the Creator of the world. For he must be acknowledged the maker of the earth, who laid the foundation of it; and he may justly challenge to himself the making of the Heavens, who can say they are the work of his hands. But these words were spoken to the Son of God, as the Apostle himself acknowledgeth, and it appeareth out of the order and series of the Chapter; the design of which is to declare the supereminent excellency of our Saviour Christ. Nay, the conjunction And refers this place of the Psalmist || plainly to the former, of which he had said expressly, but unto the Son, he saith. As sure then as thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever, was said unto the Son: so certain it is, Thou, Lord, hast laid the foundation of the earth, was said unto the same. Nor is it possible to avoid the

Heb. 1. 2.
Heb. 11. 3.
* It being in both places expressed in the same phrase by the same Author, δι ε η τοσ αυτων εποισεν; Heb. 1. 2. τισει νοουμη κατα τησιδου τοσ αυτων ρημασ εσε.
^a Heb. 1. 8, 10, 11, 12.

Comm after και in the Greek, and Et in the Latine. And whereas it is evident that there are distinctions in the Latine and Greek Copies after that conjunction, he sties to the ancientest Copies, which all men know were most carefull of distinctions, and argueth that there is no addition of cursum or the like after Et; whereas in the Syriack Translation we find expressly that ad huc. ܕܡܢ.

Apostle's connexion by attributing the Destruction of the Heavens, out of the last words, to the Son, and denying the Creation of them, out of the first, to the same. For it is most evident that there is but one person spoken to, and that the Destruction and the Creation of the Heavens are both attributed to the same. Whosoever therefore shall grant that the Apostle produced this Scripture to shew that the Son of God shall destroy the Heavens, must withal acknowledge that he created them: whosoever denieth him to be here spoken of as the Creatour, must also deny him to be understood as the Destroyer. Wherefore being the words of the Psalmist were undoubtedly spoken of and to our Saviour, (or else the Apostle hath attributed that unto him which never belonged to him, and consequently the spirit of S. Paul mistook the spirit of David;) being to whomsoever any part of them belongs, the whole is applicable, because they are delivered unto one; being the literal exposition is so clear that no man hath ever pretended to a metaphorical: it remaineth as an undeniable truth, grounded upon the profession of the Psalmist, and the interpretation of an Apostle, that the Son of God created the world. Nor needed we so long to have insisted upon this testimony, because there are so many which testify as much, but only that this is of a peculiar nature and different from the rest. For they which deny this truth of the Creation of the world by the Son of God, notwithstanding all those Scriptures produced to confirm it, have found two ways to avoid or decline the force of them. If they speak so plainly and literally of the work of Creation, that they will not endure any figurative interpretation, then they endeavour to shew that they are not spoken of the Son of God. If they speak so expressly of our Saviour *Christ*, as that by no machination they can be applied to any other person, then their whole design is to make the Creation attributed unto him appear to be merely metaphorical. The place before alledged is of the first kind, which speaketh so clearly of the Creation or real production of the world, that they never denied it: and I have so manifestly shewed it spoken to the Son of God, that it is beyond all possibility of gain-saying.

Thus having asserted the Creation acknowledged real unto *Christ*, we shall the easier persuade that likewise to be such which is pretended to be metaphorical. In the Epistle to the *Colossians* we read of the Son of God, *in whom we have redemption through his blood*; and we are sure those words can be spoken of none other than *Jesus Christ*. He therefore it must be who was thus described by the Apostle; *Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature. For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible; whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers: all things were created by him, and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist.* In which words our Saviour is expressly stiled the *first-born of every Creature*, that is, begotten by God, as the *Son of his love*, antecedently to all other emanations, before any thing proceeded from him, or was framed and created by him. And that precedency is presently proved by this undeniable Argument, that all other emanations or productions came from him, and whatsoever received its being by Creation, was by him created. Which assertion is delivered in the most proper, full, and pregnant expressions imaginable. First, in the vulgar phrase of *Moses*, as most consonant to his description; *for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth*; signifying thereby, that he speaketh of the same Creation. Secondly, by a division which *Moses* never used, as

Col. 1. 14.

Col. 1. 15, 16, 17.

|| The first born of every creature is taken by Origen for an expression denoting the Divinity of Christ, and used by him as a phrase in opposition to his Humanity to express the same. Ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ αἰωρίστου, ὅτι αἰμὴ τινεσὶ θεοῦ τῶ ἐν ποτ' Ἰσοῦ πρώτοισιν ἅσις κτιστός, ὡς ἢ, Ἐγὼ εἶμι ἢ θεός, καὶ ἢ ἀλάθεια, καὶ ἢ ζωὴ, καὶ ἢ τὰς πνευματικῶν αἰῶν κατ' αὐτὸν νομαστικῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἢ, Νῦν δὲ με ζητεῖτε ἀπεκλιθεῖναι, ἀνθρώπων δὲ τῶ ἀλλοθεν οὐκ ἀποκλιθεῖτε. lib. 2. adv. Celsum. * In relation to the precedent words, τῶ ὡς ὁ ἀγαπῶν αὐτὸ, for that ὡς ἀγαπῶν καὶ τῶ πρώτοισιν.

descri-

describing the production only of corporeal substances: lest therefore those immaterial beings might seem exempted from the Son's creation, because omitted in *Moses* his description, he addeth *visible and invisible*; and lest in that invisible world, among the many degrees of the celestial Hierarchy, any Order might seem exempted from an essential dependence upon him, he nameth those which are of greatest eminence, *whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers*, and under them comprehendeth all the rest. Nor doth it yet suffice, thus to extend the object of his power by asserting all things to be made by him, except it be so understood as to acknowledge the sovereignty of his Person, and the authority of his Action. For lest we should conceive the Son of God framing the World as a meer instrumental cause which worketh by and for another, he sheweth him as well the final as the efficient cause; for *all things were created by him, and for him*. Lastly, whereas all things first receive their being by creation, and when they have received it, continue in the same by virtue of God's conservation, *in whom we live, and move, and have our being*; lest in any thing we should be thought not to depend immediately upon the Son of God, he is described as the Conserver, as well as the Creatour; for *he is before all things, and by him all things consist*. If then we consider the two last cited verses by themselves, we cannot deny but they are a most compleat description of the Creatour of the World; and if they were spoken of God the Father, could be no way injurious to his Majesty, who is no-where more plainly or fully set forth unto us as the Maker of the World.

Now although this were sufficient to persuade us to interpret this place of the making of the world, yet it will not be unfit to make use of another reason, which will compel us so to understand it. For undoubtedly there are but two kinds of Creation in the language of the Scriptures, the one literal, the other metaphorical; one old, the other new; one by way of formation, the other by way of reformation. *If any man be in Christ he is a new creature*, saith *S. Paul*; and again, *In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature*. In stead of which words he had before, *faith working by love. For we are the workmanship of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them*. From whence it is evident that a new creature is such a person as truly believeth in *Christ*, and manifesteth that faith by the exercise of good works; and the new creation is the reforming or bringing man into this new condition, which by nature or his first creation he was not in. And therefore he which is so created is called a new man, in opposition to *the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts*: From whence the Apostle chargeth us to be *renewed in the spirit of our mind*, and to *put on that new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness*; and *which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him*. The new creation then is described to us as consisting wholly in * renovation, or a translation from a worse unto a better condition by way of reformation; by which those which have lost the image of God, in which the first man was created, are restored to the image of the same God again, by a real change, though not substantial, wrought within them. Now this being the notion of the new creation in all those places which undoubtedly and confessedly speak of it, it will be necessary to apply it unto such Scriptures as are pretended to require the same interpretation. Thus therefore I proceed. If the second or new creation cannot be meant by the Apostle in the

2 Cor. 5. 17.

Gal. 6. 15. and 5. 6.

Ephes. 2. 10:

Ephes. 4. 22,

23, 24.

Col. 3. 10.

* Ἀνανέωσις or ἀνακαινώσις: as the new man νέος ἀνθρώπος, or καινός ἀνθρώπος. The first ὁ ἀναπεισώμενος, the last ὁ ἀνακαινώμενος, both the same. Suidas, Ἀνα-

καίνωσις, ἢ ἀνανέωσις ἢ ἀνακαινώσις: which is the language of the New Testament. This Renovation being thus called καινὴ κτίσις, the Ancients framed a proper word for it, which is, ἀνάκλισις: ἐν ἧ γίνεσθαι τῶν πᾶσιν ἄνθρωποις χριστὸς ἰσχυρὸς καὶ τὸ σῶμα καινὸν ἀναίρεσις. Just. Qu. 8 Resp. ad Grecos. This new creation doth so necessarily infer an alteration, that it is called by S. Paul a μεταμορφώσις; μετεμορφώθη τὸ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοοῦ ἡμῶν. Rom. 12. 2.

place produced out of the Epistle to the *Colossians*, then it must be interpreted of the first. For there are but two kinds of Creation mentioned in the Scriptures, and one of them is there expressly named. But the place of the Apostle can no way admit an interpretation by the new Creation, as will thus appear: The object of the Creation, mentioned in this place, is of as great latitude and universality as the object of the first Creation, not only expressed, but implied, by *Moses*. But the object of the new Creation is not of the same latitude with that of the old. Therefore that which is mentioned here cannot be the new Creation. For certainly if we reflect upon the true notion of the new Creation, it necessarily and essentially includes an opposition to a former worse condition, as the new man is always opposed to the old; and if *Adam* had continued still in innocency, there could have been no such distinction between the old man and the new, or the old and new Creation. Being then all men become not new, being there is no new Creature but such whose faith worketh by love, being so many millions of men have neither faith nor love; it cannot be said that by *Christ* all things were created anew that are in heaven and that are in earth, when the greatest part of mankind have no share in the new Creation. Again, we cannot imagine that the Apostle should speak of the Creation in a general word, intending thereby only the new, and while he doth so, express particularly and especially those parts of the old Creation which are incapable of the new, or at least have no relation to it. The Angels are all either good or bad: but whether they be bad, they can never be good again, nor did *Christ* come to redeem the Devils; or whether they be good, they were always such, nor were they so by the virtue of *Christ's* Incarnation, for he took not on him the nature of Angels. We acknowledge in mankind a new Creation, because an old man becomes a new; but there is no such notion in the Celestial Hierarchy, because no old and new Angels: they which fell, are fallen for eternity; they which stand, always stood, and shall stand for ever. Where then are the regenerated thrones and dominions? where are the recreated principalities and powers? All those Angels of whatsoever degrees were created by the Son of God, as the Apostle expressly affirms. But they were never created by a new Creation unto true holiness and righteousness, because they always were truly righteous and holy ever since their first creation. Therefore except we could yet invent another Creation, which were neither the old nor the new, we must conclude, that all the Angels were at first created by the Son of God; and as they, so all things else, especially Man whose creation || all the first Writers of the Church of God expressly attribute unto the Son, asserting that those words, *Let us make man*, were spoken as by the Father unto him.

|| Ad hoc Dominus sustinuit pati pro anima nostra, cum sit orbis Terrarum Dominus, cui dixit die ante constitutionem Seculi, *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*. Barnabæ Epist. c. 4. and again, *λέγει ἑὸν γενεὴ πρὸ ἡμῶν ὡς λέγει πρὸ τῶν ποιήσων κατ' εἰκόνα, &c. c. 5.* Ἐγκαλεῖται ἐν Ἱσραὴλ τοτον μὴ νομίσει Θεὸν ὡς τὸ πρὸς τὴν πολλαχῶς μειωδουμένην ὡς μετὰ ἄλλη ὄντα διώκωμεν καὶ Θεὸν, καὶ τὸ πρὸ ἔλεος Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα. τὸν γὰρ σαφῶς ἐν τῷ καὶ Νασσεὶ κοσμοποιεῖα πρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ Πατέρα ἡρηκέναι τὸ, Γενήθητε ὡς ἑστέ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ὅσα πρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡρῶντες καὶ τὰ πρὸ ἡρηκέναι τὸ, Ποιήσωμεν εἰς ἑστέον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοιωσιν ἡμεῖς ἑστέον. Orig. adv. Cellum, l. 2.

Nor need we doubt of this Interpretation, or the Doctrine arising from it, seeing it is so clearly delivered by *S. John*: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God, All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made.* Whereas we have proved *Christ* had a being before he was conceived by the Virgin *Mary*, because he was at the beginning of the world; and have also proved that he was at the beginning of the world, because he made it; this place of *S. John* gives a sufficient testimony to the truth of both
the

the last together. *In the beginning was the Word*; and that Word made flesh is *Christ*: therefore *Christ* was in the beginning. *All things were made by him*: therefore he created the World. Indeed nothing can be more clearly penn'd, to give full satisfaction in this point, than these words of *S. John*, which seem with a strange brevity design'd to take off all objections, and remove all prejudice, before they teach so strange a truth. *Christ* was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and his age was known to them for whom this Gospel was penned. *S. John* would teach that this *Christ* did make the World, which was created at least four thousand years before his birth: The name of *Jesus* was given him since at his Circumcision, the title of *Christ* belonged unto his Office, which he exercis'd not till thirty years after. Neither of these with any shew of probability will reach to the Creation of the World. Wherefore he produceth a name of his, as yet unknown to the World, or rather not taken notice of, though in frequent use among the *Jews*, which belonged unto him who was made man, but before he was so. Under this name he shews at first that he had a being in the || beginning; when all things were to be created, and consequently were not yet, then in the beginning was the Word, and so not created. This is the first step, the Word was not created when the world was made. The next is, that the same Word which then was, and was not made, at the same time * was with God, when he made all things: and therefore well may we conceive 'tis he to whom ^a God said, *Let us make man in our image, after our likeness*; and of whom those words may be understood, ^b Behold, the man is become as one of us. After this, lest any should conceive the Creation of the World too Great and Divine a Work to be attributed to the Word; lest any should object, that none can produce any thing out of nothing but God himself; he addeth, that the Word, as he was with God, so was he also God. Again, lest any should divide the Deity, or frame a false conception of different Gods, he returns unto the second assertion, and joyns it with the first; *The same was in the beginning with God*: and then delivers that which at the first seem'd strange, but now, after those three propositions, may easily be accepted; *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made*. For now this is no new Doctrine, but only an interpretation of those Scriptures which told us, God made all things by his word before. For ^c God said, *Let there be light; and there was light*. And so, ^d *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of his mouth*. From whence ^e we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God. Neither was it a new interpretation, but that which was most familiar to the *Jews*, who in their Synagogues, by the reading of the || Paraphrase or the Interpretation of the Hebrew Text in the Chaldee language, were constantly taught, that the Word of God was the same with God, and that by that Word all things were made. Which undoubtedly was the cause why *S. John*

|| $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$
 first word of Mo-
 ses; whence the
 Syriac Translation
 בְּרֵשִׁית
 So Solomon,
 בְּרֵשִׁית אֱלֹהִים
 בְּרֵשִׁית אֱלֹהִים
 בְּרֵשִׁית אֱלֹהִים
 בְּרֵשִׁית אֱלֹהִים
 In principio
 erat sermo; in
 quo principio
 scilicet Deus
 fecit caelum &
 terram. Tertull.
 adv. Hermog. c.
 20.
 * $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron$ $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$
 $\epsilon\upsilon$, that is, $\tau\omicron$
 $\epsilon\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron$ $\Theta\epsilon\omicron$,
 that is, by God.
 As Nonnus, Pa-
 rous $\epsilon\upsilon$ $\alpha\mu\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$
 $\epsilon\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron$ $\Theta\epsilon\omicron$
 $\epsilon\upsilon$. As Wisd'm
 speaks, Prov.
 8. 30. then I
 was by him.
 וְהָיָה
 וְהָיָה
 $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$
 וְהָיָה
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ & eram
 in latere ejus.

Mischipulus $\epsilon\upsilon$ $\chi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\delta\omicron\nu$ * $\pi\epsilon\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron$ $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. $\tau\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$, $\mu\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron$ $\Theta\epsilon\omicron$ As Mat. 13. 55. $\text{Αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτῆ ἐχρὶ πάντων πεδῶν θυμῶν αὐτῆς}$.
 Mar. 14. 49. $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota$ $\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, 1 Cor. 16. 6. $\pi\epsilon\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ $\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\upsilon$ $\chi\omicron\delta\omicron\nu$ $\pi\alpha\epsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\delta\omicron$. $\text{Ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν διακοιλίαν Ἰωσὴφ$
 $\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$, $\delta\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron$ $\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$ $\pi\alpha\epsilon\tau\omicron$ $\text{Παρετὶ ἡμῶν, ἧ ἐν τέλει ἰσθμῶν.}$ Ignat. ad Magnes. ^a Gen. 1. 26. ^b Gen. 2. 22. ^c Gen. 1. 3.
^d Psal. 33. 6. ^e Heb. 11. 3. 2 Pet. 2. 5. || I conceive this Chaldee Paraphrase to represent the sense of the Jews of that Age, or
 being their publick interpretation of the Scripture. Wherefore what we find common and frequent in it, we cannot but think the
 vulgar and general opinion of that Nation. Now it is certain that this Paraphrase doth often use $\text{וְהָיָה בְּרֵשִׁית בְּרֵשִׁית}$ the word of
 God, for וְהָיָה God himself, and that especially with relation to the creation of the world. As וְהָיָה אֲרָץ 12. $\text{אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֲרָץ}$
 I made the earth, and created man upon it, saith the Lord, the Holy One of Israel; which the
 Chaldee translateth $\text{אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֲרָץ}$ I by my word made the earth, and created man upon it. In
 some manner, Jer. 27. 5. I made the earth, and men and beasts on the face of the earth: the $\text{אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֲרָץ}$
 $\text{אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֲרָץ}$ And וְהָיָה אֲרָץ 13. $\text{אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֲרָץ}$ My hand also founded the earth: the Chaldee $\text{אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֲרָץ}$
 $\text{אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֲרָץ}$ Etiam in verbo meo tundrai terram. And most clearly Gen. 1. 27. we read, Et creavit Deus hominem
 & the Jerusalem Tar um, Verbum Domini creavit hominem. And Gen. 2. 8. Audierunt vocem Domini Dei: the Chaldee
 Paraphrase $\text{וְהָיָה בְּרֵשִׁית בְּרֵשִׁית}$ $\text{וְהָיָה בְּרֵשִׁית בְּרֵשִׁית}$ Et audierunt vocem verbi Domini Dei. Now this which the Chaldee Paraphrase
 called $\text{וְהָיָה בְּרֵשִׁית בְּרֵשִׁית}$, the Hellenists named ὁ λόγος as appeareth by Philo the Jew, who wrote before S. John, and reckons, in his Divi-
 nity, first Πατὴρ ὁ ἄριστος , then $\text{ὁ υἱος ὁ ἐκείνου ὁ λόγος}$. Quæst. de Salar. Whom he calls ὁ λόγος ὁ λόγος .

ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ θεοῦ, De Agricult. He attributes the Creation of the World to this Λόγος, whom he terms ὀργανον Θεοῦ, δι' ὃ (ὁ ἄριστος) κτίσας ἀσασαι, De Flammeo gladio. Σκιά δὲ Θεοῦ ὁ Λόγος αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν, ὃ κτίσας ὁρῶντα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀποστο-
 μοῦντες ἰδέναι, Allegor. l. 2. Where we must observe, though Philo makes the Λόγος of whom he speaks as influential in the
 Creation of the World; yet he taketh it not for a bare expression of the will of God, but for a God, though in the second degree, and
 inferior to the Son of God. Nor ought we to look on Philo Judæus in this as a Platonist, but merely as a Jew, who refers his whole
 Doctrine of this Λόγος to the first chapter of Genesis. And the rest of the Jews before him, who had no such knowledge out of Pla-
 to's school, used the same notion. For as Cai. 48. 13. the hand of God, is by the Chaldee Paraphrast translated the Word of God :
 in the B. k. of Wisdom, ἡ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ χεὶρ ἢ λόγος, Sap. 11. 17. is changed into ὁ πᾶν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἢ ὁ Λόγος
 ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτὸς, id. 15. and Sira. ides 43. 26. Ἐν λόγῳ αὐτῷ (Ὁρῶντα πάντα). Nay, the Septuagint hath changed Shadlai, the
 undivided name of the Omnipotent God, into Λόγος the Word, Ezek. 1. 24. יְהוָה קוֹל יְהוָה דְּבַר דְּבַר דְּבַר דְּבַר דְּבַר
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delivered so great a mystery in so few words, as speaking unto them who at
 the first apprehension understood him. Only that which as yet they knew
 not was, that this Word was made flesh, and that this Word made flesh was
Jesus Christ. Wherefore this exposition being so literally clear in it self, so
 consonant to the notion of the Word, and the apprehension of the Jews; it
 is infinitely to be preferred before any such interpretation as shall restrain
 the most universals to a few particulars, change the plainest expressions into
 figurative phrases, and make of a sublime truth, a weak, useles, false discourse.
 For who will grant that *in the beginning* must be the same with that in S. *John's*
Epistle, from the beginning, especially when the very interpretation involves
 in it self a contradiction? For *the beginning* in S. *John's* Epistle is that in which
 the Apostles saw, and heard, and touched the Word: *the beginning* in his Gos-
 pel was that in which *the Word was with God*, that is, not seen nor heard by
 the Apostles, but known as yet to God alone, as the new exposition will have
 it. Who will conceive it worthy of the Apostle's assertion, to teach that the
 Word had a being in the beginning of the Gospel, at what time *John* the Bap-
 tist began to preach, when we know the Baptist taught as much, who
 therefore *came baptizing with water, that he might be made manifest unto Isra-
 el?* When we are sure that S. *Matthew* and S. *Luke*, who wrote before him,
 taught us more than this, that he had a being thirty years before? when we are
 assured, it was as true of any other then living as of the Word, even of *Judas*
 who betrayed him, even of *Pilate* who condemned him? Again, who can
 imagine the Apostle should assert that the Word was, that is, had an actual
 being, when as yet he was not actually the Word? For if *the beginning* be
 when *John* the Baptist began to preach, and the Word, as they say, be no-
 thing else but he which speaketh, and so revealeth the will of God; *Christ*
 had not then revealed the will of God, and consequently was not then actu-
 ally the Word, but only potentially or by designation. Secondly, 'tis a
 strange figurative speech, *the Word was with God*, that is, was known to God,
 especially in this Apostles method. *In the beginning was the Word*; there *was*
 must signifie an actual existence: and if so, why in the next sentence (*the
 word was with God*) shall the same verb signifie an objective being only?
 Certainly though to be in the beginning be one thing, and to be with God,
 another; yet to be in either of them is the same. But if we should imagine
 this being understood of the knowledge of God, why we should grant that
 thereby is signified he was known to God alone, I cannot conceive. For the
 Proposition of it self is plainly affirmative, and the exclusive particle *only* ad-
 ded to the exposition, maketh it clearly negative. Nay more, the affirmative
 sense is certainly true, the negative as certainly false. For except *Gabriel* be
 God.

1 John 1. 1.

John 1. 31.

God, who came to the Virgin ; except every one of the heavenly host which appeared to the Shepherds be God ; except *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*, except *Simon* and *Anna*, except *Joseph* and *Mary* be God ; it cannot be true that he was known to God only, for to all these he was certainly known. Thirdly, to pass by the third attribute, *and the Word was God*, as having occasion suddenly after to handle it ; seeing the Apostle hath again repeated the circumstance of time as most material, *the same was in the beginning with God*, and immediately subjoyned those words, *all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made* ; how can we receive any exposition which referreth not the making of all these things to him in the beginning ? But if we understand the latter part of the Apostles, who after the Ascension of our Saviour did nothing but what they were commanded and impowered to do by *Christ*, it will bear no relation to the beginning. If we interpret the former, of all which *Jesus* said and did in the promulgation of the Gospel, we cannot yet reach to the beginning assigned by the new Expositours : For while *John* the Baptist only preached, while in their sense the Word was with God, they will not affirm that *Jesus* did any of these things that here are spoken of. And consequently, according to their grounds, it will be true to say, In the beginning was the Word, and that Word in the beginning was with God, inasmuch as in the beginning nothing was done by him, but without him were all things done which were done in the beginning. Wherefore in all reason we should stick to the known interpretation, in which every word receiveth its own proper signification without any figurative distortion, and is preserved in its due latitude and extension without any curtailing restriction. And therefore I conclude from the undeniable testimony of *S. John*, that in the beginning, when the Heavens and the Earth and all the hosts of them were created, all things were made by the Word who is *Christ Jesus* being made flesh ; and consequently, by the method of Argument, as the Apostle antecedently by the method of Nature, that in the beginning *Christ* was. He then who was in Heaven and descended from thence before that which was begotten of the Virgin ascended thither, he who was before *John* the Baptist and before *Abraham*, he who was at the end of the first world, and at the beginning of the same ; he had a real being and existence before *Christ* was conceived by the Virgin *Mary*. But all these we have already shewed belong unto the Son of God. Therefore we must acknowledge, that *Jesus Christ* had a real being and existence before he was begotten by the Holy Ghost : Which is our first Assertion, properly opposed to the * *Photinians*.

* The Photinians were Heretics, so called from Photinus,

Bishop of Sirmium, but born in Gallogræcia and Scholar to Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra. Photinus de Gallogræcia, Marcelli discipulus, Sirmii Episcopus ordinatus, Hebionis Hæresin instaurare conatus est. *S. Hieron. Const. Eccl.* Photinus Sirmiensis Episcopus fuit à Marcellio imbutus. Nam & Diaconus sub eo aliquandiu fuit. *Hilar. Fragm.* Wherefore when Epiphanius speaks of this of him, τὸ δὲ ὁμολογῶν τὸ ἐπισημαίνον, it hath no relation to the original of his Person, but his Heretic's, of which *S. Hilary, Petu- fere, natum Jesum Christum ex Maria, Pannonia defendit, De Trin.* He was a man of singular parts and abilities, φύσιτι ἐξοχῶν δὲ λόγων, καὶ πείθειν ικανός, *says Sozom. l. 4. c. 6.* Ἐγέννησε ὁ φωτιστὴς λέγων ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ὡς ἐννοῦντο ὅτι ἄλλο ἦν, πολλοὺς δὲ συναγάγοντο ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ τῆς τῶν λόγων περὶ θεοῦ καὶ εἰσιμιολογίας. *Epiphanius. Her. 71.* Erat & inveni viribus valens, & doctrinæ opibus excellens, & eloquio præpotens, quippe qui utroque sermone copiose & graviter disputare & scribere. *Vincent. Lirin. c. 16.* He is said by some to follow the Heretic of Ebion. Hebionis Hæresin instaurare conatus est, *says S. Hieron. Const. Eccl. and S. Hilary, ordinarily understands him by the name of Ebion, and sometimes expounds himself, Ebion, qui est Photinus.* But there is no similitude in their Doctrines, Ebion being more Jew than Christian, and teaching Christ as much begotten by Joseph, as Son of Mary. Philaster will have him agree wholly with Paulus Samosatensis in omnibus. Epiphanius with an ἐπὶ μέγιστον, and ἐπὶ πάντων. Socrates and Sozomen, with him and with Sabellius : whereas he differed much from them both, especially from Sabellius, as being factious in a Patripassian. Marcellus Sabellianæ hæresis assertor existiterat : Photinus vero novam hæresin jam ante protulerat. Sabellius quidem in unione dissentiens, sed initium Christi ex Maria prædicabat. *Sextus Hist. Sac.* Wherefore it will not be unnecessary to collect out of Antiquity what did properly belong unto Photinus, because I think it not yet done, and we find his doctrine in the propriety of it to begin and spread again. Photinus, mentis cæcitate deceptus, in Christo verum & substantiæ nostræ cotitellus est hominem, sed eundem Deum de Deo ante omnia sæcula genitum esse non credidit. *Les de Nat. v. Christi Sermon. 4.* Accè Photinus hominem tantum proficetur Dei filium ; dicit illum non fuisse ante beatam Mariam. *Lucifer Clavin.* Si quis in Christo te veritatem prædicat animæ & carnis, ut veritatem in eo nolit accipere Deitatis, id est, qui sic dicit Christum hominem ut Deum neger, non est Christianus Catholicus, sed Photinianus Hæreticus. *Fulg. ad D. mat. l. 16.* φωτιστὴς λέγων ἀνθρώπου γεννηθῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς πατρὸς, καὶ ἐκ μητρὸς γεννηθῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς πατρὸς, καὶ ἐκ μητρὸς γεννηθῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς πατρὸς, καὶ ἐκ μητρὸς γεννηθῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς πατρὸς. *Thom. Aquin. 2. 2. q. 1. a. 2. ad 2. c.*

Anathematizamus Photinum, qui Hebionis Hærcini instaurans, Dominum Iesum Christum
 et matrem eius Mariam Virgine contractur. *Damasius Proffess. Fidei.* Φάσκει ὁ ἕτερος, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Χριστὸν μὴ εἶναι, ἀπὸ τῆς Μαρίας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἐστὶν, ἐπιπλάσει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπιπλάσει ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐγγενήθη ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας ἁγίας. Epiphanius. Ἐλεγε ὁ
 ἄγιος Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ἁπλοῦς ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐστὶν ὁ ἅγιος λόγος τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας· ἢ ὅτι περὶ τοῦ αἰώνου γεννητὸν τε καὶ ὑπαρξάντα τὸ ἅγιον
 πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας ἁγίας ἔγεννηθη ἢ Χριστὸν ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας. Sozomen. l. 4. c. 6. Photini ergo facta hæc est. Dicit Deum unguulum esse
 & Iudæum, & more Judaico contitendum. Trinitatis plenitudinem negat, neque ullam Dei Verbi, aut ullam spiritus sancti
 partem esse personam. Christum vero hominem tantummodo solitarium asserit, cui principium adscribit, ex Maria; & hoc
 omnibus modis dogmatizat, tolam nos personam Dei Patris, & solum Christum hominem colere debere. *Vinc. Lirinensis adv.
 Ho. of. c. 17.* In the dissertation framed by Vigilius out of the seventh Book of S. Hilary, as I conceive, Photinus rejecting the opinion
 of Sabellius (whom Socrates and Sozomen said he followed) as impious, thus declares his own: Unde magis ego dico, Deum
 Patrem Filium habere Dominum Iesum Christum, ex Maria Virgine initium sumentem, qui per sancta conversationis ex-
 cellentissimum atque inimitabilem beatitudinis meritum, à Deo Patre in Filium adoptatus & eximio Divinitatis honore do-
 natus. *Antiquan.* Ego Domino nostro Iesu Christo initium tribuo, puramque hominem fuisse affirmit, & per beata vita ex-
 cellentissimum meritum Divinitatis honorem fuisse adeptum. *Vide eundem lib. 2. adv. Eurych.* Ignorat etiam Photinus inag-
 nam pietatis, quod Apostolus memorat, sacramentum, qui Christi ex Virgine fatetur exordium: Et propterea non credit fi-
 ne initio substantialem Deum natum ex Deo Patre, in quo carnis veritatem conitetur ex Virgine. *Hilg. ad Thrasim. l. 1.* Greg.
 Nazianzen, according to his custom, gives a very brief, but remarkable, expression; Φάσκει ὁ ἕτερος κατὰ Χριστὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Μαρίας ἀρχο-
 ῦν. *Orat. 25.* But the opinion of Photinus cannot be better understood than by the Condemnation of it in the Council of Sirmium; *which having set out the Confession of their Faith in brief, addeth many and various Anathema's, according to the several Heresies
 then apparent, without mentioning their names. Of these the fifth aims clearly at Photinus. Siquis secundum præsentiam vel præ-
 destinationem ex Maria dicitur filium esse, & non ante sæcula ex Patre natum, apud Deum esse & per eum facta esse omnia, Ana-
 thema sit. The 12, 14, and 15. also were particulars directed against him, as S. Hilary hath observed: but the last of all is most ma-
 terial. Siquis Christum Deum, Filium Dei, ante sæcula subsistentem, & ministrantem Patri ad omnium perfectionem, non dicat,
 sed ex quo de Maria natus est, ex eo & Christum & Filium nominatum esse, & initium accepisse ut sit Deus, dicat, Anathe-
 ma sit. Upon which the observation of S. Hilary is this: Concludi damnatio eius Hæresis propter quam conventum erat, (that
 is, the Arianian) expulsiōne totius fidei cui adversabatur, oportuit, quæ initium Dei Filii ex partu Virginis mentiebatur,
 S. Hilary de Synod. contra Arianos. Tunc was Photinus Bishop of Sirmium condemned by a Council held in the same City. They all
 agreed suddenly in the condemnation of him. Arians, Semi-Arians, & Catholics; καθ' ἅλων ἐοῦθς, says Socrates, καὶ τὸ τοῦ
 ὁσ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἡσθούσαν πάντες ἐπὶ ἡμεῶν καὶ τότε καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα. l. 2. c. 29. And because his History is very obscure and
 intricate, take this brief Catalogue of his Condemnations. We read that he was condemned at the Council of Nice, and at the same
 time by a Council at Rome under Sylvester: but this is delivered only in a forged Epilogus Concilii Romani. He was then first con-
 demned by Marcellus his master, as Sulpitius Severus relates, probably by the Synod at Constantinople; for in that Marcellus was
 deposed. Sozomen. l. 2. 33. Socrat. l. 1. 35. Secondly, his Heresy is renounced in the second Synod at Antioch. Athanas. de Syn.
 Socrat. l. 1. 10. Thirdly, he was condemned in the Council of Sardes. Epiphanius and Sulpitius Severus. Fourthly, by a Council at Mi-
 lan. S. Hilary. Fragm. Fifthly, in a Synod at Sirmium he was deposed by the Western Bishops; but by reason of the great opinion and
 affection of the people he could not be removed. S. Hilary. Fragm. Sixthly, he was again condemned and deposed at Sirmium by the Eastern
 Bishops, and being convicted by Basil Bishop of Ancyra, was banished from thence. S. Hilary. Epiph. Socr. Sozom. Vigil. Indeed he
 was so generally condemned not only then, but afterwards under Valentinian, as S. Hierome testifies, and the Synodic Epistle of the Aquil-
 eian Council, that his opinion was soon worn out of the world. Ἐν τῷ καὶ διεσκέδαθη εἰς ὄλιγον χρόνον ἢ τότε τὸ ἡπαίνωτον
 εἶπε, says Epiphanius, who lived not long after him. So suddenly was this opinion rejected by all Christians, applauded by none but
 the Heretick, who rail'd at S. John for making Christ God, and commended Photinus for denying it; as appears by an Epistle
 written by Julian to him, as it is (though in a mean translation) delivered by Facundus. Tu quidem, O Photine, verissimilis
 veritas & proximus salutare, bene lactens nequaquam in utero inducere, quem credidisti Deum. Facun. ad Justinian. l. 4.*

The second Assertion, next to be made good, is that the being which *Christ*
 had before he was conceived by the Virgin was not any created, but the Di-
 vine essence, by which he always was truly, really and properly God. This
 will evidently and necessarily follow from the last demonstration of the first
 Assertion, the creating all things by the Son of God: from whence we infer-
 red his pre-existence in the beginning assuring us as much that he was God, as
 that he was. For *he that built all things is God.* And the same Apostle which
 assures us *All things were made by him,* at the same time tells us, *In the begin-
 ning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* Where
In the beginning must not be denied unto the third proposition, because it
 cannot be denied unto the second. Therefore *in the beginning, or ever the earth
 was, the Word was God,* the same God with whom he was. For we can-
 not with any shew of reason either imagine that he was with one God, and
 was another, because there can be no more supreme Gods than one; or con-
 ceive that the Apostle should speak of one kind of God in the second, and of
 another in the third proposition; in the second, of a God eternal and inde-
 pendent, in the third, of a God made and depending God. Especially, first con-
 sidering that the eternal God was so constantly among the *Jews* called the

Heb. 3. 4.

Prov. 8. 22.

I And that upon
 suppos'd and
 as the want of
 an Article, be-
 cause in the first place it is ὁ Θεός, in the second, Θεός ὡς λόγος, not ὁ Θεός: from hence to conclude, ὁ Θεός is one
 God, that is, κατ' ἑσθλόν, the supreme God, Θεός another, not the supreme, but one made God by him. Indeed they are beholder to
 Epiphanius in this Observation, whose words are these: Ἐάν τις πάλιν Θεός, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἁγίου, ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοῦ ἢ ἐθ-
 νῶν, ἢ Θεὸν τὸν ὄντα (or αὐτὸν ἐκ ὄντα) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ὁ Θεός, δὲ ἄλλον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου, τὸν ὄντα ἑκείνου ἀλλοῦ τε καὶ ἑνα-
 ῦτος ὄντων. *Harref.* But Whosoever shall apply this rule to the sacred Scriptures will find it most fallacious. In the beginning
 ἐπεφάνη

ἰποίνον ὁ Θεὸς ἢ ἕσθον κ' ἢ ἡλιῷ, undoubtedly belongs to the true and supreme God: but it does not thence follow, that τὸ πνεῦμα θεῶν ἐπεφύετο ἐπάνω τῆς ὕδατος, should be understood of the Spirit of another or inferior God. Certainly S. John, when he speaks of the Baptist, ἐφύετο ἀνθρώπου ὡς πνεύματος πατρὸς θεοῦ, meant, he had his commission from Heaven; and when it is spoken of Christ, ἔθηκεν αὐτοῖς ἕξτερον τέκνον θεοῦ ἡγουμένου, and again, ἐν θεῷ ἐγενήθησαν, it must be understood of the true God the Father. In the like manner, θεὸν ἰδὼς ἐώρακε πῶποτε, if it were taken τυγχίνως of any ever called God, nay, even of Christ John in the four next places, in which he speaketh of the Supreme God, mentioneth him without an Article? This Criticism of them, was first the observation of Asterius the Arian, Οὐκ ἔπεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος Χειρὸν κηρύσσειν ἢ τὸ θεῶν δούλων, ἢ ἢ τὸ θεῶν Κορίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ προσθήκης δούλων θεῶν, κ' θεῶν Κορίαν' ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῶν τῶ θεῶν δούλων τῶ ἐκείνου αὐτῶν τῶ ὁσωπαρχῶσαν ἀγγηγῶτος, κηρύσσειν. These are the words of Asterius recorded by Athanasius Orat. 2. cont. Arianos. In which place, notwithstanding, none can deny but θεῶν is twice taken without an Article for the true and supreme God. Thus Dileymus of Alexandria, de Sp. S. would distinguish between the Person and the gift of the Holy Ghost, by the addition or defect of the Article. Apostoli quando intelligi volunt Personam Spiritus Sancti addunt Articulum, τὸ πνεῦμα, sine quo Spiritus Sancti dona notantur. And Athanasius objects against his adversaries denying the Holy Ghost to be God, that they produced places out of the Prophets to prove him a Creature, where πνεῦμα had not so much as an Article prefixed, which might give some colour to interpret it of the Holy Spirit. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀρθεεν ἔχον τὸ παρὰ τὸ προσήτε κηρύσσειν νῦν πνεῦμα, ἵνα κἀν προσέσσειν ἐχόν. Epist. ad Serapionem Whereas we find in the same place of S. John, the same Spirit in the same sense mentioned with and without an Article. Ἐὰν μὴ τις ἡγηθῆ ἕξ ὕδατος κ' πνεύματος, John 3. 5. and, τὸ γεννηθῆν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, v. 6. So 1 John 4. 1. Μὴ παντὶ πνεύματι πιστεύετε, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζειτε τὰ πνεύματα. and again, Ἐν τῷ τῶν ζωῶν τῶ πνεύματι θεῶν τῶν πνεύματι, &c. And beside, according to that distinction, τὸ πνεῦμα certainly stands for the gift of the Spirit, 1 Thess 5. 17. τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε. In the like manner, it is so far from truth, that the Scriptures observe so much the Articles, as to use θεῶν always for the true and supreme God, and Θεὸς for the false or inferior; that where the true is professedly opposed to the false, even there he is styled simply Θεός. As, Ἀλλὰ τότε μὴ ἔκ εἰδότες θεῶν, ἐδεδόσατε τοῖς μὴ κύρις ἔσι θεῶν. Νῦν ἡ γὰρ ἔσι θεῶν, μάλλον ἢ γνωθῆντες ἔσι Θεῶν. Gal. 4. 8, 9. And where the supreme is distinguished from him whom they make the inferior God, he is called likewise Θεός without an Article: as, δὲλ' Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀρωεισμῶν εἰς ἐναγχιλιον θεῶν, and τὸ θεῶν ἐν δυνάμει, Rom. 1. 1, 4. Ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεῶν, 1 Cor. 1. 1. 2 Cor. 1. 1. Eph. 1. 1. Gal. 1. 1. And if this distinction were good, our Saviour's argument to the Pharisees were not so: Εἰ ἡ ἐξὼ ἐν πνεύματι θεῶν ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ὅσα ἐρθεσεν ἐφ' ὑμῶν ἢ βασιλεία τῶ θεῶν. Matth. 12. 28. For it doth not follow, that if by the power of an inferior or false God he cast out Devils, that therefore the Kingdom of the true and supreme God is come upon them.

Word, the only reason which we can conceive why the Apostle should thus use this phrase: and then observing the manner of S. John's writing, who rises strangely by degrees, making the last word of the former sentence the first of that which followeth: As, *In him was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not: so, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word, which so was in the beginning, was with God, and the Word was God;* that is, the same God with whom the Word was in the beginning. But he could not be the same God with him any other way, than by having the same Divine essence. Therefore the being which *Christ* had before he was conceived by the Virgin was the Divine nature, by which he was properly and really God.

Secondly, He who was subsisting in the form of God, and thought himself to be equal with God, (in which thought he could not be deceived, nor be injurious to God) must of necessity be truly and essentially God: because there can be no equality between the Divine essence, which is infinite, and any other whatsoever, which must be finite. But this is true of *Christ*, and that antecedently to his conception in the Virgin's womb, and existence in his humane nature. For, *being* (or rather *subsisting*) *in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But emptied himself, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men.* Out of which words naturally result three Propositions fully demonstrating our Assertion. First, That *Christ* was in the form of a servant as soon as he was made man. Secondly, That he was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant. Thirdly, That he was in the form of God, that is, did as truly and really subsist in the Divine nature, as in the form of a servant, or in the nature of man. It is a vain imagination, that our Saviour then first appeared a servant when he was apprehended, bound, scourged, crucified. For they were not all slaves which ever suffered such indignities, or died that death; and when they did, their death did not make, but find them, or suppose them servants. Beside, our Saviour in all the degrees of his humiliation never lived as a servant unto any Master on earth. 'Tis true, at first he was subject, but as a Son, to his reputed

John 1. 4, 5.

Phil. 2. 6, 7.
 || In effigie Dei constitutus.
 Tertull.
 In figura Dei constitutus.
 c. pr.

Father and undoubted Mother. When he appeared in publick he lived after the manner of a Prophet, and a Doctour sent from God, accompanied with a Family, as 'twere of his Apostles, whose Master he professed himself, subject to the commands of no man in that Office, and obedient only unto God. The *form* then of a servant which he took upon him, must consist in something distinct from his sufferings, or submission unto men; as the condition in which he was when he so submitted and so suffered. In that he was *made flesh*, sent *in the likeness of sinful flesh*, subject unto all infirmities and miseries of this life, attending on the sons of men fallen by the sin of Adam: in that he was *made of a woman*, *made under the law*, and so obliged to perform the same; which Law did so handle the children of God, as that they differed nothing from servants: in that he was born, bred, and lived in a mean, low and abject condition; *as a root out of a dry ground*, he had no form nor comeliness, and when they saw him, there was no beauty that they should desire him; but was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: In that he was thus made man, he took upon him the form of a servant. Which is not mine, but the Apostle's explication; as adding it not by way of conjunction, in which there might be some diversity, but by way of apposition, which signifieth a clear identity. And therefore it is necessary to observe, that our translation of that verse is not only not exact, but very disadvantageous to that truth which is contained in it. For we read it thus; *He made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men.* Where we have

Rom. 8. 3.

Gal. 4. 4.

1st. 53. 2, 3.

* Ἄλλ' ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μετ' οὗ δέλω λαβὼν, ἐν ἑμοῦ μάλι ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωπος, which is also exactly observed by the Vulgar Latine, Sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudine hominum factus where γὰρ ἐκένωσε is added by Opposition to λαβὼν, and have both equal relation to ἐκένωσε; or, which is all one, ἐκένωσε λαβὼν, ἐκένωσε γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι. * Psal. 2. 8. Ἦτε τὴν ὄψιν ἐκένωσεν, γὰρ ἐκένωσε ἑαυτὸν, γὰρ ἐκένωσε ἑαυτὸν, γὰρ ἐκένωσε ἑαυτὸν. For in both these verses, there is but one Conjunction, joining together two Acts of our Sa-
 * Ἄλλ' ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, and his farther humiliation, or ἵταπένωσι. the rest are all Participles added for explication to the Verbs. * Psal. 40. 6. * Exod. 21. 6. Deut. 15. 17.

two copulative conjunctions, neither of which is in the * original text, and three distinct propositions, without any dependence of one upon the other; whereas all the words together are but an expression of *Christ's* exinanition, with an explication shewing in what it consisteth: which will clearly appear by this literal translation, *But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men.* Where if any man doubt how *Christ* emptied himself, the text will satisfy him, by taking the form of a servant; if any still question how he took the form of a servant, he hath the Apostle's resolution, by being made in the likeness of men. Indeed after the expression of this exinanition, he goes on with a conjunction, to add another act of *Christ's* humiliation; *And being found in fashion as a man, being already by his exinanition in the form of a servant, or the likeness of men, he humbled himself, and became (or rather, || becoming) obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.* As therefore his humiliation consisted in his obedience unto death, so his exinanition consisted in the assumption of the form of a servant, and that in the nature of man. All which is very fitly expressed by a strange interpretation on the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. For whereas these words are clearly in the Psalmist, *Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, mine ears hast thou opened*: the Apostle appropriateth the sentence to *Christ*; *When he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me.* Now being the *c* boaring of the ear under the Law was a note of perpetual servitude, being this was expressed in the words of the Psalmist, and changed by the Apostle into the preparing of a body; it followeth, that when *Christ's* body first was framed, even then did he assume the form of a servant.

Again,

Again, it appeareth out of the same Text, that *Christ* was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant, and consequently before he was made man. For he which is presupposed to be, and to think of that being which he hath, and upon that thought to assume, must have that being before that assumption: but *Christ* is first expressly said to be in the form of God, and, being so, to think it no robbery to be equal with God, and, notwithstanding that equality, to take upon him the form of a servant: therefore it cannot be denied but he was before in the form of God. Beside, he was not in the form of a servant, but by the emptying himself, and all exinanition necessarily presupposeth a precedent plenitude; it being as impossible to empty any thing which hath no fulness, as to fill any thing which hath no emptiness. But the fulness which *Christ* had, in respect whereof assuming the form of a servant, he is said to empty himself, could be in nothing else but in the form of God, in which he was before. Wherefore, if the assumption of the form of a servant be contemporary with his exinanition; if that exinanition necessarily presupposeth a plenitude as indispensably antecedent to it; if the form of God be also co-eval with that precedent plenitude: then must we confess, *Christ* was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant: which is the second Proposition.

Again, it is as evident from the same Scripture, that *Christ* was as much in the form of God as the form of a Servant, and did as really subsist in the Divine nature, as in the nature of man. For he was so *in the form of God*, as thereby to be * equal with God. But no other form beside the essential, which is the Divine nature it self, could infer an equality with God. ² *To whom will ye liken me, and make me equal? saith the Holy one.* There can be but one infinite, eternal and independent Being; and there can be no comparison between that and whatsoever is finite, temporal, and depending. He therefore who did truly think himself equal with God, as being in the form of God, must be conceived to subsist in that one infinite, eternal and independent nature of God. Again, the phrase, *in the form of God*, not elsewhere mentioned, is used by the Apostle with a respect unto that other, of the *form of a servant*, exegetically continued *in the likeness of man*; and the respect of one unto the other is so necessary, that if the form of God be not as real and essential as the form of a servant, or the likeness of man, there is no force in the Apostle's words, nor will his argument be fit to work any great degree of humiliation upon the consideration of *Christ's* exinanition. But by the *form* is certainly understood the true condition of a servant, and by the *likeness* infallibly meant the real nature of man: nor doth the *fashion*, in which he was found, destroy, but rather assert, the truth of his Humanity. And therefore, as sure as *Christ* was really and essentially man, of the same nature with us, in whose similitude he was made; so certainly was he also really and essentially God, of the same nature and being with him, in whose form he did subsist. Seeing then we have clearly evinced from the express words of *S. Paul*, that *Christ* was in the form of a servant as soon as he was made man, that he was

+ Τὸ ἴσον Θεῷ. Variari Deo, Tertul. Eile se equallem Deo, Cyr. Esse equalis Deo, Lep. rias. Thus all express the notion of Equality, not of Similitude: nor can we understand any less by τὸ ἴσον, than ἴσον and ἴσος, being indifferently used by the Greeks, as Pindarus Olymp. Ode 2. ἴσος ὁ νόμος αἰῶνός ἐστι, ἴσος ὁ ἐν ἀμεταβλητοῦ ἀλλοίωτος, ἴσος ὁ ἕως ἄνω ἕως ἄνω. Ἐσσοῖς ἰσότητος ἰσότης.

So whom the Greeks call ἰσότης. Homer ἴσος Θεῷ, Odyss. O.

Τὸν υἱὸν ἴσος Θεῷ Ἰδακόντος ἑσσομένον.

where ἴσος has not the nature of an Adverb, as belonging to εἶναι, ἔσθαι, but of a Noun referred to the antecedent τὸν, or including an Adverb added to a Noun, τὸν υἱὸν ὡς ἰσότης. The collection of Grotius from this case is a very strange; ἴσος Θεῷ, est spectari tanquam Deum. As if he should have said ἑσσομένον signifies spectant, therefore ἴσος signifies spectari. This he was forced to put off thus, because of the strength of our interpretation, rendering an equality, lies in the Verb substantive τὸ ἴσος. As Dionysius of Alexandria in an ancient Epistle ad Paulum Samosatensem, ἴσος Θεῷ ἑσσομένης. Epist ad Paulum Samosatensem. For we acknowledge that ἴσος by it self oftentimes signifieth no more than iustitiam, and so inferreth nothing but a similitude: as we find it frequently in the book of Job. Where it sometimes answereth to the inseparable particle ἴσος, as ἴσος ἑσσομένης, ἴσος ἑσσομένης, ἴσος ἑσσομένης.

ficut calculum, ἴσα τετραγώνη, 1. 1. כבד כבד, quali putredo, Sym. δαδίνε σαπεδόνη, LXX ἴσα ἀσκήθ, 13. 28. ὕδωρ, ficut aquam, ἴσα ποσσίδ, 15. 16. ὕδωρ, tanquam lignum, ἴσα ξύλον, 24. 28. ἴσα κηρίον, ficut lutum, ἴσα πηλός, 27. 16. ἴσα ἕνδρα, ficut vestimento, ἴσα δι-δραχμῶν, 29. 14. ἴσα βοῦν, quali bos, ἴσα βόων, 40. 15. Where we see the Vulgar Latin useth for the Hebrew כ, quasi, ficut, tanquam, the LXX. ἴσα. Sometime it answereth to no word in the Original, but supplieth a similitude understood, not expressed, in the Hebrew: as ἴσα, tanquam pullum, ἴσα ὄνον 11. 12. ἴσα λίθον, 28. 2. ἴσα κηρίον, luto, ἴσα πηλός, 30. 14. One answereth an Hebrew word rather according to the imitation, than the signification; ἴσα κηρίον, comparabitur cineri, ad reynham, proverbialia cineris, ἴσα ποσσίδ, 13. 12. So that in all these places it is used adverbially for instar, and in none hath the addition ἴσα ἕνδρα, &c. As for that answer of Socinius, that Christ cannot be God, because he is said to be equal with God, Tantum abesse ut ab eo quod Christus sit equalis Deo sequatur ipsum esse æternum & summum Deum, ut potius ex hoc ipso necessario confiteatur non esse æternum & summum Deum. Nemo enim sibi ipsi equalis esse potest. Soc. ad 8. c. Wick, as if there could be no equality without substantial identity: it is most certainly false, because the most exact speakers use such language as this is. There can be no expressions more exact and pertinent than those which are used by Geometricians, neither can there be any better judgments of equality than they are; but they most frequently use that expression in this notion, proving an equality, and inferring it from identity. As in the fifth Proposition of the first Element of Euclid, two lines are said to contain an Angle equal to the Angle contained by two other lines, because they contained the same Angle, or γωνίαν κοινὴν and the basis of one Triangle is supposed equal to the basis of another Triangle, because the same line was basis to both, or βᾶσιν κοινήν. In the same manner certainly may the Son be said to be equal to the Father in essence or power, because they both have the same essence and power, that is, ἕσταν ἐξ ὁμοιοῦν καὶ δυνάμει. Ocellus de Divinitatibus, 277. ἀπὸ καὶ ταῦθ' ἐξ ὁμοιοῦν καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἴσον ἐξ ὁμοιοῦν αὐτῶν ἐστὶν. p. 11. Ἰσμ. 40. 25. and 46. 5.

in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant, that the form of God in which he subsisted doth as truly signify the Divine, as the likeness of man the humane nature; it necessarily followeth, that Christ had a real existence before he was begotten of the Virgin, and that the being which he had was the Divine essence, by which he was truly, really and properly God.

Thirdly, He which is expressly styled Alpha and Omega, the first and the last without any restriction or limitation; as he is after, so was before any time assignable, truly and essentially God. For by this title God describeth his own being, and distinguisheth it from all other. *I the Lord, the first, and with the last, I am he. I am he, I am the first, I also am the last. I am the first, and I am the last, and beside me there is no God.* But Christ is expressly called Alpha and Omega, the first and the last. He so proclaimed himself by a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, *I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last.* Which answereth to that solemn call and proclamation in the Prophet, *Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called.* He comforteth S. John with the Majesty of this title, *Fear not, I am the first and the last.* Which words were spoken by one like unto the Son of man, by him that liveth, and was dead, and is alive for evermore; that is, undoubtedly, by Christ. He upholdeth the Church of Smyrna in her tribulation by virtue of the same description, *These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive.* He ascertaineth his coming unto Judgment with the same assertion, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.* And in all these places this Title is attributed unto Christ absolutely and universally, without any kind of restriction or limitation, without any assignation of any particular in respect of which

Lk. 41. 4.
42. 12.
44. 6.
Rev. 1. 11.
Rev. 43. 12.
Rev. 1. 17.
13. 18.
2. 3.
Rev. 22. 13.

* With the Article, so much elsewhere is used ἄρα, τὸ α καὶ τὸ ω, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, The Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last. For ἄρα is used ὁμοίως ὡς ἄρα ἡ ἀπόστολος ἵνα ἴσῃ ὡς ἡ ἀπόστολος ἵνα ἴσῃ, and called that name. As appears by Eratosthenes, who was called Ἐρατοσθένης, not τὸ βήματα, as Suidas corruptly. Hesychius Illustrum, from whom Sui la; had that passage; Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τὸ δ δὲ λέγειν παρὶ ἐίδει παύσεως τοῖς ἀφροῖς ἐρηξῶν, Ἐρατοσθένης. And Martianus Bernardus in Periplo, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου Ἐρατοσθένης, ὃν Ἐρατοσθένης οἱ τὸ Μ. οὐκ ἐπετίθει.

he is the first or last; in the same latitude and * eminence of expression in which it is or can be attributed to the supreme God. There is yet another Scripture in which the same description may seem of a more dubious interpretation: *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.* For being it is the Lord who so calls himself, which title belongeth to the Father and the Son, it may be doubted whether it be spoken by the Father or the Son; but whether it be understood of the one or of the other, it will sufficiently make good what we intend to prove. For if they be understood of Christ, as the precedent and the following words imply, then is he certainly that Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty; that is, the supreme eternal God, of the same Divine essence with the Father, who was

before described by *him which is, and which was, and which is to come*, to whom the six-wing'd Beasts continually cry, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come*; as the familiar explication of that name which God revealed to *Moses*. If they belong unto the supreme God, the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; then did he so describe himself unto *S. John*, and express his supreme Deity, that by those words, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending*, he might be known to be the one Almighty and eternal God: and consequently, whosoever should assume that title, must attribute as much unto himself. Wherefore being Christ hath so immediately, and with so great solemnity and frequency, taken the same style upon him by which the Father did express his Godhead; it followeth, that he hath declared himself to be the Supreme, Almighty, and Eternal God. And being thus the Alpha and the first, he was before any time assignable, and consequently before he was conceived of the Virgin; and the being which then he had was the Divine Essence, by which he was truly and properly the Almighty and Eternal God.

Fourthly, He whose Glory *Isaiab* saw in the year that King *Uzziah* died had a being before Christ was begotten of the Virgin, and that being was the Divine Essence, by which he was naturally and essentially God: For he is expressly called *the Lord, Holy, holy, holy, the Lord of Hosts, whose glory filleth the whole earth*; which titles can belong to none beside the one and only God. But *Christ* was he whose Glory *Isaiab* saw, as *S. John* doth testify, saying, *These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him*: and he whose Glory he saw, and of whom he spake, was certainly *Christ*: for of him the Apostle treateth in that place, and of none but him. *These things spake Jesus, and departed. But though he (that is, Jesus) had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him, that is, Christ who wrought those miracles. The reason why they believed not on him was, That the saying of Esaias the Prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report? And as they did not, so they could not believe in Christ, because that Esaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their hearts, and be converted, and I should heal them. For those who God foresaw, and the Prophet foretold should not believe, could not do it without contradicting the prescience of the one, and the predictions of the other. But the Jews refusing to assent unto the Doctrine of our Saviour were those of whom the Prophet spake: For these things said Esaias when he saw his glory, and spake of him. Now if the Glory which Isaias saw were the Glory of Christ, and he of whom Isaias in that Chapter spake were Christ himself; then must those blinded eyes and hardened hearts belong unto these Jews, and then their Infidelity was so long since foretold. Thus doth the fixing of that Prophecy upon that people, which saw our Saviour's miracles, depend upon Isaias's Vision, and the appropriation of it unto Christ. Wherefore *S. John* infallibly hath taught us, that the Prophet saw the Glory of Christ; and the Prophet hath as undoubtedly assured us, that he whose Glory then he saw was the one Omnipotent and Eternal God; and consequently both together have sealed this truth, that Christ did then subsist in that glorious Majesty of the Eternal Godhead.*

Lastly, He who, being man, is frequently in the Scriptures called God, and that in such a manner, as by that name no other can be understood but the one only and eternal God, he had an existence before he was made man, and the being which then he had was no other than the Divine Essence; because all novelty is repugnant to the Deity, nor can any be that one God, who was

not so from all eternity. But *Jesus Christ*, being in the nature of man, is frequently in the sacred Scriptures called God; and that name is attributed unto him in such a manner, as by it no other can be understood but the one Almighty and Eternal God.

Which may be thus demonstrated. It hath been already proved, and we all agree in this, That there can be but one Divine Essence; and so but one supreme God. Wherefore were it not said in the Scriptures, there are *many Gods*; did not he himself who is supreme, call others so; we durst not give that name to any but to him alone, nor could we think any called God to be any other but that one. It had been then enough to have alledged that *Christ* is God, to prove his supreme and eternal Deity: whereas now we are answered, that there are Gods many, and therefore it followeth not from that name that he is the one eternal God. But if *Christ* be none of those many Gods, and yet be God, then can he be no other but that one. And that he is not to be numbred with them, is certain, because he is clearly distinguished from them, and opposed to them. We read in the Psalmist, *I have said ye are Gods, and all of you are children of the most High*. But we must not reckon *Christ* among those Gods, we must not number the only-begotten Son among those children. For *they knew not, neither would they understand, they walked on in darkness*: and whosoever were Gods only as they were, either did, or might so do. Whereas *Christ*, *in whom alone dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*, is not only distinguished from, but opposed to, such Gods as those, by his Disciples saying, *Now we are sure that thou knowest all things*; by himself proclaiming, *I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness*. S. Paul hath told us *there be gods many, and lords many*; but withal hath taught us, that *to us there is but one God, the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ*. In which words, as the *Father* is opposed as much unto the *many Lords* as *many Gods*, so is the *Son* as much unto the *many Gods* as *many Lords*; the *Father* being as much Lord as God, and the *Son* as much God as Lord. Wherefore being we find in Scripture frequent mention of one God, and beside that one an intimation of many Gods, and whosoever is called God must either be that one, or one of those many; being we find our blessed Saviour to be wholly opposed to the many Gods, and consequently to be none of them, and yet we read him often stiled God: it followeth, that that name is attributed unto him in such a manner, as by it no other can be understood but the one Almighty and eternal God.

Again, those who deny our Saviour to be the same God with the Father, have invented rules to be the touchstone of the eternal power and Godhead. First, where the name of God is taken absolutely, as the subject of any proposition, it always signifieth the supreme power and Majesty, excluding all others from that Deity. Secondly, where the same name is any way used with an Article by way of excellency, it likewise signifieth the same supreme Godhead as admitting others to a communion of Deity, but excluding them from the Supremacy. Upon these two rules they have raised unto themselves this Observation, That whensoever the name of God absolutely taken is placed as the subject of any proposition, it is not to be understood of *Christ*: and wheresoever the same name is spoken of our Saviour by way of predicate, it never hath an Article denoting excellency annexed to it; and consequently leaves him in the number of those Gods who are excluded from the Majesty of the eternal Deity.

Now though there can be no kind of certainty in any such observations of the Articles, because the *Greeks* promiscuously often use them or omit them, without any reason of their usurpation or omission, whereof examples

are innumerable;) though, if those rules were granted, yet would not their Conclusion follow, because the supreme God is often named (as they confess) without an Article, and therefore the same name may signifie the same God when spoken of *Christ*, as well as when of the Father, so far as can concern the omission of the Article: yet, to compleat my demonstration, I shall shew, first, that the name of God taken subjectively is to be understood of *Christ*; secondly, that the same name with the Article affixed is attributed unto him; thirdly, that if it were not so, yet where the Article is wanting, there is that added to the predicate which hath as great a virtue to signifie that excellency as the Article could have.

S. Paul, unfolding the mystery of Godliness, hath delivered six Propositions together, and the subject of all and each of them is God. *Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of Angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.* And this God which is the subject of all these Propositions must be understood of *Christ*, because of him each one is true, and all are so of none but him, He was the Word which was God, and was made flesh, and consequently *God manifested in the flesh.* Upon him the Spirit descended at his Baptism, and after his Ascension was poured upon his Apostles, ratifying his Commission, and confirming the Doctrine which they received from him: wherefore he was *God justified in the Spirit.* His nativity the Angels celebrated, in the discharge of his Office they ministred unto him, at his Resurrection and Ascension they were present, always ready to confess and adore him: he was therefore *God seen of Angels.* The Apostles preached unto all Nations, and he whom they preached was ^a *Jesus Christ.* The Father ^b *separated S. Paul from his mothers womb, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son unto him, that he might preach him among the heathen: therefore he was God preached unto the Gentiles.* John the Baptist spake ^c *unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus.* ^d *We have believed in Jesus Christ,* saith S. Paul, who so taught the Gaolour trembling at his feet, ^e *Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved: he therefore was God believed on in the world.* When he had been forty days on earth after his Resurrection, he was taken visibly up into Heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father: wherefore he was *God received up into Glory.* And thus all these six Propositions, according to the plain and familiar language of the Scriptures, are infallibly true of *Christ*, and so of God, as he is taken by S. John, when he speaks those words, *the Word was God.* But all these cannot be understood of any other, which either is, or is called, God. For though we grant the Divine perfections and attributes to be the same with the Divine Essence, yet are they never in the Scriptures called God; nor can any of them with the least shew of probability be pretended as the subject of these propositions, or afford any tolerable interpretation. When they tell us that *God*, that is, the * Will of God, was manifested in the flesh, that is, was revealed by frail and mortal men, and received up in glory, that is, † was received gloriously on earth, they teach us a language which the || Scriptures know not, and the Holy Ghost never used. And as no

refacta est, &c. Catech Racou. ad Quest. 59. † Insignem in modum & summa cum gloria recepta fuit. 16. || For Θεός is not
 θεομαθεῖν, much less is ἀνελήθη received or embraced. Elias speaketh not of his reception, but his ascension, when he saith
 to Elisha, Τί ποιῶ σοι πρὶν ἢ ἀναληθῆσαι σοὶ; 2 Kings 2. 9. and Ἐάν τις με ἀναλαβὼν ἴδῃ με ἐπὶ τῆς ἕρας
 σοῦ ἵτατος. When he actually ascended, as the original ἔχει it is wotherwise translated by the Septuagint, than ἀνελήθη Ἡλίας
 ἐν ὕψους ὡς εἰς τὸ ἕρπον. Which Language was preserved by the Hellenizing Jews: Ὁ ἀναληθῆς ἐν λαίλατι πνεύματος, Sirac.
 48. 9. and again, ἀνελήθη ἕως εἰς τὸ ἕρανδον, 1 Mac. 2. 58. Neither did they use it of Elias only, but of Enoch also. Οὐδὲ εἰς
 ἐκείθεν εἰς τὸ εἰς ἕρανδον, ἡ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀνελήθη σοὶ τὸ γῆρας. The same Language is continued in the New Testament of our Saviour's
 Ascension, ἀναληθῆς εἰς τὸ ἕρανδον. Mar. 16. 19. ὁ ἀναληθῆς ἀπὸ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ ἕρανδον, Acts 1. 11. and singly, ἀνελήθη, Acts
 1. 2. and ἀνελήθη ἀπὸ ἡμῶν, Acts 1. 22. As therefore ἀνάληψις τῶ Μωσῆος, in the Language of the Jews, was not the reception of
 Mosé

^a Acts 8. 5, 35.
^b 9. 20. 11. 20.
^c 17. 3. 18. 19.
^d 13.
^e Rom. 16. 25.
^f 2 Cor. 1. 19.
^g 11. 4.
^h Phil. 1. 18.
ⁱ Gal. 1. 15, 16.
^j Acts 19. 4.
^k Gal. 2. 16.
^l Acts 16. 31.

* Deus, i.e. voluntas ipsius de servandis hominibus, per homines infirmos & mortales perfectè parata est.

Moses to the Israelites, but the assumption of his body; so ἀνάληψις τοῦ Χριστοῦ is the Ascension of Christ, Luke 9. 51. Wherefore this being the constant notion of the word; it must so be here likewise understood, ἀνελήθη ἐν δόξῃ: as the Vulgar Latin, (whose authority is pretended against us,) assumption est in gloria; rendering it here by the same word by which he always translated ἀνελήθη.

Attribute, so no person but the Son can be here understood under the name of God: not the Holy Ghost, for he is distinguished from him, as being justified by the Spirit; not the Father, who was not manifested in the flesh, nor received up in glory. It remaineth therefore that, whereas the Son is the only Person to whom all these clearly and undoubtedly belong, which are here joyntly attributed unto God, as sure as the name of God is expressed universally in the * Copies of the Original Language, so thus absolutely and subjectively taken must it be understood of Christ.

* For being the Epistle was written in the Greek Language,

it is enough if all these Copies do agree. Nor need we be troubled with the observation of Grotius on the place: Suspectam nobis hanc lectionem faciant Interpretes veteres, Latinus, Syrus, Arabs & Ambrosius, qui omnes legerunt ὁ ἐφανέρωθη. I confess the Vulgar Latin reads it otherwise than the Greek, Quod manifestatum est in carne; and it cannot be denied but the Syriac, however translated by Tremelius, agreeth with the Latin; and both seem to have read ὁ, instead of Θεός. But the joint consent of the Greek Copies and Interpreters are above the authority of these two Translators; and the Arabic set forth in the Biblia Polyglotta agreeth expressly to it. But that which Grotius hath farther observed is of far greater consideration: Addit Hincmarus opusculo 55. illud Θεός hoc ponunt a Nestorianis. For if at first the Greeks read ὁ ἐφανέρωθη, and that ὁ were altered into Θεός by the Nestorians; then ought we to correct the Greek Copy by the Latin, and confess there is not only no force, but not so much as any ground or colour for our Arguments. But first, it is not probable that the Nestorians should find it in the Original ὁ, and make it Θεός, because that by so doing they had overthrow their own Assertion, which was, that God was not incarnate, nor born of the Virgin Mary; that God did not ascend into Heaven, but Christ by the Holy Ghost remaining upon him, καὶ ἡ ἀνάληψις αὐτοῦ χειρῶν αὐτῶν. Concil. Ephes. part. 1. cap. 17. Secondly, it is certain that they did not make this alteration, because the Catholick Greeks read it Θεός before they were such Hereticks, so called. Nestoriani à Nestorio Episcopo, Patriarcha Constantinopolitano. Aug. Hæres. Nestorius, from whom that Herese began, was Patriarch of Constantinople after Sisinnius, Sisinnius after Atticus, Atticus after Nestarius, who succeeded Ioannes, vulgarly called Chrysostomus. But S. Chrysostome read not ὁ, but Θεός, as appears by his Commentaries upon the place: Θεός ἐφανέρωθη ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τῷ ἁγίῳ, ὁ δὲ ἁγίος. And S. Cyril, who by all means opposed Nestorius upon the first appearance of his Herese, wrote two large Epistles to the Queens Pulcheria and Eudocia, in both which he maketh great use of this Text. In the first, after the repetition of the words as they are now in the Greek Copies, he proceedeth thus; Τίς ὁ ἐν ἑαυτῷ φανερωθεὶς; ἢ δὴλον, ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐκ Θεοῦ πλάσθη λόγος. Ἔγω γὰρ ἔσμαι μέγα τὸ ἡ εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, Θεός ἐφανέρωθη ἐν ἑαυτῷ. Wherefore in S. Paul he read Θεός God, and took that God to be the Word. In the second, repeating the same Text verbatim, he maketh it thus against Nestorius: Εἰ Θεός ὦν ὁ λόγος ἐνανθρωπήσας λέγειτο, καὶ ὁ δὴ πᾶσι μεθῆς τὸ εἶναι Θεός, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς διακρίνομεν, μέγα δὲ τότε καὶ ὁμολογηθῆναι μέγα ὄναι τὸ ἡ εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι νοήται κοινῶς ὁ Χριστός, πῶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ φανερωθεὶς; καὶ τοι πῶς ἔχει ἅπασιν ἑαυτὸν, ὅτι πᾶσι ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἑαυτῷ τε ὄντι, καὶ ἐκ ἄλλῶν ὁμοίων ὁμοίων τισιν; And in the explanation of his second Anathematism he maketh use of no other Text but this to prove the Hypostatical Union, giving it this gloss or explication: Τί ὄναι τὸ ἐφανέρωθη ἐν ἑαυτῷ; τῷ ἁγίῳ, γέγονε ἑαυτῷ ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος, &c. The same he useth in his Scholion de Unigeniti Incarnatione. So also Theodoret contemporary with S. Cyril: Θεός γὰρ ὦν καὶ Θεός ἔσται, καὶ ἀόρατον ἔχειν ἡ ὄρατον, δὴ ἄρα ἅπαντες ἐνανθρωπήσας ἐξήμετο, σαφῶς ἡ ἡμεῖς δύο οὐσας ἐδίδαξαν, ἐν ἑαυτῷ γὰρ πᾶσι Θεοῦ ἐφανέρωθη ὄναι ἑαυτῷ. Thirdly, Hincmarus does not say that the Nestorians put Θεός into the Greek Text, but that he which put it in was cast out of his Bishoprick for a Nestorian. His words are these: Quidam nimirum ipsas Scripturas verbis illicitis impotiaraverunt, sicut Macedonius Constantinopolitanus Episcopus, qui ab Anastasio imperatore ideo à Civitate expulsus legitur, quoniam falsavit Evangelia, & illum Apostoli locum ubi dicit, quod apparuit in carne, justificatum est in Spiritu, per cognationem Græcarum literarum O in Θ hoc modo mutando falsavit. Ubi enim habuit Qui, hoc est OΣ monosyllabum Græcum, litera mutata O in Θ veritatis; & fecit OΣ, id est ut esset, Deus apparuit per carnem. Quapropter tanquam Nestorianus fuit expulsus. Hincmar. Opus. 55. c. 18. Now whereas Hincmarus says expulsus legitur, we read not in Euagrius, or the Excerpta of Theodorus, or in Ioannes Malala, that Macedonius was cast out of his Bishoprick for any such falsation. It is therefore probable that he had it from Liberatus, a Deacon of the Church of Carthage, who wrote a Breviary, collected partly out of the Ecclesiastical Histories and Acts of the Councils partly out of the relations of such men as he thought fit to believe, extant in the fourth Tome of the Councils. In which, chap. 19. we have the same relation only with this difference, that O is not turned into Θ, but into Ω; and so OΣ becomes not OΣ, but ΩΣ. So that first the Greek Copies are not said to have read it ὁ, but ὄς, and so not to have relation to the mystery, but to the person of Christ; and therefore it makes nothing for the Vulgar Latin. Secondly, whereas Hincmarus says there was but one letter changed, no such mutation can of OΣ make Θ OΣ, it may ΩΣ, as we read in Liberatus; and then this is nothing to the Greek Text. Thirdly, Macedonius was no Nestorian, but Anastasius an Eutychian, and he ejected him not as he did other Catholick Bishops under the pretence of Nestorianism, but for other reasons. Howsoever Macedonius could not falsify all the Greek Copies, when as well those which were before his time, as those which were written since all acknowledge Θεός. And if he had been ejected for substituting Θ-ὄς, without question Anastasius would have taken care for the restoring ὄς, which we find not in any Copy. It remaineth therefore that the Nestorians did not falsify the Text by reading Θεός ἐφανέρωθη, but that the ancient Greek Fathers read it so; and consequently, being the Greek is the Original, this Lesson must be acknowledged Authentical.

Acts 20. 28.

Again, S. Paul speaketh thus to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus; Take heed unto your selves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. In these words this doctrinal Proposition is clearly contained, God hath purchased the Church with his own blood. For there is no other word either in or near the Text which can by any Grammatical construction be joynted with the Verb, except the Holy Ghost, to whom the Predicate is repugnant, both in respect of the act, or our Redemption, and of the means, the Blood.

Blood. If then the Holy Ghost hath not purchased the Church; if he hath not blood to shed for our Redemption, and *without bloodshed there is no remission*; if there be no other word to which, according to the literal construction, the act of purchasing can be applied; if the name of God, most frequently joined to his * *Church*, be immediately and properly applicable by all rules of Syntax to the Verb which followeth it: then is it of necessity to be received as the subject of this Proposition, then is this to be embraced as infallible Scripture-truth, God hath purchased the Church with his own blood. But this God may and must be understood of *Christ*: it may, because he hath; it must, because no other person which is called God hath so purchased the Church. ^a *We were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ.* With this price were we bought; and therefore it may well be said, that *Christ our God hath purchased us with his own blood.* But no other person which is, or is called, God, can be said so to have purchased us, because it is an act belonging properly to the Mediatorship; and *there is but one Mediatour between God and men*: and the Church is ^b *sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.* Nor can the expression of this act, peculiar to the Son, be attributed to the Father, because this blood signifieth death; and though the Father be omnipotent, and can do all things, yet he cannot die. And though it might be said that he purchased us, because he gave his Son to be a ranfome for us, yet it cannot be said that he did it *by his own blood*; for then it would follow, that he gave not his Son, or that the Son and the Father were the same Person. Beside, it is very observable, that this particular phrase of *his own blood*, is in the Scripture put by way of opposition to the blood of || another: and howsoever we may attribute the Acts of the Son unto the Father, because sent by him; yet we cannot but acknowledge that the blood and death was of another than the Father. ^c *Not by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place*: and whereas ^d *the High-priest entred every year with the blood of others, Christ appeared once to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.* He then which purchased us wrought it by his own blood, as an High-priest opposed to the *Aaronical*, who made atonement by the blood of others. But the Father taketh no Priestly office, neither could he be opposed to the legal Priest, as not dying himself, but giving another. Wherefore wheresoever the Father and the Son are described together as working the Salvation of man, the blood by which it is wrought is attributed to the Son, not to the Father: as when S. Paul speaketh of the ^e *redemption that is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness; his, that is, his own righteousness*, hath reference to God the Father; but *his, that is, his own blood*, must be referred to *Christ* the Son. When he glorifieth the God and Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, attributing unto him, that he hath blessed, elected, predestinated, adopted, accepted us, made known unto us the mystery of his will, and gathered us together in one; in the midst of this acknowledgment he brings in ^f *the beloved in whom we have redemption through his blood*, as that which cannot be attri-

* τὸ ἐκκλησίαν τῆ Θεοῦ. For though the Church be properly the Church of Christ, Matt. 16. 18. Col. 1. 24. and in the plural we read once ἐκκλησίαι τῶ Χριστοῦ, Rom. 16. 16. as we do of the Churches of God, 1 Cor. 11. 16. 2 Thess. 1. 4. and 1 Thess. 2. 14. yet ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆ Θεοῦ is frequently used; as 1 Cor. 1. 2. & 10. 21. and 15. 9. and 11. 22. 2 Cor. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 7. 5. 15. but ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶ Χριστοῦ not once named. And therefore we have no reason to alter it in this Text, or to phrase it first written Χρῆ, and then made Θεοῦ, when it is so often written Θεοῦ, not Χριστοῦ, some MSS. as the Alexandrian, Cantabrigian, and New Coll. MSS. read it τῶ Κυρίου and the Interpreter of Irenæus regere Ecclesiam Domini, l. 3. c. 14. Others represent Κυρίου ἡ Θεοῦ, followed by the Arabic Interpreter; which makes not at all against our Argument; out, because in this particular unusual,

not like to be true. The Syriack translating it Christi, (ܕܢܘܡܝܢܘܡ not Domino, as it is in the Latine Translation) gives rather an Exposition than a Version. ^a 1 Pet. 1. 18, 19. ^b Heb. 10. 10. || Ἰδὼν αἷμα is opposed to αἷμα ἰδιότερον. And therefore it is observable that the Author of the Racovian Catechism, in his Answer to this place of scripture, doth never make the least mention of ἰδὼν or proprium, but only affirms that the blood of Christ may be called the blood of God the Father; & eodem verbis did Socinus answer to Wickus before, but in his whole Answer concealed the force of ἰδὼν, whereas the strength of our Argument lies in those words, διὰ τῶ ἰδὼν αἷμα, or, as the Alexandrian MS. and one mentioned by Beza, διὰ τῶ αἷμα, τῶ ἰδὼν. ^c Heb. 9. 12. ^d Verse 25, 26. ^e Rom. 3. 25. ^f Οὐ παροξέθη ὁ Θεὸς ἰλαστέρον διὰ τὴ πίστεως ἢ τῶ αὐτῶ αἷμα, ἢ ἡ ἡμετέραν ἡμετέρας αὐτῶ. ^g Eph. 1. 6, 7.

buted to the Father. *Christ* hath blessed us; and the Apostle saith, the Father hath blessed us: which is true, because *he sent his Son to bless us.* *Christ* hath made known unto us the will of his Father; and the Apostle saith, the Father *hath made known unto us the mystery of his will*; because he sent his Son to reveal it. *Christ* hath delivered us; and the Father is said to *deliver us from the power of darkness*: not that we are twice delivered, but because the Father delivereth us by his Son. And thus these general acts are familiarly attributed to them both; but still a difference must be observed and acknowledged in the means or manner of the performance of these acts. For though 'tis true that the Father and the Son revealed to us the will of God; yet it is not true that the Father revealed it by himself to us; but that the Son did so, it is. They both deliver us from sin and death: but the Son *gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us*; the Father is not, cannot be, said to have given himself, but his Son: and therefore the Apostle giveth thanks unto the Father, *who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we have redemption through his blood.* Now this blood is not only the blood of the new Covenant, and consequently of the Mediator: but the nature of this Covenant is such, that it is also a Testament, and therefore the blood must be the blood of the Testator; for *where a Testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the Testator.* But the Testator which died is not, cannot be, the Father, but the Son; and consequently, the blood is the blood of the Son, not of the Father. It remaineth therefore that God, who purchased the Church with his own blood, is not the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, or any other which is called God, but only *Jesus Christ* the Son of God, and God. And thus have I proved the first of the three Assertions, that the name of *God* absolutely taken and placed subjectively, is sometimes to be understood of *Christ*.

49: 3. 25.
 1. 1. 6.
 1. 1. 13.

Gal. 1. 4.

Col. 1. 13, 14.

1. 5. 15.

Math. 1. 23.

|| Καὶ καλήσεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστὶν, μεθ' ἡμῶν, μὲν δὲ ὄνομα, Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ εἶς.

1. Verse 22, 23.
 Exod. 17. 15.
 Judges 6. 24.
 Jer. 33. 16.

John 1. 14.

Mat. 28. 20.
 Ἐγὼ ἔσομαι μετ' ὑμῶν ἄχρι τῆς συντελέσεως τοῦ αἰῶνος.

1. 6.
 1. 21. 78

1. 42. 35.

The second, That the name of *God* invested by way of excellency with an Article is attributed in the Scriptures unto *Christ*, may be thus made good. He which is called *Emmanuel* is named God by way of Excellency; for that name, saith S. *Matthew*, being interpreted, is *God with us*, and in that interpretation the Greek || Article is prefixed. But *Christ* is called *Emmanuel*; ² that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the Prophet, saying, Behold, a Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name *Emmanuel*. Therefore he is that *God with us*, which is expressed by way of Excellency, and distinguished from all other who are any way honoured with that name. For it is a vain imagination to think that *Christ* is called *Emmanuel*, but that he is not what he is called: as *Moses* built an Altar, and called the name of it *Jehovah Nissi*, and *Gideon* another called *Jehovah Shalom*; and yet neither Altar was *Jehovah*: as *Jerusalem* was called the Lord our righteousness, and yet that City was not the Lord. Because these two notions, which are conjoined in the name *Emmanuel*, are severally true of *Christ*. First, he is *Emmanu*, that is, *with us*, for he hath dwelt among us: and when he parted from the earth, he said to his Disciples, *I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.* Secondly, he is *El*, and that name was given him, as the same Prophet testifieth, *For unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellour, the mighty God.* He then who is both properly called *El*, that is, *God*, and is also really *Emmanu*, that is, *with us*, he must infallibly be that *Emmanuel* who is *God with us*. Indeed if the name *Emmanuel* were to be interpreted by way of a proposition, *God is with us*, as the Lord our righteousness, and the Lord is there, must be understood where they are the names of *Jerusalem*; then should it have been the name not of *Christ*,

Christ, but of his Church : and if we under the Gospel had been called so, it could have received no other interpretation in reference to us. But being it is not ours, but our Saviour's name, it bears no kind of similitude with those objected appellations, and is as properly and directly to be attributed to the *Messias* as the name of *Jesus*. Wherefore it remaineth that Christ be acknowledged God with us, according to the Evangelical Interpretation, with an expression of that excellency which belongeth to the Supreme Deity.

Again, He to whom *S. Thomas* said, *My Lord and my God*, or rather, *The Lord of me and the God of me*, he is that God before whose name the Greek Article is prefixed, which they require, by way of excellency. But *S. Thomas* spake these words * to Christ. For *Jesus* spake unto *Thomas*, and *Thomas* answered and said unto him, *My Lord and my God*. And in these words he made confession of his Faith; for our Saviour replied, *Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed*. And let him be the Lord of me, and the God of me, who was the Lord and the God of an Apostle.

John 20. 28.

* Indeed it hath been answered, that these words are not to be referred to Christ, but to God the Father, so Theodor. Mopsu-

denus in his Commentary on *S. John*; Thomas quidem, cum sic credidisset, Dominus meus & Deus meus dicit, non ipsum Dominum & Deum dicens, (non enim resurrectionis scientia docebat & Deum esse cum qui resurrexit) sed quasi pro miraculo iusto Deum collaudat. Syn. V. Colu. 4. As if *Thomas* had intended only to have praised God for raising Christ. But first it is plain that *Thomas* answered Christ; secondly, that he spake unto him, that is, to Christ, and consequently that the words which he spake belong to Christ; thirdly, that the words are a Confession of his Faith in Christ, as our Saviour doth acknowledge. And whereas *Franciscus Davidis* did object, that in a Latin Testament he found, not & dixit ei, but & dixit without ei, it is sufficiently demonstrated by *Socinus* in his Epistle, affirming that all the Greek and Latin Copies had it, except that one which he had found: and therefore the omission must be imputed to the negligence of the Printer. ¶ 'Ο κύριός μου & ὁ Θεός μου. Either in these words there is an Ellipsis of ἄνθρωπος, Thou art my Lord, thou art my God; or an Antiptosis, the Nominative Case used for the Vocative, as Ἐλάτῃ, Ἐλάτῃ, ὁ Θεός μου. ὁ Θεός μου Mark 15. 34. Ἀγγὺ ὁ πατήρ, Mark 14. 36. and Χάρις ὁ βουλοῦνός σου Ἰουδαίου, John 19. 3. If it be an Ellipsis of the Verb εἶμι, so frequent in the Scriptures, and of the Person sufficiently understood in the preceding Pronoun; then it is evident that ὁ Θεός is attributed unto Christ, for then *S. Thomas* said unto him, Thou art ὁ Θεός μου. If it be an Antiptosis, though the construction be pure not a Verb, yet the signification virtually requireth as much, which is equivalent: for he acknowledgeth him as much God while he calleth him so, as if he did affirm him to be so. Neither can it be objected that the Article serves only in the place of εἶμι, as signifying that the Nominative is to be taken for the Vocative case; because the Nominative may as well stand vocatively without an Article, as Ἰωάννης, ἦς Δαβὶδ, 1. 20. and Ἐλεῖσον ἡμᾶς. Κύριε, ἦς Δ. Σιδ, Matt. 20. 30. 31. and therefore when the Vocative is invested with an Article, it is as considerable as in a Nominative. And being these words were an expression of the Apostle's Faith, as Christ understood and approved them, they must contain in them, virtually at least, a Proposition; because in all of our Faith can be expressed, where the Object is not at least a virtual Proposition. And in that Proposition, ὁ Θεός, must be the Predicate, and Christ, to whom these words are spoken, must also be the Subject. It cannot therefore be avoided, but that *S. Thomas* did attribute the name of God to our Saviour with an Article. Indeed to me there is no doubt, but *S. Thomas* in these words did make as true and real a Confession of his Faith concerning the Person of Christ, as *S. Peter* did, when he answered and said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, Matt. 16. 16. and consequently, that ὁ Κύριος, and ὁ Θεός do as properly belong unto him, as *S. Peter's* ὁ Χριστός and ὁ υἱός. As therefore Christ said to his Disciples, Vos vocatis me ὁ διδασκαλός, & ὁ Κύριος, & bene dicitis, iam etenim, John 13. 13. so he might have replied to *Thomas*, You call me ὁ Κύριος and ὁ Θεός, and you say well, for I am so. As for the Objection of *Socinus*, that though Θεός be here spoken of Christ, and that with an Article ὁ, yet that Article is of no force because of the following Pronoun μου, it is most groundless: for the Article ὁ cannot have relation to the following Pronoun μου, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ἀποδείξαι ἀναγνώριαν ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡμέτερον παροδίζεσθαι, as that great Critick *Apollonius Alexandrinus* observes, l. 1. de Syntaxi. 30. And if for μου it were ὁ εμεός, yet even that Article would belong to Θεός, for in these words, ὁ Θεός ὁ εμεός, neither Article belongs to εμεός, but both to Θεός: for, as the same Critick observes in the same case, τὸ εμεός ἀναγνώριαν ἡμῶν ἀπαρτίει, ὁ πατήρ ὁ εμεός, ἀναγνώριαν ἡμῶν ἀπαρτίει. So that if ὁ Θεός be the Supreme God, then ὁ Θεός μου must be my Supreme God: as when *David* speaks to God, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, πρὸς σὺ ὁρθεῖζα, Psal. 62. 1. the latter is of as great importance as the former. So again Psal. 42. 5. Ἐξομολογήσασθε τὸ κίνημα ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου. and 70. 3. ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς, ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν. and 70. 13. ὁ Θεός μὴ μακρυμῶν ἐπὶ ἐμῶν. ὁ Θεός μου. I dare not therefore say to any person that he is ὁ Θεός μου, except I do believe that he is ὁ Θεός. Wherefore I conclude that the words of *S. Thomas*, ὁ κύριός μου & ὁ Θεός μου, are as fully and highly significative as those of *David*, Πρέσβυς τῆς γωνίας δέσποτος μου, ὁ βασιλεύς μου & ὁ Θεός μου, Psal. 5. 2. or those, Ὁ Θεός μου & ὁ κύριός μου, ἦς Ἰ. Δικλίου μου, Psal. 35. 23. or those, Ἐὶ δυσασπεία σου, κύριε ἡμῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ βασιλεύς μου & ὁ Θεός μου, Psal. 84. 3. or those of *S. John* in the Revelation, as they lie in the Alexandrian and Complutentian Copies, Ἄξιός σου ὁ κύριος & ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν ὁ ἄγιος, λαβεῖν, Ἦν, or that lastly in the most ancient Hymn, Κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἀμύδης τῶ Θεῷ—ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Nor have we only their acquired testimony of Christ's supreme Divinity, but also an addition of verity asserting that Supremacy. For he is not only termed the God, but, for a farther certainty, the true God: and the same Apostle, who said the Word was God, lest any cavil should arise by any omission of an Article, though so frequently neglected by all, even the most accurate Authors, hath also assured us that he is the true God. For, we know, saith he, 1 John 5. 20 that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know

know him that is true : and we are in him that is true , even in his Son Jesus Christ. || This is the true God, and eternal life. As therefore we read in the Acts, of the ^a Word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ ; he is Lord of all ; where it is acknowledged that the Lord of all is by the Pronoun * he joynd unto Jesus Christ, the immediate, not unto God, the remote antecedent : so likewise here the true God is to be referred unto Christ, who stands next unto it, not unto the Father, spoken of indeed in the Text, but at a distance. There is no reason alledged why these last words should not be referred to the Son of God, but only this, that in Grammatical construction they may be ascribed to the Father. As, when ^b another King arose which knew not Joseph, the same dealt subtilly with our kindred ; the same referreth us not to Joseph, but to the King of Egypt. Whereas, if nothing else can be objected but a possibility in respect of the Grammatical construction, we may as well say that Joseph dealt subtilly with his kindred as the King of Egypt ; for whatsoever the incongruity be in History, it makes no Solaccism in the Syntax. Wherefore being Jesus Christ is the immediate Antecedent to which the Relative may properly be referred ; being the Son of God is he of whom the Apostle chiefly speaketh ; being this is rendred as a reason why we are in him that is true, by being in his Son, to wit, because that Son is the true God ; being in the language of S. John the constant Title of our Saviour is eternal life ; being all these reasons may be drawn out of the Text it self, why the Title of the true God should be attributed to the Son, and no one reason can be raised from thence why it should be referred to the Father : I can conclude no less, than that our Saviour is the true God, so styled in the Scriptures by way of eminency, with an Article prefixed, as the * first Christian Writers which immediately followed the Apostles did both speak and write.

|| Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς ὁ ζῶν καὶ ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰῶνος ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰῶνος. Hic igitur non solum de vero Deo, sed de illo uno vero Deo, ut articulus in Graeco additus indicat. Catech. Raron.
 * Act. 10. 35.
 * Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς ὁ ζῶν καὶ ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰῶνος ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰῶνος. que est deferta.
 * Act. 7. 18, 19.

* Δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἰσθὺς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς ὁ ζῶν καὶ ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰῶνος ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰῶνος. Id. Ep. ad Eph. Ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς ὁ ζῶν καὶ ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰῶνος ὁ αἰὼν ὁ αἰῶνος. Ep. ad Rom. Τὸ θεὸν λέγουσιν τὰ λογικὰ πλάσματα ἡμεῖς. Cl. Al. adv. Gentes. And it was well observed by the Author of the Μικρὰ Λαβύρινθος, written about the beginning of the third Century, that not only the ancient Fathers before him, as Justin, Miltiades, Tatianus, Clemens, Irenaeus, Melito, &c. did speak of Christ as God, but that the Hymns also penned by Christians from the beginning did express Christ's Divinity. Παλμοὶ ὅσοι καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐσθ' πιστῶν ἠραροῦσιν ἃ λέγουσιν τῷ θεῷ ἃ Χριστῶν ὑμνοῖσι θεολογοῦντες. And the Epistle of Pliny to Trajan testifies the same, Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carnemque Christo quasi Deo dicere.

But, thirdly, were there no such particular place in which the Article were expressed, yet shall we find such Adjuncts fixed to the name of God when attributed unto Christ as will prove equivalent to an Article, or whatsoever may express the supreme Majesty. As when S. Paul doth magnifie the Jews out of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen. First, It is evident that Christ is called || God, even he who came of the Jews, though not as he came of them, that is, according to the flesh, which is here * distinguished from his Godhead. Secondly, He is so called God, as not to be any of the many Gods, but the one supreme or most high God ; || for he is God over all. Thirdly, he hath also added the title of blessed ; which of it self

Rom. 9. 5.
 || Though some would leave God out of the Text, upon this pretence, because S. Cyprian, in lib. 2. adv. Judaeos, citing this place, leaves it out. But that must needs be by the negligence of some of the Scribes, as is evident. First, because Manucius and Morellius found the word Deus in their Copies, and both the MSS. which Pamelius used acknowledge it. Secondly, because S. Cyprian produceth the Text to prove quod Deus Christus ; and reckoneth it among the rest in which he is called expressly God. Thirdly, because Tertullian, whose disciple S. Cyprian professed himself, and both so read it, and so use it. Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut idem Apostolus, Ex quibus Christus, qui est (inquit) Deus super omnia benedictus in aevum omne. Adv. P. ae. am. And again in the same Book ; Hunc & Paulus conspexit, nec tamen Patrem vidit. Nonne, inquit, vidi Jesum ? Christum autem & ipsum Deum cognominavit : Quorum Patres, & ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est per (vel super) omnia Deus benedictus in aevum. Novatianus de Trinitate useth the same Argument. And another ancient Author very expressly ; Rogo te, Deum credis esse Filium, an non ? Sine dubio, responsurus es, Deum ; qui et si negare volueris, sanctis scripturis convinceris, dicente Apostolo, Ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula. So also S. Aug. Non solum Pater Deus est, sicut etiam omnes Hæretici concedunt, sed etiam Filius ; quod, velint nolint, coguntur fateri, dicente Apostolo, Qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula. D: Trin. l. 2. c. 13. & cont. a Faustine.

Faufium l. 16. c. 15. As for the Objection, that S. Chryfoftome doth not fignifie in his Commentaries that he read Θεός; in the Text: I answer that neither does he fignifie that he read ὁ ὄντι πάντων, for in his exposition he paffeth over wholly ὁ ὄντι πάντων Θεός. but it doth not follow that he read not ὁ ὄντι πάντων in the Text. But when he repeats the words of the Apostle, he agrees wholly with the Greek Text, ὁ ὄντι πάντων Θεός εὐλογητός. and Theodoret, who lived not long after him, doth not only acknowledge the words, but give a full Exposition of them: Ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ὅτι ἡ φύσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκὸς ἐγενήθη παρὰ θεοῦ ὡς ἡ φύσις τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμεῶν. Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Θεὸς ὄντι πάντων Θεός εὐλογητός. As for the omission of Deus in S. Hilary on the Psalms, it must of necessity be attributed to the negligence of the Scribe, not to the reading of the Father. For how he read it he hath clearly expressed in his books De Trinitate: Non ignorat Paulus Christum Deum, dicens, Quorum sunt Patres, & ex quibus Christus, qui est super omnia Deus. Non hic creatura in Deum deputatur, sed creatorum Deus est, qui super omnia Deus est. The pretence therefore of Erasmus from the Fathers is vain; and as vain is that of Grotius from the Syriac Translation, which hath in it the name of God expressly, as well as all the Copies of the Original, and all the rest of the Translations, כִּי לֹא יָרָא אֱלֹהִים הֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. * Τὸ ἡμεῖς σαρκὰ ὀψοῦμεν τὸ ἡμεῖς πνεῦμα. as Rom. 1. 3. where ἡμεῖς σαρκὰ is used without an Article, because ἡμεῖς πνεῦμα, to which it is opposed, followeth, and so the opposition is of it self apparent. But here being ἡμεῖς πνεῦμα is not to be expressed in the following words, the Article τὸ signifying of it self a distinction or exception, sheweth that it is to be understood. || Ὁ ὄντι πάντων. Not in omnibus, as Erasmus, nor super omnes, as Beza, with reference to the Fathers, which should have been ὄντι πάντων ἀπόφασις. but, as the Vulgar Translation, and the ancient Fathers before that, super omnia, ὄντι for ἐπάνω, as John 3. 31. ὁ ἀνωθεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ὄντι, which signifieth no less than ὄντι the ordinary name of God, ὁ ὄντι, the most high; as it is taken for the supreme God by it self, Acts 7. 48. and is described, Psal. 97. 9. * Ὅτι ὁ Θεός, Κύριος, ὁ ὄντι πάντων τῶν γινώσκοντων, ὁ ὄντι πάντων τῶν Θεῶν.

elsewhere signifieth the * supreme God, and was always used by the Jews to express that one God of Israel. Wherefore it cannot be conceived S. Paul should write unto the Christians, most of which then were converted Jews or Profelytes, and give unto our Saviour not only the name of God, but also add that title which they always gave unto the one God of Israel, and to none but him; except he did intend they should believe him to be the same God whom they always in that manner and under that notion had adored. As therefore the Apostle speaketh of *the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore*, of the Creator, *who is blessed for ever, Amen*; and thereby doth signify the supreme Deity, which was so glorified by the *Israelites*; and doth also testify that we worship the same God under the Gospel which they did under the Law: so doth he speak of Christ in as sublime a style, *who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen*; and thereby doth testify the equality, or rather identity, of his Deity. If we consider the scope of the Apostle, which is to magnify the *Israelites* by the enumeration of such privileges as belonged peculiarly to that chosen Nation, (the most eminent of which was contained in the Genealogy of our Saviour) we shall find their glory did not consist in this, that Christ at first was born of them a man, and afterwards made a God; for what great honour could accrue to them by the nativity of a man, whose Godhead is referred not to his birth, but to his death? whereas this is truly honourable, and the peculiar Glory of that Nation, that the most High God blessed for ever should *take on him the seed of Abraham*, and come out of the *Israelites as concerning the flesh*. Thus every way it doth appear, the Apostle spake of Christ as of the one eternal God.

* As Mark 14. 61. Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ. Art thou the Christ, the son of the Blessed? where the vulgar attribute is taken for God himself, which is usually added to the name of God; as 2 Cor. 11. 31. Ὁ Θεός, ὁ ὄντι εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. or to any description of him; as ἐλάτρευσαν τὸν κτίσει πατέρα καὶ κτίσει υἱόν, ὃς ἐστὶν εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Αὐτός. And these expressions of S. Paul are consonant to the ancient custom of the Jews, who, when the Priest in the Sanctuary rehearsed the name of God,

were wont to answer, Blessed be his name for ever. Inasmuch as the Blessed one did in their Language signify as much as the Holy one, and both, or either of them, the God of Israel. Hence are so frequent in the Rabbins, *הַקדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא* the Holy Blessed one, and *בְּרוּךְ הוּא*, the Blessed one, that they are written by abbreviation, *הַבְּרָכָה* or *הַבְּרָכָה*; and the infinite blessed one, *בְּרָכָה אֱמֵן*, Blessed be God for ever, Amen, and Amen, *בְּרָכָה אֱמֵן*. * 2 Cor. 11. 31. Rom. 1. 52.

He then who was the Word which in the beginning was with God, and was God; he whose Glory *Isaias* saw as the Glory of the God of Israel; he who is styled Alpha and Omega without any restriction or limitation; he who was truly subsisting in the form of God, and equal with him, before he was in the nature of man; he who being man is frequently called God, and that in all those ways by which the supreme Deity is expressed; He had a being before Christ was conceived by the Virgin *Mary*, and the being which he had was the one eternal and indivisible Divine Essence, by which he always was truly

truly

truly, really and properly God. But all these are certainly true of him in whom we believe, *Jesus Christ*, as hath been proved by clear testimonies of the sacred Scriptures. Therefore the being which Christ had before he was conceived of the Virgin was not any created, but the Divine Essence; nor was he any Creature, but the true eternal God: which was our second Assertion, particularly opposed to the * *Arian* Heresy.

* This Heresy was first called from two words

have the same name, and fell at the same time into the same Opinion; one of them being a Presbyter, and Rector of a Church in Alexandria, the other a Deacon: as Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, in his Epistle extant in Theodoret; *Εἰ δὲ εἰ ἀναθεματισθέντες ἀρσιπῶται, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων μὲν, Ἄρειος ἐπὶ διωκόνων δὲ, Ἀχιλλῶν, Εὐζαΐου, Ἄρειος ἑτέρου, &c.* In the Epistle of the Arians to Alexander, he is reckoned amongst the Presbyters; Ἄρειος, Αἰθελῆς, Ἀχιλλῶν, Καρπῶν, Σιματάς, Ἄρειος, πρεσβύτεροι. Of these two Phœbadius contra Arian. Patrem & Filium esse non unam personam, ut Sabellius, aut duas substantias, ut Arrii. c. 25. The Heresy is so well known, that it needs no explication: and indeed it cannot be better described than in the Anathematism of the Nicene Council. Τὸς δὲ λίγοντας ὡς ποτε ὄτε ἐκ ὡς, καὶ πρὶν γῆννηθῆαι ἐκ ὡς, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων ἐβόητο, ἢ ὡς ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεις ἢ ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστοῦ ἐξ ἧς ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν, ἢ τρετῶν τὸν ὕδιν πρὸ θεοῦ, πέρας ἀναθεματίζουσι ἢ καθολικῆ καὶ ἀποστολικῆ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. Thus translated by S. Hilary; Eos autem qui dicunt, erat quando non erat, & antequam nasceretur non erat, & quod de non extantibus factus est, vel ex alia substantia aut essentia, dicentes esse convertibilem & demutabilem Deum, hos anathematizat Catholica Ecclesia.

* Ἐνα γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐξήννητον, καὶ μίαν τὴν πάντων ἀρχὴν, ἢ πᾶτες ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ἢ μὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. S. Basil. Ep. 78.

* Ἐν ἀξίωτητον, ὁ Πατήρ. Alex. Ep. apud Theodoretum.

* John 16. 15. Πάντα σου ἔχει ὁ πατήρ, πρὸ ὧν ὄντων, ἢ ἔμελλεν εἶναι, καὶ πᾶτες ἢ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ὁ δὲ ὄν ἰδίον, ὁ τὴν κενὰ, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὡτὸ τὸ ἐννοεῖται καὶ ὁ μόνιμον, ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. S. Greg. Naz. Orat 2. de Filio.

* John 5. 26. Hoc dixit, Vitam dedit Filio ut haberet eam in semetipso, tanquam diceret, Pater, qui est vita in semetipso, genuit Filium qui esset vita in semetipso. Pro eo enim quod est genuit, voluit intelligi dedit, tanquam si cuiquam diceremus, dedit tibi Deus esse. S. Aug. Et paulo post, Quid ergo Filio dedit? dedit ei ut Filius esset; genuit ut vita esset; hoc est, dedit habere ei vitam in semetipso, ut esset vita non cogens vita, ne participando intelligatur habere vitam. Si enim participando haberet vitam non in semetipso, posset & amittere vitam esse. Ite vita: hoc in Filio accipias, ne coges, ne credas. Manet ergo Pater vita, manet & Filius vita. Pater vita in semetipso, non a Filio; Filius vita in semetipso, sed a Patre. So again, de Trinit. l. 1. c. 12. Plerumque dicit, Dedit mihi Pater vitam, in quo vult intelligi quod cum genuit Pater: non ut tanquam jam existenti & non habenti dederit aliquid, sed ipsam dedit ut haberet, genuit ut esset. * John 5. 18, 19. Tanquam diceret, Quid scandalizati estis quia Patrem meum dixi Deum, quia a quem me facio Deo? Ita sum æqualis, ut non ille à me, sed ego ab illo sum. Hoc enim intelligitur in his verbis, Non potest Filius à se facere quicquam, &c. hoc est, quicquid Filius habet ut faciat, à Patre habet ut faciat. Quare habet à Patre ut faciat? qui à Patre habet ut possit, quia à Patre habet ut sit. Filius enim hoc est esse quod posse. S. Aug. in I. cum. Paulo post, Hoc est, Non potest Filius à se quicquam tacere, quod esset, si diceret, non est Filius à se. Etenim si Filius est, tatus est; si tatus est, ab illo est de quo tatus est.

The third Assertion, next to be demonstrated, is, That the Divine Essence which *Christ* had as the Word, before he was conceived by the Virgin *Mary*, he had not of himself, but by communication from God the Father. For this is not to be denied, That there can be but one Essence properly Divine, and so but one God of infinite Wisdom, Power and Majesty; That there can be but * one person originally of himself subsisting in that infinite Being, because a plurality of more persons so subsisting would necessarily infer a multiplicity of Gods; That the Father of our *Lord Jesus Christ* is originally God, as not receiving his eternal being from any other. Wherefore it necessarily followeth that *Jesus Christ*, who is certainly not the Father, cannot be a person subsisting in the Divine nature originally of himself, and consequently, being we have already proved that he is truly and properly the eternal God, he must be understood to have the Godhead communicated to him by the Father, who is not only eternally, but originally, God. * *All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine, saith Christ*; because in him is the same fulness of the Godhead, and more than that the Father cannot have: but yet in that perfect and absolute equality there is notwithstanding this disparity, that the Father hath the Godhead not from the Son, or any other, whereas the Son hath it from the Father. *Christ* is the true God and eternal life; but that he is so, is from the Father:

For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself, not by participation, but by communication. *Tis true, our Saviour was so in the form of God, that he thought it no robbery to be equal with God: but when the *Jews* sought to kill him because he *made himself equal with God*, he answered them, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do*: by that connexion of his operations, shewing the reception of his Essence; and by the acknowledgment of his power, professing his substance from the Father. From whence he which was equal, even in that equality confesseth a priority, saying,

the Council in opposition to them determined it. Quid est aliud cur Homoufion Patri nolint Filium dici, nisi quia nolunt verum Dei Filium? sicut Author ipsorum Eusebius Nicomedienfis Epistola sua prodidit, dicens, Si verum, inquit, Dei Filium & meratum dicimus, Homoufion cum Patre incipimus confiteri. Hac cum lecta esset Epistola in Concilio Niceno, hoc verbum in Tractatu fidei posuerunt Patres, quod id viderunt adversariis esse formidini, ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsorum nefanda caput hæreticis amputarent. S. Ambros. l. 3. de Fide, c. 7. De voce 'Θουόσιθ, vide Dionys. Petav. de Trinit. l. 4. c. 6. * *Ἰησοῦ*. * *Αδωλίου γὰρ τὸν θεὸν εἶπεν ἐπιόν τ' εὐσεβῆς γυνίμῳσιθ*. Damasc. l. 1. c. 8. † *Εἰ δὲ μὴ κερταρόνθ εἴη αὐτῆ ἡ θεία ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' ἐρημθ, καὶ αὐτοῦ, ὡς πῶς μὴ σωτίζον, καὶ παγγιὴ ζῆθ. τὰς ἀμυεβρικόω ἐβρταίν αὐτῶν: χεῖν λέγοντες ἐκ ἀρχόνισαι; S. Athan. Orat. 2.*

The fourth Assertion followeth, That the Communication of the Divine Essence by the Father is the Generation of the Son; and Christ, who was eternally God, not from himself, but from the Father, is the eternal Son of God. That God always had a Son, appeareth by *Agur's* question in the Proverbs of *Solomon*; *Who hath established all the ends of the earth? what is his name? and what is his Son's name? if thou canst tell.* And it was the chief design of *Mahomet* to deny this truth, because he knew it was not otherwise possible to prefer himself before our Saviour. One Prophet may be greater than another, and *Mahomet* might perswade his credulous Disciples that he was greater than any of the sons of men; but while any one was believed to be the eternal Son of God, he knew it wholly impossible to prefer himself before him. Wherefore he frequently inculcates that blasphemy in his * *Alcoran*, that God hath no such Son, nor any equal with him: and his Disciples have || corrupted the Psalm of *David*, reading, (instead of, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*;) *Thou art my Prophet, I have educated thee.* The later * *Jews*, acknowledging the words, and the proper literal reading of them, apply them so unto *David*, as that they deny them to belong to *Christ*; and that upon no other ground, than that by such an exposition they may avoid the Christians Confession. But by the consent of the ancient *Jews*, by the interpretation of the blessed Apostles, we know these words belong to *Christ*, and in the most proper sense to him alone. ^a *For, unto which of the Angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?* as the Apostle argues. And if he had spoken them unto any other man, as they were spoken unto him, the Apostle's Argument had been none at all.

* This is often repeated there, and particularly in the last copy: but one, called Alechlas. Est ipse Deus unus Deus æternus, qui nec genuit, nec genitus est, & cui nullus est æqualis. And the Saracens a Jew fish by Sylburgius mention this as the first principle of Mahometanism, * *Οτι εἰς θεός*

ὅτι, τοῖσιν δὲ ἔλεον, μήτε ἡγνήθης, μήτε ἡγνήσας. And Joannes Siculus and Georgius Cedrenus relate how Mahomet gave command. * *Ἐγα μόνον προσκλιθῆν θεόν, καὶ ἡ χεῖσὸν τιμᾶν ὡς λόγον τῶ θεῷ μὲ, ἔχει ὕν δέ.* And we read of his ridiculous History, that Christ, after his ascension into Heaven, was accused by God for calling himself his Son; and that he denied it, as being so named only by men without any authority from him. * *Οτι ἀνεληθῆντα ἡ χεῖσὸν εἰς τὸν ἕσανδὸν ἡρώτησιν ὁ θεός, λέγων, Ὡ Ἰησοῦ, σὺ εἶπες τὸν λόγον τῶτον, ὅτι ὁὐς ἡμὶ τῶ θεῷ καὶ θεός. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς, ὅτι ἐκ ἁποστασῆ, ἔδ' ἀσώσωμα εἶδ' ὁ δὲ λέει σοι. ἀλλ' εἰ ἐνθεωσῶσι λέγωνσιν ὅτι εἶπὸν ἡ λόγον τῶτον.* || Alfirozabadius in his Kamuz: *Dictum Dei omnipotentis ad Jesum, Tu es bonus, filius meus, ego malitiosa, te genui.* Longe est supra hæc Deus. And to the same purpose Ebnol Allhir: In Evangelio dixit Hæ, ego malitiosa, i. e. educavi te; at Christiani, dempta litera Lam altera, ipsum ei filium statuerunt. Qui longe claus est super ea qua dicunt. Whereas then the Apostles attributed those words of the Psalm to Christ, the Mahometans, who could not deny but they were spoken of the Messias, were forced to corrupt the Text: and for that they pretend the eminency and excellency of the Godhead, as if it were beneath the Majesty of God to beget a Son, or be a Father. And indeed whatsoever would bring in another Prophet greater than Christ, as he was than Moses, might do so. * I say, the later Jews so attribute these words to David, as if they belonged not to the Messias; but the ancient Jews understood them of the Christ: as appeareth not only out of those places in the Evangelists where the Christ and the son of God are synonymous; but also by the testimony of the later Jews themselves, who have confessed no less. So Rabbi David Kimchi in the end of his Commentaries on the second Psalm, *וַיִּשׂ מַפְרָשִׁים וְזֶה הַבּוֹמֵר עַל נַגְנָו וּמְנוֹן וְהַמְשִׁיחַ הוּא מֶלֶךְ הַמְשִׁיחַ וְכֵן פִּירֵשׁ רַבּוֹתֵינוּ וְרַבּוֹתֵינוּ דְרַשׁוּ אֶת הָעֵנִין עַל הַמְשִׁיחַ וְדַבְרֵי מִשְׁעוֹל תְּשׁוּבַת הַמִּינִים נִנְּן לְפִתְרוֹ עַל רַבּוֹתֵינוּ דְרַשׁוּ אֶת הָעֵנִין עַל הַמְשִׁיחַ* our Doctors have expounded it of the Messias: but as to the literal sense, and for the answering Hereticks, (that is, in their Language, Christians) it is rather to be interpreted of David in his own person. * *Heb. 1. 5.*

Now that the Communication of the Divine Essence by the Father (which we have already proved) was the true and proper Generation by which he hath begotten the Son, will thus appear: because the most proper Generation which we know, is nothing else but a vital production of another in the same nature,

nature, with a full representation of him from whom he is produced. Thus Man begetteth a son, that is, produceth another man of the same humane nature with himself; and this production, as a perfect generation, becomes the foundation of the relation of Paternity in him that produceth, and of Filiation in him that is produced. Thus after the prolific blessing, *Be fruitful and multiply, Adam begat in his own likeness, after his image*: and by the continuation of the same blessing, the succession of humane generations hath been continued. This then is the known * confession of all men, that a Son is nothing but another produced by his Father in the same nature with him. But God the Father hath communicated to the Word the same Divine essence by which he is God; and consequently he is of the same nature with him, and thereby the perfect image and similitude of him, and therefore his proper Son. In humane generations we may conceive two kinds of similitude; one in respect of the internal nature, the other in reference to the external form or figure. The former similitude is essential and necessary; it being impossible a man should beget a son, and that son not be by nature a man: the latter accidental; not only sometimes the child representing this, sometimes the other parent, but also oftentimes neither. || The similitude then, in which the propriety of generation is preserved, is that which consisteth in the identity of nature: and this Communication of the Divine essence by the Father to the Word is evidently a sufficient foundation of such a similitude; from whence *Christ* is called *the image of God, the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person*.

Gen. 1. 28, and 5. 3.

* Κοινωνία τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας, ἡ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ γεννηθεὶς ὡς ἀπαύτως ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ὁμοιοῦσιν ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσία. Phot. Ep. 1. This is in the language of Aristotle, τὸ ποιοῦσαι ἐστὶν ἡ αὐτὴ οὐσία, ἡ ζῶον, οὐδὲν ἢ οὐδὲν. And S. Basil. lib. 2. cont. Eunomium; πατρὶς ἡ γὰρ ὁμοιοῦσιν ὁμοίαν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔχει. S. Aug. contra

πατρὸς γόνυ. || Etiam si filius hominis, homo, in quibusdam similis, in quibusdam sit dissimilis patri; tamen substantiæ est, negari verus filius non potest, & quia verus est filius, negari ejusdem substantiæ non potest. Maximin. c. 13. 2 Cor. 4. 4. Heb. 1. 3.

Nor is this Communication of the Divine essence only the proper generation of the Son, but we must acknowledge it far more proper than any natural generation of the Creature, not only because it is in a more perfect manner, but also because the identity of nature is most perfect. As in the Divine essence we acknowledge all the perfections of the Creature, subtracting all the imperfections which adhere unto them here in things below: so in the Communication we must look upon the reality without any kind of defect, blemish, or impurity. In humane generation the son is begotten in the same nature with the father, which is performed by derivation, or decision of part of the substance of the parent: but this decision includeth imperfection, because it supposeth a substance divisible, and consequently corporeal; whereas the essence of God is incorporeal, spiritual and indivisible; and therefore his nature is really communicated, not by derivation or decision but by a total and plenary communication. In natural conceptions the father necessarily precedeth the son, and begetteth one younger than himself: for being Generation is for the perpetuity of the Species, where the Individuals successively fail, it is sufficient if the parent can produce another to live after him, and continue the existence of his nature, when his person is dissolved. But this presupposeth the imperfection of mortality, wholly to be removed, when we speak of him who inhabiteth eternity: the essence which God always had without beginning, without beginning he did communicate; being always Father, as always God. * Animals, when they come to the perfection of nature, then become prolific; in God eternal perfection sheweth his eternal fecundity. And that which is most remarkable,

* Πάντα ἢ ὅσα ἦν διὰ τέλει αἰὶν ἔχοντα τὸ ἴδιον ἀθάνατον καὶ αἰὶνον ἔχοντα.

Euseb. de Prop. Evang. ex Platino. Ἀνθρώπων ἡ γὰρ ἴδιον τὸ ἐκ χρόνου γεννᾶν, διὰ τὸ ἀτελεῖς τὸ φύσεως. Δεῖ ἢ ἀθάνατον τὸ γέννημα. διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ τέλειον τὸ φύσεως. S. Athan. Orat. 2. This was it which so much troubled the Arians, when they heard the Catholicks constantly asserting, ἀεὶ θεός, ἀεὶ υἱός· ἀμα πατὴρ, ἀμα υἱός.

In humane generations the Son is of the same nature with the Father, and yet is not the same man; because though he hath an essence of the same kind, yet he hath not the same essence: the power of generation depending on the first prolific benediction, *Increase and multiply*, it must be made by way of multiplication; and thus every Son becomes another man. But the Divine essence, being by reason of its simplicity not subject to division, and in respect of its infinity incapable of multiplication, is so communicated as not to be multiplied; insomuch that he which proceedeth by that communication hath not only the same nature, but is also the same God. The Father God, and the Word God; *Abraham* man, and *Isaac* man: but *Abraham* one man, *Isaac* another man; not so the Father one God, and the Word another, but the Father and the Word both the same God. Being then the propriety of generation is founded in the essential similitude of the son unto the father, by reason of the same which he receiveth from him; being the full perfect nature of God is communicated unto the Word, and that more intimately and with a greater unity or identity than can be found in humane generations: it followeth that this Communication of the Divine nature is the proper generation by which *Christ* is, and is called, the true and proper Son of God. This was the foundation of *S. Peter's* Confession, *thou art the Son of the living God*; this the ground of our Saviour's distinction, *I go unto my Father, and to your Father*. Hence did *S. John* raise a verity, more than only a negation of falsity, when he said, *we are in the true Son*: for we which are in him are true, not false, sons, we are not as *the true Son*. Hence did *S. Paul* draw an argument of the infinite love of God toward man, in that he *spared not his own proper son*. Thus have we sufficiently shewed, that the eternal communication of the Divine essence by the Father to the Word was a proper generation by which *Christ Jesus* always was the true and proper Son of God: which was our fourth Assertion.

¶ Multum distat inter dominationem & conditionem, inter generationem & adoptionem, inter substantiam & gratiam. Ideoque hic non permixtè nec passim dicitur, *Ascendit ad Patrem nostrum*; sed *ad Patrem meum & Patrem vestrum, ad Deum meum & ad Deum vestrum*. Aliter enim illi Deus Pater est, aliter nobis. Illum siquidem natura coæquat, misericordia humiliat: nos vero natura prosternit, misericordia erigit. *Cypriolus Carthag, Epist.*

The fifth and last Assertion followeth, That the Divine essence was so peculiarly communicated to the Word, that there was never any other naturally begotten by the Father; and in that respect *Christ* is the *Only-begotten* Son of God. For the clearing of which truth, it will first be necessary to enquire into the true notion of the *Only-begotten*; and then shew how it belongs particularly to *Christ*, by reason of the Divine nature communicated by way of Generation to him alone. First, therefore, we must avoid the vain interpretation of the ancient * Hereticks, who would have the restraining term *only* to belong, not to the Son, but to the Father; as if the *Only-begotten* were no more than *begotten* of the Father *only*. Which is both contrary to the language of the Scriptures, and the common custom of men, who use it not for him who is begotten of one, but for him who alone is begotten of any.

* This was the falling which Eranius endeavoured to put upon the Church, as appears by the words of his delivered and approved

Secondly, we must by no means admit the exposition of the later Here-

by S. Basil; Δια τῆτο ὃς ἐστὶ μονογενῆς, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ μόνον τῆ το ἀγενήτου δωρίμα ἡσθηθῆς κὶ κληθεῖς τελεῖται ὁ γῆγενος ὡς ἐστὶν: as if μονογενῆς were only παρὰ μόνον, and unigenitus were nothing else but genitus ab uno. This S. Basil refused copiously: First, from the language of the Scriptures and the usage of mankind; δια ἢ πανουργίαν ἢ ὡς τὸ ὄνομα το μονογενῆς ἐκκαταργησῆς, παρὰ τὸ πλὴν ἡ ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἡθεῖαν, κὶ παρὰ τὸ εὐσεβῆ ἡ γερσῶν παρὰ δὲ λαμβάνειν αὐτὸ πλὴν ἀνομιαν. Μονογενῆς δὲ ἔχει ἢ παρὰ μόνον ἡ ἡσθηθῆς, ἀλλ' ὁ μόνος ἡσθηθῆς, ἐν τῆ κοινῆ γῆσῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνομιαν. Secondly, by a return to the same Heretick which held the Son of God might be called κληθεῖς as well as ἡσθηθῆς, created as well as begotten, and consequently might be as properly named μονοκλῆτος as μονογενῆς. Εἰ μὴ παρὰ τὸ μόνον γῆσῆς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ παρὰ μόνον μονογενῆς ἐστῆσαι, ταυτὸ δὲ δεῖ κατὰ σε τὸ ἐκλήθῆς τὸ γῆσῆς, τί ἔχει κὶ Μονοκλῆτον αὐτὸν ὄνομα ἔχει; Thirdly, by a particular instance, shewing the absurdity of such an interpretation, for that thereby no man could properly be called μονογενῆς because not begotten of one, but two parts. Μονογενῆς δὲ ὡς ἔστικεν, ἐν ἑσῶσιν ἔστικεν κατὰ γῆ ἢ ὡς ἔστικεν ἔστικεν, διὰ τὸ ἐν ὡς ἔστικεν πᾶσιν ὡς ἔστικεν τὸ ἡσθηθῆς ὡς ἔστικεν ὡς ἔστικεν ὡς ἔστικεν, διότι ἔχει μόνον αὐτὸν ὄνομα ἔστικεν τὸ Ἀβραάμ, ἡσθηθῆς ὡς ἔστικεν. The Socinians

Socinians make very much of this Notion, and apply it so unto Christ, as that thereby they might avoid all necessity of an eternal generation. See the Racvian Catechism: Causa cur Christo ista attributa (sc. proprium & unigenitum Dei Filium esse) competant, hæc est; quod inter omnes Dei filios & præcipuus sit, & Deo Charissimus: quemadmodum Isaac, quia Abrahamo charissimus & hæc extitit, unigenitus vocatus est, Heb. 11. 17. licet fratrem Ismaelem habuerit; & Solomon unigenitus etiam matre sua, licet plures ex eadem matre fratres fuerint, 1 Paral. 3. 1, 2, 3, &c. And that this might be applied to the Interpretation of the Creed, Schliſingius hath inserted it as a material Observation; Nam hic unicus seu unigena filius nominatur, qui ceteris longe charior est Patri, longeq; præstantior; and confirms the Interpretation with those two testimonies concerning Isaac and Solomon. But certainly the Observation of theirs is vain, or what else they say is false. For if Christ be called the Son of God, because conceived by the Holy Ghost, and none else was ever so conceived, then is he the only-begotten by virtue of his generation. And if so, then is he not the Only-begotten as Isaac and Solomon were, that is, by the affection and prelation of their Parents. Or if Christ were the Only-begotten as Isaac and Solomon were, then was he not conceived after a singular manner, for the brethren of Solomon in way differed from him in his generation. It is plain therefore that this Interpretation was invented, that, when all the rest should fail, they might stick to this,

ticks, who take the *Only-begotten* to be nothing else but the most beloved of all the Sons; because *Isaac* was called the *only Son* of *Abraham*, when we know that he had *Ismael* beside, and *Solomon* said to be the *only-begotten before his Mother*, when *David* had other Children even by the Mother of *Solomon*. For the *only-begotten* and the *most beloved* are not the same; the one having the nature of a cause in respect of the other, and the same cannot be cause and effect to it self. For though it be true, that the only Son is the beloved Son; yet with this order, that he is therefore beloved because the only, not therefore the only because beloved. Although therefore *Christ* be the *Only-begotten* and the beloved Son of God, yet we must not look upon these two Attributes as synonymous, or equally significant of the same thing, but as one depending on the other, Unigeniture being the foundation of his singular love. Beside, *Isaac* was called the only Son of *Abraham* for some other reason than because he was singularly beloved of *Abraham*; for he was the only Son of the free Woman, the only Son of the promise made to *Abraham*, which was first this, *Sarah shall have a Son*, and then, *In Isaac shall thy seed be called*. So that *Isaac* may well be called the only Son of *Abraham* in reference to the promise, as the Apostle speaks expressly; *By faith Abraham when he was tried offered up Isaac, and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten Son*. Avoiding therefore these two expositions, as far short of the true notion of the *only begotten*, we must look upon it in the most proper, full and significant sense, as signifying a Son so begotten as none other is, was, or can be: so as the term restrictive *only* shall have relation not only to the * Father generating, but also to the Son begotten, and to the manner of the Generation. 'Tis true, the Father spake from Heaven, saying, *Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*: and thereby we are to understand, that whosoever of us are beloved by the Father are so beloved in and through the Son. In the same manner *Christ* is the *Only-begotten* Son of God; and as many of us as God hath bestowed his love upon, that we should be called the Sons of God, are all brought into that near relation by our fellowship with him, who is by a far more near relation the natural and eternal Son.

Gen. 23. 14, and 21. 12.

Heb. 11. 17.

* Eunomius would have it only παρὲς μόνου, in relation to the Father only. S. Basil shews that no way proper, and shews that μονογενής is not he which παρὲς μόνου, but μόνου, γεννημένος. S. Cyril

adds these two παρὲς μόνου and μόνου together, in relation to the Father and the Son: Μονογενής ἔστι ζῴον ὃ ἐκ θεῶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λόγου, ὅτι μόνου ἐκ μόνου γεννηθείς τῷ πατρὶ. Epist. 1. ad Regin. As Rufinus doth in Unicus: Ideo subjungit Unicum hunc esse Filium Dei, Unus enim de uno nascitur. Expos. Symb. s. Greg. Naz. adds to these two a third, in respect of the manner: Μονογενής ἔστι, ἃ ἔτι μόνου ἐκ μόνου καὶ μόνου, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μονογενέως ἕχ' ὡς τὰ σώματα. So he somewhat obscurely and corruptly, but plainly enough in Damascene, who aims often to deliver himself in the words of Nazianzen: Λέγουται μονογενής, ἔτι μόνου ἐκ μόνου τῷ πατρὶ μόνως ἐγεννηθῆναι ὅτι ἂν ὁμοίωται ἐπί τε γεννητός τῷ τῷ θεῷ τῷ θεῷ γεννητός, ἢ τῷ γὰρ ὅτι ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ θεὸς τῷ θεῷ.

Having thus declared the interpretation of the word, that, properly, as Primogeniture consisteth in Praelation, so Unigeniture in Exclusion; and that none can be strictly called the *Only-begotten* but he who alone was so begotten: we shall proceed to make good our Assertion, shewing that the Divine Essence was peculiarly communicated to the Word, by which he was begotten he Son of God, and never any was so begotten beside that Son.

And here we meet with two difficulties : One shewing that there were other Sons of God said to be begotten of him, to whom either the Divine Essence was communicated ; and then the Communication of that to the Word made him not the *Only-begotten* ; or it was not communicated, and then there is no such Communication necessary to found such a Filiation : The other, alledging that the same Divine Essence may be communicated to another beside the Word, and not only that it may, but that it is so, to the Person of the Holy Ghost ; whence either the Holy Ghost must be the Son of God, and then the Word is not the *Only-begotten* ; or if he be not the Son, then is not the Communication of the Divine Essence a sufficient foundation of the relation of Sonship. These two Objections being answered, nothing will remain farther to demonstrate this last Assertion.

For the first, we acknowledge that others are frequently called the Sons of God, and that we call the same God *our Father* which *Christ* called his ; that both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one, for which cause he is not ashamed to call us brethren : we confess that those whom *S. Paul* hath begotten through the Gospel may well be termed the *begotten of God*, whose seed remaineth in them : but withal, we affirm that this our Regeneration is of a nature wholly different from the Generation of the Son. We are first || generated, and have our natural being ; after that regenerated, and so receive a spiritual renovation, and by virtue thereof an inheritance incorruptible : whereas the Generation of *Christ* admits no Regeneration, he becoming at once thereby God and Son and Heir of all. The state of Sonship which we come into is but of Adoption, shewing the Generation by which we are begotten to be but metaphorical : whereas *Christ* is so truly begotten, so properly the natural Son of God, that his * Generation clearly excludeth the name of Adoption ; and not only so, but when he becometh the Son of man, even in his humanity refuseth the name of an adopted Son. For ^a when the fulness of time was come God sent forth his Son made of a woman, made under the Law, To redeem them that were under the law, (not that he, but) that we might receive the adoption of sons. He then whose Generation is totally different from ours whom he calleth Brethren ; he whom in the sacred Scriptures the Spirit nameth the true Son, the Father sometimes his own, sometimes his beloved, but || never his adopted Son ; he who by those proper and peculiar appellations is * distinguished from us, who can claim no higher filiation than that which we receive by the priviledge of adoption ; he is truly the *Only-begotten Son* of God, notwithstanding the same God hath begotten us by his Word : and the reason why he is so is, because the Divine Essence was communicated unto him in his natural and eternal Generation, whereas only the grace of God is conveyed unto us in our Adoption. Indeed, if we were begotten of the Essence of God, as *Christ* was, or he were only by the grace of God || adopted, as we are, then could he by no priority of speech be called the *Only Son*, by reason of so many brethren : but being we cannot aspire unto the first, nor he descend unto the latter, it remaineth we acknowledge him, notwithstanding the first difficulty, by virtue of his natural and peculiar Generation to be the *Only-begotten Son*.

Heb. 2. 11.

* 1 Cor. 4. 15.
 Ἐγὼ ὡς Χριστὸς ὁ
 Ἰησοῦς διὰ τῆς
 εὐαγγελίας ἐγέννησά
 ὑμᾶς ὡς ἑσθλὰς
 ἰ. John 3. 9.
 Πᾶς ὁ γεννηθεὶς
 ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ
 τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου
 ἐν αὐτῷ μένει.
 And mine ex-
 pressly 1 Job. 5.
 1. Πᾶς ὁ τι-
 σάμενος ὅτι Ἰη-
 σοῦς υἱὸς ἐστὶν τοῦ
 Θεοῦ. ἐκ τῆς δεξι-
 ῆς γεννηθήσεται· καὶ
 τὰς ἐσθλὰς ἀγα-
 πὰς καὶ τὸν
 γεννηθέντα ἐκ
 τοῦ ὕδατος. Quis-
 quis credit Je-
 sum esse Chri-
 stum illum, ex
 Deo genitus
 est; & quisquis
 diligit eum qui
 genuit, diligit
 etiam eum qui
 ex eo genitus
 est.

|| Nos genuit
 Deus, ut filii e-
 jus simus, quos
 rececit ut ho-
 mines essemus.
 Unicum autem
 genuit, non so-
 lum ut filius ef-
 fect quod Pater
 non est, sed et-
 iam ut Deus esset, quod & Pater est. S. Aug. de Conf. Evangel. l. 2. c. 3.

In the Book of Cellius there was a Jew introduced speaking thus to *Christ* : Εἰ πῶτο λέγεις, ὅτι τῶς ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν προνοίαν γεννάς υἱὸς ἐστὶ θεῶν, τί ἂν σὺ ἀλλὰ διαφέρεις; who is thus answered by *Origen* ; ἢ ἐν ἐρεῶν, ὅτι τὰς μὲν, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ὠνόμασε, μηκέτι ἀπὸ οὐλοῦ παιδαγωγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτοὶ τὸ καλὸν ἀρεῶν, υἱὸς ἐστὶ θεῶν. ἢ ἢ πολλῶν καὶ μακρῶ διαφέρει πάντως τὸ διὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν γεννητῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅστις ἀσπέρη τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς ἢ τῶν τοιούτων τυγχάνει. Orig. adv. Cellsum, l. 1. * First, it is most certain that the Word of God, as the Word, is not the adopted, but the natural, Son of God. Non est Dei Filius Deus falsus, nec Deus adoptivus, nec Deus nuncupativus, sed Deus verus. S. Hilary. de Trin. l. 5. He etiam Filius Dei natura est Filius, non adoptione. Council Tolet. 11. Ἴτε δε θεῶν ἐστὶν εὐσεβὴς καὶ ἰσοθεῶν γεννηθεὶς ἐκ πατρὸς. S. Cyril. Hierosol. catech. 11. and ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου γεννηθέντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐθιγὸς ἐγέννησεν καὶ ἀειγενεῖς

ἀνεκρεβέτος ὄν ἐν ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἡμῶν ἐχοίσα. This hath been so generally confessed, that Felix and Elipandus, who were condemned for maintaining Christ as man to be the adopted son of God, did acknowledge it; as appeareth by the beginning of their Book, Confitemur & credimus Deum, Dei Filium ante omnia tempora sine initio ex Patre genitum, coeternum et consubstantialem, non adoptione sed genere. Secondly, it is also certain, that the Man Christ Jesus taken personally in the natural, not the adopted, Son of God: because the Man Christ Jesus is no other person than the Word, who is the eternal and natural Son, and by subsisting in the humane nature could not leave off to be the natural Son. The denial of this by Felix and Elipandus was condemned as Heretical in the Council of Francford; and their Opinion was thus expressed, partly in the words of S. Augustine, partly in their own additions: Confitemur & credimus cum factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege; non genere esse natum Dei, sed adoptione, non natura, sed gratia, This they maintained by forged testimonies of some Fathers, and by the Language of the Council of Toledo, composed by Hildephonius, as the Roman by Gregory, in the Mass de Coena Domini, Qui per adoptivi hominis passionem, dum suo non indulsit corpori; and in the Mass de Ascensione Domini, Hodie Salvator noster, per adoptionem carnis, sedem reperivit Deitatis. To this the Synod opposed their determination in Sacrosyllabo; Quod ex te nascitur factum vocabitur filius Dei, non adoptivus sed verus, non alienus sed proprius. And again; Porro adoptivus dici non potest qui alienus est ab eo a quo dicitur adoptatus; & gratia ei adoptio tribuitur, quoniam non ex debito, sed ex indulgentia tantummodo, ad quod prestatum: sicut pos aliquando cum essemus peccando filii iræ, alieni eramus à Deo, per proprium & verum Filium, qui non eguit adoptione, adoptio nobis filiorum donata est. And of this they give us the true ground in the Synodic Epistle: Unius personæ que est in Dei filio & filio Virginis adoptionis tollit injuriam. Gal. 4. 4, 5. ¶ Legi & relegi Scripturas, Jesum Filium Dei nusquam adoptione inveniri. Ambrosius in Ep. ad Rom. Dices mihi, Cur times adoptivum Christum Dominum nominare? Dico tibi, Quia nec Apostoli eum sic nominarunt, nec sancta Dei & Catholica Ecclesia consuetudinem habuit sic eum appellare. Synod. Epist. Concil. Francosford. From whence they charge all those to whom they write that Synodic Epistle, that they should be satisfied with such expressions as they found in the Scriptures: Intelligite, fratres, quæ legitis, & nolite nova & incognita nomina fingere, sed quæ in S. Scriptura inventiuntur tenete, &c. * S. Aug. hath observed that S. Paul made use of ἰσθῆδα, that he might distinguish the filiation of Christ from ours. At vero criam nos, quibus dedit Deus potestatem filios ejus fieri, de natura atque substantia sua non nos genuit, sicut unicum Filium, sed utique dilectione adoptavit. Quo verbo Apostolus sæpe vel non ob aliud intelligitur, nisi ad discernendum Unigenitum. De confers. Evang. l. 2. c. 3. And S. Ambrose takes notice, that the name of true destroyeth that of adopted: Adoptivum filium non dicimus filium esse natura, sed eum dicimus natura esse filium qui verus est filius. De Incarn. Sacr. c. 8. ¶ Si unicus, quomodo adoptivus, dum multi sunt adoptivi filii? Unicus itaque de multis non potest dici. Concil. Francosf. Quod si etiam Unigenitus Filius factus dicitur ex gratia, non vere genitus ex natura, proculdubio nomen & veritatem Unigeniti perdidit, postquam fratres habere jam cepit: privatur enim hujus veritate nominis, si in Unigenito non est de Patre veritas naturalis. Fulgentius ad Trasim. l. 3. c. 3. Si divina illa Filii sempiternaque natiuitas non de natura Dei Patris, sed ex gratia, creditur subsistisse, non debet Unigenitus vocari, sed tantummodo genitus. Quoniam sicut ei nomen geniti largitas adoptionis paternæ contribuit, sic cum ab Unigeniti nomine nobis quoque tributa communicio paternæ adoptionis excludit. Unigenitus enim non vocatur, quamvis genitus possit vocari, cum genitis. Ib. c. 4.

But though neither Men nor Angels be begotten of the substance of God, or by virtue of any such natural Generation be called Sons; yet one person we know, to whom the Divine Essence is as truly and really communicated by the Father as to the Son, which is the third Person in the blessed Trinity, the Holy Ghost. Why then should the Word by that Communication of the Divine Essence become the Son, and not the Holy Ghost by the same? or if, by receiving the same nature, he also be the Son of God, how is the Word the Only Son? To this I answer, That the Holy Ghost receiveth the same Essence from the Father which the Word receiveth, and thereby becometh the same God with the Father and the Word: but though the Essence be the same which is communicated, yet there is a difference in the communication; the Word being God by Generation, the Holy Ghost by Procession: and though

* Non omne id quod procedit, nascitur, licet omne id quod nascitur procedit. S. Aug. contra Max. l. 3. c. 14. who gives the same solution to the same argument. Quæris à me si de substantia Patris est Filius, de substan-

tia Patris est etiam Spiritus Sanctus, cur unus Filius sit, & alius non sit Filius. Ego respondeo, sive capias, sive non capias; De Patre est Filius, de Patre est Spiritus S. sed ille genitus est, iste procedens. Πολλὰ τὰυτὸ πηροῦνται τὸ εἶναι, ἐξ ἑκείνου γὰρ τὸ ἀγενήτως εὐμενὲ ἢ λόγον, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἢ ἢ, ὡς λόγον, ἐκ τῆς οὐ γεννωθῆναι τὸ ἦ, ὡς Πνεῦμα, ἐκ πορεύεσθαι. Συμπερῆσαι δὲ τὸ λόγον τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἢ συγγενεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἕωρον, καὶ πα ἰσθῆδα. ἢ ἐκ πορεύεσθαι. Theodore. Sermon. 2. p. 504. ¶ Nunquam fuit non Pater, à quo Filius natus, à quo Spiritus Sanctus non natus, quia non est Filius. Gemad. De Eccles. Doz. Deus Pater innascibilis non ex aliquo, Deus Filius unigenitus ex aliquo, hoc est, ex Patre, Spiritus S. innascibilis ex aliquo, hoc est, ex Patre. Isaac. lib. Fidet. Quod neque natum neque factum est, Spiritus S. est, qui à Patre & Filio procedit. S. Ambr. in Symb.

Ghost

Ghost proceedeth from the Father in the same nature with him, the Word proceedeth from the same Person in the same similitude of nature also; but the Word proceeding is the Son, the Holy Ghost is not, because the first procession is by way of Generation, the other is not. As therefore the Regeneration and Adoption of man, so the Procession of the Holy Ghost doth no way prejudice the eternal Generation, as pertaining solely to the Son of God.

Seeing then our Saviour *Jesus Christ* had a real being and existence before he was conceived by the Virgin *Mary*; seeing the being which he had antecedently to that Conception was not any created, but the one and indivisible Divine, Essence; seeing he had not that Divinity of himself originally, as the Father, but by communication from him; seeing the communication of the same Essence unto him was a proper Generation; we cannot but believe that the same *Jesus Christ* is the begotten Son of God: and seeing the same Essence was never so by way of Generation communicated * unto any, we must also acknowledge him the *Only-begotten*, distinguished from the Holy Ghost, as Son, from the Adopted Children, as the Natural Son.

* Ως ἐν ἑνὶ ὄντι,
 ὡς ἐν ἑνὶ κέν-
 τρῳ ταῦτα πάντα
 ἴεσι· ὡς ὁ ἅμο-
 νοζωνῆς, ὁ λα-
 ῖος ὁ ἐν ἑαυτοῦ
 συλλαβῶν, ἡ δὲ
 νῆς καὶ αὐτοῦ
 ζουδῆς τρεῖς ἑ-
 τερεῖν. S. Basil
 Hom. de Fide.

The necessity of the belief of this part of the Article, that *Jesus Christ* is the proper and natural Son of God, begotten of the substance of the Father, and by that singular way of Generation the *Only Son*, appeareth first in the confirmation of our Faith concerning the Redemption of mankind. For this doth shew such an excellency and dignity in the person of the Mediator as will assure us of an infinite efficacy in his Actions, and value in his sufferings.

† Heb. 10. 4.

We know ^a it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins: and we may very well doubt how the blood of him who hath no other nature than that of man, can take away the sins of other men; there appearing no such difference as will shew a certainty in the one, and an impossibility in the other. But since we may be ^b bought with a price, well may we believe the blood of *Christ* sufficiently ^c precious, when we are assured that it is the ^d blood of God: nor can we question the efficacy of it in ^e purging our conscience from dead works, if we believe *Christ* offered up himself through the eternal Spirit.

‡ 1 Cor. 6. 22.

and 7. 23.

§ 1 Pet. 1. 19.

¶ Acts 20. 28.

‡ Heb. 9. 14.

If we be truly sensible of our sins, we must acknowledge that in every one we have offended God; and the gravity of every offence must needs increase proportionably to the dignity of the party offended in respect of the offender; because the more worthy any person is, the more reverence is due unto him, and every injury tendeth to his dishonour: but between God and man there is an infinite disproportion; and therefore every offence committed against him must be esteemed as in the highest degree of injury. Again, as the gravity of the offence beareth proportion to the person offended; so the value of reparation ariseth from the dignity of the person satisfying: because the satisfaction consisteth in a reparation of that honour which by the injury was eclipsed; and all honour doth increase proportionably as the person yielding it is honourable. If then by every sin we have offended God, who is of infinite eminency, according unto which the injury is aggravated; how shall we ever be secure of our reconciliation unto God, except the person who hath undertaken to make the reparation be of the same infinite dignity, so as the honour rendred by his obedience may prove proportionable to the offence and that dishonour which arose from our disobedience? This scruple is no otherwise to be satisfied than by a belief in such a Mediator as is the *Only-begotten Son* of God, of the same substance with the Father, and consequently of the same power and dignity with the God whom by our sins we have offended.

Secondly, The belief of the eternal Generation of the Son, by which he

is the same God with the Father, is necessary for the confirming and encouraging a Christian in ascribing that honour and glory unto Christ which is due unto him. For we are commanded to give that Worship unto the Son which is truly and properly Divine; the same which we give unto God the Father, who *hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father.* As it was represented to S. John in a Vision, when he *heard every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, saying, Blessing, honour, glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.* Again, we are commanded *to fear the Lord our God, and to serve him*; and that with such an emphasis, as by him we are to understand him alone, because *the Lord our God is one Lord.* From whence, if any one arose among the Jews teaching under the title of a Prophet to worship any other beside him for God, the judgment of the * Rabbins was, that notwithstanding all the Miracles which he could work, though they were as great as Moses wrought, he ought immediately to be strangled, because the evidence of this truth, that One God only must be worshipped, is above all evidence of sense. Nor must we look upon this Precept as valid only under the Law, as if then there were only one God to be worshipped, but since the Gospel we had another; for our Saviour hath commended it to our observation, by making use of it against the Devil in his temptation, saying, *Get thee hence, Satan, for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* If then we be obliged to worship the God of Israel only, if we be also commanded to give the same Worship to the Son which we give to him; it is necessary that we should believe that the Son is the God of Israel. ^b *When the Scripture bringeth in the first begotten into the world, it saith, Let all the Angels of God worship him*; but then the same Scripture calleth that first begotten ^c *Jehovah, and the Lord of the whole earth.* For a man to worship that for God which is not God, knowing that it is not God, is affected and gross Idolatry; to worship that as God which is not God, thinking that it is God, is not the same degree, but the same sin; to worship him as God who is God, thinking that he is not God, cannot be thought an act in the formality void of Idolatry. Lest therefore, while we are all obliged to give unto him Divine worship, we should fall into that sin which of all others we ought most to abhor, it is no less necessary that we should believe that Son to be that eternal God, whom we are bound to worship, and whom only we should serve.

Thirdly, Our belief in *Christ* as the eternal Son of God is necessary, to raise us unto a thankful acknowledgment of the infinite love of God appearing in the sending of his only begotten Son into the world to die for sinners. This love of God is frequently extolled and admired by the Apostles. ^d *God so loved the world,* saith S. John, *that he gave his only-begotten Son.* ^e *God commendeth his love towards us,* saith S. Paul, *in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us*; in that *he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all.* ^f *In this,* saith S. John again, *was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.* If we look upon all this as nothing else, but that God should cause a man to be born after another manner than other men, and when he was so born after a peculiar manner, yet a mortal man should deliver him to die for the sins of the world; I see no such great expression of his love in this way of redemption, more than would have appeared if he had redeemed us any other way. ^g 'Tis true indeed, that the reparation of lapsed man is no act of absolute necessity in respect of God, but that he hath as freely de-

Joh 3. 17, 18

Rom. 5. 13

Deut. 5. 13, 14

|| The emphasis appears in this, that it is not bare וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה & serves ei, but וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה & ipsi serves, with such a peculiar restriction as is expressed by the Chaldee Paraph.

וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה & in conspectu eius serves, by the LXX. ἡ ἀνάστασις μόνος δευτέρου Θεού and that restriction approved by our Saviour, Matt. 4. 10.

* Moses Maim. Praef. in Seder Zeraim.

^a Mat. 4. 10.

^b Heb. 1. 6.

^c Psal. 97. 5.

Εἰς ἡμῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς ὄρα, ὡς ὅτι ἔπεδον. Ἐστὶν ἄγγελος ἀεὶ ἔρχομενος καὶ καταπαύεται. Theod. Haret. Fab. l. 5. c. 2.

^d Joh 3. 16.

^e Rom. 5. 8. and 8. 32.

^f 1 Joh 4. 9.

^g 1.

signed

designed our Redemption as our Creation ; considering the misery from which we are redeemed, and the happiness to which we are invited, we cannot but acknowledge the singular love of God even in the act of Redemption it self : but yet the Apostles have raised that consideration higher, and placed the choicest mark of the love of God in the choosing such means and performing in that manner our reparation, by sending his *Only begotten* into the World ; by not sparing his own Son, by giving and delivering him up to be scourged and crucified for us : and the estimation of this act of God's love must necessarily increase proportionably to the dignity of the Son so sent into the World ; because the more worthy the person of Christ before he suffered, the greater his condescension unto such a suffering condition ; and the nearer his Relation to the Father, the greater his love to us for whose sakes he sent him so to suffer. Wherefore to derogate any way from the Person and nature of our Saviour before he suffered, is so far to undervalue the love of God, and consequently, to come short of that acknowledgement and thanksgiving which is due unto him for it. If then the sending of Christ into the World were the highest act of the love of God which could be expressed ; if we be obliged unto a return of thankfulness some way correspondent to such infinite love ; if such a return can never be made without a true sense of that infinity, and a sense of that infinity of love cannot consist without an apprehension of an infinite dignity of nature in the Person sent : then it is absolutely necessary to believe that Christ is so the *Only-begotten Son* of the Father, as to be of the same substance with him, of Glory equal, of Majesty co-eternal.

By this discourse in way of explication every Christian may understand what it is he says, and express his mind how he would be understood, when he maketh this brief Confession, I believe in *Christ the only Son* of God. For by these words he must be thought to intend no less than this ; I do profess to be fully assured of this Assertion as of a most certain, infallible and necessary truth, That *Jesus Christ*, the Saviour and *Messias*, is the true proper and natural Son of God, begotten of the substance of the Father ; which being incapable of division or multiplication, is so really and totally communicated to him, that he is of the same Essence with him, *God of God, light of light, very God of very God*. And as I assert him so to be the Son, so do I also exclude all other persons from that kind of Sonship, acknowledging none but him to be begotten of God by that proper and natural Generation ; and thereby excluding all which are not begotten, as it is a Generation ; all which are said to be begotten, and are called Sons, but are so only by adoption, as 'tis natural. And thus I believe in God the Father, and in *Jesus Christ* his *Only Son*,

Our Lord.

After our Saviour's Relation founded upon his eternal Generation, followeth his Dominion, || in all ancient Creeds, as the necessary consequent of his Filiation. For as we believe him to be the Son of God, so must we acknowledge him to be *our Lord*, because the only Son must of necessity be Heir and Lord of all in his Father's house ; and all others which bear the name of Sons, whether they be Men or Angels, if compared to him, must not be looked upon as Sons of God, but as Servants of Christ.

¶ For though in the first Rules of Faith mentioned by Irenæus and Tertullian we find not Dominum nostrum, yet in all the Creeds afterwards we find these words : probably inserted because denied by the Valentinians, of whom Irenæus, $\Delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\ \tau\omicron\delta\gamma\ \Sigma\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\epsilon\gamma\ \lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\text{-}\tau\omicron\epsilon\omicron\mu, \epsilon\tilde{\iota}\lambda\ \gamma\delta\ \epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha\sigma\epsilon\omicron\gamma\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\eta\gamma\ \omega\tilde{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\tau.$ l. 1. c. 1.

Three things are necessary, and more cannot be, for a plenary explication of this part of the Article. First, the proper notation of the word Lord in the Scripture-phrase, or language of the Holy Ghost: Secondly, the full signification of the same in the adequate latitude of the sense, as it belongs to Christ: Thirdly, the application of it to the person making confession of his Faith, and all others whom he involves in the same condition with himself, as saying, not my, nor their, but, Our Lord.

First then, we must observe that not only Christ is the Lord, but that this title doth so properly belong unto him, that the Lord alone absolutely taken is frequently used by the Evangelists and Apostles determinately for Christ, insomuch that the Angels observe that Dialect, Come, see the place where the Lord lay. Now for the true Notation of the word, it will not be so necessary to inquire into the use or origination of the Greek, much less into the Etymology of the correspondent Latin, as to search into the Notion of the Jews, and the language of the Scriptures, according unto which the Evangelists and Apostles spake and wrote.

And first, it cannot be denied but that the word which we translate the Lord, was used by the Interpreters of the Old Testament sometimes for men, with no relation unto any other than humane Dominion. And as it was by the Translators of the Old, so is it also by the Pen-men of the New. But it is most certain that Christ is called Lord in another notion than that which signifies any kind of humane Dominion; because, as so, there are many Lords, but He is in that notion Lord which admits of no more than one. They are only masters according to the flesh; He the Lord of glory, the Lord from heaven, King of kings, and Lord of all other lords.

In our Sacred writ it is the frequent name of God, whereas I imagine it is not to be found so used by any of the old Greek Authors. Julius Pollux, whose business is to observe what words and phrases may be properly made use of in that Language, tells us the Gods may be called Θεοὶ or Δείμονες, but mentions not Κύριος, as neither proper, nor any name of God with them at all. Nor did they anciently use it in their Oeconomicks; where their constant terms were not Κύριος, but δεσπότης, and δαλός and they had then another kind of notion of it, as appears by the complaint of the servant in Aristophanes, Τὸ Λόμας ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κούροις καὶ ἐν τῷ δαίμονι, ἀλλὰ ἢ ἐωνυμῶν. In which words, if they were interpreted by the Scripture usage, κύριος would signify the Master, an ἐωνυμῶν the person bought, that is, the Servant; whereas the place requires an interpretation wholly contrary: for ἐωνυμῶν is not here ἡγορευμῶν, but ἀγορευτός, or ἀνομιμῶν, as the Scholiast, Suidas and Moschopulus have observed, that is, not the Servant, but the Master who bought him. And though those Grammarians bring no other place to prove this active signification beside this of Aristophanes, by which means it might be still questionable whether they had rightly interpreted him without any Authority; yet Phrynichus will sufficiently secure us of this sense. Ἐστὸν ἑωνυμῶν ἐκείνου ἡ ἀγορευθῆναι ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν γὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κούροις καὶ ἐν τῷ δαίμονι. Ἐωνυμῶν then here is he which is bought, that is, the Master; and consequently κύριος not the Master, but the Servant bought, whom he supposeth originally to have power over his own body. Indeed it was not only distinguished, but in a manner opposed to δεσπότης: as appears by that observation of Ammonius thus delivered by Eustathius in Odyss. 3. Κύριος γυναικὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ πατὴρ, δεσπότης ἢ ἀγορευθῆναι. * As Ἰσραὴλ is generally translated κύριος, when it signifieth Lord or Master in respect of a servant or inferior. So Sarah called her husband, Gen. 18. 12. 1 Pet. 3. 6. so Eleazer his Master Abraham, Gen. 24. frequently. Thus Rachel sauted her Father Laban, Gen. 31. 35. and Jacob his Brother Esau, Gen. 33. 8. Potiphar is the κύριος of Joseph whom he bought, Gen. 39. 2, &c. and Joseph in power is so saluted by his Brethren, Gen. 42. 10. and acknowledged by his servant, 44. 5. The general name in the law of Moses for servant and Master is παῖς and κύριος, Exod. 21. 2, 4. It is indeed so plain that the ancient Jews used this word to signify no more than humane power, that we find Ἰσραὴλ the name of man so translated, as 1 Sam. 17. 32. Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ μὴ δὴ Συμπεπέτω καρδία τὰ κούρα μου ἐπ' αὐτόν. || For κύριος is used with relation and in opposition to ταυδίσκον, Acts 16. 16. in the sense which the later, not the ancient, Greeks used it: Παιδίσκον, τὸ οὐ δεσπότης οὐδὲ τὸν θεόν: οἱ δὲ ἀρχαῖοι οὐκ ἐνεύριον, as Phrynichus observes, as it is opposed to ἐκείνης, Luke 16. 13. (according to that of Etymol. Κύριος ἢ παῖς τῶν οἰκείων, ἢ παῖς τῶν οἰκείων) το δαλός, Matt. 10. 24. and 18. 25, &c. And in the Apostolical rules pertaining to Christian Oeconomicks, the Master and Servant are δαλός and κύριος. As also by way of addition κύριος τῶ δεσπομῶν, Matt. 9. 38. κύριος τῶ ἀμπελοῦ, Matt. 20. 8. κύριος τῶ οἴκου, Mark 13. 35. Insomuch as κύριος is sometimes used by way of address or salutation of one man to another, (as it is now generally among the later Greeks, and as Dominus was anciently among the Latins, Quomodo obvios, si nomen non occurrat, Dominos saluramus. Sen.) not only of Servants to Masters, as Matt. 12. 27. or Sons to Parents, as Matt. 21. 30. or inferiours to men in authority, as Matt. 27. 63. but of Strangers; as when the Greeks spake to Philip, and desired him, saying, Κύριε, θέλομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἰδεῖν, Joh. 12. 21. and Mary Magdalen speaking unto Christ, but taking him for a Gardener, Κύριε, εἰ σὺ εἶσθαι αὐτόν, Joh. 20. 15. And it cannot be denied but this title was sometimes given to our Saviour himself in no higher or other sense than this: As when the Samaritan woman saw him alone at the well, and knew no more of him than that he appeared to be one of the Jews, she said, Κύριε, ἀληθινὰ εἶπες, ὅτι ἡμεῖς τὸ εβραῖον οὐκ ἔγνωμεν, Joh. 4. 11. And the infirm man at the pool of Bethesda, when he was told who it was, said unto him, κύριε, ἀνθρώπων εἶπα, Joh. 5. 7. The blind man, to whom he had restored his sight, with the same salutation maketh confession of his ignorance, and his faith, Τίς εἶσθαι, κύριε; and, τίς εἶσθαι, κύριε, Joh. 9. 36, 38. 1 Cor. 8. 5. 1b. v. 6. and Eph. 4. 5. 2 Cor. 3. 22. 1 Cor. 2. 8. and 15. 47. Rev. 19. 16.

|| Matt. 12. 15, 20. Luke 12. 22. and 24. 24. Joh. 4. 1. and 5. 23. and 11. 2. and 20. 2. 18, 20, 25, and 21. 1. Act. 9. 1, 6, 10, 11, 15, 17, 27, 31, 42. and 11. 10, 24, and 12. 47. &c. Κύριος. * Matt. 28. 6. * For whatsoever shall confess the signification of κύριος in the Scriptures, I think he will scarce find any foot-steps of the same in the ancient Greeks.

Being then this title *Lord* thus signifieth the proper name of God *Jehovah*; being the same is certainly attributed unto *Christ* in a notion far surpassing all other Lords, which are rather to be looked upon as Servants unto him: it will be worth our inquiry next, whether as it is the Translation of the name *Jehovah* it belong to *Christ*; or whether, though he be Lord of all other Lords, as subjected under his authority, yet he be so inferiour unto him whose name alone is *Jehovah*, as that in that propriety and eminency in which it belongs unto the supreme God it may not be attributed unto *Christ*.

This doubt will easily be satisfied, if we can shew the name *Jehovah* it self to be given unto our Saviour; it being against all reason to acknowledge the original name, and to deny the interpretation in the sense and full importance of that original. Wherefore if *Christ* be the *Jehovah*, as so called by the Spirit of God; then is he so the *Lord*, in the same propriety and eminency in which *Jehovah* is. Now whatsoever did belong to the *Messias*, that may and must be attributed unto *Jesus*, as being the true and only *Christ*. But the *Jews* themselves acknowledge that *Jehovah* shall be known clearly in the days of the *Messias*, and not only so, but that it is the * name which properly belongeth to him. And if they cannot but confess so much who only read the Prophecies, as the Eunuch did, without an interpreter; how can we be ignorant of so plain and necessary a truth, whose eyes have seen the full completion, and read the infallible interpretation of them? If they could see *Jehovah the Lord of hosts* to be the name of the *Messias*, who was to them *for a stone of stumbling and rock of offence*, how can we possibly be ignorant of it, who are taught by *S. Paul*, that in *Christ* this prophecy was fulfilled, ^a *As it is written, Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone and rock of offence, and whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed?* It was no other than *Jehovah* who spake those words, ^b *I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the Lord (Jehovah) their God, and will not save them by bow nor sword.* Where not only he who is described as the original and principal cause, that is, the Father who gave his Son, but also he who is the immediate efficient of our Salvation, and that in opposition to all other means or instrumental causes, is called *Jehovah*; who can be no other than our *Jesus*, because ^c *there is no other name under heaven given unto men whereby we must be saved.* As in another place he speaketh, ^d *I will strengthen them in the Lord (Jehovah) and they shall walk up and down in his name, saith the Lord (Jehovah);* where he which strengtheneth is one, and he by whom he strengtheneth is another, clearly distinguished from him by the personal Pronoun, and yet each of them is *Jehovah*, and ^e *Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.* Whatsoever || objections may be framed against us, we know *Christ* is the ^f *righteous branch raised unto David, the King that shall reign and prosper, in whose days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely;* we are assured that *this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness: the Lord*, that is, *Jehovah*, the expression of his Supremacy; and the addition of *Our righteousness* can be no diminution to his Majesty. If those words in the Prophet, ^g *Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Sion; for lo, I come, and I dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord (Jehovah),* did not sufficiently of themselves denote our Saviour who dwelt amongst us, as they certainly do; yet the words which follow would evince as much, *And many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that day, and shall be my people; and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the Lord of hosts hath sent me unto thee:* for what other Lord can we conceive dwelling in the midst of us, and sent unto us by the Lord of hosts, but *Christ*?

* As Midrash Tillim on 21. Psal. Echa Rabati Lam. 1.6.

† Isa. 8. 13, 14.

‡ Rom. 9. 33.

§ Hef. 1. 7. where it is further observable, that the Chaldee Paraphrase hath ביהוה יהוה for יהוה by the word of Jehovah, for Jehovah.

¶ Acts 4. 12.

‡ Zach. 10. 12.

• Deut. 6. 4.

|| Two Adversaries we have to the exposition of this place, the Jew, and the Socinian; only with this difference, that we find the less opposition from the Jew, from whom indeed we have for example a concession as will destroy the other's contradiction. First Socinus answers, the name belongeth not to

Christ, but unto *Israel*; and that it so appears by a parallel place in the same Prophet, Jer. 33. 15, 16. Socin. refut. Jac. Wiék. cap. 6. Catéch Racov de Pers. Christi, cap. 1. Crellius de Deo & Atribut lib. 1. cap. 11. To this we first oppose the constant

interpre.

interpretation of the Jews, who attribute the name Jehovah to the Messias from this one particular Text. As in the Septet Ikkarim, l. 2. c. 8. ויקראו המשיח בן עדין. The Scripture calleth the name of the Messias Jehovah our righteousnes. And in Midraſch Tillim on Pſal. 21. ויקראו למשיח בשמו ויהו שמו יהוה שני יהוה. God calleth the Meſſias by his own name, and his name is Jehovah; as is ſaid (Exod. 15. 3.) The Lord is a man of war, Jehovah is his name: And it is written of the Meſſias. (Jer. 23. 6.) And this is the name which they ſhall call him, Jehovah our righteousnes. *ויהו שמו יהוה שני יהוה* Echa Rabari, Lam. 1. 6. ויהו שמו יהוה שני יהוה שמו אשר יקראו יהוה צדקנו. What is the name of the Meſſias? R. Abba ſaid, Jehovah is his name; as it is ſaid (Jer. 23. 6.) And this is the name which they ſhall call him, Jehovah our righteousnes. The ſame he reports of Rabbi Levi. The Rabbins then, though enemies to the truth which we reduce from thence, conſtrained by the literal importance of the Text, did acknowledge that the name Jehovah did belong to the Meſſias. And as for the collection of the contrary from the parallel place pretended, there is not ſo great a ſimilitude as to infer the ſame interpretation. For whereas in the 23. 6. of Jeremiah it is expreſly ſaid, ויהו שמו this is the name, in the 23. it is only יהוה, without any mention of a name; and ſurely that place cannot prove Jehovah to be the name of Urael, which ſpeaketh not one word of the name of Jeruſalem: for where we read in Crellius, hoc ſcilicet nomen eſt, all but hoc is not ſcripture, but the gloss of Crellius, and hoc it ſelf cannot be warranted for the interpretation of יהוה nor quo for אשר; the ſimpleſt interpretation of thoſe words יהוה אשר יקראו ליהוה being, iſte qui vocabit eam, he which calleth Jeruſalem is the Lord our righteousnes, that is, Chriſt. And thus the juſt answer of Scceinus is invalid: which he eaſily foreſeeing, hath joyned with the Jewish Rabbins in the ſecond answer, admitting that Jehovah our righteousnes is the name of the Meſſias, but withal denying that the Chriſt is that Jehovah. To which purpoſe they aſſert thoſe words, Jehovah our righteousnes, to be delivered by way of propoſition, not of appoſition: and this they endeavour to prove by ſuch places of Scripture as ſeem to infer as much. As Moſes built an Altar, and called the name of it Jehovah Niſſi, Exod. 17. 15. Gideon built an Altar unto the Lord, and called it Jehovah Shalom, Jud. 6. 26. And the name of the City in the laſt words of Ezekiel is Jehovah Shammah. In all which places it is moſt certain that the Jehovah is not predicated of that of whoſe name it is a part; but is the Subject of a Propoſition, given by way of nomination, whoſe Verb ſubſtitutive or copula is underſtood. But from thence to conclude, that the Lord our righteousnes can be no otherwiſe underſtood of Chriſt than as a Propoſition, and that we by calling him ſo, according to the Prophet's prediction, can underſtand no more thereby than that God the Father of Chriſt doth juſtifie us, is moſt irrational. For firſt, it is therefore neceſſary to interpret thoſe names by way of a propoſition of themſelves, becauſe Jehovah cannot be the Predicate of that which is named; it being moſt apparent that an Altar or a City built cannot be God: and whatſoever is not Jehovah without addition, cannot be Jehovah with addition. But there is no incongruity in attributing of that name to Chriſt, to whom we have already proved it actually given: and our Adverſaries, who teach that the name Jehovah is ſometimes given to the Angels repreſenting God, muſt acknowledge that it may be given unto Chriſt, whom they confeſs to be above all Angels, and far more fully and exactly to repreſent the Father. Secondly, that which is the addition in thoſe names cannot be truly predicated of that thing which bears the name. Moſes could not ſay that that was his Exaltation, nor Gideon that it was his Peace. And if it could not ſo be predicated by it ſelf, it could neither be by appoſition, and conſequently, even in this reſpect it was neceſſary to make the name a Propoſition. But our Righteousnes may undoubtedly be predicated of him who is here called by the name of the Lord our righteousnes; for the Apoſtle hath expreſly taught us that he is made righteous unto us, 1 Cor. 1. 30. And if it may be in it ſelf, there can be no repugnancy in its predication by way of appoſition. Thirdly, that addition of our righteousnes doth not only truly belong to Chriſt, but in ſome manner properly and peculiarly, ſo as in that notion it can belong to no other perſon called Jehovah but to that Chriſt alone. For he alone is the end of the Law for righteousnes to every one that believeth, Rom. 10. 4. and when he is ſaid to be made unto us righteousnes, 1 Cor. 1. 30. he is thereby diſtinguiſhed from God the Father. Being then Chriſt is thus peculiarly called our Righteousnes under the Goſpel, being the place of the Prophet forementioned ſpeaketh of this as a name to be uſed under the Goſpel, being no other perſon called Jehovah is ever expreſly called our righteousnes under the Goſpel; it followeth not only that Chriſt may be ſo called, but that the Prophecy cannot otherwiſe be fulfilled, than by acknowledging that Chriſt is the Lord our righteousnes: and conſequently that is his name, not by way of propoſition, but of appoſition and appropriation; ſo that being both Jehovah and our righteousnes, he is as truly Jehovah as our righteousnes. Jer. 23. 5, 6. Zach. 2. 10, 11.

And as the original *Jehovah* was ſpoken of *Chriſt* by the holy Prophets; ſo the title of *Lord*, as the uſual interpretation of that name, was attributed unto him by the Apoſtles. In that ſignal prediction of the firſt Age of the Goſpel God promiſed by *Joel*, that *whoſoever ſhall call on the name of the Lord* (*Jehovah*) *ſhall be delivered*: and *S. Paul* hath aſſured us that *Chriſt* is that *Lord*, by proving from thence, that *whoſoever believeth on him ſhall not be aſhamed*, and inferring from that, if we confeſs with our mouth the *Lord Jeſus*, we ſhall be ſaved. For if it be a certain truth, that whoſoever confeſſeth the *Lord Jeſus* ſhall be ſaved; and the certainty of this truth depend upon that foundation, that whoſoever believeth on him ſhall not be aſhamed; and the certainty of that in relation to *Chriſt* depend upon that other promiſe, Whoſoever ſhall call on the name of the *Lord* ſhall be ſaved: then muſt the *Lord* in the thirteenth verſe of the tenth Chapter to the *Romans* be the ſame with the *Lord Jeſus* in the ninth verſe; or elſe *S. Paul's* Argument muſt be invalid and fallacious, as containing that in the Conclusion which was not comprehended in the Premiſſes. But the *Lord* in the ninth verſe is no other than *Jehovah*, as appeareth by the Prophet *Joel* from whom that Scripture is taken. Therefore our Saviour in the New Teſtament is called *Lord*, as that name or title is the interpretation of *Jehovah*.

Joel 2. 32.
Rom. 10. 9, 11,
13.

If we conſider the Office of *John* the Baptiſt peculiar unto him, we know it was he of whom it is written in the Prophet *Malachi*, I will ſend my meſſenger, *Mat. 11. 10.*
and

and he shall prepare the way before me: we are sure he which spake those words was (Jehovah) the Lord of hosts; and we are as sure that Christ is that Lord before whose face John the Baptist prepared the way. The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, saith Isaiah, prepare ye the way of the Lord (Jehovah:) and this is he that was spoken of by the Prophet Isaiah, saith S. Matthew: this is he of whom his Father Zachariah did Divinely presage, Thou child shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest, for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways. Where Christ is certainly the Lord, and the Lord * undeniably Jehovah.

Mat. 3. 1.

Mat. 3. 2.

Luke 1. 76.

* It is therefore undeniably because it is not only the undubbed

translation of the name יהוה in the Prophet, (which of it self were sufficient;) but also is delivered in that manner which is (though unreasonably) required to signify the proper name of God, τὸ προσὸν τὸ πρὸς πρὸς κρείττον, not τὸ κρείττον that is, without, not with, an Article. For now our Saviour's Deity must be tried by a new kind of School-Divinity, and the most fundamental Doctrine, maintained as such ever since the Apostles times by the whole Catholick Church, must be examined, censured and condemned, by ὁ, ἰ, τὸ. Socinus hath makes use of this observation against Wiekus, and after him Crellius hath laid it as a grave and serious foundation, and spread it out into its several corners, to uphold the Fabrick of his superstructions. First, Vox Jehovah magis quam cetera Dei nomina propriorum naturam sequitur; ideo etiam Græca κρείττον, cum pro illa ponitur, propriorum indolem, quâ licet, amulatur. Secondly, Propriis nominibus articulus libentius subtrahitur, licet eum etiam sæpe concinnitatis potius quam necessitatis causâ admittant. Idem fit in voce κρείττον cum pro Jehovah ponitur. Thirdly, Hæc est causa cur in novo Testamento, maxime apud Lucam & Paulum, vox κρείττον, cum Deum summum designat, articulo libentius careat; at cum de Christo subjective utitur, raro articulus omittitur. What strange uncertainties are these to build the denial of so important an Article as Christ's Divinity upon? He does not say absolutely Jehovah is the proper name of God, but only that it doth more follow the nature of proper names than the other names of God. And indeed it is certain that sometimes it hath the nature of an appellative, as Deut. 6. 4. יהוה יהוה יהוה יהוה יהוה the Lord our God is one Lord, and yet if it be not always and absolutely a proper name, though all the rest were granted to be true, the Argument must be of no validity. Again, he cannot say an Article is never affixed to a proper name, but only that libentius subtrahitur, it is rather omitted than affixed: which yet is far from a certain or a true rule, especially in the Language of the New Testament. For no man can deny Jesus to be the proper name of Christ, given him according to the Law at his Circumcision, ἡ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς, Luke 2. 21. and yet whosoever shall read the Gospel of S. Matthew, will find it ten times ὁ Ἰησοῦς with an Article, for once Ἰησοῦς, without it. And in the Acts of the Apostles, written in a more Attick Style, S. Paul is oftener styled ὁ Παύλος than simply Παύλος. So Balaam, Gallio, &c. Some persons we find in the New Testament, whom, if we should stay till we found them without an Article, we should never call by their names at all; as Apelles, Balak, &c. Thirdly, ὁ κρείττον is so often used for that God who is the Father with an Article, and κρείττον for the Son without an Article, (For the Father, Mat. 1. 22. 2. 15. 5. 33. 22. 44. Mark 12. 36. Luke 1. 6. 9. 15. 25. 46. 2. 15. 22. 23. 10. 2. Acts 2. 25. 34. 3. 19. 17. 27. Rom. 1. 5. 11. 1 Cor. 10. 26. 16. 7. 2 Cor. 5. 11. Eph. 5. 17. 19. Col. 3. 16. 20. 23. 2 Thess. 3. 3. 2 Tim. 1. 16. Heb. 8. 2. 11. 12. 14. Jam. 4. 15. 15. 1 Pet. 2. 23. For the Son, Mat. 3. 22. 43. 45. Mark 1. 3. Luke 1. 76. 2. 11. 3. 4. 20. 44. John 1. 23. Acts 2. 36. 10. 36. 11. 16. 21. 15. 11. Rom. 1. 7. 10. 9. 12. 14. 6. 8. 14. 16. 2. 8. 11. 12. 13. 22. 1 Cor. 1. 3. 4. 17. 7. 22. 25. 39. 9. 1. 2. 10. 21. 11. 11. 12. 3. 14. 37. 15. 5. 8. 16. 10. 19. 2 Cor. 1. 2. 2. 12. 4. 5. 10. 17. 11. 17. 12. 1. Gal. 1. 3. 5. 10. Eph. 1. 2. 2. 21. 4. 1. 5. 17. 5. 8. 6. 4. 10. 21. 23. Phil. 1. 2. 1. 4. 2. 11. 19. 24. 29. 3. 1. 20. 4. 1. 2. 10. Col. 1. 3. 3. 17. 18. 24. 4. 7. 17. 1 Thess. 1. 1. 3. 8. 4. 1. 5. 17. 5. 2. 12. 2 Thess. 1. 1. 2. 13. 3. 4. 1 Tim. 1. 1. 2 Tim. 2. 24. Tit. 1. 4. Philem. 3. 16. 20. Jam. 1. 1. 2 Pet. 3. 8. 10. 2 John 3. Jude 24. Rev. 14. 13. 19. 16. I say, they are thus so often used) that though they equal not the number of their contrary exceptions, yet they come so near, as to yield no ground for any such observation, as if the Holy Ghost intended any such Article-distinction. Nay, it is most evident that the sacred Pen-men intended no such distinction, because in the same place speaking of the same person, they usually observe the indifferency of adding or omitting the Article. As Jam. 5. 11. Τὸ ὑπομονῶν ἰσὺς ἠκούσατε, καὶ τὸ τέλει κρείττον ἔθετε, ὅτι πολὺ σπλαγχνίως ἔστιν ὁ κρείττον καὶ οὐκ ἔστιμιον 2 Tim. 1. 18. Δὸν αὐτῷ ὁ κρείττον ἀρέτιν ἐλεῖται πρὸς κρείττον ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἡμέτερου 1 Cor. 7. 17. Ἐρασεν ὡς κέκληκεν ὁ κρείττον, ἕτω σπειραθήτω 22. Ὁ δὲ ἐν κρείττω κληθείς δὲ λαῶν, ἀπελευθερωθήτω κρείττον ἔθι. See Rom. 14. 6, 7, 8. Wherefore being, Jehovah is not affirmed absolutely to be a proper name; being, if it were, yet it appears that it is not the custom of the New Testament to use every proper name oftner without an Article than with one; being, ὁ κρείττον is so often taken for him whom they acknowledge God, and κρείττον for him whom they cannot deny to be the Christ: it followeth that Christ, acknowledged to be the Lord, cannot by any virtue of an Article be denied to be the true Jehovah. We must not then think to decide this Controversie by the Articles, of which the Sacred Pen-men were not curious, and the Transcribers have been very careless: nor is there so great uncertainty of the ancient MSS. in any thing as in the words and Articles of κρείττον and Θεός. The vulgari Edition, Rev. 1. 8. hath λέγει ὁ κρείττον only, the Complutensis λέγει κρείττον ὁ Θεός, Platine λέγει ὁ κρείττον ὁ Θεός: against the Socinian Rule, who will have an accession by ὁ to Θεός, and a diminution by ὁ from κρείττον. As Rev. 4. 11. Ἄξιόν ἐστι, κρείττον, λαβῆναι τὸ βιβλίον: in other MSS. Ἄξιόν ἐστι ὁ κρείττον καὶ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν ὁ δῆμιον, λαβῆναι τὸ βιβλίον. 1 Cor. 11. 27. τὸ προσέχειν τὸ κρείττον ἀναζήτως: others with an addition, τὸ προσέχειν τὸ κρείττον ἀναζήτως τὸ κρείττον. 1 Cor. 14. 27. the Vulgar Edit. ὅτι τὸ κρείττον εἶπεν ἐν ὁλοκαί: the Complut. ὅτι κρείττον. So where we usually read Χεῖρτες, divers ancient MSS. have κρείττον. Lastly, it is observable that even in these words of the Creed, κρείττον is taken expressly of Christ without an Article; for so we read it, Καὶ εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χεῖρτεν, τὸν ὄντα αὐτῷ τῷ μοιροσσην, κρείττον ἡμῶν.

Psal. 110. 1.

|| Chald. Paraphras.

Malac. 2. 1.

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Nor is this the only Notation of the Name or Title Lord taken in a sense Divine, above the expression of all mere humane power and dominion; for as it is often used as the interpretation of the name Jehovah, so is it also for that of Adon or Adonai. The Lord said unto my Lord, saith David, that is, in the Original, Jehovah unto Adon; and that Adon is the || Word, that Lord is Christ. We know the Temple at Jerusalem was the Temple of the most High God, and the Lord of that Temple in the emphasis of an Hebrew Article was Christ, as appeareth by that Prophet; The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his Temple, even the messenger of the Covenant, whom ye delight in.

Now this Notation, as it is the interpretation of *Adon*, signifieth immediately and properly *dominion* implying a right of possession, and power of disposing. Which doth not only agree with that other notion of *Jehovah*, but presupposes it, as following and flowing from it. For he who alone hath a being or existence of himself, and thereby is the fountain of all things beside himself, must be acknowledged to have full power and dominion over all: because every thing must necessarily belong to him from whom it hath received what it is. Wherefore being *Christ* is the *Lord*, as that title is taken for *Jehovah*, the name of God, expressing the necessary existence and independence of his single being, and consequently the independency of all others upon him; it followeth that he be acknowledged also the *Lord*, as that name expresseth *Adon*, signifying power authoritative and proper dominion. Thus having explained the Notation of the word *Lord*, which we propounded as the first part of our exposition; we come next to the second, which is, to declare the nature of this Dominion, and to shew how and in what respect *Christ* is the *Lord*.

Now for the full and exact understanding of the Dominion seated or invested in *Christ* as the *Lord*, it will be necessary to distinguish it according to that diversity which the Scriptures represent unto us. As therefore we have observed two Natures united in his Person, so must we also consider two kinds of Dominion belonging respectively to those natures; one inherent in his Divinity, the other bestowed upon his Humanity; one as he is the Lord the maker of all things, the other as he is made Lord of all things.

For the First, we are assured that the *Word* was God, that by the same Word *John 1. 1, 3.*
all things were made, and without him was not any thing made that was made; we must acknowledge, that whosoever is the Creator of all things must have a direct Dominion over all, as belonging to the possession of the Creator who made all things. Therefore the *Word*, that is, *Christ* as God, hath the supreme and universal Dominion of the world. Which was well expressed by that famous confession of no longer doubting, but believing *Thomas, my Lord John 20. 28.*
and my God.

For the Second, it is also certain that there was some kind of Lordship given or bestowed on *Christ*, whose very *Unction* proves no less than an imparted Dominion; as *S. Peter* tells us that he was *made both Lord and Christ. Acts 2. 36.* What *David* spake of man, the Apostle hath applied peculiarly unto him, *Thou crownedst him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands: Heb. 2. 7, 8.*
Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet.

Now a Dominion thus imparted, given, derived or bestowed, cannot be that which belongeth unto God as God, founded in the Divine Nature, because whatsoever is such is absolute and independent. Wherefore this Lordship thus imparted or acquired appertaineth to the humane nature, and belongeth to our Saviour as the Son of man. The right of Judicature is part of this Power; and *Christ* himself hath told us, that the Father *hath given him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of man: and by virtue of this delegated authority, the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his Angels, and reward every man according to his works. John 5. 27.* Part of the same Dominion is the power of forgiving sins; as pardoning, no less than punishing, is a branch of the supreme Magistracy: and *Christ* did therefore say to the sick of the palsy, *thy sins be forgiven thee, that we might know that the Son of man had power on earth to forgive sins. Mat. 9. 2, 5.* Another branch of that Power is the alteration of the Law, there being the same authority required to abrogate or alter, which is to make a Law: and *Christ* asserted himself to be *greater than the Temple, shewing that the Son of man was Lord even of the Sabbath-day. Mat. 12. 6, 7.*

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This Dominion thus given unto *Christ* in his humane nature was a direct and plenary power over all things, but was not actually given him at once, but part while he lived on earth, part after his death and resurrection. For though it be true *that Jesus knew, before his death, that the Father had given all things into his hands*; yet it is observable that in the same place it is written that he likewise knew *that he was come from God, and went to God*: and part of that power he received when he came from God, with part he was invested when he went to God; the first to enable him, the second, not only so, but also to reward him. *For to this end Christ both died, rose, and revived; that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.* After his resurrection he said to the Disciples, *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. He drunk of the brook in the way, therefore he hath lift up his head.* Because he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross: Therefore God hath also highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; *That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.* Thus for and after his death he was instated in a full power and dominion over all things, even as the Son of man, but exalted by the Father, *who raised him from the dead, and set him at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the Church.*

Now as all the power given unto *Christ* as man had not the same beginning in respect of the use or possession; so neither, when begun, shall it all have the same duration. For part of it being merely Oeconomical, aiming at a certain end, shall then cease and determinate, when that end for which 'twas given shall be accomplished: part, being either due upon the union of the humane nature with the Divine, or upon covenant, as a reward for the Sufferings endured in that nature, must be coeval with that union and that nature which so suffered, and consequently must be eternal.

Of the first part of this Dominion did *David* speak, when by the spirit of Prophecy he called his Son his Lord; *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool*: where the continuation of *Christ's* Dominion over his enemies is promised to be prolonged until their final and total subjection. *For he must reign till he hath put all things under his feet.* And as we are sure of the continuation of that Kingdom till that time, so are we assured of the resignation at that time. *For when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power, then shall he deliver up the Kingdom to God, even the Father. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.* Thus he which was appointed to rule in the midst of his enemies during their rebellion, shall resign up his Commission after their subjection.

But we must not look upon *Christ* only in the nature of a General, who hath received a Commission, or of an Ambassadour, with perfect Instructions; but of the only Son of God, impowered and employed to destroy the enemies of his Father's Kingdom: and though thus impowered and commissioned, though resigning that authority which hath already had its perfect work, yet still the only Son, and the heir of all things in his Father's house, never to relinquish his dominion over those whom he hath purchased with his own blood, never to be deprived of that reward which was assigned him for his Sufferings: for if the prize which we expect in the race of our imperfect obedience

dience be an inmarceſſible crown, if the weight of glory which we look for from him be eternal; then cannot his perfect and abſolute Obedience be crowned with a fading power, or he ceaſe ruling over us, who hath always reigned in us. We ſhall for ever reign with him, and he will make us prieſts and kings; but ſo that he continue ſtill for ever High Prieſt and King of kings.

The certainty of this eternal Dominion of *Chriſt*, as Man, we may well ground upon the promiſe made to *David*, becauſe by reaſon of that promiſe *Chriſt* himſelf is called *David*. For ſo God ſpeaketh concerning his People; *I will ſet up one ſhepherd over them, and he ſhall feed them, even my ſervant David; he ſhall feed them; and he ſhall be their ſhepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my ſervant David a Prince among them. I the Lord have ſpoken it.* Now the promiſe was thus made expreſſly to *David*, *Thy houſe and thy kingdom ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever before thee, thy throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever.* And although that term *for ever* in the Hebrew language may ſignifie oft-times no more than a certain duration ſo long as the nature of the thing is durable, or at the utmoſt but to the end of all things; and ſo the Oeconomyal Dominion or Kingdom of *Chriſt* may be thought ſufficiently to fulfil that promiſe, becauſe it ſhall certainly continue ſo long as the nature of that Oeconomy requireth, till all things be performed for which *Chriſt* was ſent; and that continuation will infallibly extend unto the end of all things: yet ſometimes alſo the ſame term *for ever* ſignifieth that abſolute eternity of future duration which ſhall have no end at all: and that it is ſo far to be extended particularly in that promiſe made to *David*, and to be fulfilled in his Son, is as certain as the Promiſe, For the Angel *Gabriel* did give that clear expoſition to the bleſſed Virgin, when in this manner he foretold the glory of him who was then to be conceived in her womb; *The Lord God ſhall give unto him the throne of his father David: And he ſhall reign over the houſe of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there ſhall be no end.* Nor is this clearer in *Gabriel's* explication of the promiſe, than in *Daniel's* previſion of the performance; who ſaw in the night-viſions, and behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven; And came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people and languages ſhould ſerve him: his dominion is an everlaſting dominion, which ſhall not paſs away, and his kingdom that which ſhall not be deſtroyed.

Thus *Chriſt* is Lord both by a natural and independent Dominion: as God, the Creator, and conſequently the owner, of the works of his hands; and by a derived, imparted and dependent right, as man, ſent, anointed, raiſed and exalted, and ſo made Lord and *Chriſt*: which authority ſo given and beſtowed upon him is partly Oeconomyal, and therefore to be reſigned into the hands of the Father, when all thoſe ends for which it was imparted are accompliſhed; partly ſo proper to the union, or due unto the paſſion, of the humane nature, that it muſt be co-æval with it, that is, of eternal duration.

The third part of our Explication is, the due conſideration of the Object of *Chriſt's* Dominion; enquiring whoſe Lord he is, and how *ours*. To which purpoſe firſt obſerve the latitude, extent, or rather univerſality, of his Power, under which all things are comprehended, as ſubjected to it. For *he is Lord of all*, ſaith *S. Peter*, of all things, and of all perſons; and he muſt be ſo, who made all things as God, and to whom all power is given as man. To him then all things are ſubjected whoſe ſubjection implieth not a contradiction. For *he hath put all things under his feet: but when he ſaith all things are put under him, it is manifeſt that he is excepted which did put all things under him.* God only then excepted, whoſe original Dominion is repugnant to the leaſt ſub-

Ezek. 34. 23.
24.

2 Sam. 7. 16.

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Luk. 1. 32, 33.

Dan. 7. 13, 14.

Act. 10. 36.

1 Cor. 15. 27.

jection, all things are subject unto *Christ*, whether they be things in Heaven, or things on Earth. In Heaven he is far above all principalities and powers, and all the Angels of God worship him; on earth all nations are his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth are his possession. Thus *Christ* is certainly our Lord, because he is the Lord of all; and when all things were subjected to him, we were not excepted.

1 Cor. 15.
1 Tim. 2. 3.

But in the midst of this Universality of *Christ's* Regal Authority, it will be farther necessary to find some propriety of Dominion, by which he may be said to be peculiarly our Lord. 'Tis true, he made us, and not we our selves, we are the work of his hands; but the lowest of his Creatures can speak as much. We are still preserved by his power, and as he made us, so doth he maintain us; but at the same time he feedeth the ravens and cloatheth the lilies of the field. Wherefore beside his original right of Creation, and his continued right of Preservation, we shall find a more peculiar right of Redemption, belonging properly to the sons of men. And in this Redemption, though a single word, we shall find a double title to a most just Dominion, one of Conquest, another of Purchase.

|| For the right understanding of this double title involved in

the word Redemption, it will be necessary to take notice of the ways by which Humane Dominion is acquired, and Servitude introduced. *Servi aut nascuntur, aut fiunt, saith the Civilian, Inst. l. 1. tit. 2.* but in Theology we say more, *Servi & nascuntur, & fiunt. Man is born the servant of God his Maker, man is made the servant of his Redeemer. Two ways in general they observed, by which they came to serve who were not born Slaves. Fiunt aut jure gentium, id est, captivitate; aut jure civili cum liber homo major viginti annis ad pretium participandum sese venditari passus est. Two ways then also there were by which Dominion over those servants was acquired, by Conquest or by Purchase, and both these were always accounted just. Dionysius Halicarnassus, an excellent Historian, a curious Observer of the Roman Customs, and an exact Judge of their Actions, being a Grecian, justifieth the right which the Masters in Rome claimed over their servants upon these two grounds. Ετύγχανον δὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αἱ τῶν δεξυμένων ἀσείεις καὶ τοῖς δικαιοῦσι τινὲς δουλεύειν. ἢ γὰρ ἀπομάχοντες τὸ δημοσίῳ καὶ τὸν δόρυ παλιμῆδες ἐκ τῶν λαττεινῶν, ἢ τὸ στρατῶν συγχρησάμενοι. ἀλλὰ τ' ἀλλοις ἀσείεις καὶ δουρατώτες τοῖς λαβόντων ἔχον, ἢ πειράμενοι παρ' ἐτέρων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κυρίως ἡγουμένων ἐκκλησίῳ τοῦ δήλου. Hist. l. 4. Where it is also farther to be observed, that the same persons were made slaves by Conquest, and possessed by Purchase; by Conquest to the City of Rome, by Purchase to the Roman citizen. The General first took and saved them, and so made them his, that is, reduced them to the Will and Power of the State from which he received his Commission, and in whose name and for whose interest he fought: This State exposed their interest to sale, and so what-ever right had been gained by the conquering sword was devolved on the Roman Citizen for a certain sum of Money paid to the State to defray the charges of that war. Thus every Lord or Master of a slave so taken had full power over him, and possession of him, by right of Purchase, unto which he was first made liable by Conquest. And though not exactly in that manner, yet is that double right, in *Christ* become our Lord, and we his servants.*

Rom 6. 16.
Heb. 2. 14.
Col. 2. 15.

We were first servants of the enemy of God; for him we obeyed, and his servants we are whom we obey: when *Christ* through death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil, and delivered us; He spoiled principalities and powers, and made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them. But contrary to the custom of triumphing Conquerours, he did not sell, but buy us; because while he saved us, he died for us, and that death was the price by which he purchased us; even so this dying Victor gave us life: upon the Cross, as his triumphant chariot, he shed that precious blood which bought us, and thereby became our Lord by right of Redemption, both as to Conquest and to Purchase.

1 Tim. 5. 15.
1 Cor. 2. 8.
2 Cor. 2. 14.

Beside, he hath not only bought us, but provideth for us; what-ever we have, we receive from him as the Master of the Family; we hold of him all temporal and eternal blessings, which we enjoy in this, or hope for in another life. He is the Prince of life, and by him we live; he is the Lord of glory, and we are called by his Gospel to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord. Wherefore he liath us under his dominion, and becomes our Lord by right of Promotion.

1 Cor. 5. 5, 13,
17.

Lastly, Men were not anciently sold always by others, but sometimes by themselves; and whosoever of us truly believe in *Christ*, have given up our names unto him. In our Baptismal vow we bind our selves unto his service, that henceforth we will not serve sin; but yield our selves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and our members

as instruments of righteousness unto God: that, as we have yielded our members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity; even so we should yield our members servants to righteousness, unto holiness. And thus the same Dominion is acknowledged by Compact, and confirmed by Covenant; and so Christ become our Lord by right of Obligation.

The necessity of believing and professing our faith in this part of the Article appeareth, first, in the discovery of our condition; for by this we know that we are not our own, neither our persons nor our actions. *Κμων ye not, saith S. Paul, that ye are not your own? for ye are bought with a price.* And ancient servitude, to which the Scriptures relate, put the servants wholly in the * possession of their Master; so that their persons were as properly his as the rest of his goods. And if we be so in respect of Christ, then may we not live to our selves but to him; for in this the difference of || service and freedom doth properly consist: we cannot do our * own wills, but the will of him whose we are. Christ took upon him the form of a servant: and to give us a proper and perfect example of that condition, he telleth us, *a I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.* First therefore we must conclude with the Apostle, reflecting upon Christ's Dominion and our Obligation, that *b none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.*

1 Cor. 7. 29.
2 Cor. 10. 5.
* Δεδοκω χρηματι τιμας υμων κη διασωθητε υμεις οτι ουκ εστιν υμεις υμεις αυτων. *Phil. 1. 13.*
c. 4. Το, το γαρ σωμα οντων εργαζομεν ουκ εμε αυτους ο δεσποτης ο πατερ κη υμεις οντες εργαζομεν τω δεσποτη οντι υμεις

δδλθ δδλθ Id. Eth. 1.8 c.9. And again more expressly, *Τις μδ αν η ρυσις τδ δδλκ, κη τις η δδλκ, εν τδτων δδλκν. Ο γαρ μδ αν ρυσει, αλλ δδλκ ανθρωπος ε, εδδ ρυσει δδλκς εδιν αλλδ δδ ανθρωπος, ος αν κημα δδ ανθρωπος αν.* So that the definition of a servant according to Aristotle is, he, who being a man, is notwithstanding the possession of a man. And although all Relatives be predicated of each other in obliquo, as pater est filii pater, & fil us patris filius; dominus est servi dominus, & servus domini servus: yet he observes a difference in this, that a servant is not only servus domini, but simply domini, but the master is not simply servi, but dominus servi. Ο μδ δεσποτης τδ δδλκ δεσποτης μδνον, δεσποτης εδ εκ εστιν ο γδ δδλθ ε μδνον δεσποτης δδλκς εδιν, αλλ α δδλκς εδιν. The servant then is so wholly in the possession and for the use of his master, that he is nothing else but a living tool or instrument; inasmuch, says he, that if all tools were like those of Dardalus, or the Tripods of Vulcan, which the Poets feign'd to move of themselves. Artificers would need no under workmen, nor Masters servants. || So Arist. Ethic. 4. *περδ αλλον ζων δδλκον.* and in the first of his Rhetoricks on the contrary, *ελδθερδ τδ μη περδ αλλον ζων.* * Το ζων ως βδλδαι τις, τδ ελδθερδ εδρον εδασ τδ δδλκ αν τδ, τδ ζων μη ως βδλδαι. Arist. Pol. 6. 2. Quid est libertas? potestas vivendi ut velis. Cic. Par. ^a Job. 8. 33. ^b Rom. 14. 7. 8.

Secondly, the same is necessary both to inforce and invite us to obedience; to inforce us, as he is the Lord, to invite us, as Christ the Lord. If we acknowledge our selves to be his servants, we must bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. He which therefore died, and rose and revived, that he might become the Lord both of the dead and living, maketh not that death and resurrection efficacious to any but such as by their service acknowledge that Dominion which he purchased. He, though he were a Son, yet learned obedience by the things which he suffered; And being made perfect he is become the Author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him. Thus the consideration of the power invested in him, and the necessity of the service due unto him, should force us to obedience; while the consideration of him whom we are thus obliged to serve should allure and invite us. When God gave the Law with fire and thunder, the affrighted Israelites desired to receive it from Moses, and upon that receipt promised obedience. *Go thou near, said they to him, and hear all that the Lord our God shall say; and speak thou unto us, and we will hear it and do it.* If they interpreted it so great a favour to receive the Law by the hands of Moses; if they made so ready and cheerful a promise of exact obedience unto the Law so given; how should we be invited to the same promise, and a better performance, who have received the whole will of God revealed to us by the Son of Man, who are to give an account of our performance to the same Man set down at the right hand of the Father? He first took our nature to become our Brother, that with so near a Relation he might be made our Lord. If then the Patriarchs

2 Cor. 10. 5.
Heb. 5. 8, 9.
Deut. 5. 27

did chearfully live in the land of *Goshen* subject to the power and command of *Egypt*, because that power was in the hand of *Joseph* their exalted brother; shall not we with all readines of mind submit our selves to the Divine dominion now given to him who gave himself for us? Shall all the Angels worship him, and all the Archangels bow down before him? and shall not we be proud to join with them?

Thirdly, the belief of Christ's Dominion is necessary for the regulation of all power, authority and dominion on earth, both in respect of those which rule, and in relation to those that obey. From hence the most absolute Monarchs learn, that the people which they rule are not their own, but the Subjects of a greater Prince, by him committed to their charge. Upon this *S. Paul* doth ground his admonition to Masters, *Give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.* God gave a power to the *Israelites* to make hired Servants of their brethren, but not slaves; and gives this reason of the interdiction, *For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondmen.* What tenderness then should be used towards those who are the servants of that Lord who redeemed them from a greater bondage, who bought them with a higher price? From hence those which are subject learn to obey the powers which are of humane ordination, because in them they obey the Lord of all. Subjects bear the same proportion, and stand in the same relation to their Governours, with servants to their Masters: and *S. Paul* hath given them this charge, *Obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ.* Neither do we learn from hence only whom, but also how, to obey. For while we look upon one Lord in Heaven, while we consider him as the Lord of lords, we regulate our obedience to them by our service due to him, and so are always ready to obey, but *in the Lord.*

Lastly, this Title of our Saviour is of necessary belief for our comfort and encouragement. For being Lord of all, he is able to dispose of all things for the benefit of those which serve him. He who commanded the unconstant winds, and stilled the raging seas, he who multiplied the loaves and fishes, and created wine with the word of his mouth, hath all creatures now under exact obedience; and therefore none can want whom he undertaketh to provide for. *For the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him.* Many are the enemies of those persons who dedicate themselves unto his service; but our enemies are his, and part of his dominion is therefore given him, and to continue in him until all his enemies be made his footstool. Great is the power of the lusts of our flesh which war in our members; but his grace is sufficient for us, and the power of that spirit by which he ruleth in us. Heavy are the afflictions which we are called to undergo for his sake: but if we suffer with him, we shall reign together with him: and blessed be that Dominion which makes us all Kings, that he may be for ever Lord of lords and King of kings.

After this explication, every Christian may perceive what he is to believe in this part of the Article, and express himself how he would be understood, when he maketh this profession of his Faith, *I believe in Christ our Lord.* For thereby we may and ought to intend thus much; I do assent unto this as a certain and infallible truth, taught me by God himself, that *Jesus Christ*, the only Son of God, is the true *Jehovah*, who hath that being which is originally and eternally of it self, and of which all other beings do essentially depend: that, by the right of emanation of all things from him, he hath an absolute,

solute, supreme and universal Dominion over all things, as God : That as the Son of man he is invested with all power in Heaven and Earth : partly Oeconomical, for the compleating our Redemption, and the destruction of our enemies, to continue to the end of all things, and then to be resigned to the Father ; partly consequent unto the union, or due unto the obedience of his Passion, and so eternal, as belonging to that Kingdom which shall have no end. And though he be thus Lord of all things by right of the first creation and constant preservation of them, yet is he more peculiarly the Lord of us who by Faith are consecrated to his service : for through the work of our Redemption he becomes our Lord both by the right of Conquest and of Purchase ; and making us the Sons of God, and providing heavenly Mansions for us, he acquires a farther right of Promotion, which, considering the Covenant we all make to serve him, is at last compleated in the right of a voluntary obligation. And thus I believe in *Christ our Lord,*

ARTICLE III.

Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.

These words, as they now stand, clearly distinguish the Conception of Jesus from his Nativity, attributing the first to the Holy Ghost, the second to the blessed Virgin : whereas the ancient Creeds made no such distinction, but, without any particular express mention of the Conception, had it only in this manner, * *who was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary ; or of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary ;* understanding by the word *born*, not only the Nativity, but also the Conception and Generation. This is very necessary to be observed, because otherwise the addition of a word will prove the diminution of the sense of the Article. For they which speak only of the operation of the Holy Ghost in Christ's Conception, and of the manner of his Birth, leave out most part of that which was anciently understood under that one term of being *born* of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin *Mary*.

That therefore nothing may be omitted which is pertinent to express the full intent and to comprehend the utmost signification of this Article, we shall consider three Persons mentioned, so far as they are concerned in it. The first is He who was conceived and born ; the second, He by whose energy or operation he was conceived ; the third, She who did conceive and bear him.

and 38. Natus de Spiritu S. & Maria Virgine, as also the Council of Franckford in Sacrosyllabo. S. Aug. de Fide & Symb. Natus est per Spiritum S. ex Virgine Maria. Nonne de Spiritu S. & Virgine Maria Dei filius unicus natus est? S. Aug. de Prædest. Sanct. c. 15. & paulo post, quia natus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine. S. Leo Epist. 10. c. 2. Maximus Taurin. Chrysol. Eucherius Oxam. Author Symb. ad Catechum. Qui natus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine. So also Venantius Fortunatus. From whence Fulgentius de Fide ad Petrum Diaconum ; Natum de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine, in Symbolo acceptum, & corde ad iustitiam credit, & ore ad salutem S. Ecclesia confitetur. Item prædicandum est quomodo Filius Dei incarnatus est de Spiritu S. ex Maria semper Virgine. Capitul. Caroli 82. And Aleuinus l. 3. de Trinit. c. 1. Dicitur in Symbolo Catholice fidei, quod Christus de Spiritu S. & ex Maria Virgine sit natus. In the ancient MS. transcribed by the learned Archbishop of Armagh, ἢ Ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἁκατάρατης ἁγίας καὶ ἁκατάρατης παρθένου. So Paulus Samosatensis in his fifth Proposition ; Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἁγίου καὶ ἁκατάρατης ἁγίας καὶ ἁκατάρατης παρθένου. These, omitted in the Nicene Creed, were put in by the Council of Constantinople, upon the occasion of the Apollinarian Heresie, as was observed by Diogenes Bishop of Cyzicum in the Council of Chalcedon ; Οἱ γὰρ ἁγίου καὶ ἁκατάρατης ἁγίας καὶ ἁκατάρατης παρθένου, τὸ ἁκατάρατον, ὃ ἔστιν ὁ ἁγίου καὶ ἁκατάρατης ἁγίας καὶ ἁκατάρατης παρθένου, εὐαγγελιστῶν ἐπιτόμιος, ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἁκατάρατης παρθένου. In the several expositions among the Sermons de Tempore, falsely attributed to S. Aug. Qui conceptus est de spiritu S. natus ex Virgine Maria. So Eusebius Gallicanus Homil. de Symbolo. And from thence it hath so continued, as we now read it, Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.

* Deum Judæicæ prædicant solum, ut negent filium eius ; negent simul cum eo unum esse qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine. Anathanasus. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine. Rufinus in Symbolo S. Aug. Ench. ad Laurent. c. 34, 37.

For the first, the Relative in the front of this carries us clearly back unto the former Article, and tells us that he which was thus conceived and born

was *Jesus Christ*, the only Son of God. And being we have already demonstrated that this only Son is therefore called so, because he was begotten by the Father from all eternity, and so of the same substance with him; it followeth that this Article at the first beginning, or by virtue of its connexion, can import no less than this most certain, but miraculous, truth, that || He which was begotten by the Father before all worlds, was now in the fulness of time *conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary*. Again, being by the Conception and Birth is to be understood whatsoever was done toward the production of the humane nature of our Saviour; therefore the same Relative considered with the words which follow it can speak no less than the Incarnation of that Person. And thus even in the entry of the Article we meet with the Incarnation of the Son of God; that great mystery wrapt up in that short sentence of *S. John, The word was made flesh*.

¶ Hinc quem dudum de Patre ra um factibiliter disticti, nunc a Spiritu S. templum fabricatum intra terra uteri Virginalis intellige. Rom.

Indeed the Pronoun hath relation not only unto this but to the following Articles, which have their necessary connexion with and foundation in this Third; for He who was *conceived and born*, and so made man, did in that humane nature suffer, die, and rise again. Now when we say this was the Word, and that Word was God, being whosoever is God cannot cease to be so; it must necessarily follow, that he was made man by joyning the humane nature with the Divine. But then we must take heed lest we conceive, because the Divine nature belongeth to the Father, to which the humane is conjoynd, that therefore the Father should be incarnate, or *conceived and born*. For as certainly as the Son was crucified, and the Son alone; so certainly the same Son was incarnate, and that Son alone. Although the humane nature was conjoynd with the Divinity, which is the nature common to the Father and the Son; yet was that union made only in the person of the Son. Which Doctrine is to be observed against the Heresie of the ** Patripassians*, which was both very ancient and far diffused, making the Father to be incarnate, and becoming man to be crucified. But this very Creed was ** always* thought to be a sufficient confutation of that fond Opinion, in that the Incarnation is not subjoynd to the first, but to the second, Article; we do not say, *I believe in God the Father Almighty, which was conceived, but, in his only Son, our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost*.

* The Heresie of the Patripassians seems only to have relation to the suffering of our nature, because the word signifies no more than the Passion of the Father.

But it is judged in an error concerning the Incarnation, it being out of question that he which was made man did suffer. Epiphanius *hereses*. Noctus was the first which taught this Heresie, who lived 130 years before him, more or less, and when he was questioned for it he denied it: *διὰ τὸ ὑπόθενα πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐξουίσει ταυλωτὶ τὴν σικελίαν*. But certainly this Heresie was ancienter than Noctus; for the Patripassiani are named by *S. Cyprian, Epist. 73.* and Tertullian *his Master* chargeth it upon Praxeas: Duo negotia Diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit, Prophetiam expulit, & Hæresim intulit; Paracletum fugavit, & Patrem crucifixit. *Adv. Prax. c. 1.* And expressing the absurdity of that opinion; Itaque post tempus Pater natus & Pater passus, ipse Deus Dominus Omnipotens Jesus Christus prædicatur. *c. 2.* And *De Præsc. adv. Hæret.* Post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidem Hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit. Hic Deum Patrem Omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse dicit, hunc crucifixum passumque contendit; mortuum præterea seipsum sibi sedere ad dextram suam, cum profana & sacrilega temeritate proponit. *c. 53.* After Praxeas Noctus taught the same. *Ἐτόλμησε λέγειν ἢ πατέρα πεπονθέναι*, says Epiphanius; and being questioned for it, he answered, *τί γὰρ κακὸν πεποίηκα; ἕνα θεὸν δεῦξον, ἕνα ὀπίσσω, καὶ ἕνα ἄλλον* *σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν ἡγοῖν θέλω πεπονθέναι. Σποθάνωσα.* He thought the Father and the Son to be the same Person, and therefore if the Son, the Father to be incarnate. *Ἔποπτόρα ἢ Χριστὸν ἐδάχε, ἢ αὐτὸν ἰδὲ πατέρα καὶ ἕνα καὶ ἄλλον πνεῦμα.* Epiph. Anaceph. After the Noctiani followed the Sabelliani. So Philastrius: Sabellius Discipulus ejus, qui similitudinem sui Doctoris itidem Teucus est, unde & Sabelliani postea sunt appellati, qui & Patripassiani, & Praxeani à Præxæ, & Hermogeniani ab Hermogene, qui fuerunt in *Asy ca*, qui & ista sententia abjecti sunt ab Ecclesia Catholica. So *S. Aug.* Sabelliani dicti sunt quidem Hæretici, qui vocantur & Patripassiani, qui dicunt ipsum Patrem passum esse. *Tract. 36. in Joh.* This I confess is denied by Epiphanius: who acknowledged Sabellius to have followed Noctus in many things, but not in the Incarnation or Passion of the Father. *Σαβελλιανὸς οὐ τὸ ὅμοια ἀνοήτως (ἰ. ἀνοήτως, id est, Νουηταῖς, vel ἀνοήτως, id est, Νουητῆς, as S. Aug. Novato) δεῦξον ἕνα πρὸ τοῦ ἑἑῶν * λέγειν γὰρ μὴ πεπονθέναι ἢ πατέρα.* This *S. Augustine* wonders very much at in Epiphanius: Sabelliani, inquit, similitu Nocto dogmatizantes, præter hoc quod dicunt Patrem non esse passum; quomodo de Sabellianis intelligi potest, cum sic innouerint dicere Patrem passum, ut Patripassiani quam Sabelliani sapius nuncupentur? *Aug. Hæ. 41.* Indeed the Latin Fathers generally call the Sabellians Patripassians; and not only so, but Theodoret doth so describe them as professing the Person, *ἐν ᾧ τὴν σαρκὰ, ἡς πατέρα νομοθετήσας, ἐν ᾧ τὴν κωνῆ, ὡς ὄν ὀργανοπαπῆσαι. l. 2. c. 9.* After the Sabellianism proceeded in the same Heresie the Priscillianista, as appeareth by *P. Leo*, who shewes they taught but one person of the Father, *Un. and tr. l. 6. ff.* Quod blasphemica genus de Sabellii opinione sumperunt, ejus discipulum etiam Patripassiani merito nuncupantur; quia si ipse est Filius qui & Pater, crux Filii patris est passio, & quicquid in forma terti Filius Patri obediende. referunt, totum in se Pater ipse suscepit. *Ep. 93. c. 1.* Thus the Patripassian Heresie, beginning from Praxeas and Hermogenes,

was continued by Noctus, Sabellius and Priscillianus, and mingled with all their severall Heresies, the sum and substance of which is thus well set down by Victorinus: *Patipassiani Deum solum esse dicunt quem nos Patrem dicimus; ipsum solum existentem & effectorem omnium, & venisse non solum in mundum, sed & in carnem, & alia omnia quæ nos Filium fecisse dicimus.* ^a *It appeareth plainly that Tertullian confuted Praxeas, by reducing him to these words of the Creed. For when he had first declared, Nos unicum quidem Deum credimus (which was the objection of Praxeas) sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam οὐνοσμιον dicimus, ut unicus Dei sit & filius sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, & sine quo factum est nihil. Then he saith, Hunc missum à Patre in Virginem, & ex ea natum hominem, & Deum, filium hominis, & filium Dei, & cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum, & sepulchrum, secundum Scripturas, & resuscitatum à Patre, & in caelos reitutum, sedere ad dextram Patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos. And that we may be assured that he used these words not of the Creed, it followeth, Hanc Regulam ab initio Evangelii decurrerit, &c. This is yet further evident out of Epiphanius, who tells us the Eastern Doctors confuted Noctus in the same manner, by reducing him to the words of the Creed. Εἰς τὴν Χριστὸν ἐγενήθη, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰδαὺν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ὑμῶν δεξιὰ παθὲν ὡς πατρὸς, δεξιὰ πατρὸς καὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ἀναστάντα, ἀναστάντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅσα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκ χούδρον κείνου ζῶντα & νεκρῶς. And when the Argument of Tertullian against Praxeas and the Greeks against Noctus drawn from the Creed did not sufficiently convince the Patipassians, the Church of Aquileia, to exclude them wholly, added these two words to the first Article. Invisibilem, and Impassibilem. Invisibilem, to show he was not incarnate; Impassibilem, to show he was not crucified. So Rufinus in the conclusion of his exposition upon these words, Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, addeth, His additur Invisibilem & Impassibilem: and then gives the reason, sciendum quod duo isti sermones in Ecclesie Romane Symbolo non habentur. Constat autem apud nos additos Hæreticos causa Sabellii, illius profecto quæ à nostris Patipassiana appellatur, id est, quæ Patrem ipsum vel ex Virgine natum dicit, & visibilem factum, vel passum affirmat in carne. Ut ergo excluderetur talis impietas de Patre, videntur hæc addidisse majores, & invisiblem Patrem, & impassibilem dixisse. Constat enim Filium, non Patrem, in carne & ex carne natum, & ex nativitate carnis Filium visibilem & passibilem factum.*

First then, we believe that he which was made flesh was the Word, that he which took upon him the nature of man was not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, nor any other Person but the only-begotten Son. And when we say that Person was *conceived* and *born*, we declare he was made really and truly Man, of the same humane nature which is in all other men who by the ordinary way of generation are conceived and born. For the ^a *Mediator between God and man is the man Christ Jesus*: That since ^b *by man came death, by man also should come the resurrection of the dead.* As sure then as the first *Adam* and we who are redeemed are men, so certainly is the second *Adam* and our Mediator man. He is therefore frequently called the *Son of man*, and in that nature he was always promised. First ^c *to Eve, as her seed*, and consequently her Son. Then to *Abraham*, ^d *In thy seed shall all the Nations of the earth be blessed*; and that ^e *seed is Christ*, and so the Son of *Abraham*. Next to *David*, as his son to sit upon his throne; and so he is ^f *made of the seed of David according to the flesh*, ^g *the son of David, the son of Abraham*, and consequently of the same nature with *David* and with *Abraham*. And as he was their Son, so are we his Brethren, as descending from the same Father *Adam*; ^h *and therefore it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren.* For he ^b *laid not hold on the Angels, but on the seed of Abraham*, and so became not an Angel, but a man.

As then man consisteth of two different parts, Body and Soul, so doth *Christ*: He assumed a Body, at his Conception, of the blessed Virgin. ⁱ *Forasmuch as the children are partakers of the flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same.* The verity of his body stands upon the truth of his *Nativity*; and the actions and passions of his life shew the nature of his flesh.

He was first born with a *body* which was *prepared for him*, of the same appearance with those of other Infants; he grew up by degrees, and was so far from being sustained without accustomed nutrition of our bodies, that he was observed even by his enemies to *come eating and drinking*, and when he did not so, he suffered hunger and thirst. Those plowers never doubted of the true nature of his flesh, who *plowed upon his back and made long furrows*. The Thorns which pricked his sacred Temples, the Nails which penetrated through his Hands and Feet, the Spear which pierced his sacred Side, give sufficient testimony of the natural tenderness and frailty of his flesh. And lest his fasting forty days together, lest his walking on the waters and traversing the Seas, lest his sudden standing in the midst of his Disciples when the doors

^a 1 Tim. 2. 5.
^b 1 Cor. 15. 21.
^c Gen. 3. 15.
^d Gen. 22. 18.
^e Gal. 3. 16.
^f Rom. 1. 3.
^g Mat. 1. 1.
^h Heb. 2. 17. 16.

ⁱ Heb. 2. 14.
 || Marcion, ut carnem Christi negaret, negavit etiam nativitatem; aut, ut nativitatem negaret, negavit & carnem: scilicet, ne invicem tibi testimonium redderent & responderent nativitas & caro; quia nec nativitas sine carne nec carne sine nativitate. Tertul. de Carne Christi, c. 1.

were shut, should raise an opinion that his body was not true and proper flesh he confirmed first his own Disciples, *Feel and see, that a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me to have.* As therefore we believe the coming of *Christ*, so must we confesse him to have come in the verity of our humane nature, even in true and proper flesh. With this determinate expression was it always necessary to acknowledge him: For every spirit that confesseth *Jesus Christ come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not Jesus Christ come in the flesh, is not of God.* This spirit appeared early in opposition to the Apostolical Doctrine; and *Christ*, who is both God and Man, was as soon denied to be Man as God. || *Simon Magus*, the Arch-heretick, first began, and many after followed him.

Simon Magus first made himself to be Christ; and what he joyned of himself, that was attributed by others unto Christ. Dixerat se in monte Sina Legem Mosi in Patris persona dedisse Judais, tempore Tiberii in Filii persona putative apparuisse. S. Aug. So S. Cyril represents him *ἐν ἐν σαρκί, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ-σεν, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν εὐαγγελίζα.* Carech. 6. From this *ἄκρησις* of his invention arse the Heresie of the *Δουκισαί.* For Saturnilus, or Saturninus, followed his Disciple Menander with his putative tantum hominem, as Irenaus; and in phantasmate tantum venisse, as Tertullian speaks. After him Valentinus and his followers, Epiphanes, Ildorus and Secundus: then the Marcotians, Heraclonitæ and Ophitæ, Cerdon, Marcion, Lucanus, and generally the Manichees. These were the *Δουκισαί* or *Φαντασισαί*, all conspiring in this, that *Christ* was not really what he appeared, nor did truly suffer what he seemed to endure. This early Heresie appeareth by the opposition which S. Ignatius made unto it in his Epistles.

And certainly, if the Son of God would vouchsafe to take the frailty of our flesh, he would not omit the nobler part, our Soul, without which he could not be man. For *Jesus increased in wisdom and stature; one in respect of his body, the other of his Soul.* Wisdom belongeth not to the flesh, nor can the knowledge of God, which is infinite, encrease: he then whose knowledge did improve together with his years must have a subject proper for it, which was no other than a humane Soul. This was the seat of his finite Understanding and directed Will, distinct from the will of his Father, and consequently of his Divine Nature; as appeareth by that known submission, *Not my will, but thine, be done.* This was the subject of those Affections and Passions which so manifestly appeared in him: nor spake he any other than a proper Language, when before his suffering he said, *My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.* This was it which on the Cross, before the departure from the body, he recommended to the Father; teaching us in whose hands the Souls of the departed are: For *when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.* And as his death was nothing else but the separation of the Soul from his Body; so the life of *Christ* as man did consist in the conjunction and vital union of that Soul with the Body. So that he which was *perfect God, was also perfect man, of a reasonable soul and humane flesh subsisting.* Which is to be observed and asserted against

the * ancient Hereticks, who taught that *Christ* assumed humane flesh, but that the Word or his Divinity was unto that Body in the place of an informing Soul.

* Of this kind two several Sects were most remarkable, the Arians and the Apollinarians. Arius taught that *Christ* had nothing of man but the flesh, and with that the Word was joined. Ἄριστος ἡ σὰρκα μόνον πρὸς θεοκρυστά τῆς θεότητι ὁμολογεῖ ἀντὶ τῆς τὰ θεοθεν ἐν ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπων, πηλεί τῆς ψυχῆς, ἢ λόγον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ λόγον γερονέναι. Athan de adv. Christi. So Felicianus the Arian, in *Vigiliis de Unitate Trin.* c. 17. Ita enim à majoribus nostris semper est traditum, quod Christi corpus ad vicem Animæ communis ipsius Filii Dei habitus animarum; nec accessione animalis spiritus indigens fuerit, cui inhabitans tons vita potuit conferre quod vixit. Eunomius followed him in this particular: Ἄριστος ἡ εὐνόμου ἡ αἰμα μὲ αὐτὸν ἔφασαν εἰδέναι, θεότητι ἡ ψυχῆς ἐνεργητικῶν τῶν ἁγίων. Theod. l. 5. cont. Har. c. 11. Apollinaris distinguished between the Soul and the Mind, the ψυχή and the νῆς, and acknowledged that the word assumed the Body and Soul or ψυχή of man, but not the Mind or Spirit, or the νῆς, but the Word it self was in the place of that. Apollinaristas Apollinaris instituit, qui de anima Christi ab Ecclesia Catholica disenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani, Deum Christum carnem sine anima suscepisse. In questione testimonii Evangelicis victi, mentem, quæ rationalis est anima hominis, non fuisse in anima Christi, sed pro hac ipsam Verbum in ea fuisse, dixerunt. This was then the clear difference betwixt the Arian and Apollinarian Heresie: Apollinaristas quidem carnis & anima naturam sine mente assumpisse Deum credunt, Ariani vero carnis tantummodo. Facundus l. c. So that two things are to be observed in the Apollinarians, their Philosophy, and their Divinity: their Philosophy, in making man consist of three distinct parts, the Body, the Soul and the Mind; their Divinity, in making the humane nature of *Christ* to consist but of two, the Body and the Soul, and the third to be supplied by the Word. Which is excellently expressed by Nemesius de Nat. Hom. in respect of his Philosophy: Τινες αἱ, ἐν ἑστὶ Πλατῶν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἐκχλῶ, ἡ ἀλλοτὸν ἢ νῆν, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι. ἐν

τειών τὸν ἀνθρώπου (σωμάτων βίοντα, σώματα, καὶ ψυχῆς, καὶ νῦ. Οἷς ἠκολούθησεν ἡ Ἀπολλινάριος ὁ τῆς Λαοδικίας ἡρώδης ἐπίσκοπος· τὸν ὅτι πηξάτω τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς οἰκίας δόξης, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ σαρκωδόμενα καὶ τὸ οἰκίον δόγμα. and by Theodoret in respect of his Divinity: Σαρκωθῶσα ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησε λόγον, σῶμα καὶ ψυχή, ἀνεκδιπότα καὶ τὴν λογικῶν, ἀλλὰ ἢ ἀόλητον, ἢν φυσικὴν, ἢ ἢν ζωικὴν, τινὲς ὀνομάζουσιν. τὸν ὅτι τὸν ἀλλοτιπῶς τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ λέγον, καὶ ἐποίησαν ἀνεκδιπότα, ἀλλὰ ἀρκέσαι τὴν θεῖαν φύσιν εἰς τὸ πληρῶσαι τὴν νῦ τὴν χεῖρα.

Thus the whole perfect and complete nature of Man was assumed by the Word, by him who was conceived and born of a woman, and so made a Man. And being the Divine nature which he had before could never cease to be what before it was, nor ever become what before it was not; therefore he who was God before by the Divine Nature which he had, was in this Incarnation made man by that humane nature which he then assumed; and so really and truly was *both God and man. And thus this third Article from the conjunction with the second, teacheth us no less than the two natures really distinct in Christ incarnate.

¶ Quid à Patre Christus accepit, nisi quod & induerat hominem sine dubio, carnis animi inextinguibilem. Tertul. de Resurrect. carn. c. 34. Hoc est credere: cum mundo. puto quod & Demones conatentur filium Dei natum de Maria Virgine, & carnem naturam humanam aique animam suscepisse. S. Hier. Apol. 2. advers. Rufinum. * Νῦν ὅτι τὸ εἶναι ἀνθρώπου οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος· ὁ μὲν ἀμύρω, θεὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Cf. Alexand. adv. Gentes.

For if both natures were not preserved complete and distinct in Christ, it must be either by the conversion and transubstantiation of one into the other, or by commixtion and confusion of both into one. But neither of these ways can consist with the Person of our Saviour, or the Office of our Mediator. For if we should conceive such a mixtion and confusion of substances as to make an union of natures, we should be so far from acknowledging him to be both God and man, that thereby we should profess him to be neither God nor Man, but a Person of a nature as different from both, as all mixt bodies are distinct from each element which concurs unto their composition. Besides, we know there were in Christ the Affections proper to the nature of man, and all those Infirmities which belong to us, and cannot be conceived to belong to that nature of which the Divine was but a part. Nor could our Humanity be so commixed or confounded with the Divinity of our Saviour, but that the Father had been made Man as much as the Son, because the Divine nature is the same both of the Father and the Son. Nor ought we to have so low an esteem of that infinite and independent Being, as to think it so commixed with, or immersed in, the creature.

¶ Absit ita credere, ut conflati quodam genere duas naturas in unam

arbitremur redactas esse substantiam; hujusmodi enim commixtio partis utriusque corruptio est. Deus enim qui capax est, non capabilis, penetrans, non penetrabilis, implens, non implebilis, qui ubique simul totus, & ubique diffusus est per infusionem potentia suæ, misericorditer naturæ mixtus est humanæ, non humana natura naturæ est mixta Divinæ. Leporius Libel. Emend.

Again, as the confusion, so the conversion of natures is impossible. For, first, we cannot with the least shew of probability conceive the Divine nature of Christ to be transubstantiated into the humane nature; as those whom they call * Flandrian Anabaptists in the Low-Countries at this day maintain. There is a plain repugnancy even in the supposition: for the nature of Man must be made, the nature of God cannot be made, and consequently cannot become the nature of Man. The immaterial, indivisible and immortal Godhead cannot be divided into a spiritual and incorruptible Soul, and a carnal and corruptible Body; of which two Humanity consisteth. There is no other Deity of the Father than of the Son; and therefore if this was converted into that Humanity, then was the Father also that Man, and grew in knowledge, suffered, and died. We must not therefore so far stand upon the propriety of speech, when it is written, ¶ The Word was made flesh, as to destroy the propriety both of the Word and of the flesh.

* Teste Episcopo, Infit. Theol. l. 4. c. 8.

¶ In that proposition, ὁ λόγος σὰς ἐγένετο, there hath been

strange force used by men of contrary judgments, and for contrary ends, as to the word ἐγένετο. The Socinians endeavouring to prove it can have no other sense than simply suit, the word was flesh. The Flandrian Anabaptists stretching it to the highest sense of tantum est, the Word was made flesh. It is confessed that the Verb γινῶσκ in the use of the Greek Language is capable of either interpretation: it is also acknowledged that the most ancient Interpreters were divided in their renditions. For the Syriack rendered it

ὁ λόγος ἦν ἡ σὰρξ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ ἐγένετο ὁ λόγος. Et verbum caro fuit; the ancient Latine, Et verbum caro factum est. It cannot be denied but in the Scriptures it hath been used indifferently in either sense. And the same old Vulgar Translation in some places renders it, as the Syriack hath here, *Matth. 10. 16.* γίνεσθε ὡς οἱ ὄφεις, Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes; and 25. Ἄρχετον πῶς μαθητὴν Ἰησοῦ λέγουσιν ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλλος αὐτοῦ, Sathet discipulo ut sit sicut magister ejus. From whence it is evident that they placed not the force in the signification of the word γίνεσθαι, but in the circumstance of the matter in which 'twas used. However, neither of these Interpretations prove either of these Opinions. For if it be acknowledged that the Word was flesh, and it hath been already proved, and presupposed by S. John in his precedent discourse, that the Word had a former being antecedent to his being flesh; it followeth, that he which was before the Word, and was not flesh, if after he were flesh, must be made such. And so the Socinian objection falls. Again, If he which was made flesh was the Word, and after he was made such was still the Word, as certainly he was, and is still the same; then his being made or becoming flesh can not any evacuate that nature in which he did before subsist. And so the Flandrian Interpretation is of no validity.

Secondly, we must not, on the contrary, invent a conversion of the humane nature into the Divine, as the *Eutychians* of old did fanse. For sure the Incarnation could not at first consist in such a conversion, it being unimaginable how that which had no being should be made by being turned into something else. Therefore the Humanity of *Christ* could not at the first be made by being the Divinity of the Word. Nor is the Incarnation so preposterously expressed, as if the flesh were made the Word, but that the Word was made flesh. And if the Manhood were not in the first act of Incarnation converted into the Divine nature, as we see it could not be; then is there no pretence of any time or manner in or by which it was || afterward so transubstantiated. Vain therefore was that old conceit of *Eutyches*, who thought the Union to be made so in the natures, that the Humanity was absorbed and wholly turned into the Divinity, so that by that transubstantiation the humane nature had no longer being. And well did the ancient Fathers, who opposed this Heresie, make use of the Sacramental union between the Bread and Wine and the Body and Blood of *Christ*, and thereby shewed, that the humane nature of *Christ* is no more really converted into the Divinity, and so ceaseth to be the humane nature, than the substance of the Bread and Wine is really converted into the substance of the Body and Blood, and thereby ceaseth to be both Bread and Wine. From whence it is by the way observable, that the Church in those days understood no such doctrine as that of * Transubstantiation.

* This was the Opinion of Eutyches, as appears by his own Confession in the Council of Chalcedon: Ομολογῶ ἕν ἄνθρωπον γεννηθέν τὸν Κύριον ἡμεῖς τρεῖς τῆς ἐνότητος. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἕνα οὐκ ἑστὶν ὁμολογῶ. *Act. 1.* Two distinct natures he confessed at first, but when the Union was

once made he acknowledged but one. But when that Union was made he expressed not, nor could his Followers agree; some attributing it to the Conception, some to the Resurrection, others to the Ascension. However, when they were united, his Opinion clearly was, that the humane nature was so absorbed into the Divine, so wholly made the same, that it ceased wholly to be what it was, and so there was but one, that is, the Divine, nature remained. This is sufficiently expressed by S. Leo, who was the strongest opposer of him, and speaketh thus of his Opinion, *Serm. 8. de Nativ.* Hic autem recentioris sacrilegii profanus assertor unitiorem quidem in Christo duarum consensit esse naturarum; sed ipsa unione id dixit effectum, ut ex duabus una remaneret, nullatenus alterius existens substantia. And *Eranistes* in the Dialogue of Theodoret arguing for that Opinion, being urged to declare whether in that Union one nature was made of them both, or one remaining, the other did not so, answered plainly, Ἐγὼ τὴν θεότητα λέγω μεμνημέναι, κατὰ τοῦθ' ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς ἀνθρωπότητα. * There can be no time in which we may observe the Deity of the Anciently clearly, as when they write professedly against an Heresie evidently known, and make use generally of the same Arguments against it. Now what the Heresie of Eutyches was is certainly known, and the nature of the Sacrament was generally made use of as an Argument to confute it. *Geladius Bishop of Rome* hath written an excellent Book against Eutyches, De duabus naturis in Christo, in which he propoundeth their Opinion thus; Eutychiani dicunt unam esse naturam, id est, Divinam; and, sola existente Deitate, Humanitas illic esse jam destitit. That then which he disputes against is the Transubstantiation of the humane nature into the Divine. The Argument which he makes use of against it is drawn from the Eucharist: Certe Sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis & sanguinis Christi Divina res est, propter quod & per eadem Divina efficitur conlortis natura: & tamen esse non definit substantia vel natura Panis & Vini. Et certe imago & similitudo corporis & sanguinis Christi in actione mysticorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine proficimus, celebramus, & sumimus, ut sicut in hanc, scilicet, in Divinam, transeant, S. Spiritu perficiente, substantiam, permanentes tamen in sua proprietate nature; sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repræsentant, ex quibus constat proprie permanentibus, unum Christum, quia integrum veramque, permanere demonstrant. In which words 'tis plain he affirms the union of the Humane nature of *Christ* to be the principal mystery, the representation of that mystery to be in the Sacrament of the Eucharist: he concludes from thence, that as in the representation of the substance of the Bread and Wine remaineth in the propriety of their own nature, so the humane nature of *Christ* in the greater mystery doth still remain. In the margin of this place in the Bibliotheca Patrum there is printed Cautæ, as if there could be any danger in observing the sense of the Fathers, when they speak so expressly and considerately. In the same manner we find a Disputation between an Heretick and a Catholick in the second Dialogue of Theodoret, where Eranistes, as an Heretick, asks Orthodoxus by what names he calls the Bread and Wine after Consecration; who answers, the Body and Blood of *Christ*: From whence Eranistes argues, Ὅτι τὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τὸ εἶδος ἀλλὰ ἡ φύσις τῆς ἱερῆς οὐσίας, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὸ ὀπίσθηον μετὰ βλάβειν καὶ ἔτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς ἑστὶν τὸ σωμικὸν σῶμα καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τὸ εἶδος μετὰ βλάβειν τὸ εἶδος. As the Symbols of the Body and Blood of *Christ* are one thing before Consecration, and

after that change their name, and become another; so the Body of Christ after his ascension is changed into the Divine substance. To this Orthodoxus answers, Έάλως αἱς ὕστερον ἀρυσον, You are taken in your own nets. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μὲν ἔχον ὁσιμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τ' οὐκ αἰας ἔξιστάσι οὐσεως, μήτε γὰρ ὅτι τ' περὶ ἑραῖς ὕσας, καὶ τὸ ἁγίωμα, καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἔξελξις ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἶα καὶ πρὸτερον ἔω. The Bread and Wine even after Consecration leave not their own nature, but remain in their former substance, shape, and form. In the same manner, καὶ ἡμεῖρο τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρὸτερον εἶδον ἔχον καὶ ἁγίωμα καὶ αἰεταρῶσι, καὶ ἀπαράπλως εἰπέν, ἡ τὸ σῶμα ἔσταν ὕσαν: the body of Christ hath the same form, figure and shape, and, indeed, the same bodily substance. And when Eranistes still objects, that the Bread is called the Body, and not Bread, Orthodoxus answers that he is mistaken; Οὐ γὰρ σῶμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἁγίωμα ζωῆς ὀνομάζεσαι, ἕτως αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος προσεφῆκεν, καὶ αὐτὸ ὃ σῶμα θεῶν ὀνομάζομεν σῶμα. For it is not only called the Body, but also Bread of life, and the Body it self we call the Divine Body. Who sees not then that Theodoret believed no more that the Bread is converted into the Body, than that the Body is converted into the Divinity of Christ? Who perceives not that he thought the Bread to be as substantially and really Bread after the consecration, as the Body of Christ is really a Body after his Ascension? The same Argument is used by S. Chrysostome upon the same occasion against the Apollinarians in his Epistle ad Casarium, not yet published in Greek, and by Ephraim in Phoriz Bibliotheca against the Eutychians. As therefore all the μετὰσερχίωσι of the Sacramental elements maketh them not cease to be of the same nature which before they were; so the humane nature of Christ, joined to the Divine, loseth not the nature of Humanity, but continueth with the Divinity as a substance in it self distinct; and so Christ doth subsist not only ex, but in, duabus naturis, as the Council of Chalcedon determined against Eutyches.

Being then he which is *Conceived* was the *only Son of God*, and that *only Son* begotten of the substance of the Father, and so always subsisted in the Divine nature; being by the same Conception he was made truly Man, and consequently assumed the humane nature; being these two natures cannot be made one either by commixtion or conversion, and yet there can be but one *Christ* subsisting in them both, because that only Son was he which is conceived and born: it followeth, that the Union which was not made in the nature, was made in the person of the Word; that is, it was not so made, that out of both natures one only should result, but only so, that to one Person no other should be added.

Nor is this Union only a scholastick speculation, but a certain and necessary truth, without which we cannot have one *Christ*, but two *Christs*, one Mediator, but two Mediators; without which we cannot join the second Article of our Creed with the third, making them equally belong to the same person; without which we cannot interpret the sacred Scriptures, or understand the History of our Saviour. For certainly he which was before *Abraham* was in the days of *Herod* born of a woman; he which preached in the days of *Noah*, began to preach in the reign of *Tiberius*, being at that time about thirty years of age; he was demonstrated the Son of God with power who was the seed of *David* according to the flesh; he who died on the Cross raised him from the dead who died so, being *put to death through the flesh, and quickened by the Spirit*; he was of the fathers according to the flesh who was *God over all blessed for ever*. Being these and the like actions and affections cannot come from the same nature, and yet must be attributed to the same Person; as we must acknowledge a diversity of natures united, so must we confess the identity of the Person in whom they are conjoined, against the ancient Heretic of the Nestorians, condemned in the Council of *Ephesus*.

2 Pet. 3. 18
Rom. 9. 5.

|| This Heretic doth mistfully contradict these words of

the Creed, because it immediately denies this truth, that the eternal Son of God was conceived and born. And in vain did Nestorius seek not only to avoid it in the Nicene Creed, but to make use of the words of the Creed even against the Unity of the Person of Christ. S. Cyril had well objected the series, order and consequence of that confession: Έρη η ἀρχὴ καὶ μεγάλη Συνοδος, αὐτὸν ἢ ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ὁμοῦσι ἄν μονογενῆ, ἢ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινῷ Θεῶν ἀληθινῶν, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς, ἢ δι' ἑ τὰ πάντα πεποινηεν ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ ἐλθεῖν, σαρκωθῆναι τε καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαι, παθεῖν, ἀναστῆναι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθεῖν οὐρανῶν. The strength of this objection lies in this, that Christ, the only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father before all Worlds, was incarnate. The answer of Nestorius, was in this manner: Πις ἀνομήσις ἢ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἢ ἦν αὐτὸν ἢ μονογενῆ, σάβητην ὅπως Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς, καὶ μονογενῆς, καὶ ἦς, πρὸτερον θίνης, τὰ κοινὰ τ' θεότης καὶ ἀνθρωπότης, ὡς θεμελίως, ὀνομάζα, τότε ἢ ἢ ἐνανθρωπήσας, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὸ ἀνάστασις, ἐποικοδομήσιν παρὰ ἑαυτὸν. And the strength, or rather the weakness, thereof is this: that first the Council placed the name of Jesus, Christ, and the only-begotten Son, names common to the Divinity and Humanity of Christ; and then upon them built the doctrine of his Incarnation. Whereas it is evident that, supposing the Only-begotten a term common to the Humanity and Divinity, yet the Council clearly expounds it of the eternal generation, adding immediately, begotten of his Father before all Worlds; neither is there any word between that exposition and the Incarnation, but such as speak wholly of Christ as God. Therefore that only-begotten Son, who was begotten of his Father before all Worlds, descended from Heaven, and was incarnate. Thus S. Cyril in his second Epistle to Nestorius, and Nestorius in his second to him. Which mistake of his seems yet more strange to me, when I consider in the same Epistle of Nestorius that fundamental truth asserted, which of it self sufficiently, nay fully, confutes his Heretic: For he acknowledgeth the name of Christ to be ἀπαθὲς καὶ παθητῆς ὕσας ἐν μοναδικῷ τρισωτάτω τρισωτάτω

οὐνογενῆς ἀμεταίτητος, and consequently Christ himself to be a single Person in a double nature, passible and impassible: which once granted, it evidently followeth, that he which was born from eternity was also born in time, for by those several natures he had those several natures; that he which was impassible as God, might, and did suffer as Man, because the same Person was of an impassible and a passible nature; impassible as God, passible as Man. Wherefore by that which Nestorius hath confessed, and notwithstanding that which he hath objected, it is evident out of the Nicene Creed, that the Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Worlds, was incarnate and made Man; and as evident out of the Apostles Creed, especially expounded by the Nicene, that the same only-begotten Son was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary.

By the Holy Ghost.

HAVING thus dispatched the consideration of the first Person concerned in this Article, and the Actions contained in it so far as distinctly from the rest they belong to him, we descend unto the other two concerned in the same; and first to him whose operation did precede in the Conception, the Holy Ghost. Which second part some may think to require a threefold consideration; first, of the Conception, secondly, of the Person, thirdly, of the Operation. But for the Person or existence of the Holy Ghost, that is here only mentioned obliquely, and therefore to be reserved for another Article where it is propounded directly. And for the Conception it self, that belongeth not so properly to the Holy Ghost, of whom the Act cannot be predicated. For though Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost, yet the Holy Ghost did not conceive him, but said unto the Virgin, *Thou shalt conceive*. There remaineth therefore nothing proper and peculiar to this second part, but that Operation of the Holy Ghost in Christ's Conception, whereby the Virgin was enabled to conceive, and by virtue whereof Christ is said to be conceived by him.

Luke 1. 31.

Now when we say the Conception of our Saviour was wrought by the operation of the Spirit, it will be necessary to observe, first, what is excluded by that attribution to the Spirit; secondly, what is included in that operation of the Spirit.

For the first of these we may take notice in the Salutation of the Angel, when he told the blessed Virgin she should conceive and bring forth a son, she said, *How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?* By which words she excludeth first all men, and then her self: all men, by that assertion, *I know not a man*; her self, by the question, *How shall this be, seeing it is so?* First, our Melchizedek had no father on earth, in general; not any man, in particular, not Joseph. 'Tis true, his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph: but 'tis as true, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. We read in S. Luke, that the parents brought up the child Jesus into the Temple: but these Parents were not the Father and the Mother, but as it followeth, *Joseph and his Mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him*. 'Tis true, Philip calleth him Jesus of Nazareth the son of Joseph; and, which is more, his Mother said unto him, *Behold, thy Father and I have sought thee sorrowing*: but this must be only the reputed Father of Christ, he being only, as was supposed, the son of Joseph, which was the son of Eli. Whence they must needs appear without all excuse who therefore affirm our Saviour to have been the proper son of Joseph, because the Genealogy belongs to him; whereas in that very place where the Genealogy begins, Joseph is called the supposed Father. How can it then therefore be necessary Christ should be the true son of Joseph, that he may be known to be the son of David, when in the same place

Luke 1. 34.

Matth. 1. 18.

Luke 2. 27.

Luke 2. 33.

John 1. 45.

Luke 2. 48.

Luke 3. 23.

Matth. 1. 16.

Indeed in our Translation whom

late both, as well as one, and to Joseph as well as Mary; but in the Original it evidently belongs to Mary: τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀνδρὸς Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγέννηθη Ἰησοῦς.

where it is proved that Joseph came from David, it is denied that Christ came from Joseph? And that not only in S. Luke, where Joseph begins, but also in S. Matthew, where he ends the Genealogy. ^a Jacob begat Joseph the husband

of *Mary*, of whom was born *Jesus*, who is called *Christ*. Howsoever then the Genealogies are described, whether one belong to *Joseph*, the other to *Mary*, or both to *Joseph*, it is from other parts of the Scriptures infallibly certain, not only that *Christ* descended lineally from *David* according to the flesh, but also that the same *Christ* was begotten of the Virgin *Mary*, and not by *Joseph*.

Secondly, as the blessed Virgin excluded all mankind, and particularly *Joseph*, to whom she was then espoused, by her assertion; so did she exclude her self by the manner of the question, shewing that of her self she could not cause any such Conception. Although she may be thought the *root of Jesse*, yet could she not germinate of her self; though *Eve* were the Mother of all living, yet generation was founded on the Divine benediction which was given to both together: For *God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.* Gen. 1. 28. Though *Christ* was promised as the *seed of the Woman*; yet we must not imagine that it was in the power of Woman to conceive him. When the Virgin thinks it impossible she should conceive because she knew not a man, at the same time she confesseth it otherwise as impossible, and the Angel acknowledgeth as much in the satisfaction of his answer, *For with God nothing shall be impossible.* Luke 1. 37. God then it was who immediately and miraculously enabled the blessed Virgin to conceive our Saviour; and while *Mary*, *Joseph*, and all men are denied, no person which is that God can be excluded from that operation.

But what is included in the conception by the Holy Ghost, or how his Operation is to be distinguished from the Conception of the Virgin, is not so easily determined. The words by which it is expressed in Scripture are very general: First, as they are delivered by way of promise, prediction, or satisfaction to *Mary*; *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee*: Secondly, as they suppose the Conception already past; *When his Mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost*; and give satisfaction unto *Joseph*, *Fear not to take to thee Mary thy Wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.* Luke 1. 35. Now being the expressions in the Scriptures are so general, that from thence the operation of the Spirit cannot precisely be distinguished from the concurrence of the Virgin; much less shall we be able exactly to conclude it by that late distinction made in this Article, *conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin*; because it is certain that the same Virgin also conceived him according to the Prophecy, *Thou shalt conceive and bear a Son*: and therefore, notwithstanding that distinction, the difficulty still remains, how he was conceived by the Spirit, how by the Virgin. Neither will any difference of * Prepositions be sufficient rightly to distinguish these operations. Wherefore there is no other way to bound or determine the Action of the Holy Ghost, but by that concurrence of the Virgin which must be acknowledged with it. For if she were truly the Mother of *Christ*, (as certainly she was, and we shall hereafter prove) then is there no reason to deny to her in respect of him whatsoever is given to other Mothers in relation to the fruit of their womb; and

† *As conceptus de Spiritu S. natus ex Maria Virgine.* *S. Aug.* indeed hath delivered a distinction between *De* and *Ex*, after this manner, speaking to those words of the *Apostle*. *Quoniam ex ipso, & per ipsum, & in ipso, sunt omnia. Ex ipso non hoc significat quod de ipso. Quod enim de ipso est potest dici ex ipso, non autem omne quod ex ipso est recte dicitur de ipso. Ex ipso enim cœlum & terra, quia ipse fecit ea; non autem de ipso, quia non de substantia sua. Sicut aliquis homo si gignat filium, & faciat domum, ex ipso filius, ex ipso domus; sed filius de ipso, sicut domus de terra & ligno.* *De Nat. Boni adv. Manich. c. 27.* This distinction, having no foundation in the Latin Tongue, is ill made use of for the illustration of this Article, because in the Greek Language of the Testament there is no such diversity of Prepositions: for as we read of *Mary* *Ἐξ ἧς ἐγενήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, so also of the Holy Ghost, *Ἐγέννητο ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχουσα ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, and *τὸ ἐκ αὐτοῦ γεννηθὲν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*. It is therefore said as well *ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας*, as *ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἁγίου*. Again, the Vulgar observeth no such difference, as rendering for the one, *de qua natus est Iesus*, and for the other, *in utero habens de Spiritu S.* Correspondently in the Greek Creeds, *γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου*, *γεννηθὲν ἐκ Μαρίας*, or, as in the Nicene, *ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας*. And the Latin not only *de Spiritu S. ex Maria Virgine*, but sometimes *de Sp. S. & Maria*

Maria Virgine, and de Maria Virgine. Chrysol. and S. Aug. often de Trinitate. Wherefore in vain have the Schools just accepted of S. Augustine's distinction, and then applied it to Christ's conception; first taking the Proposition de to signify no less than a procession from the substance of the cause, and then acknowledge Christ so begotten of the Holy Ghost, because the eternal Son who was so begotten was of the same substance with the Holy Ghost. Thus Thomas Aquinas has delivered the subtilty, Sum. p. 3. q. 32. a. 2. In Spiritu S. duplex habitudo consideratur respectu Christi. Nam ad ipsum filium Dei, qui dicitur esse conceptus. habet habitudinem consubstantialitatis; ad corpus autem ejus habet habitudinem cause efficientis. Hæc autem præpositio De utramque habitudinem designat, cum dicimus hominem aliquem esse de suo patre. Et ideo convenienter dicere possumus Christum esse conceptum de Spiritu S. hoc modo, quod efficientia Sp. S. referatur ad corpus assumptum, consubstantialitas verò ad personam afluementem. But this distinction of Consubstantiality and effective Causality can make nothing for the propriety of the Phrase; for the Proposition De signifieth the material cause as well as the efficient, it must do so in respect of that which is the effect, if it require that the thing which is made be made of the substance of that de quo est: then must Christ, according unto that which is made, be made of the substance of the Holy Ghost; or, to speak in the words of the Scripture, Quod in ea natum est, de Spiritu Sancto est. It here either that which was conceived in the Virgin must be acknowledged of the substance of the Holy Ghost, or else the Proposition De must not be taken in S. Augustine's sense. Howsoever, being there is but one Proposition, δε, common to both in the Original Greek; being the Vulgar Translation useth De indifferently for either; being where they have distinguished De and Ex, they have attributed Ex, which doth not signify Consubstantiality, to the Virgin, of whom they confess he did assume the substance of his Body, and De, which signifieth (as they say) Consubstantiality, to the Holy Ghost, of whose substance he received nothing: it followeth, that the difference in the Propositions can no way declare the different concurrence of the Spirit and the Virgin in Christ's Conception.

consequently, no more is left to be attributed to the Spirit, than what is necessary to cause the Virgin to perform the actions of a Mother. When the Scripture speaketh of Regeneration, or the second birth, it denieth all which belongeth to natural procreation, describing the sons of God as begotten not of bloods, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God: And in the Incarnation of our Saviour, we remove all will or lust of the flesh, we deny all will of man concurring; but as the bloods in the Language of the Hebrews did signify that substance of which the flesh was formed in the womb, so we acknowledge in the generation of Jesus Christ, that he was made of the substance of his Mother.

John 1. 1.

But as he was so made of the substance of the Virgin, so was he not made of the substance of the Holy Ghost, whose essence cannot at all be made. And because the Holy Ghost did not beget him by any communication of his essence, therefore he is not the Father of him, though he were conceived by him. And if at any time I have said, Christ was begotten by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, if the Ancients speak as if he generated the Son, it is not so to be understood, as if the Spirit did perform any proper act of generation, such as is the foundation of Paternity.

[As Chrysolozus Sermon. 57. Ubi Spiritus generat, Virgo parturit, totum divinum geritur, nihil humanum. Et Sermon. 62. Stupenti mundo solus aperit quid est, quod Spiritus generat, Virgo concepit, Virgo parit.

* Deus ipse met ad sanguinem Mariæ addidit aliam materiam, ex quibus deinceps Christus

Again, as the Holy Ghost did not frame the humane nature of Christ out of his own substance; so must we not believe that he formed any part of his flesh of any other substance than of the Virgin. For certainly he was of the Fathers according to the flesh, and was as to that truly and totally the Son of David and of Abraham. The Socinians, who will acknowledge no other way before Christ's Conception by which he could be the Only begotten Son of God, have been forced to invent a strange conjunction in the nature of Christ: one part received from the Virgin, and so consequently from David and from Abraham, from whom that Virgin did descend; another * framed by the Spirit, and conjoined with it: by the one part of which Humanity he was the Son of man, as by the other part he was the Son of God.

flus conceptus & natus est. Smalcus, De Vero & Naturali Dei Filio, c. 2. Verum manet generationem & hanc dici posse, quatenus in Deum ea cadere potest, si ad sanguinem Mariæ addita sit ex parte Dei materia, ex qua cum sanguine Mariæ juncti natus sit Christus. Ib. c. 3. What this was thus added to the substance of the Virgin, he elsewhere explains: Nos Dei virtutem in Virginis uterum aliquam substantiam creatam vel immisitisse aut ibi create affirmamus, ex qua, juncto eo quod ex ipsius Virginis substantia accessit, verus homo generatus fuit. This he doth not only without any authority affirm, but ground upon it the consist of Christ. For, if it follows; Alias enim homo ille Dei filius à conceptione & nativitate propriè non fuisset. And again; Necessitas magna fuit ut Christus ab initio vice suæ esset Deo Filius, qualis natus non fuisset, nisi Dei virtute aliquid creatum fuisset quod ad constituendum Christi corpus una cum Mariæ sanguine concurreret. Thus while they deny the eternal generation of the Son, they establish a temporal in such manner as is not consonant with that Word which they pretend wholly to follow, and have made a body of Christ partly descending from the Father, partly not: and whereas as man he is like to us in all things, is only excepted; they have invented a body, partly like ours, partly not: and so in no part totally like. Indeed some of the Ancients did justify as to make the Holy Ghost the femina Dei: as Tertullian; Ergo jam Dei filius ex Patris Dei femine, i. e. Spiritu, ut esset hominis filius, caro ei sola erat ex hominis carne sumenda sine viri femine. Vacabat enim viri femina apud habentem Dei semen. De carne Christi, c. 18. And S. Hilary calls it Semenciam; inensis Spiritus officiam. l. 2. de Trin. But in this

they only understood the Operation of the Spirit, loco feminis. And whoſoever ſpoke of any proper ſemen, they abhorred; as appears by the 191. Sermon de Tempore: Nec, ut quidam ſceleratiſſimi opinantur, Spiritum S. dicimus pro femine fuitte, ſed potentia & virtute Creatoris operatum. I know not whether be the greateſt folly; to make the Holy Ghoſt the Father, as theſe men have done, by creating part of his body by way of ſeminal conjunction; or to make the ſame Spirit Mother of Chriſt, as the Nazareans did. In Evangelio Hebræorum quod lectitant Nazaræi Salvator inducitur loquens, *Modo me arripuit Mater mea, Spiritus Sanctus.* There is only this difference, that one is founded upon no authority of Scripture, the other upon the authority of a pretended but no Scripture: the one maketh the Holy Ghoſt a partial, the other a total, mother.

The belief of this is neceſſary to prevent all fear or ſuſpicion of ſpot in this Lamb, of Sin in this *Jeſus*. Whatſoever our original corruption is, howſoever diſpleaſing unto God, we may be from hence aſſured there was none in him, in whom alone God hath declared himſelf to be well pleaſed. *Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? ſaith Job*; a clean and undefiled Redeemer out of an unclean and defiled nature? He whoſe name is Holineſs, whoſe operation is to ſanctifie, the Holy Ghoſt. Our *Jeſus* was like unto us in all things, as born of a Woman; ſin only excepted, as *conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*. This original and total ſanctification of the humane nature was firſt neceſſary, to fit it for the perſonal union with the Word; who, out of his infinite love, humbled himſelf to become fleſh, and at the ſame time, out of his infinite purity, could not defile himſelf by becoming ſinful fleſh. Secondly, the ſame ſanctification was as neceſſary in reſpect of the end for which he was made man, the redemption of mankind: that as the || firſt *Adam* was the fountain of our impurity, ſo the ſecond *Adam* ſhould alſo be the pure fountain of our righteouſneſs. ^a *God ſending his own ſon in the likenes of ſinful fleſh, condemned ſin in the fleſh*; which he could not have condemned, had he been ſent in ſinful fleſh. ^b *The Father made him to be ſin for us, who knew no ſin, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him*; which we could not have been made in him, but that he ^c *did no ſin, and knew no ſin*. For whoſoever is ſinful wanteth a Redeemer; and he could have redeemed none who ſtood in need of his own redemption. We are redeemed ^d *with the precious blood of Chriſt*: therefore precious, becauſe of a *Lamb without blemiſh and without ſpot*. Our atonement can be made by no other High-prieſt than by him who is ^e *holy, harmleſs, undefiled, and ſeparate from ſinners*. We cannot ^f *know that he was manifeſted to take away our ſins, except we alſo know that in him is no ſin*. Wherefore, being it is ſo neceſſary to believe the original holineſs of our humane nature in the Perſon of our Saviour; it is as neceſſary to acknowledge that way by which we may be fully aſſured of that ſanctity, his conception by the Holy Ghoſt.

|| Illud unum peccatum, quod tam magnum in loco & habitu tantæ ſelicitatis admiſſum eſt, ut in uno homine originaliter, acque, ut ita dixerim, radicaliter, totum genus humanum damnaretur, non ſolvitur ac diluitur niſi per unum Mediatorem Dei & hominum, hominem Chriſtum Jeſum, qui ſolus potuit ita naſci, ut ei opus non eſſet

renasci. S. Auguſt. *Enchirid. cap. 48.* ^a *Rom. 8. 3.* ^b *2 Cor. 5. 21.* ^c *1 Pet. 2. 22.* ^d *1 Pet. 1. 19.* ^e *Heb. 7. 26.* ^f *1 Joh. 3. 5.* in quo non eſt peccatum, ipſe venit auferre peccatum. Nam ſi eſſet in illo peccatum, auferendum eſſet illi, non ipſe auferret. S. Auguſt.

Again, it hath been * obſerved, that by this manner of Chriſt's conception is declared the freedom of the Grace of God. For as the Holy Ghoſt is God, ſo is he alſo called the Gift of God: and therefore the humane nature in its firſt original, || without any precedent merit, was formed by the Spirit, and in its formation ſanctified, and in its ſanctification united to the Word; ſo that the Grace was coexiſtent, and in a manner connatural with it. The Myſtery of the Incarnation is frequently attributed in the Scriptures to the love, mercy and goodneſs of God. ^a *Through the tender mercy of our God the day-ſpring from on high hath viſited us*: In this ^b *the kindneſs and love of God* our Saviour

* By S. Auguſt. Ex hoc, quod de Spiritu S. eſt ſecundum hominem nati- vitas Chriſti, quid aliud quam ipſa gratia demonſtratur? *Ench. c. 27.* || Modus iſte quo natus eſt Chriſtus deſp.

S. non ſicut filius, & de Maria Virgine ſicut filius, inſinuat nobis gratiam Dei, quâ homo, nullis præcedentibus meritis, in ipſe exordio naturæ ſuæ quo eſſe cœpit, verbo Dei copularctur in tantam Perſonæ unitatem, ut idem ipſe eſſet filius Dei qui filius hominis, & filius hominis qui filius Dei: ac ſic in humanæ naturæ aſſumptione fieret quadammodo ipſa gratia naturalis, quæ nullum peccatum poſſet admittere. Quæ gratia propterea per Spiritum S. fuerat ſignificanda, quia ipſe propriè ſic eſt Deus, ut etiam dicatur Dei Donum. *Id. c. 40.* ^a *Luke 1. 78.* ^b *Tit. 3. 4.*

toward man appeared. And though these and such other Scriptures speak properly of the love and mercy of God to man alone, offered unto him in the Incarnation of our Saviour, and so directly exclude the merits of other men only; yet because they speak so generally with reference to God's mercy, they may well be thought to exclude all universally. Especially considering the impossibility of * merit in *Christ's* Humanity, in respect of his Conception; because all desert necessarily precedeth its reward, and *Christ* was not man before he was conceived, nor can that merit which is not.

* Cum ad naturam Dei non pertinet natura humana, ad personam tamen unigeniti Filii Dei per gratiam pertinet humana natura; & tantam gratiam, ut nulla sit major, nulla prorsus æqualis. Neque enim illam susceptionem hominis ulla merita præcesserunt, sed ab illa susceptione merita ejus cuncta cæperunt. *S. Aug. Tract. 82. in Joan.*

Thirdly, whereas we are commanded to be holy, and that even as he is holy; by this we learn from what foundation this holiness must flow. We bring no such purity into the world, nor are we sanctified in the womb: but as he was sanctified at his Conception, so are we at our Regeneration. He was conceived not by man, but by the Holy Ghost; and we are *not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.* The same overshadowing power which formed his humane nature, reformeth ours; and the || same Spirit assureth us a remission of our sins, which caused in him an exemption from all sin. He which was born for us upon his Incarnation, is born * within us upon our Regeneration.

J. h. I. 13.

¶ Ea gratiâ fit ab initio fidei suæ homo quicumq; Christianus, quâ gratiâ

homo ille ab initio suo factus est Christus. De ipso Spiritu & hic renatus, de quo est ille natus. Eodem Spiritu fit in nobis remissio peccatorum, quo Spiritu factum est ut nullum haberet ille peccatum. *S. Aug. de Prædest. Sanct. c. 15.* * Nolite desperare; quod semel natum est ex Maria, quotidie & in nobis nascitur. *Hieron. Comm. in Psal. 94. 17.*

All which considered, we may now render a clear explication of this part of the Article, whereby every person may understand what he is to profess; and express what is the Object of his Faith, when he saith, I believe in *Jesus Christ, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost.* For hereby he ought to intend thus much; I assent unto this as a most necessary and infallible truth, that the only-begotten Son of God, begotten by the Father before all worlds, very God of very God, was conceived and born, and so made man, taking to himself the humane nature, consisting of a Soul and Body, and conjoyning it with the Divine in the unity of his person. I am fully assured that the Word was in this manner made flesh, that he was really and truly conceived in the womb of a Woman, but not after the manner of men; not by carnal copulation, not by the common way of humane propagation, but by the singular, powerful, invisible, immediate operation of the Holy Ghost, whereby a Virgin was beyond the Law of nature enabled to conceive, and that which was conceived in her was originally and compleatly sanctified. And in this latitude I profess to believe in *Jesus Christ, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost,*

Born of the Virgin Mary.

THE third Person considerable in this third Article is represented under a threefold description, of her Name, Condition and Action: The first telleth us who it was, it was *Mary*; the second informeth us what she was, a *Virgin*; the third teacheth us what she did, she conceived and bare our Saviour, and brought forth the Son of God: which was *Born of the Virgin Mary*.

The *Evangelist*, relating the Annunciation, taketh particular notice of this Name; for shewing how an Angel was sent unto a *Virgin espoused to a man*, he first observeth that his name was *Joseph*; and then that the *Virgin's name was Mary*: Not for any peculiar Excellency in the Name it self, or any particular Application to the *Virgin* arising from the Origination of it, || as some have conceived; but only to denote that singular Person, which was then so well known to all men, being espoused unto *Joseph*, as appeareth by the question of his admiring Countrymen, *Is not this the Carpenter's Son? is not his Mother called Mary?* Otherwise the Name was common even at that time to many; to the *Sister of Lazarus*, to the *Mother of James and Joseph*, to the *Wife of Cleophas*, to the *Mother of John* whose Surname was *Mark*, to her which was *of Magdal in Galilee*, to *her* who bestowed much labour on *S. Paul*: Nor is there * any original distinction between the Name of these and of the Mother of our Lord. For as the name of *Jesus* was the same with *Josuah*, so this of *Mary* was the same with * *Miriam*. The first of which Name recorded was the Daughter of *Amram*, the Sister of *Moses* and *Aaron*, a Prophetess; to whom the bringing of *Israel* out of *Aegypt* is attributed as well as to her Brethren. *For I brought thee up out of the land of Aegypt*, saith the Lord, *and redeemed thee out of the house of servants; and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron and Miriam*. As she was exalted to be one of them who brought the people of God out of the *Aegyptian bondage*; so was this *Mary* exalted to become the Mother of that Saviour, who through the red Sea of his Blood hath wrought a plenteous Redemption for us, of which that was but a Type: and even with the confession of the lowliness of an Handmaid she seems to bear that || Exaltation in her Name.

Luke 1. 27.

|| For some have thought the dignity of the Virgin to be denoted in her name. As Greg. Nyss. (or rather his interpolator). Hom. in Natal. Christi: Έπειδαν ετιχηθη το παισιον, ανημασε με αυτων Μαρτιον. ως αν η δια της επιουμιας το θεοδουτον διασημανθεν της χαριος. Making, as I conceive, the Origination of Mary for that of Anna, her Mother, &c. Thus he thought Grace, others Dominion, to be contained i:

her Name. Η Μαρία εβουλοεται κυρια, αλλα η ελπισ. Κυριον δ ετεκε τω ελπιδα το παντος κοσμου Χριστον. Author Hom. de Lavt. B. Mariae, sub nomine Epiphani. Τικη τοιγαρου η χαις (τοτο δ η Άννα εβουλοεται) τω κυριαν τοτο γαρ σημαινε η Μαριας το ονομα. Damasc. Orthod. Fid. l. 4. c. 15. S. Hieron. de Nom. Hebraicis: Sciendum quod Maria sermone Syro Domina nuncupatur. So Chrysologus; Dignitas Virginis annunciator ex nomine: Nam Maria Hebraeo sermone, Latine Domina nuncupatur. Vocat ergo Angelus Dominam, ut Dominatoris genitricem deserat servitutem, quam nasci & vocari Dominam ipsa sui genuinis fecit & impetravit autoritas. Serm. 142. Sermone Syro Maria Domina nuncupatur, & pulchre, quia Dominum genuit. Isidor. Hispal. Orig. l. 7. c. 10. The same Isidore with others gives another Etymology: Maria illuminatrix, sive stella maris; genuit enim lumen mundi. And Bernard. Homil. 2. super Missus est, Loquemur pauca & sapienter hoc nomine, quod interpretatum maris stella dicitur, & matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aprifine indeti comparatur, quia sicut sine sui corruptione sidus suum emittit radium, sic abique sui latione Virgo pariturit filium. So far not amiss. But when from a bad Etymology he makes worse Divinity, calling her the Star of Jacob, and attributing unto her the Light of our Minds, the Life of our Graces, and Extirpation of our Vices, (the Work of the Spirit of Christ;) when in the midst of all our Temptations, Horrors of Conscience, and depths of Despair, he adviseth us immediately to a Respice Stellam, Mariam cogita, Maria invocata; his Interpretation can warrant no such Devotion. This Etymology also descendeth from S. Hieron, who in his Interpretation of the Names in Exodus, as from Philo, Maria illuminatrix mea, vel, illuminans eos, aur Smyrna maris, vel stella maris. And again, on the Names in S. Matthew, Mariam plerique existimant interpretari, illuminant me isti, vel illuminatrix, vel Smyrna maris; sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est ut dicamus sonare eam stellam maris, sive amarum mare. Εβουλοεται παλι η Μαρια Κυρινα θελαδουης. Homil. de Laudibus B. Mariae. Dicta sunt & ante Mariae multa: nam & Maria soror Aaron dicta fuit, sed illa Maria amantudo maris vocabatur. S. Ambros. Inlit. Virg. c. 5. Indeed that ab amaritudine, without the adjection of mare, is the Etymology observed by the Jews; as appears by the Author of the Life of Moses, who relating how Amram took Jochebed to wife, and of her begat a Daughter, addeth, ותקרא שמה מרי כי בעת ההיא נתקרא בני ישראל בני ישראל, she was called Miriam, because at that time the Egyptians, who were the Offspring of Cham, made the lives of the Sons of Israel bitter. And in the like manner Seder Olam, ונתקרא שמה מרי על שם מרי. Matth. 13. 55. John 11. 1. Matth. 27. 56. John 19. 25. Acts 12. 12. Luke 8. 2.

* Rom.

9 Rom. 16. * To this to be observed, by reason of some learned men, who make the name of the Virgin different from that of others called Mary in the Gospel, upon two grounds, in respect of the Accent, and the termination; the one being *Mæia*, the other *Mæia*: the first with an Hebrew termination, indeclinable, and the Accent in ultima; the latter with a Greek termination, declinable, and the Accent in penultima. As *ὄνομα τῆς παρθένου Μæia*, Luk. 1. 27. in the Nominative; *παρθένου τῆς Μæia*, Luk. 2. 5. in the Dative; *τὴν παρθένον Μæia*, Mat. 1. 20. in the Accusative; and *τὴν Μæia*, Luk. 1. 30. in the Vocative etc. All will belong to the Virgin, who is never named *Mæia*: as none of these by any of the Evangelists is ever called *Mæia*. But notwithstanding this observation, we find the same Virgin's name declined: as *μνηστῆρος τῆς ὑπῆρας αὐτῆς Μæia*, Mat. 1. 18. and, *τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Μæia τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, Act. 1. 14. both which may come from the Greek termination *Mæia* in recto. And on the contrary, that Mary which S. Paul mentions hath the same Hebrew termination with the Virgin, *ἀποδοῦσε Μæia*, *ἡ τις πολλὰ ἐποστίασεν εἰς ἡμᾶς*, Rom. 16. 6. Beside, the Syriack Translation makes no difference between the name of these and the Virgin; as *רועקוב אמר ומרים מנרלותא* Mar. 15. 40. So again, *מרים מנרלותא ומרים*, Mat. 21. 1. And therefore there can be no sufficient foundation for any such distinction. For whereas we first read Exod. 15. 20. *מרים חנניא*, the LXX translate it, *Mæia ἡ παρθένος*, and the Vulgar Lat. Maria prophetissa. The Hebrew first was *מרים* Mirjam; the Syriack altering the pronunciation, not the letters, *מר̄ים* Marjam, as for *מר̄ים* *מר̄ים* and because the Greek language admitteth no Jod Consonant, they pronounced it *Mæia*. Though sometimes indeed even the Greeks did use the barbarous pronunciation in the barbarous words, as Lucian with the Latins makes *Ἰουδαῖος* of three Syllables,

Ἰουδαῖος ἔταγεν μαεζν ὀζῆδαι λαβάν.

Again, because no Greek word endeth in *μ*, to make it current in that language, it was necessary to alter the termination, according to their custom; as for Annibal *Ἀννίβας*, Aldrubal *Ἀλδρουβας*, Amilcar *Ἀμιλικας*, and Kair, *Καίς*. This was to be done sometimes by addition; as *Νόχ Νόχος*, *Ἀβελ Ἀβελος*, *Δαμύχ Δαμύχος*, *Ἰαφῆς Ἰαφῆδος*, *Ἐνός Ἐνόςος*, *Σήθ Σήθος*, *Ἀδᾶμ Ἀδᾶμος*, *Ἀβραάμ Ἀβραάμος*, and *Ἀβραάμης*. And so for *Mæia*, *Mæidμum* or *Mæidμum*. Josephus *Mæidμum τὸ πατρὸς ἀδελφῆς*, of Miriam the sister of Moses; whom in another place he calls *ἀδελφῆν αὐτῆς Μæidμum*. Therefore be thought the name of Mariamne to be the same with Miriam. And as the Greeks were wont to add their own terminations to exotic words; so did they at other times leave out the exotic terminations, if thereby their own were left. As for *אביה ונהיה* *Αβία* and *Αννα* for *אמרה ורהיה* *Ασά* and *Ζαα* for *תרהיה* *Θαεζ*, for *Mæia* *Mæia*. Wherefore from the Hebrew Mirjam came, by variety of pronunciation, at first in Syriack *Marjam*; and from the Syriack *Marjam*, at first, only by the variation of pronunciation, *Mæidμum*, then, for the proximity of termination, *Mæia*. *h* Mic. 6. 4. || For though that Interpretation *Domina* may seem to come conveniently enough from *מר̄ים*, yet that being rather from the Chaldees, cannot so well agree with Miriam: nor is the *μ* so properly added at the end, as in the beginning, of an Hebrew word, where it is usually in words of simple signification Hebraicall. Again, *מר̄ים* may signifie Smyrna maris, or Illuminatrix, which S. Hierome rejected; and *Stella* (or rather *Stilla*, which is properly *מר̄*) maris, or amarum mare, which he rather embraced: yet these compositions are not so proper, or probable at all, especially in a name dissyllable. Though the Jews themselves deduce it from *מר̄*, to signifie the bitterness of the Egyptian bondage, as we read in Midrash *שׁושי*, besides the two Authors before quoted, *היה זה המצרים את חיי הים*, where the addition of the final Mem is not proper; or if that should stand for *מר̄*, there were no good account to be given of the Jod, whereas if we deduce it from the Radix *מר̄ים*, with the addition of the Hebraicall Mem, the notation is evident, and the signification clear, as of one exalted above others.

Beside this name of the blessed Virgin, little hath been discovered to us *Christ*, who commended the faith of the Centurion, the love of *Mary Magdalene*, the excellencies of *John* the Baptist, hath left not the least *encomium* of his Mother. The Evangelists who have so punctually described the City, Family and Genealogy of *Joseph*, make no express mention of her Relations, only of her Cofin *Elizabeth*, who was of the Tribe of *Levi*, of the Daughters of *Aaron*. Although it be of absolute necessity to believe that he which was born of her descended from the Tribe of *Judah*, and the Family of *David*; yet hath not the Scripture clearly expressed so much of her, nor have we any more than an || obscure tradition of her Parents *Joachim* and *Anna*.

¶ I call this a Tradition, because it is not written nor is it obscure, because the first mention we find of it was in the fourth Century. Epiphanius first informs us, who, speaking of Joseph, says he knew tous much: *Γνωσκῶν μὲν ἄσκη αὐτῶν τῆς πατρῆος, καὶ δόξαν τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ ἐκ μητρὸς Ἄννης, καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς Ἰωακὴμ*. Heret. 78. Again, *Εἰ ἀγγέλους προσεχωρῶντες ἔδειξεν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπὸ Ἄννης γεννημένην, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωακὴμ τῆς Ἄννης δεσπονημένην* ; Heret. 79. where he makes mention of the History of Mary, and the tradition concerning her nativity. *Ἡ τῆς Μæia ἱστορία καὶ γενεὰς ἐξ ἑσθῆτος ἐκρέθη πρὸς παλαιῶν τῆς Ἰωακὴμ ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου, ὅτι ἡ γυνὴ τῆς Ἰωακὴμ, ὅτι Ἄννη*. Ortheol. Fid. c. 4. c. 15. & Orig. contra Celsum de Panthera. What this History of Mary was, or of what authority those traditions were, we cannot learn out of Epiphanius. What the Interpolator of Gregory Nyssen's Homily produceth, be consistent with some Apocryphal writings. And divers of the like relations descended from the prime and greatest Hereticks. The Quæstions was a book among them which was called *Genes Mæia*. Heret. 25. Amongst the Manichees Seleucus wrote the History of the Virgin. And the Protevangelium Jacobi deceiv'd many in relations of this nature. A song which many being certain of its falsity, is as not now est, (if at all possible) to distinguish what part of them or particular is true. Quod de generatione Maria Faustulus potuit, quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi sacerdotem quendam nomine Joachim, quia Canonicum non est, non me confutit, Just. 5. Autim. 23. contra Faustulum c. 9.

* Τίς ποτε, ἢ διὰ ποία χαρακτῆρας καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Μæia τῆς ἱρίας, καὶ ἐπισημασθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ ὄνομα; ἐπισημασθῆναι τὸ παρεῖναι; Ἐξ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἐπισημασθῆναι ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπορίας τὰ ἐπισημασθῆναι Ἀγγέλιον μὲν γὰρ ὀνομασθῆναι ἐκείνησαν οἱ δικαιοὶ ἐκείνη προσέτις, καὶ ὡς ἠκούζε. Καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀβραάμ προσέτις ἡ τῆς εἰρήνης Θεῶν, καὶ ἐκ δὲ ἀλλοθῆσται; πρὸς τὴν Ἰακώβ, τὸ Ἰσραὴλ καλεῖται, καὶ ἐκ ἀποσταθῆσται, καὶ τῆς ἀποσταθῆσται, τὸ βλασφημία, τῆς ἐπισημασθῆναι, καὶ ἐκ δὲ ἀλλοθῆσται; καὶ τὸ ἐπισημασθῆναι, τὸ παρεῖναι, καὶ ἐκ δὲ ἀλλοθῆσται. Ἡ τῆς ἀπορίας. 73

from

from all others of the same common nomination as *Jacob* is called *Israel*, and *Abraham* the Friend of God, or Father of the faithful; so is this *Mary* sufficiently characterized by that inseparable companion of her name, *the Virgin*. For the full explanation whereof more cannot be required, than that we shew first that the *Messias* was to be born of a *Virgin*, according to the prediction of the Prophets; secondly, that this *Mary*, of whom *Christ* was born, was really a *Virgin* when she bare him, according to the relations of the Evangelists; thirdly, that being at once the Mother of the Son of God and yet a *Virgin*, she continued for ever in the same *Virginity*, according to the Tradition of the Fathers, and the constant Doctrine of the Church.

The obdurate *Jew*, that he might more easily avoid the truth of the second, hath most irrationally denied the first; resolved rather not to understand *Moses* and the Prophets, than to acknowledge the interpretation of the Apostles. It will therefore be necessary, from those Oracles which were committed unto them, to shew the promised *Messias* was born after a miraculous manner, to be the Son of a woman, not of a man. The first promise of him seems to speak no less, *The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head*: for as the name of *seed* is not generally or collectively to be taken for the generation of Mankind, but determinately and individually for that one Seed, which is *Christ*; so the *Woman* is not to be understood with relation unto *Man*, but particularly and determinately to that *Sex* from which alone immediately that Seed should come.

According to this first Evangelical Promise followed that Prediction of the Prophet, *The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth, a woman shall compass a man*. That new creation of a man is therefore *new*, and therefore a *creation*, because wrought in a woman only, without a man, compassing a man. Which interpretation of the Prophet is ancient, || literal and clear; and whatsoever the *Jews* have invented to elude it, is frivolous and forced. For while they force the Phrase of *compassing a man* in the latter part of the Prediction to any thing else than a Conception, they do not only wrest the Scripture, but contradict the former part of the Promise, making the new creation neither new, as being often done, nor a creation, as being easie to perform.

Jer. 31. 22.

|| For it is not to be denied that the proper signification of צָבָה is circundare, or cingere. R. Judah his objection but one interpretation of this Verb,

עֵינַי אָחַר כִּוְּלָם: and Kimchi testifieth, that all words which come from the root צָבָה signifie incompassing, or circuition. Therefore those words, נִקְבְּרָה תְּסוּבֵב גִּבּוֹר, must literally import no less than that a woman shall compass, or enclose, a man, which, with the addition of a new creation, may well bear the interpretation of a miraculous Conception. Especially considering that the ancient *Jews* did acknowledge this sense, and did apply it determinately to the *Messias*: as appeareth in Berechiar Rabba Parash. 89. where shewing that God doth heal with that with which he woundeth, he saith, as he punished *Israel* in a *Virgin*, so would he also heal them with a *Virgin*, according to the Prophet, The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth, a woman shall compass a man. By the testimony of R. Huna, in the name of R. Idi, and R. Joshua the Son of Levi, זֶה מֶלֶךְ הָאֱלֹהִים שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם. This is *Messiah* the King, of whom it is written, (Psal. 2. 7.) This day have I begotten thee. And again in Midrash Tillian, upon the 2. Psal. R. Huna in the name of R. Idi, speaking of the sufferings of the *Messiah*, saith, That when his hour is come, God shall say, וְכֵן הוּא אֹמֵר אֲנִי לְבַר אֶתָּו בְּרִית חֲדָשָׁה הוּא וְדָדָתָו, I must create him with a new creation. And so (by virtue of that new creation) he saith, This day have I begotten thee. From whence it appeareth that this sense is of it self literally clear, and that the ancient *Rabbins* did understand it of the *Messias*; whence it followeth that the latter Interpretations are but to avoid the Truth which we profess, that *Jesus* was born of a *Virgin*, and therefore is the *Christ*.

But if this Prophecy of *Jeremy* seem obscure, it will be sufficiently cleared by that of *Isaiah*; * Behold, a *Virgin* shall conceive, and bear a *Son*, and shall call his name *Emmanuel*. The ancient *Jews* || immediately upon the promulgation of the Gospel, understanding well how near this place did press them,

* Isa. 7. 14.

|| How soon these Objections were made use of by the *Jews*, will appear by Ju-

stine Martyr, the first writer which made any considerable Explanation and Defence of the Christian Religion; who, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, shews us what were the Objections of the *Rabbins*: Ἐπι δὲ ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ διδασκαλοὶ οὐκ ἔσονται ἀπολογεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἀποκρίσθαι ἐν τῇ περὶ τὴν ἰστορίαν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ἰδὲ ἢ παρθενοῦ ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει, ἀλλ', ἰδὲ ἢ νεῖται ἐν γαστρὶ ἀλλήλων, καὶ τέλει οὐ γίνεται. And Tertullian, whose works are full of the Divinity of *Justine*; Si quando ad deificandos aliquos ab hac divina predicatione, vel convertere singulos simplices quoque gestitis, mentiri audeatis, quasi non virginem, sed juvenulam, conceptionem Scriptura continet. Advers. Judæos, c. 9. & adv. Marcionem, lib. 3. cap. 13.

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gave three several answers to this Text: First, denying that it spake of a Virgin at all; secondly, asserting that it could not belong to ** Jesus*; thirdly, affirming that it was fully completed in the person of ** Ezekias*. Whereas the Original word was translated a *Virgin*, by such ** Interpreters* as were *Jews* themselves, some hundred years before our Saviour's birth. And did not the notation of the word and frequent use thereof in the Scriptures persuade it, the wonder of the *sign* given by the *Lord himself* would evince as much. But as for that conceit, that all should be fulfilled in *Hezekiah*, it is so manifestly and undoubtedly false, that nothing can make more for the confirmation of our Faith. For this sign was given and this promise made (*A Virgin shall conceive and bear a son*;) at some time in the reign of *Abaz*. This *Abaz* reigned but sixteen years in *Jerusalem*; and *Hezekiah* his son, who succeeded him, was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and therefore born several years before *Abaz* was King, and consequently not now to be conceived when this sign was given. Thus while the ancient *Jews* name him only to fulfil the prophecy in whom it is impossible it should be fulfilled, they plainly shew that, for any knowledge which they had, it was not fulfilled till our Saviour came: and therefore they cannot with any reason deny but that it belonged unto the *Messias*, as divers of the ancient Rabbins thought and confessed; and is yet more evident by their monstrous error, who therefore expected ** no Messias* in *Israel*, because they thought whatsoever was spoken of him to have been completed in *Hezekiah*. Which is abundantly enough for our present purpose, being only to prove that the *Messias* promised by God, and expected by the people of God before and under the Law, was to be conceived and born of a Virgin.

* Dicunt Judai, Provoceamus istam predicationem Esaiæ, & faciamus comparationem, an Christo, qui jam venit competat illi primò noimen quod Esaias prædicavit, & inignia ejus quæ de eo nunciavit. Equidem Esaias prædicat eum Emmanuelem vocari oportere, dehinc virtutem sumpturum Damasci & spolia Samariæ advertere regem Assyriorum. Porro, inquit, iste qui venit neque sub ejusmodi nomine est dictus, neque re bellica functus, Titul. adv. Judæos. || So Justine testified of the Jews, speaking to Trypho, and in him to them: ἐξήγησθε τὴν προφητείαν ἧς οἱς Ἐζεκιάν τὸν υἱὸν βασιλέως. And Trypho replies again to Justine; Ἴδωμεν εἰς ἐπιθεὶς Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς παρθένου ἐπιθεὶς ἐξήγησθε τὴν προφητείαν ἧς οἱς Ἐζεκιάν αὐτὸν λέγοντες προφητείας. * The LXX. Ἰσὴν ἢ παρθένον ἐν γαστρὶ ἀνθρώπου. In this, the use of the interpreters, concurring with the Objection of the Jews, translated it, ἰσὴν ἢ παρθένον, i. e. adolescentula, or juvenula. But as their antiquity, so their authority is far short of the LXX, especially in this case. I shall not need to shew how the Origination of מלכה from מלך prevails no less. We know the affinity of the Punick tongue with the Hebrew; and by the testimony of S. Hierome, Lingua Punicæ, quæ de Hebræorum fontibus manare dicitur, proprie virgo a ma appellatur. * 2 King. 16. 2. * 2 King. 18. 2. It is the known saying of Hillel, recorded in Sanhedrin, אין להם משיח לישראל שנבד אברהם בימי חזקיהו. There is no Messias to the Israelites, because they have already enjoyed him in the days of Hezekiah. Divers of the later Rabbins endeavour to mollify these words of Hillel by their several explications, but in vain. And R. Joseph understood him better, who thought he took away all expectation of a Messias, and therefore fairly prayed for him, Condoneat Dominus hoc R. Hillel. Howsoever it appears that from two principles, whereof one was false, he gathered that false conclusion. For first, he thought those words in Isaiah were spoken of the Messias: which proposition was true. Secondly, he conceived that those words were spoken of Hezekiah, and fulfilled in him: which proposition was false. From hence he inferred, that the Israelites were not to expect a Messias after Hezekiah: which conclusion was also false.

Secondly, as we are taught by the predictions of the Prophets, that a Virgin was to be Mother of the promised *Messias*; so are we assured by the infallible relations of the Evangelists, that this *Mary*, the Mother of *Jesus*, whom we believe to be *Christ*, was a Virgin when she bare him, when she brought forth her first-born Son. That she was a Virgin when and after she was espoused unto *Joseph*, appeareth by the narration of *S. Luke*: For the *Angel Gabriel* was sent from God to a *Virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph*. After the Salutation of that Angel, that she still was so, appeareth by her question, *How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?* That she continued so after she conceived by the Holy Ghost, is evident from the relation of *S. Matthew*: For when she was espoused unto *Joseph*, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. That she was a Virgin not only while she was with child, but even when she had brought forth,

Luke 1. 27.
 Math. 1. 18.

is also evident out of this application of the Prophecy: *Behold, a Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a Son.* For by the same || prediction it is as manifest that a Virgin should *bring forth*, as *conceive a Son*. Neither was her act of Parturition more contradictory to Virginity, than that former of Conception.

est, *Eccoe, Virgo in utero concipiet, & pariet filium* Non enim concepturam tantummodo Virginem, sed & parituram Virginem dixit. S. Ambrosij. *Epist. 7. ad Siricium.* So he argueth from the Prophecy, and S. Aug. from the Crede: Si vel per nascentem corrumpetur eius integritas, non jam ille de Virgine nasceretur; eaque filio, quod absit, de Virgine nato tota confiteretur Ecclesia, quæ, imitans ejus matrem, quotidie parit membra, & Virgo est. *Encher. c. 34.* As also S. Ambrose in the same *Epistle*: Quæ ponit Virgo concipere, potuit Virgo generare; quum semper conceptus precedat, partus sequatur. Sed si doctrinis non creditur sacerdotum, credatur oraculis Christi, credatur montis Angelorum, credatur Symbolo Apostolorum, quod Ecclesia Romana intemeratam semper colit & servat. And S. Basil upon occasion of the same Prophecy: ἡ ἁγία γυνὴ καὶ παρθένος καὶ μήτηρ. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγιασμῷ τῆ παρθενίας μένεισα, καὶ τῷ τῆ τεκνογονίας εὐλογίαν κληρονομήσει. *Hom. 25.* Virgo peperit, quia Virgo concepit. *Vigil. de Unitate Trinit. c. 10.*

Thirdly, we believe the Mother of our Lord to have been not only before and after his Nativity, but also for ever, the most immaculate and blessed Virgin. For although it may be thought sufficient || as to the mystery of the Incarnation, that when our Saviour was conceived and born, his Mother was a Virgin; though whatsoever should have followed after could have no reflective operation upon the first fruit of her womb; though there be no farther mention in the Creed, than that he was *born of the Virgin Mary*: yet the peculiar eminency and unparallel'd privilege of that Mother, the special honour and reverence due unto that Son, and ever paid by her, the regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, and the power of the Highest which overshadowed her, the singular goodness and piety of Joseph, to whom she was espoused, have persuaded the Church of God in all Ages to believe that she still continued in the same Virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledged the * *Ever Virgin Mary*. As if the Gate of the Sanctuary in the Prophet Ezekiel were to be understood of her; ^a *This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it: because the Lord the God of Israel hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.*

|| Many indeed have taken the boldness to deny this truth, because not recorded in the sacred Writ; and not only so, but to assert the contrary as delivered in the Scriptures; but with no success. For though, as they object, S. Matthew testified that Joseph ^b *knew not Mary, until she had brought forth her first-born Son*, from whence they would infer, that afterwards he knew her;

ne. Io quis prorupit infaniam, ut assereret negatam fuisse Mariam à Salvatore, eo quod post natiuitatem illius juncta fuerit. Joseph. *Homil. 7. in Lucan.* Tertullian himself was produced as an Asserter of the same Opinion; nor does S. Hierome deny it, though I think he might have done it. Apollinarius, or at least his Followers, delivered the same, says Epiphanius; and Eunomius with him; τὸν Ἰωσήφ μὴ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ κυροποιῶν Σωτήριον ἔπεφίκασι τῇ παρθένῳ. Photius out of Philostorgius. Not that these words in Photius were the words of Philostorgius, for he was clearly an Eunomian, and therefore would never express their Opinions with an ἔπεφίκασι. And as he always commended Eunomius, so was he not commended but by an Eunomian, that is, a man of his own Sect. As that Epigram,

Ἐυνομίαν.

Ἰσοεὶμ ἔτελεσα Θεῷ χαεῖτεροι Κοφῆσι.

which I therefore mention, because Gotofred hath made an unnecessary Emendation in the Verse ἔτελεσα ἄδεις, and a worse Interpretation in the Inscription, taking the Eunomian to be a Catholick, and the name of the Sect for the name of a Man; and confirming this Error by a greater mistake, saying Eunomianus was the name of a Man, twice spoken of in Suidas, once in Ἐυνομιανοῦ, and again in ἔλασε. 'Tis true indeed Suidas saith expressly, Ἐυνομιανοῦ, ὄνομα κυρίου, and immediately adds these words, τὸ ἔυνομιανον ἔλασε Βελισάριος τὸ θεῖον λαβὼν, as if Belisarius had baptized one whose name was Eunomianus. But the words are taken out of Procopius in Hist. Arcana, pag. 2. from whence it appears that he who was baptized was by name Theodosius, and by Sect an Eunomian. And whatsoever his name was who wrote that Epigram on the History of Philostorgius, he was certainly by Sect an Eunomian, and that was intended in the Inscription, written without question by some Catholick, who thought no man could commend the History of Philostorgius but one of his own opinion. These Contradictors of the perpetual Virginity of the Mother of our Lord afterwards increased to a greater number, whom Epiphanius calls by a general name Antidicomarianæ. And from S. Aug. Antidicomarianæ appellati sunt Hæretici, qui Maria Virginitati usq; adeo contradicunt, ut affirmant eam post Christum natum viro suo fuisse commixtam, de Hæres. Condemned under that name by the sixth General Council, Act. 11. The same were called by the Latins, Helvidiani, from Helvidius, (a Disciple of Auxentius the Arian) whose name is most made use of, because refuted by S. Hierome. He was followed by Jovinian a Monk of Millan, as S. Hierom testifieth; though S. Augustine delivereth his opinion otherwise, Virginitatem

Mariæ

Matt. 1. 23. || Hæc est Virgo quæ in ore tuo concepta, virgoque peperit filium. Sic enim scriptum

|| Μέγχα γὰρ ἔστι τῷ δίκονομίαν ὑπερεπίαι ἀνασκαία ἡ παρθενία, τὸ δ' ἐρεσῆς ἀπολυ-εξμενητον τὸ λόγῳ τῷ μυστηρίῳ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. S. Basil. Hom. de Natiu.

* For so the Greek Church always called her ἀειπαρθένος, and from them the Latine Semper-Virgo.

^a Ezek. 44. 2.

|| First we read in the time of Origen, that some did maintain the Virginity of Mary no longer than to Christ's Natiu-

ty. In raram

habet juxta Petram, aut ex libro Jacobi) filios Joseph ex priorē uxore, quæ convixerat ipsi antequam duceret Mariam, in Mat. 12. 55. *This Jacobus mentioned by Origen, is the same with him whom Eulathius mentions in Hexamero, Ἰακώβος ὁ πάλαι ἑταίρος ἡν δέξατο τὴν ἀγαθὴν Μαρίας Ἰακώβος τις ἐπαθῆναι. Where he reckons Joseph inter τὸν χριστῶν ἀδελφῶν as in Euphianus calls Ἰακώβος ὁ ἑταίρος. S. Hierom therefore observing that the former Opinion of Joseph's Sons was founded merely upon an Apocryphal writing, and being ready to assert the Virginity of Joseph as well as Mary, first invented the other Solution in the kindred of Mary, as you see not only in the Language but also Testimony of the Scriptures: Quidam fratres Domini de alia uxore Joseph filios suspicantur, sequentes deliramenta Apocryphorum, & quendam Etcham mulierem contingentes. Nos autem, sicut in libro quatuor contra Helvidium scriptum continetur, fratres Domini non filios Joseph, sed contobrinos saluatoris, Mariæ liberos intelligimus matertera Domini, quæ esse dicitur mater Jacobi minoris & Joseph & Judæ, quos in alio Evangelii loco fratres Domini legimus appellatos. Fratres autem contobrinos aucti omnis Scriptura demonstrat. S. Hieron. in Matth. 12. 40. After S. Hieron S. Aug. enforces this Opinion: Conlanguinei Virginis Mariæ fratres Domini dicebantur. Erat enim consuetudinis Scripturarum appellare fratres quoslibet consanguineos & cognationis propinquos, in Job. Tract. 28. item 1. 10. & contra Faustum 1. 22. 25. Although therefore he seem to be indifferent in his Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, Jacobus Domini frater, vel ex filius Joseph de alia uxore, vel ex cognatione Mariæ matris ejus, debet intelligi: yet because this Exposition was written while he was a Presbyter, and those before mentioned after he was made a Bishop; therefore the former was taken for his undoubted Opinion, and upon his and S. Hierom's Authority hath been generally since received in the Latin Church.*

And yet this difficulty, though usually no farther considered, is not fully cleared: for they which impugned the perpetual Virginity of the Mother of our Lord urged it farther, pretending that as the Scriptures called them the *Brethren of Christ*, so they also shewed them to be the Sons of *Mary the Mother of Christ*. For first the *Jews* express them particularly by their Names, *Is not his Mother called Mary? and his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?* * Therefore *James* and *Joses* were undoubtedly the brethren of *Christ*, and the same were also as unquestionably the Sons of *Mary*: For among the Women at the Cross we find ^b *Mary Magdalene*, and *Mary the Mother of James and Joses*. Again, this *Mary* they think can be no other than the Mother of our Lord, because they find her early in the morning at the *Sepulchre* with ^c *Mary Magdalene* and *Salome*; and it is not || probable that any should have more care of the Body of the Son than the Mother. She then who was certainly present at the Cross, was not probably absent from the *Sepulchre*: Wherefore they conclude, she was the Mother of *Christ*, who was the Mother of *James* and *Joses*, the Brethren of *Christ*.

Matth. 15. 55.

* From this place Helvidius argued, Hæc eadem vocabula in alio loco nominari, & eisdem esse fratres Domini, filios Maria. S. Hier. advers. Helv. And from the next he concluded, Ecce Jacobus & Joses, filii Mariæ, Quos Judæi fratres appellarunt. ^b Matth. 27. 55. ^c Mark 16. 1. || Here Helvidius exclaiming triumphed, Quam miserum erit & impium de Maria hoc sentire, ut cum alia femine curam sepulcræ habuerit, matrem ejus dicamus absentem!

Quos Judæi fratres appellarunt. ^b Matth. 27. 55. ^c Mark 16. 1. || Here Helvidius exclaiming triumphed, Quam miserum erit & impium de Maria hoc sentire, ut cum alia femine curam sepulcræ habuerit, matrem ejus dicamus absentem!

And now the urging of this Argument will produce a greater clearness in the solution of the question. For if it appear that *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joses* was different and distinguished from *Mary* the Virgin; then will it also be apparent that the Brethren of our Lord were the Sons of another Mother, for *James* and *Joses* were so called. But we read in *S. John*, that there stood by the Cross of *Jesus* his mother, and his mother's sister, *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas*, and *Mary Magdalene*. In the rest of the *Evangelists* we find at the same place *Mary Magdalene*, and *Mary* the mother of *James* and *Joses*; and again at the *Sepulchre*, *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary*: wherefore that other *Mary* by the conjunction of these Testimonies appeareth to be *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas*, and the mother of *James* and *Joses*; and consequently *James* and *Joses*, the Brethren of our Lord, were not the Sons of *Mary* his Mother, but of the || other *Mary*, and therefore called his Brethren, according to the language of the *Jews*, because that the other *Mary* was the Sister of his Mother.

John 19. 25.

Matth. 27. 55.
Mark 15. 40.
Matth. 28. 1.

|| Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini,

cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Joseph ex alia uxore, ut autem mihi videtur, Maria sororis Matris Domini, cujus Joannes in libro tuo meminit, filius. S. Hieron. in Catalogo. Sicut in sepulchro ubi positum est corpus Domini, nec antea nec postea mortuus jacuit: sic uterus Mariæ nec antea nec postea quicquam mortale suscepit. S. Aug. in Job. Tract. 28.

Notwithstanding therefore all these Pretensions, there can be nothing found to raise the least suspicion of any interruption of the ever-blessed *Mary's* perpetual Virginity. For as she was a Virgin when she conceived, and after

after she brought forth our Saviour; so did she continue in the same state and condition, and was commended by our Saviour to his beloved Disciple, as a mother only now of an adopted son.

The third Consideration belonging to this part of the Article is, how this Virgin was a Mother, what the foundation was of her maternal relation to the Son of God, what is to be attributed unto her in this sacred Nativity beside the immediate work of the power of the Highest, and the influence of the Holy Ghost. For we are here to remember again the most ancient form of this Article, briefly thus delivered, *Born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary*; as also that the word ^a *Born* was not taken precisely for the Nativity of our Saviour, but as comprehending in it whatsoever belonged to his humane Generation: and when afterward the Conception was attributed to the Spirit, the Nativity to the Virgin; it was not so to be understood, as if the Spirit had conceived him, but the blessed Virgin by the power and operation of the Spirit.

First therefore we must acknowledge a true, real and proper Conception, by which the Virgin did conceive of her ^b own substance the true and real substance of our Saviour, according to the prediction of the Prophet, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive*, and the Annunciation of the Angel, *Behold, thou shalt* ^c *conceive in thy womb*. From whence our Saviour is expressly termed by *Elizabeth*, ^d *the fruit of her womb*.

impendunt. S. Hilar. l. 10. de Trinit. ^e That is, by a proper Conception, συλλαβὴν ἐν γαστρὶ the Syriack in one word (ܘܒܘܐܝܠܝܢ ac li dices, ventre fecere. So the LXX. translated the simple ἄρτι, ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται. As therefore ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχηται expresseth a proper Gravitation, so doth ἐν γαστρὶ συλλαβὴν a proper Conception. According to that expression of Gregory Nazianzen, θεοικῶς ἢ, ὅτι χορὴς ἀνδρῶς ἀνθρωπικῶς ἢ, ὅτι νόμος κηρύσσας. Ep. 1. ad Cledon. ^f Luke 1. 42. ^g Heb. ܘܒܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܘܒܘܐܝܠܝܢ.

Secondly, as she did at first really and properly conceive, so did she also nourish and increase the same body of our Saviour, once conceived, by the true substance of her own; by which ^e *she was found with child of the Holy Ghost*, and is described going with *Joseph to be taxed*, ^b *being great with child*, and pronounced happy by that loud cry of the woman in the Gospel, ^h *Blessed is the womb that bare thee*.

Thirdly, when *Christ* was thus conceived and grew in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, she truly and really did bring forth her Son by a true and proper Parturition; and *Christ* thereby was properly born by a ⁱ true Nativity. For as we read, ^k *Elizabeth's full time came that she should be delivered, and she brought forth a son*; so in the like simplicity of expression, and propriety of speech, the same Evangelist speaks of *Mary*, ^l *The days were accomplished that she should be delivered, and she brought forth her first-born son*.

Wherefore from these three, a true Conception, Nutrition and Parturition, we must acknowledge that the blessed Virgin was ^m truly and properly the Mother of our Saviour. And so is she frequently stiled the Mother of *Jesus* in the language of the Evangelists, and by *Elizabeth* particularly the *mother of her Lord*, as also by the general consent of the Church (ⁿ because he which was so born of her was God,) the ^o *Deipara*; which being a compound title begun in the Greek Church, was resolved into its parts by the *Latines*, and so the Virgin was plainly named the || *Mother of God*.

proprie esse matrem? Facundus l. 1. c. 4 Hoc & ad credendum difficile, & dignum controversâ videbatur, utrum Deum illa Virgo genuerit: ceterum quod vere & proprie genuerit, quicquid est ille quem genuit, nulli dignum discepcionis apparet. Ibid. ^a Πῶς γὰρ θεοῦ ἢ θεοῦ ἢ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐχέτω. Theod. Abucava. ^e This name was first in use in the Greek Church, who, delighting in the happy compositions of that language, called the blessed Virgin θεοτόκου. From whence the Latins in imitation stiled her Virginem Deiparam & Dei genitricem. Meursius in his Glossary sets the Original of this Title at the time of Justinian. Inditum hoc nomen est matri Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi à Synodo V. Constantinopolitana tempore Justiniani. Whereas this was not the Original, but the confirmation, of that Title. In hac Synodo Catholice est institutum, ut Beata Maria semper-virgo θεοτόκου diceretur: quia, sicut Catholica fides habet, non hominem solum, sed vere Deum & Hominem.

^a γεννηται

^a Tantum ad nativitatem carnis ex se dedit, quantum ex se foemine edenderunt corporum incipit originibus

^f Mat. 1. 23. ^g Luke 2. 5. ἄσκη ἔγκυον. ^h Luke 11. 27. καιλια ἡ βασιλεια σου

ⁱ Πῶς ἂν εὐγενῆς εἴς τὸν Κυριον γαρά, ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ ἧδὺς δεξιᾶς καὶ σαρκας, ὑἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἀλημα καὶ διωμι. Θεῶ, γεγεννημένων ἀληθῶς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. 18. Epist. ad Smyr.

^k Luke 1. 57. ^l Luke 2. 6, 7. ^m Veri & proprii filii quicquid in abun distans neget vere &

minem. genui. Paul. in apoc. de Gyl. Longobard. l. 6. c. 14. So speaketh he of the same Synod: and 'tis true for the seventh Canon of the same Council, Εἰ τις κτ' αναθεῶν ἢ καταρχησικῶς Θεοτόκον λέγει ἢ ἄριαν, ἢ ἰδοξον, ἀειπαρθένον Μαριαν... ἀλλὰ μὴ κυρίας κτ' ἀθέτου Θεοτόκον οὐτῶ ὁμοιοῦται... ὁ τοιαῦτ' ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Otherwise in this Council was not considered what was said in the Council of Ephesus: and therefore Photius says thereof, Αὐτῇ ἢ Σιωδῶ Νεστορία πάλιν τὰ μετὰ πατρὸς ἄρην ἐξέμαρξεν εἰς τὸ πανήλικες ἐξέθειρεται, that it utterly cut off the Heresy of Nestorius which then began to grow up again. Now part of the Heresy of Nestorius was the denial of this Θεοτόκῳ, and the whole was nothing else but the growth of that denial. And therefore being he was condemned for denying of it, that Title must be acknowledged authentick which he denied from the time of the Council of Ephesus; in which those Fathers, saith Photius expressly, τὴν πανάρχαιον καὶ ἀειπαρθένον (Χειρὸ) μητέρα κυρίας κτ' ἀποθῆκε καλεῖται καὶ ἀπόσημῶς Θεοτόκον προσεδόξατο. Epist. 1. And that it was so then is manifest, because by the denial of this ἢ Nestorian Heresy was first discovered, not in Nestorius himself, but in his Presbyter Anathanasius, who first in a Synod was first called ἀθετοῦ Θεοτόκον τὴν Μαρίαν καλεῖται μητέρα, Soc. Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c. 21. and Liberat. in exil. c. 4. as also Euthymius and Nicophorus. Upon which words arising a Tumult, Nestorius took his Presbyter's part, teaching the same Doctrine constantly in the Church of Constantinople, ἃ τὴν λέξιν τῶ Θεοτόκῳ ἐκείνων. And hereupon the tumult grew so great, that at a general Council for that purpose was called by Theodosius Jun. τῶ Νεστοῦ τὴν ἄριαν Μαρίαν ἢ Θεοτόκον ἀρνησάμενος, as Justinian testifieth, Ep. ad P. Synod. in which, when all things seemed clearly to be carried against Nestorius and his faction, he hoped to have reconciled all by this signed acknowledgment, λέξιν καὶ Θεοτόκῳ ἢ Μαρία, καὶ ταυτάτω τὰ λυπηρὰ. Soc. l. 7. c. 34. Liber. in exil. c. 6. It is plain then that the Council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorius, confirmed this Title Θεοτόκῳ. I say confirmed it; for 'tis evident that it was acknowledged in the Church, by the tumult which arose at the first denial of it by Anathanasius; and so confirmed it as received before, being then approved in the Epistles of S. Cyril, who proved it by the usage of those Fathers which preceded him. Where by the way it is observable, that while S. Cyril produceth nine several Fathers for the use of this word, and both before and after he produceth them, affirmeth that they all did use it, there are but three of them who expressly mention it, Athanasius, Antiochus and Ammon, Epist. ad Rogos. And it is something to be admired that he should so name the other six, and recite those places out of them which had it not, when there were before him so many beside them that used it. As Gregory Nazianzen, Εἰ τις ἢ Θεοτόκον τῶ Μαρίαν ἀναθεματίζει, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τῶ Θεοτόκῳ. Epist. ad Cledonium: and in his first Oration de Filio, speaking of the difference of his generation from the other fathers, πῶς ἔστι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἔργοις Θεοτόκον παρθένον; And S. Basil asserteth, μὴ καταδύχασθαι τῶ φιλοσοφίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ποτὲ ἐπαύσατο ἢ παρθένον ἢ Θεοτόκῳ. Hom. de nat. Christi. And that in the time of S. Basil and S. Gregory the same was what, appeareth by the objection of Julian, who derided the Christians for thinking God could be born of a woman, Θεοτόκον ὁ ἴσους ἢ παρθένου Μαρίαν καλεῖται. S. Cyr. tom. 6. Before both these Eusebius speaketh of Helena, who built a Church at Nichelem; Ἡ βασίλειος ἢ Θεοσεβαστή τῶ Θεοτόκου τὴν κύβητον μνήμασι θαυμασταῖς κατέκοσμη. de vita Const. l. 2. And before Eusebius, Aleximides Bishop of Alexandria; ἀπαρχὴν γέννησεν ὁ Κύριος ἢ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, σῶμα σαρκὸς ἀληθῆς, καὶ ἢ ἰδοξον, καὶ τῶ Θεοτόκου Μαρίαν. Ep. ad Alex. apud Theod. l. 1. c. 4. Before him Dionysius Alex. calls our Saviour ἢ σαρξ ἀληθὴ καὶ τῶ ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ Θεοτόκου Μαρίαν. Epist. ad Paulum Samosat. And speaking of the words of Isaiah, a Virgin shall conceive, Δέχουσαν ὅτι ἢ Θεοτόκῳ τινὲς σωμαλαβεν, ἢ παρθένῳ ἄλογον. Resp. ad Quell. 5. And in the Answer to the same Question, πιδματὶ ἀγίῳ ἢ ἔσται, καὶ σκέτεται τῶ δωματῶν τῶ ἁγίῳ ἢ ἀέμῳ σκηνῶν τῶ Θεοῦ, Μαρία ἢ Θεοτόκῳ, καὶ παρθένῳ. and again, ἐκείνη λέγει καὶ οὐ τῶ ἁγίῳ ἢ ἐκ τῶ Θεοτόκου. In the answer to the 7th Question, δια τὸ εὐχρηστικὸν τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἁγίων ἀμα τῶ Θεοτόκου Μαρία, ἐν ἀγκύλαις ἐρέσει τὴν κατασκευὴν ἡμῶν. and so often. Nay yet before him Origen did not only use, but expound at large the meaning of that title Θεοτόκῳ, in his first Tome on the Epistle to the Romans; as Socrat. and Liberat. testify. Well therefore did Antiochus Bishop of Antioch urge the ancient Fathers against Nestorius, calling it παράδοξον ὄνομα καὶ τελεμῶν πολλοῖς ἢ Πατέρων. And again, πολλοῖς ἢ πατέρων καὶ σωτηρῶν, καὶ ἁγίων. Ἰδοξον τὸ ὄνομα, ἵνα ἢ, ἢ ἑίς ἢ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διδασκάλων παρήχηται. ὅτι τὸ γὰρ χριστοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ πολλοῦ ὄνομα, εἰ τὸ μὴ χριστοῦ ἢ ἐπελάσονται ἢ χριστοῦ. Concil. Ephes. p. 1. c. 25. Although Θεοτόκῳ may be extended to signify as much as the Mother of God, because τίς τινος doth sometimes denote as much as ἁγίῳ, and therefore it hath been translated Dei Genitrix, as well as Deipara; yet those ancient Greeks which called the Virgin Θεοτόκῳ, did not call her μητέρα τῶ Θεοῦ. But the Latins translating Θεοτόκῳ, Dei genitrix, and the Greeks translating Dei genitrix Θεομήτηρ, they both at last called her plainly the Mother of God. The first which the Greeks observed to stile her so was Leo the Great, as was observed by Ephraim Patriarch of Theopolis; whose words have been very much mistaken by two learned men, Dionysius Petavius and Leo Allarius, who have produced them to prove that he thought Leo Magnus was the first man which ever used the word Θεοτόκῳ. A strange error this must needs appear in so great a Person as a Patriarch, and that of the Greek Church; and indeed not imaginable, considering how well he was versed in those Controversies, and how he compared the words of Leo with those of the ancient Greek Fathers, and particularly of S. Cyril. His words are these in his Epistle ad Zenobium; Πρῶτῳ ἐν ἁγίοις Λέων ἰδικῶς ἔπεινῶν τῶν λέξεσιν, ὅτι μήτηρ Θεοῦ ὄντι ἢ ἁγία Θεοτόκῳ, ἢ τῶ ἀπὸ πάντων διαπερυσίαις ῥήμασι μὴ τῶτο σαυμῶν. That is, Leo was the first who in plain terms called the Θεοτόκῳ, that is Mary, the Mother of God, whereas the Fathers before him spoke not the same in express words. Petavius and Allarius have clearly mistaken the Proposition, making the Subject the Predicate, and the Predicate the Subject, as if he had first called the Mother of God Θεοτόκῳ, whereas he is said first to call the Θεοτόκῳ Mother of God, as appeareth by the article added to the Subject, not to the Predicate. But if that be not sufficient, his meaning will appear by another passage to the same purpose, in his Epistle ad Synclericum; "Ὅτι μητέρα Θεοῦ πρῶτον ἢ ἢ Ἐλισάβετ ἀνέπειν, ἐν οἷς λέγει, Καὶ ἔθεν μοι τῶτο, ἵνα ἢ μήτηρ τῶ Κυρίου μου ἔλθῃ πρὸς με; σαρέσειν ἢ ἢ ἄλλον μὴ ταῦτα τὴν λέξιν πρῶτῳ ἢ ὁσὶν Λέων ὁ Πάπας πρὸς ἐνεργε. Therefore as he took the Lord and God to be synonymous; so he thought Elizabeth first stiled Mary the Mother of God, because she called her the mother of her Lord; and after Elizabeth, Leo was the first who plainly stiled her so, that is, the Mother of God. And that we may be yet farther assured of his mind, he produceth the words of Leo the Pope in his Epistle to Leo the Emperor: Ἀναθεματίζετο Νεστοῦ, ὁ τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν ἐκ τῶ Θεοῦ, ἀνθρώπου ἢ μὲν, πρὸς ὅν ἢ μητέρα. The sentence which he translates is this, Anathematizetur ergo Nestorius, qui beatam Virginem Mariam non Dei, sed hominis tantummodo, credidit genitricem. Epist. 97. c. 1. where plainly genitrix Dei is translated μήτηρ Θεοῦ, and Θεοτόκῳ is added by Ephraim out of custom in the Subject, being otherwise not at all in Leo's words. It is therefore certain that first in the Greek Church they termed the blessed Virgin Θεοτόκῳ, and the Latins from them Dei genitrix, and mater Dei, and the Greeks from them again μήτηρ Θεοῦ, upon the authority of Leo, not taking notice of other Latins who stiled her so before him.

The necessity of believing our Saviour thus to be born of the Virgin Mary, will appear both in respect of her who was the Mother, and of him who was the Son.

In respect of her it was therefore necessary, that we might perpetually preserve an esteem of her person proportionable to so high a dignity. It was her

own prediction, ^a From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed; but the obligation is ours, to call her, to esteem her so. ^b If Elizabeth cried out with so loud a voice, Blessed art thou among women, when Christ was but newly conceived in her womb; what expressions of Honour and Admiration can we think sufficient now that Christ is in Heaven, and that Mother with him? * Far be it from any Christian to derogate from that special privilege granted her, which is incommunicable to any other. We cannot bear too reverend a regard unto the Mother of our Lord, so long as we give her not that worship which is due unto the Lord himself. Let us keep the language of the Primitive Church: || Let her be honoured and esteemed, let him be worshipped and adored.

^a Luke 1. 28. Non a quanda est mulieribus cunctis, que genuit inestitatem. Adam lib de singulari Chricorum.
^b Helisabe. Zacharias nos docere possunt quanto interior res sunt B. Mariæ matri Domini sanctitate, que confite

in se habitantis Dei liberè proclamat, Ecce ergo ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes. S. Hier. adv. Peiag. l. 1. * Adit ut quisquam S. Mariam divina gratiæ privilegiis ut speciali gloriâ fraudare conetur. || Η Μαρία εν τιμη, ο εβραη τεροσκωιδω. Εν τιμη εσω Μαρια, ο εβραη, η τις, η αριον Πνευμα τεροσκωιδω. Την Μαριαν μηδεις τεροσκωιδω. Epiph. Hatch. 79. Ει χαλριση η Μαρια, η αρια, η τεροσκωιδω, αλλ' εν εις το τεροσκωιδω. Ib. Ηυδεις εβραη τεροσκωιδω θεολογηωυ ενδιν' ηβ ε ανθρωπων πο εν αρεση διατρεψαντας ες ανθρωπος αριους γερακεωυ. μιν οι εβραη τεροσκωιδω δεδν η παλρεα, η τον ευειν γε λορον, η το παναριον πνευμα. Theod. Therapeut. pag. 302.

In respect of him it was necessary, first, that we might be assured he was made, or begotten, of a woman, and consequently that he had from her the true nature of man. For he took not on him the nature of Angels, and therefore saved none of them, who, for want of a Redeemer, are reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. And man once fallen had been, as deservedly, so irrevocably, condemned to the same condition, but that he took upon him the seed of Abraham. For being we are partakers of flesh and blood, we could expect no Redemption but by him who likewise took part of the same. We could look for no Redeemer, but such a one who by consanguinity was our Brother. And being there is but one Mediatour between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus, we cannot be assured that he was the Christ, or is our Jesus, except we be first assured that he was a Man. Thus our Redeemer, the Man Christ Jesus, was born of a woman, that he might * redeem both men and women; that both Sexes might rely upon him, who was of the one, and from the other.

Heb. 2. 16
Heb. 2. 14
|| Under that mention did the ancient Jews expect him, as appeareth by the Targum, Cantic. 3. 1.

וְיִשׁוּעַ
יִבְנֶה
אֶת־נוֹרָא
מִלְכֵנוּ
מִשְׁתָּרָא
לְבָנֵי שְׂדֵיךְ
וְיִשְׁדָּרְךְ
וְיִמְרָךְ
לְעַמְּךְ
וְיִשְׁלָךְ
אֶת־הָאָרֶץ
עִמָּךְ
לְאָחִיךְ

Secondly, it was necessary we should believe our Saviour conceived and born of such a woman as was a most pure and immaculate Virgin. For as it behoved him in all things to be made like unto us; so in that great similitude a dissimilitude was as necessary, that he should be ^c without sin. Our Passover is slain, and behold the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the World; but the Lamb of the Passover must be without blemish. Whereas then we draw something of corruption and contamination by our feminal traduction from the first Adam; our Saviour hath received the same nature without any culpable inclination, because born of a Virgin without any feminal traduction. Our High-Priest is separate from sinners not only in the actions of his life, but in the production of his nature. For as Levi was in the loins of Abraham, and paid tithes in him, and yet Christ, though the Son of Abraham, did not pay tithes in him, but receive them in

When the Messiah shall receive himself, the sons of Israel shall say unto him: Esau shall be intous a Brother.

* Hominis liberatio in utroque sexu debuit apparere. Ergo, quia virum oportebat suscipere, qui sexus honorabilior est conveniens erat ut foeminei sexus liberatio hinc appareret, quod ille vir de foemina natus est. S. August. Quest. 7. 23. Non sic vos ipsos contemnere, viri, filius Dei virum suscepit: nolite vos ipsas contemnere, foeminae, filius Dei natus est in vobis. Item de Agone Christi. * Heb. 4. 14. Non cum in peccatis mater ejus in utero aluit, quem Virgo concepit, Virgini peperit. S. Augustin. Tract. 4. in Joham. Ergo ecce Agnus Dei. Non habet iste traducem de Adam; carnem tantum sumpsit de Adam, peccatum non assumpsit. Ibid. Verbum caro factum in Similitudine carnis peccata omnia nostra suscepit nullum reatus vitium ferens ex traduce pravaricationis exortum. Joann. 4. Epist. ad Constantinam. Levi in hbris

Mariae fuit secundum conceptionem carnalem, Christus autem secundum solam substantiam corporalem. Cum enim in genere & viribilibus corpulentia & invisibilis ratio, utrumque ecurrit ex Abraham, vel etiam ex ipso Adam, utiq; ad corpus Mariae, qui & ipsum eo modo conceptus & exortus est: Christus autem viribilem carnis substantiam de carne Virginis sumpsit; ratio vero conceptionis eius non à semine virili, sed longe aliter ac desuper venit. S. August. de Gen. ad lit. l. 10. c. 17.

Melchizedeck: so though we being in the loins of *Adam* may be all said to sin in him; yet *Christ*, who descended from the same *Adam* according to the flesh, was not partaker of that sin, but an expiation for it. For he which is contained in the seminal virtue of his Parent is some way under his natural power, and therefore may be in some manner concerned in his actions: but he who is only from him by his natural substance, according to a passive or obediencial power, and so receiveth not his propagation from him, cannot be so included in him as to be obliged by his actions, or obnoxious to his demerits.

Thirdly, it was necessary that we should believe *Christ* born of that person, that *Virgin Mary* which was espoused unto *Joseph*, that thereby we might be assured that he was of the family of *David*. For whatsoever Promises were made of the *Messias* were appropriated unto him. As the seed of the woman was first contracted to the seed of *Abraham*, so the seed of *Abraham* was next appropriated to the Son of *David*. He was to be called the son of the Highest, and the Lord God was to give unto him the throne of his father *David*. When *Jesus* asked the *Pharisees*, *What think ye of Christ? whose son is he?* they said unto him, *The son of David*. When *Herod* demanded of the chief Priests and Scribes where *Christ* should be born; they said unto him, *In Bethlehem of Judaea*, because that was the city of *David*, whither *Joseph* went up with *Mary* his espoused wife, because he was of the house and lineage of *David*. After *John* the Baptist, the forerunner of *Christ*, was born, *Zacharias* blessed the Lord God of *Israel*, who had raised up an horn of salvation for us in the House of his servant *David*. The woman of *Canaan*, the blind men sitting by the way, and those other blind that followed him, cried out, *Have mercy on us, O Lord, thou son of David*. The very children, out of whose mouths God perfected praise, were crying in the Temple, and saying, *Hosannah to the son of David*. And when the blind and dumb both spake and saw, all the people were amazed, and said, *is not this the son of David?* Thus by the publick and concurrent testimonies of all the *Jews*, the promised *Messias* was to come of the house and lineage of *David*; || for God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh he would raise up *Christ* to sit upon his throne. It was therefore necessary we should believe that our Saviour was made of the seed of *David* according to the flesh: of which we are assured, because he was born of that *Virgin Mary* who descended from him, and was espoused unto *Joseph*, who descended from the same, that thereby his Genealogy might be known.

The consideration of all which will at last lead us to a clear explication of this latter Branch of the Article, whereby every Christian may inform himself what he is bound to profess, and being informed, fully express what is the object of his Faith in this particular, when he saith, I believe in *Jesus Christ* which was born of the *Virgin Mary*. For hereby he is conceived to intend thus much: I assent unto this as a most certain and infallible Truth, That there was a certain woman, known by the name of *Mary*, espoused unto *Joseph* of *Nazareth*, which before and after her Espousals was a pure and unspotted Virgin, and being and continuing in the same Virginity, did, by the immediate operation of the Holy Ghost, conceive within her Womb the only-begotten Son of God, and, after the natural time of other women, brought him forth as her first-born Son, continuing still a most pure and immaculate

Eccl. 1. 32.

1. 22. 42.

Matt. 2. 4. 5.

Eccl. 2. 4.

Eccl. 1. 59.

Matt. 15. 22.

and 21. 30.

and 9. 27.

Matt. 21. 15.

Matt. 12. 27.

|| Acts 2. 31.

Atque hinc

magis Christi-

sum intellige-

re debetis et

David deputa-

tum carnali ge-

neris ob Mariae

Virginis con-

tinu. De hoc

enim promisso

oratur in Psal-

mo ad David,

Ex fructu ven-

trivae colligebis

fructum: ut in

Psalm. Tertul-

l. 2. ubi Mar-

cionem 1. 2.

* Rom. 1. 3.

maculate Virgin ; whereby the Saviour of the world was born of a Woman under the Law, without the least pretence of any original corruption, that he might deliver us from the guilt of sin ; born of that Virgin which was of the house and lineage of *David*, that he might sit upon his throne, and rule for evermore. And in this latitude I profess to believe in *Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary,*

ARTICLE IV.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified,
dead, and buried.

THis Article hath also received some accession in the particular expressions of *Christ's* Humiliation. For the first word of it, now generally speaking of his Passion, in the most ancient Creeds was no way distinguished from his Crucifixion ; for as we say, *suffered and crucified, they only, || Crucified under Pontius Pilate* : nor was his Crucifixion distinguished from his Death, but where we read, *crucified, dead, and buried, they only, crucified and buried.* Because the chief of his Sufferings were on the Cross, and he gave up the Ghost there ; therefore his whole Passion and his Death were comprehended in his Crucifixion.

|| Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, & sepultus. *Ruffin. in Symb. Cassianus de incarn. Domini. Credimus in eum qui sub Pontio Pilato cru-*

cifixus est & sepultus. *S. August. de Fide & Symb. & de Trinitat. l. 1. c. 14. Caput nostrum Christus est, crucifixum & sepultum, resuscitatum ascendit in caelum. Idem in Psal. 132. Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est & sepultus. Mat. Lavin. Chrysol. Euseb Gallic. Τὸν ὄν Ποντίου Πιλάτου σαυρωθέντα, ταφέντα. Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est & sepultus. Miss. Armach. And beside these, a witness without exception, Leo the Great ; Unigenitum Filium Dei crucifixum & sepultum, omnes etiam in Symbolo confitemur. Epist. 10. cap. 5. Afterwards the passion was expressed : Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus & sepultus. Eucherius Oxam. And the Death : Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, & sepultus. Author lib. de Symb. ad Catechum. Not but both these were expressed before in the Rule of Faith by Tertullian, but without particular mention of the Crucifixion. Adv. Prax. c. 2. hunc passum, hunc mortuum, & sepultum : as Optatus, Passus, mortuus, & sepultus resurrexit. lib. 1. Passus, sepultus, & tertia die resurrexit. Capitul. Caroli 82. And generally the Ancients did understand determinately his Crucifying by that more comprehensive name of his Suffering. For as Marcellus and S. Cyril have σαυρωθέντα & ταφέντα, Eusebius and the Nicene Council to the same purpose have ταφέντα, only in their Creeds. As Clem. Alex. Pedag. l. 2. c. 3. τῶν εἰς Θεὸν πίστιν, τῶν εἰς ταφέντα ὁμολογίαν. Which was farther enlarged afterwards by the Council of Constantino-ple into σαυρωθέντα, & ταφέντα, & ταφέντα.*

But again, being he suffered not only on the Cross ; being it was possible he might have been affixed to that cursed Tree, and yet not have died ; therefore the Church thought fit to add the rest of his Sufferings, as antecedent, and his death, as consequent, to his Crucifixion.

To begin then with his Passion in general. In those words, *He suffered under Pontius Pilate*, we are to consider part as Substantial, part as Circumstantial. The Substance of this part of the Article consisteth in our Saviour's Passion, *He suffered* : the Circumstance of Time is added, declared by the present Governour, *under Pontius Pilate.*

Now for the explication of our Saviour's *Passion* as distinct from those particulars which follow in the Article, more I conceive cannot be required than that we shew, *Who* it was that suffered, *How* he suffered, *What* it was he suffered.

First, If we would clearly understand him that suffered in his full relation to his *Passion*, we must consider him both in his Office, and his Person ; as *Jesus Christ*, and as the only-begotten Son of God. In respect of his Office, we believe that he which was the *Christ* did suffer ; and so we make profession to be saved by Faith in a suffering *Messias*. Of which that we may give a just account, First, we must prove that the promised *Messias* was to suffer :

for

for if he were not, then by professing that our *Jesus* suffered, we should declare he was not *Christ*. Secondly, we must shew that *Jesus*, whom we believed to be the *Messias*, did really and truly suffer: for if he did not, then while we proved the true *Messias* was to suffer, we should conclude our *Jesus* was not that *Messias*. Thirdly, it will farther be advantagious for the illustration of this truth, to manifest that the Sufferings of the *Messias* were determined and foretold, as those by which he should be known. And fourthly, it will then be necessary to shew that our *Jesus* did truly suffer whatsoever was determined and foretold. And more than this cannot be necessary to declare *Who* it was that suffered, in relation to his Office.

For the first of these, that the promised *Messias* was to suffer, to all Christians it is unquestionable; because our Saviour did constantly instruct the Apostles in this truth, both ^a before his death, that they might expect it, and ^b after, that they might be confirmed by it. And one part of the Doctrine which *S. Paul* disseminated through the world was this, ^c that the *Christ* must needs have suffered.

Mat. 12.
Luk. 24. 25,
17. 3.

But because these Testimonies will satisfy only such as believe in *Jesus*, and our Saviour himself did refer the disbelieving *Jews* to the Law and the Prophets, as those who testified of him; we will shew from thence, even from the Oracles committed to the *Jews*, how it was written of the *Son of man*, that he must suffer many things; and how the Spirit of *Christ* which was in the Prophets testified before-hand the sufferings of *Christ*.

Is. 52. 12.
Jer. 17. 11.

The fifty third Chapter of *Esay* is beyond all question a sad, but clear, description of a suffering person: *A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, oppressed, and afflicted, wounded and bruised, brought to the slaughter, and cut off out of the land of the living.* But the person of whom that Chapter treateth was certainly the *Messias*, as we have ^{||} formerly proved by the confession of the most ancient *Jews*, and may farther be evidenced both from them, and from the place it self. For surely no man's soul can be made an offering for our sins, but our Saviour's: nor hath God laid on any man the iniquity of us all, but on our Redeemer. Upon no person but the *Messias* could the chastisement of our peace be; nor with any stripes could we be healed but his. It is sufficiently then demonstrated by the Prophet, that the suffering Person, whom he describes was to be the *Christ*, in that he bare our griefs, and carried our sorrows.

[Page 87. We showed by the Authority of the Targum, the Berethich Rabbah, and the Seder-drash of R. Ruth, and by the confession of Solomon in Jeremiah's Notes with us, that the ancient Rabbins did not

interpret that Chapter of the *Messias*, which might seem a sufficient acknowledgment. But because this is the most considerable controversy between us and the *Jews*, it will not seem unnecessary to prove the same truth by other Testimonies. In the Talmud, Cod. Sanhedrin, to the question, *What is the name of the Messias?* it is answered, **למכה** the Leper. And the reason of the name is there rendered; **למכה** because it is spoken in this, *Esay* 52. 4. Surely he hath born our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, &c. **למכה**. And because **למכה** is used of the Leprosie, *Levit.* 13. 13. therefore from **למכה** they concluded his name to be a Leper, as the Jews do interpret that place of the *Messias*. In the *Pesikta* it is written, **הווציא הבורא את נשמתו** God produced the soul of the *Messias*, and said unto him, *Wilt thou redeem my sons after 6000 years?* He answered, *I will.* *Wilt thou bear the chastisements to take away their sins?* **נשאת כל חטאת בני ישראל** as it is written *Isa.* 53. 4. Surely he hath born our griefs? And he answered, *I will bear them with joy.* Which is a clear testimony, considering the Opinion of the *Jews*, that all souls of men were created in the beginning, and so the soul of the *Messias* to suffer for the rest. The spirit of the *Jews*, turning these expressions off from the *Messias*, and attributing of them to the People as to one, is something ancient: for we find that *Origen* was argued with that exposition in a disputation with the *Jews*. **Μένεινμαι δὲ τότε ἐν τινὶ περὶ τοῦ λεγόμενου παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῦ ἐκζητήσαι τὸ πρῶτον λέγειν ταῦτα, ὅτι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἔλεγον ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ, ὡς περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὰ διασπορὰ καὶ πληγὴν, ἵνα πολλοὶ περισσάουσι ἠλιθίου, καὶ ἐπεσσοῦνται ἵνα κενώσιν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔθνη.** Thus the *Jews* interpreted these places, *Isa.* 52. 14. His visage was so marred more than any man; &c. which had not been told them shall they see; 52. 3. a man of sorrow, and acquainted with grief: and applied them to the people of *Israel* in their dispersion. But *Origen* did easily refute him, by stating other places of the same Prophecy, as *Isa.* 53. 4. He hath born our griefs and carried our sorrows; *Isa.* 5. He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, and with his stripes are we healed. **Στασὶς γὰρ, ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἀμαρτίας ἡμετέρας, καὶ ἐπιβλήσῃ ἐπὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα τοῦ λαοῦ, ὅτι τὰ λατῶν ἡμῶν, ἕτε καὶ οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔθνων, ταῦτα λέγουσι.** But especially he confounded the *Jews*, with the words of the 2. verse, He was cut off out of the land of the living; for the transgressions of my people was he stricken. **Μεταίτιον ἔλεγε τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὴν κατακρίσιν λέγειν τὸ, Ἄπο τῆς ἀνομίας τῶν λαῶν ἡμετέρας ἐξήγαγον. Ἐπειδὴ ἡ λαός σου ἐπέβη ἐπὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα ἡμῶν, ὅτι τὰ ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, ὅτι τὰ ἁμαρτίας τῶν λαῶν σου Θεὸς ἀπέβη ἡμετέρας ἐξ ἡμῶν ἕτε, καὶ μὴ ἕτε, ὅτι περὶ τὸν λαόν σου ἔλεγε τὸ, Ἄπο τῆς ἀνομίας ἡμετέρας.** *Origen* ad. *Celsam* l. 1.

This

This Prediction is so clear, ever since the *Serpent* was to *bruise the heel* of the *Woman's seed*, that the *Jews*, who were resolved to expect a *Messias* which should be only glorious, have been enforced to invent another, which should suffer. And then they answer us with a distinction of their own invention; That a *Messias* was to redeem us, and a *Messias* was to suffer for us: but the same *Messias* was not both to redeem us and to suffer for us. For they say that there are || two several persons promised under the name of the *Messias*; one of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, the other of the Tribe of *Judah*; one the son of *Joseph*, the other the son of *David*; the one to precede, fight, and suffer death, the other to follow, conquer, reign, and never to die. If then our Saviour were a *Christ*, we must confess he was a suffering *Messias*, and consequently, according to their Doctrine, not a Saviour. For if he were the son of *David*, then, say they, he was never to die; or if he ever died, he was not that *Messias* which was promised to sit upon the throne of *David*. And while we confess our Saviour died, and withal assert his descent from the house of *David*, we do, in their opinion, involve our selves in a Contradiction.

|| *is indeed* Jews expect a double *Messias*, one the son of *Joseph*, the other the son of *David*. *the Targum* *apocryphal* *upon Canticles* 4-5. *הרון בן דוד* *דעתירין*

Two are thy deliverers which shall deliver thee, *Messias* the son of *David*, and *Messias* the Son of *Ephraim*: and in the same manner, *Chap. 7. 3.* This that *Paraphrast*, nothing so ancient as the rest, is conceived to have taken out of the *Talmud* in *Massecheth Succa*, where cap. 5. is inscribed *ההרליר* *God* *said* to *Messias* the son of *David*, *אשר מרה אתה מבקש* Ask what thou wilt, (according to the second *Psalms*) and I will give it thee. *כיון שרואה למשיח בן יוסף שנהרג* Who seeing *Messias* the son of *Joseph* which was slain, asked of *God* nothing but life. Thus from the *Talmud* and the later *Targum* the *Rabbins* have generally taught a double *Messias*, one the son of *David*, the other of *Joseph*. As *Solomon Jarchi*, *Isa. 24. 18.* *Zach. 12. 10.* *Aben Ezra*, *Zach. 9. 9.* *Malach. 3. 1.* *Kimki*, *Zach. 12. 10.* whom the later *Jews* constantly follow. And this *Marcion* the *Heretick* seems to have learned of the *Jews*, and to have taught with some alteration in favour of his own opinion. *Constitutio* *Marcion* *alium esse Christum, qui Tibertanis temporibus à Deo quondam ignoto revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium; alium, qui à Deo creatore in restitutionem Judaici status sit destinatus, quandoque venturus.* *Tertul. adver. Marcion. l. 4. c. 6.*

But this Distinction of a double *Messias* is far from prevailing over our belief: first, because it is in it self false, and therefore of no validity against us; secondly, because it was first invented to counterfeit the truth, and so very advantageous to us.

That it is in it self false, will appear, because the Scriptures never mention any *Messias* of the Tribe of *Ephraim*; neither was there ever any promise of that nature made to any of the sons or off-spring of *Joseph*. Besides, as we acknowledge but one Mediator between God and man, so the Scriptures never mention any *Messias* but one. Under whatsoever title he is represented to us, there can be no pretence for a double person. Whether the *seed of the woman*, or the *seed of Abraham*, whether *Shiloh*, or the *Son of David*, still one person promised: and the stile of the ancient *Jews* before our Saviour was, not they, but he || which is to come. The question which was asked him, when he professed himself to be *Christ*, was, whether it was he which was to come, or whether they were to look for another; not that they could look for him and for another also. The objection then was, that *Elias* was not yet come, and therefore they expected no *Messias* till *Elias* came. Nor can the difference of the *Messias's* condition be any true reason of imagining a double person, because in the same place the Prophets, speaking of the same person, indifferently represent him in either condition. Being then, by the confession of all the *Jews*, one *Messias* was to be the son of *David*, whom *Elias* was to precede; being by the tenure of the Scriptures there was never promise made of more *Christs* than one, and never the least mention of the Tribe of *Ephraim* with any such relation; it followeth that that distinction is in it self false.

|| *is to come* *ἵνα ἔρχεται* *Zach. 9. 7* *Isa. 9. 6.*

Again, that the same Distinction, framed and contrived against us, must need.

needs be in any different person's judgment advantageous to us, will appear, because the very invention of a double person is a plain confession of a twofold condition; and the different relations, which they prove not, are a convincing argument for the distinct æconomies, which they deny not. Why should they pretend to expect one to die, and another to triumph, but that the true *Messias* was both to triumph and to die, to be humbled and to be exalted, to put on the rags of our infirmity before the robe of Majesty and Immortality? Why should they tell us of one Mediator to be conquered, and the other to be victorious, but that the Serpent was to bruise the heel of the Seed of the Woman, and the same Seed to bruise his head; Thus even while they endeavour to elude, they confirm, our Faith; and as if they were still under the cloud, their error is but as a shadow to give a lustre to our truth. And so our first Assertion remaineth firm, the *Messias* was to suffer.

Secondly, that *Jesus*, whom we believe to be *Christ*, did suffer, we shall not need to prove, because it is freely confessed by all his enemies. The Gentiles acknowledged it, the *Jews* triumphed at it. And we may well take that for granted, which is so far from being denied, that it is objected. If hunger and thirst, if revilings and contempt, if sorrows and agonies, if stripes and buffetings, if condemnation and crucifixion, be Sufferings, *Jesus* suffered. If the infirmities of our nature, if the weight of our sins, if the malice of man, if the machinations of Satan, if the hand of God could make him suffer, our Saviour suffered. If the Annals of times, if the writings of his Apostles, if the death of his Martyrs, if the confession of the Gentiles, if the scoffs of the *Jews*, be testimonies, *Jesus* suffered. Nor was there ever any which thought he did not really and truly suffer, but || such as withal rationally pretended he was not really and truly man.

* These which were called by the Greeks Δοκησά and Φαντασματι, who taught that Christ was man only putative, and came into the world only in phantasmate, and consequently that he did only putative pati. These were called Δοκησά, not from their Author, but from their Opinion, that Christ did all things only εν δοκησει, in appearance, not reality. As Clemens Alexandrinus, Τῶν αἰρέσεων αἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ δογματικὸν ἰσχυρίζονται πρὸς ἀποδοξασθῆναι, ὡς ἢ εἰς Δοκησά. Strom. l. 7. c. 17. αἱ δοκῶσιν Χριστὸν φαντασματικῶς ἐπίλαβον. Id. l. 6. Neque in Phantasia, id est, absque carne, sicut Valentinus asserit, neque de thesi, putative imaginatum, sed verum corpus. Gennad. de Eccl. Dogm. cap. 2. Where for de thesi, I suppose we should read δοκησει. The original of this train of Hereticks is to be fetched from Simon Magus, whose assertion was, Christum nec venisse, nec à Judæis quicquam percussisse. S. Aug. de Hæres. Wherefore making himself the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, he assumed, se in Filii persona putative apparuisse, and so that he suffered as the Son amongst the Jews: ἀληθία οὐκ ἔπειθεν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἀλλὰ δοκῶσιν μόνον. Damasc. de Hæres. Now what Simon Magus said of himself, when he made himself the Son, that they who followed affirmed of Christ. As Saturninus, who taught Christum in substantia non fuisse, & phantasmate tantum quasi passum fuisse. Tertul. de Præsc. adv. Hæres. cap. 46. Vide Epirob. mutilum, Hæres. 23. c. 1. And Basilides, who delivered, Ἰησοῦν οὐκ ἔσθαι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, μηδὲ σαρκὰ ἐλάβεν αὐτὸν... ἀλλὰ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Epirob. l. 24. c. 2. A Judæis non credunt Christum crucifixum, sed Simonem Cyrenensem, qui angariarius fustulit crucem eius. S. Aug. Hæres. 4. Thus the Valentinians, particularly Marcus, the Father of the Marcoshian Hereticks: Marcus etiam nescio quis Hæresum condidit, negans resurrectionem carnis, & Christum non verè, sed putative, passum asseverans. S. Aug. Hæres. 14. Thus Cerdon: Christum in substantia carnis negat, in phantasmate solo fuisse pronunciat, nec omnino passum, sed quasi passum. Tertul. Præsc. c. 51. Christum ipsum natum ex femina, neque habuisse carnem, nec verè mortuum vel quicquam passum, sed simulasse passionem. S. Aug. Hæres. 21. And the Manichees, who taught Christum non fuisse in carne veram, sed simulatam speciem carnis ludificandis humanis sensibus præbuisse; ubi non solum mortem, verum etiam resurrectionem, mentiretur. Idem Hæres. 46. Whom therefore Vincentius Lirinensis calls Phantasiæ predicatores, cap. 20.

Thirdly, to come yet nearer to the particular acknowledgment of this truth, we shall farther shew that the promised *Messias* was not only engaged to suffer for us, but by a certain and express agreement betwixt him and the Father, the measure and manner of his Sufferings were determined, in order to the Redemption it self which was thereby to be wrought; and what was so resolved, was before his coming in the flesh revealed to the Prophets, and written by them, in order to the reception of the *Messias*, and the acceptance of the benefits to be procured by his Sufferings.

That what the *Messias* was to undergo for us was predetermined and decreed, appeareth by the timely acknowledgment of the Church unto the Father: *Of a truth, against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both*
Hæres. 4. 27. 28. *Herod*

Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together; For to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done. For as when the two Goats were presented before the Lord, that Goat was to be offered for a Sin-offering upon which the lot of the Lord should fall; and that lot of the Lord was lift up on high in the hand of the High-priest, and then laid upon the head of the Goat which was to die: so the *hand* of God is said to have *determined* what should be done unto our Saviour, whose Passion was typified by that Sin-offering. And well may we say that the *hand* of God as well as his *counsel* determined his Passion, because he was *delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God.*

And this determination of God's Counsel was thus made upon a Covenant or Agreement between the Father and the Son, in which it was concluded by them both what he should suffer, what he should receive. For beside the Covenant made by God with man, confirmed by the blood of Christ, we must consider and acknowledge another Covenant from eternity made by the Father with the Son: which partly is expressed, *If he shall make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days;* partly by the Apostle, *Then said I, Loe, I come, (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God.* In the Condition of *making his soul an offering for sin,* we see propounded whatsoever he suffered; in the acceptation, *Loe, I come to do thy will, O God,* we see undertaken whatsoever was propounded. The determination therefore of our Saviour's Passion was made by Covenant of the Father who sent, and the Son who suffered.

And as the Sufferings of the *Messias* were thus agreed on by consent, and determined by the counsel of God; so they were revealed by the Spirit of God unto the Prophets, and by them delivered to the Church; they were involved in the Types, and acted in the Sacrifices. Whether therefore we consider the Prophecies spoken by God in the mouths of men, they clearly relate unto his Sufferings by proper prediction; or whether we look upon the Ceremonial performances, they exhibit the same by an active representation. S. Paul's Apology was clear, that he *said none other things but those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come, That Christ should suffer.* The Prophets *said* in express terms that the *Messias*, whom they foretold, should suffer: *Moses said* so in those Ceremonies which were instituted by his Ministry. When he caused the Passover to be slain, he *said* that *Shiloh* was the Lamb slain before the foundations of the world. When he set the brazen Serpent up in the wilderness, he *said*, the Son of man should be lifted up upon the Cross. When he commanded all the Sacrifices for sin, he *said*, without effusion of blood there was no Remission, and therefore the Son of God must die for the sins of men. When he appointed *Aaron* to go into the Holy of holies on the day of Atonement, he *said*, *Christ*, our High-priest should never enter through the veil into the highest Heavens to make expiation for us, but by his own Blood. If then we look upon the fountain, the eternal Counsel of the will of God, if we look upon the Revelation of that counsel, either in express Predictions or Ceremonial Representations; we shall clearly see the truth of our third Assertion, That the Sufferings of the Promised *Messias*, were predetermined and foretold.

Now all these sufferings which were thus agreed, determined and revealed as belonging to the true *Messias*, were undergone by that *Jesus of Nazareth* whom we believe to be the true *Christ*. Never was there any suffering Type which he out-went not, never Prediction of any Passion which he fulfilled not, never any expression of grief and sorrow which he felt not. When the appointed time of his death approached, he said to his Apostles, *Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the Prophets concerning*

the Son of man shall be accomplished. When he delivered them the blessed Sacrament, the commemoration of his Death, he said, *Truly the Son of man goeth as it was determined.* After his Resurrection, he chastised the dulness of his Disciples, who were so overwhelmed with his Passion, that they could not look back upon the antecedent Predictions; saying unto them, *O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the Prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? After his Ascension, S. Peter made this profession before the Jews, who had those Prophecies, and saw his Sufferings; Those things which God before had shewed by the mouth of all his Prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled.* Whatsoever therefore was determined by the Counsel of God, whatsoever was revealed by the Prophets concerning the Sufferings of the *Messias*, was all fulfilled by that *Jesus* whom we believe to be, and worship as the *Christ*. Which is the fourth and last Assertion propounded to express our Saviour's Passion in relation to his Office.

1st. 22. 23.
24. 27. 28.
29. 30.

July 24. 25.
26.

1770. 13.

Having considered him that *suffered* in his Office, we are next to consider him in his Person. And being in all this Article there is no person expressly named or described, we must look back upon the former, till we find his description and his name. The Article immediately preceding leaves us in the same suspension; but for our satisfaction refers us to the former, where we find him named *Jesus*, and described *the only-begotten Son of God*.

Now this Son of God we have already shewed to be therefore truly called *the Only-begotten*, because he was from all eternity generated of the essence of the Father, and therefore is, as the eternal Son, so also the eternal God. Wherefore by the immediate coherence of the Articles, and necessary consequence of the Creed, it plainly appeareth that the eternal Son of God, God of God, very God of very God, *suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried.* For it was no other person which *suffered under Pontius Pilate* than he which was *born of the Virgin Mary*, he which was *born of the Virgin Mary*, was no other person than he which was *conceived by the Holy Ghost*, he which was *conceived by the Holy Ghost* was no other person than *our Lord*, and that *our Lord* no other than the *only Son of God*: therefore by the immediate coherence of the Articles it followeth, that *the only Son of God, our Lord, suffered under Pontius Pilate.* That Word which was in the beginning, which then was with God, and was God, in the fulness of time being made flesh, did suffer. For the *Princes of this world crucified the Lord of glory*; and *God purchased his Church with his own blood.* That person which was begotten of the Father before all worlds, and so was really the *Lord of glory*, and most truly *God*, took upon him the nature of Man, and in that nature, being still the same Person which before he was, did suffer. When our Saviour fasted forty days, there was no other Person hungry than that Son of God which made the World; when he sat down weary by the Well, there was no other person felt that thirst but he which was eternally begotten of the Father, the fountain of the Deity: when he was buffeted and scourged, there was no other person sensible of those pains than that eternal Word which before all worlds was impassible; when he was crucified and died, there was no other person which gave up the Ghost but the Son of him, and so of the same nature with him, *who only hath immortality.* And thus we conclude our first Consideration propounded, *viz.* Who it was which suffered; affirming that, in respect of his Office, it was the *Messias*, in respect of his Person, it was God the Son.

[This is that inseparabilis connectio in the Creed, which Cassianus urges so much against Nestorius, De Incarn. l. 6.

1 Cor. 2. 8.
Acts 27. 28.
Dominum passum Symboli tenet auctoritas, & Apostolus illustrat indicat. Sic enim expressius nunciat Dominum crucifixum.

But the perfect probation and illustration of this truth requireth first a view of the second Particular propounded, *How, or, In what, he suffered.* For while

while

while we prove the Person suffering to be God, we may seem to deny the Passion, of which the Perfection of the Godhead is incapable. The Divine nature is of infinite and eternal happiness, never to be disturbed by the least degree of infelicity, and therefore subject to no sense of misery. Wherefore while we profess that the Son of God did suffer for us, we must so far explain our Assertion, as to deny that the Divine nature of our Saviour suffered. For being the Divine nature of the Son is common to the Father and the Spirit, if that had been the subject of his Passion, then must the Father and the Spirit have suffered. Wherefore as we ascribe the Passion to the Son alone, so must we attribute it to that Nature which is his alone, that is, the humane. And then neither the Father nor the Spirit will appear to suffer, because neither the Father nor the Spirit, but the Son alone, is Man, and so capable of suffering.

Whereas then the Humanity of *Christ* consisteth of a Soul and Body, these were the proper subject of his Passion; nor could he suffer any thing but in both or either of these two. For as the *Word was made flesh*, though the Word was || never made, (as being in the beginning God) but the flesh, that is, the Humanity, was made, and the Word assuming it became flesh; so saith *S. Peter*, ^a *Christ suffered for us in the flesh*, in that nature of man which he took upon him: and so God the Son did suffer, not in that nature in which he was begotten of the Father before all Worlds, but in that flesh which by his Incarnation he became. For he was ^b *put to death in the flesh, but quickned in the spirit*; suffered in the weakness of his Humanity, but rose by the power of his Divinity. As he was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, in the language of *S. Paul*; so was he put to death in the flesh, in the language of *S. Peter*: and as he was declared to be the son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, so was he quickned by the Spirit. Thus the proper subject and recipient of our Saviour's Passion, which he underwent for us, was that Nature which he took from us.

Far be it therefore from us to think that the Deity, which is immutable, could suffer; which only hath immortality, could die. The conjunction with Humanity could put no imperfection upon the Divinity: nor can that || infinite nature by any external acquisition be any way changed in its intrinsic and essential perfections. * If the bright raies of the Sun are thought to insinuate into the most noisome bodies without any pollution of themselves, how can that spiritual essence contract the least infirmity by any union with Humanity? We must neither harbour so low an estimation of the Divine nature, as to conceive it capable of any diminution; nor so mean esteem of the essence of the Word, as to imagine it subject to the sufferings of the flesh he took; nor yet so groundless an estimation of the great mystery of the Incarnation, as to make the properties of one nature mix in confusion with the other. These were the wild collections of the || *Arian* and *Apollinarian* Hereticks, whom the Church hath long since silenced by a sound and sober Assertion, that all the Sufferings of our Mediator were subjected in his humane nature.

|| Το γὰρ οὗτοι ἀρῆαρον ἢ ἀναλλοίωτον αἰ τοῦτόν ὄντι, ἢ Σωμαλλοίωτον τῆ ταπεινῇ οὐσαι, ὅταν ἐν ἐκείνῃ κατ' οἰκειμίαν ᾔνοιαν. Greg. Nyssen. Epist. * Ὡς ἐὰν ἡλιακὸς φῶς τοῖς πάθοιεν τι ἀκλίνας τὰ πάντα πληροῦσαι, ἢ Σωματῶν νεκρῶν ἢ ἐκθαρῶν ἐρασιβόμβου· πολὺ πλέον ἢ ἀσώματ' ἢ τῆ Θεοῦ δῶμας ἔτ' ἀν' πάθοι τὰ ἐπαι, ἐὰν ἀν' βλασφῆμῃ Σώματ' ἀσώματως ἐπαρῶνται. Euseb. Demon. Evang. l. 4. c. 13. || This danger is the rather to be unskilled, because it is not generally understood. The Heresie of Arius, as it was condemned by the Council of Nicee, is known to all. But that he made the nature of the Word to suffer in the flesh, is not so frequently or plainly delivered. This Phocadius (the pish of the Latin Church who wrote against the Arians) chargeth them with. Duplicem hunc statum, non conjunctum, sed confusum, vultis videri; ut etiam unius vestrum, id est Epistola Potami, que ad Orientem & Occidentem transmissa est, qua asserit, carne & spiritu Christi coagulatis per sanguinem Mariae, & in unum corpus redactis, passibilem Deum tactum. Hoc ideo, ne quis illum ex eo crederet, quem impassibilem satis constat. Lib. adv. Arianos, c. 7. And again: Non ergo est spiritus caro, nec caro spiritus, quod isti volunt egregii Doctores, ut factus sit scilicet Dominus & Deus noster ex hac substantiarum permutatione passibilis. Ideo autem passibilem volunt dici, ne ex impassibili credatur. Cap. 8. Ματῶν ἐν Ἀρειανοῖς οὐκ ἀποδοκίμαται.

|| Ὁ λόγος
σαρξ ἐγένετο,
ἵνα καὶ ὁ λόγος,
αἰεὶ ἦ λόγος,
καὶ σάρκα ἔγεν
ὁ λόγος. ἐν
ἡ τὸ πάθος
καὶ τὸ θάνατον
ἀπέδωκεν, ὡς
μορφή τῆ ἀν-
θρώπινη μέ-
ρει τὰς καὶ
θεοῦ ὁμοίως.
S. Athanas. de
Incarn.

^a 1 Pet. 4. 1.
^b 1 Pet. 3. 18.
Adeo salva est
utriusque prop-
rietas substan-
tia, ut & Spi-
ritus res suas e-
gerit in illo,
id est, virtu-
tes & opera &
signa, & caro
passiones suas
susta sic, sus-
ticiens sub Dia-
bolo, siciens sub
Samaritide,
sicens Laza-
zarum, aaxia
usque ad mor-
tem, denique
& mortua est.
Tertul. adv. heres.
Prax. c. 27.
Clement. Alex.
Pedag. l. 1. c.
5. 91. c.

Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπορίθμωτος ἀμετακίνητος ἢ Σωτήρ, τὴν δὲ τῶν πάθος ἔχοντων ὅτι τὴν ἀπαθὴν θεότητα ἀναδέχεται ἀσθενῶς. S. Athan. lib. de Incarn. Of this S. Hilary is to be understood: Sed eorum omnis hic sentus, ut opinentur metum mortis in Deo illum incidisse, qui asserunt non de aternitate prolatum, neque de infinitate paternæ substantiæ exstitisse, sed ex nullo illum qui omnia creavit effectum; ut assumptus ex nihilo sit, & cæptus ex opere, & confirmatus ex tempore. Et ideo in eo doloris anxietas, ideo spiritus passio cum corporis passione. Can. 31. in Matth. When the Holy argues against the Arians, The right understanding whereof is the only true way to reconcile those harsh sayings of his, which troubled the Major of the Schools, and the whole Schools ever since.

Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπορίθμωτος ἀμετακίνητος ἢ Σωτήρ, τὴν δὲ τῶν πάθος ἔχοντων ὅτι τὴν ἀπαθὴν θεότητα ἀναδέχεται ἀσθενῶς. Verbi & carnis, omnia quæ carnis sunt ascribuntur & Verbo, quomodo & quæ Verbi sunt prædicantur in carne. Orig. in Ep. ad Rom. Δια τὴν ἀπειθὴν ἐβίτησταις τε θεολογῆσθαι σαρκεὶς καὶ τῆς περὶ σαρκὸς εὐσεβείας θεότητος, ἀσημβίασαι τὰ ἄνθρωπα ἄσθενῶς καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τὸ θεῖον, καὶ τὸ θεῖον τὸ ἀνθρώπινο καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰσχυρῶς εἶναι. Greg. Nyss. Ep. ad Theoph. Χρὸς μὲν τοὶ θεοὶ ὡς ἡ ἐκείνων κοινὰ ποιῶν τὰ ἄνθρωπα. Theod. Dial. 3. Called by the Schools ordinary Communicatio idiomaticum, by the ancient Greek Divines Ἀσημβίασαι, and sometimes Ἀσημβίασαι.

And now the only difficulty will consist in this, how we can reconcile the Person suffering with the Subject of his Passion; how we can say that God did suffer, when we profess the Godhead suffered not. But this seeming difficulty will admit an easie solution, if we consider the intimate conjunction of the Divine and humane nature, and their union in the Person of the Son. For hereby those Attributes which properly belong unto the one, are given to the other; and that upon good reason. For being the same individual person is, by the conjunction of the nature of God and the nature of man, really and truly both God and man; it necessarily followeth, that it is true to say, *God is man*, and as true, *A man is God*: because in this particular he which is man is God, and he which is God is man. Again, being by reason of the Incarnation it is proper to say, *God is man*, it followeth, unavoidably, that whatsoever necessarily belongeth to the humane nature may be spoken of God; otherwise there would be a man to whom the nature of man did not belong, which were a contradiction. And being by virtue of the same Incarnation it is also proper to say, *A man is God*, by the same necessity of consequence we must acknowledge, that all the essential Attributes of the Divine nature may truly be spoken of that man; otherwise there would be one truly and properly God to whom the nature of God did not belong, which is a clear repugnancy. Again, if the properties of the Divine nature may be truly attributed to that man which is God, then may those actions which flow from those properties be attributed to the same. And being the properties of the humane nature may be also attributed to the eternal Son of God, those actions or passions which did proceed from those properties may be attributed to the same Son of God, or God the Son. Wherefore as God the Son is truly man, and as man truly passible and mortal; so God the Son did truly suffer, and did truly die. And this is the only true * communication of Properties.

Not that the essential Properties of one Nature are really communicated to the other Nature, as if the Divinity of Christ were passible and mortal, or his Humanity of original Omnipotence and Omnipresence; but because the same God the Son was also the Son of man, he was at the same time both mortal and eternal: mortal, as the son of man, in respect of his Humanity; eternal, as the Son of God, in respect of his Divinity. The Sufferings therefore of the *Messias* were the Sufferings of God the Son: not that they were the Sufferings of his Deity, as of which that was incapable; but the Sufferings of his Humanity, as unto which that was inclineable. For although the humane nature was conjoined to the Divine, yet it suffered as much as if it had been alone; and the Divine as little suffered as if it had not been conjoined: because each kept their respective Properties distinct, without the least confusion in their most intimate conjunction. From whence at last the Person suffering is reconciled to the Subject of his Passion: For God the Son being not only God, but also Man, suffered, though not in his Deity, by reason of which he is truly God, yet in his Humanity, by which he who is truly God, is as truly Man. And thus we conclude our two first Disquisitions: Who it was that suffered; in respect of his Office, the *Messias*, in respect of his Person, God the Son: How it was he suffered; not in his Deity, which

is impassible, but in his Humanity, which he assumed cloathed with our infirmities.

Our next enquiry is, What this God the Son did suffer as the Son of man ; not in the latitude of all his sufferings, but so far as they are comprehended in this Article : which first prescindeth all the antecedent part by the expression of time *under Pontius Pilate*, who was not Governour of *Judæa* long before our Saviour's Baptism ; and then takes off his concluding Passion, by adding his Crucifixion and his Death. Looking then upon the Sufferings of our Saviour in the time of his preaching the Gospel, and especially before his Death, we shall best understand them by considering them in relation to the Subject or recipient of them. And being we have already shewed his Passion was wholly subjected in his humane nature, being that nature consisteth of two parts, the Soul and Body ; it will be necessary to declare what he suffered in the Body, what in the Soul.

For the first, As we believe the Son of God took upon him the nature of Man, of which the Body is a part ; so we acknowledge that he took a true and real Body, so as to become flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone. This Body of Christ, really and truly humane, was also frail and mortal, as being accompanied with all those natural properties which necessarily flow from the condition of a frail and mortal body : and though now the same body, exalted above the highest Heavens, by virtue of its glorification be put beyond all possibility of Passion ; yet in the time of his Humiliation it was cloathed with no such glorious perfection ; but as it was subject unto, so it felt, weariness, hunger and thirst. Nor was it only liable to those internal weakneses and natural infirmities, but to all outward injuries and violent impressions. As all our corporal pain consists in that sense which ariseth from the solution of that continuity which is connatural to the parts of our body ; so no parts of his sacred body were injuriously violated by any outward impression, but he was truly and fully sensible of the pain arising from that violation. Deep was that sense and grievous was that pain which those Scourges produced, *when the plowers plowed upon his back and made long their furrows* : the dilaceration of those nervous parts created a most sharp and dolorous sensation. The coronary Thorns did not only express the scorn of the imposers, by that figure into which they were contrived ; but did also pierce his tender and sacred temples to a multiplicity of pains, by their numerous acuminations. That Spear directed by an impertinent malice which opened his side, though it brought forth water and blood, caused no dolorous sensation, because the Body was then dead : but the Nails which pierced his hands and feet made another kind of impression, while it was yet alive and highly sensible. Thus did the Body of the Son of man truly *suffer* the bitterness of corporal pains and torments inflicted by violent external impressions.

And our Saviour took upon him both parts of the nature of man, so he suffered in them both, that he might be a Saviour of the whole. In what sense the Soul is capable of suffering, in that he was subject to animal Passion. Evil apprehended to come tormented his Soul with Fear, which was as truly in him in respect of what he was to suffer, as Hope in reference to the recompence of a reward to come after and for his Sufferings. Evil apprehended as present tormented the same with Sadness, Sorrow and Anguish of mind. So that he was truly represented to us by the Prophet, as *a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief* ; and the proper subject of that Grief he hath fully expressed who alone felt it, saying unto his Disciples, *My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.*

Qui suscepit animam, suscepit animæ passionem. S. Ambrosii. de Fide 2. c. 3.

Isa. 53. 3.

Matth. 22. 38

We ought not therefore to question whether he suffered in his Soul or no; but rather to endeavour to reach if it were possible, the knowledge how far and in what degree he suffered; how bitter that grief, how great that sorrow and that anguish was. Which though we can never fully and exactly measure; yet we may infallibly know thus much, both from the expressions of the Spirit of God, and from the occasion of his Sufferings, that the griefs and sorrows which he felt, and the anguish which he underwent, were most incomparably far beyond all sorrows of which any person here was sensible or capable.

Mat. 26. 37.
Mark 14. 33.

The Evangelists have in such Language expressed his Agony, as cannot but raise in us the highest admiration at the bitterness of that Passion. He began to be sorrowful, saith S. Matthew; He began to be sore amazed, saith S. Mark; and to be very heavy, say both: and yet these words in our Translation come far short of the Original expression, which render him suddenly, upon a present and immediate apprehension, possessed with fear, horror and amazement, encompassed with grief, and overwhelmed with sorrow, pressed down with consternation and dejection of mind, tormented with anxiety and inquietude of spirit.

[The words in the Original are $\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\pi\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, and $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. $\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, the root, is of a known and ordinary signification, but in this case it is to be raised to the highest degree of its possible significance, as appears by the words which follow, $\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota$ η $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ $\mu\epsilon$. For, as the ancient Grammarians observe, η [$\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$] $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\eta\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\delta\upsilon\lambda\omega\iota$: and again, η [$\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$] $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\lambda\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\sigma\tau\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$, and therefore $\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ of it self must mean a man possessed with an excessive grief; as in Aeschylus, $\alpha\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma$ $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma$, that is, according to the Scholiast, $\alpha\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma$ $\beta\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$. But beside this Greek notation, here is to be observed a reference to the words of David, Psal. 42. 5. $\text{Ἰναλί σείλυτό ἐν ἡδυνά μου ἡ ψυχή μου ἡ ψυχή μου}$. So that it doth not only signify an excess of sorrow surrounding and encompassing the Soul; but also such as brings a consternation and dejection of mind, bowing the Soul under the pressure and burthen of it. And if neither the notation of the word nor the relation in that place in the Psalms did express that sorrow, yet the following part of our Saviour's words would justly entice us to it, $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\acute{o}\nu$, it was a sorrow which like the pangs of death compassed him, and like the pains of hell got hold upon him, Psal. 115. 2. The second word used by S. Mark alone, is $\epsilon\pi\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, which with the Vulgar Latin is Pavere, but in the Language of the Greeks bears a higher sense. $\epsilon\pi\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\epsilon\iota$ $\tilde{\nu}$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\nu$, says Etymologus: and Hesychius, $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$. $\delta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\varsigma$. Gloss. Vet. $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$, stupor. Philoponus, preferred by Eustathius Ἰλ. μ' . $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\nu}$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\varsigma$. $\delta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\varsigma$. $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\nu}$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\varsigma$. $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\nu}$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\varsigma$. From whence the Verb $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$, in termination active, in signification passive, periculum esse, in Homer. $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\varsigma$ δ Ἀχιλλεύς : where it is the observation of Eustathius, $\text{τὸ ἐθαμβήσων ἐπεργητικὸν ἢ ἰσχυρὸν ῥῆσις ἐκ ἔργου}$. $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\nu}$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\varsigma$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ τεθαμβήσασθαι , $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota$ $\sigma\iota$ $\mu\acute{\eta}$ Ὀμιλεῖν : but not universally true. For (as to our purpose) we have both the use and sense of this word in the Old Testament. As 1 Sam. 14. 15. $\text{ῤῥῆθ' ἡ γῆ, ἡ ἐθαμβήσων ἢ γῆ, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐθαμβήσων}$. And Psal. 48. 5. $\text{Ἰσχυρὸν ἦν ἡ ἀσπίς σου, ἡ ἀσπίς σου ἐθαμβήσων}$, Symmachus ἐπὶ τὸν φόβον . as Psal. 31. 22. $\text{Ἐθάρσυνον ἐν τῷ ἐκείσεταί μοι. Ἀπὸ τοῦ θάμβου ἐπὶ τὸν φόβον}$. Symmachus ἐπὶ τὸν φόβον . The like is also in the passive termination: as Daniel expresses his fear in a vision, $\text{ἐθαμβήσων, καὶ πῖπτον ἐπὶ τὸ πτωχόν μου}$, Dan. 8. 17. and the wicked are described by the Wise man, $\text{ἐθαμβήσων ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἰνδάλυσαν ἐκλασσομένους}$, Sap. 17. 3. From whence it appeareth that $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ of it self signifies a high degree of fear, horror and amazement. Gloss. Vet. $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$, Obsupesco, stupesco, paveo. And by the addition of the prefix $\epsilon\pi$ the signification is augmented. $\epsilon\pi\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\varsigma$, Hesych. passively; $\theta\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$ $\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$. Dan. 7. 7. active, i. e. $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\iota\varsigma$. Such an augmentation in this word is justifiable by that rule left us in Eustathius ad Iliad. 6. [$\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$] $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ δ $\upsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$ $\tau\omega\upsilon$ $\text{Ἰσοδωλοῦ ῥήσιν, ἀλλὰ ὄψαμα πολλὰ καὶ σημαίνει}$. Of which he gives an example in $\epsilon\pi\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ used by Aristophanes in Plato, though not named by him. And again, ad Iliad. v. [$\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$] $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\βησις$ $\epsilon\pi\eta\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\delta\upsilon\lambda\omega\iota$, $\delta\upsilon\lambda\omega\iota$ $\chi\epsilon$ τὸ ἄλλοτε . $\epsilon\pi\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$ therefore is $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$, to be surprized with horror in the highest degree, even unto stupefaction. Gloss. Vet. $\epsilon\pi\theta\alpha\mu\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$, obstupesco. The third word is $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, Vulg. Lat. tædere , in S. Mark, μαρτύριον ἐστὶν ἡ $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. but it hath yet a further sense. $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, says Hesychius. $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, τὸ λίαν λυπεῖσθαι , Suidas. It signifies therefore grief and anguish in excess, as appeareth also by the origination of it. For, as Eustathius observes, $\text{τὸ αἰσθῆσθαι τὸν φόβον ἀδύμων ἀδύμων, ὁ δὲ λύπησις ὡς οἷα καὶ τινος κέρου, ὅς ἐστι λίγισται, ἀναπεπτοκός}$. Iliad. 6. From $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, from $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. It hath therefore in it the signification of $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ or $\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, satiety or extremity of mind, dejection and selflessness. $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, Etymol. As Antony is expressed by Plutarch, $\text{ἀντιπάλῳ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀντιπάλῳ, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀντιπάλῳ, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀντιπάλῳ}$, being in want of all things necessary for the rest, $\text{Κλεοπάτραν σείειν, καὶ βεβαίως αἰσθῆσθαι ἀδύμων}$. So where the Hel. Ἰσχυρὸν is by the Lxx. translated ἐπὶ τὸν φόβον , by Symmachus it is rendered ἀδύμων , Eccl. 7. 12.

This he first expressed to his Disciples, saying, My soul is exceeding sorrowful; and lest they should not fully apprehend the excess, adding, *even unto death*; as if the pangs of death had already encompassed him, and, as the Psalmist speaks, the pains of Hell had got hold upon him. He went but a little farther before he expressed the same to his Father, falling on his face and praying, *even with strong crying and tears, unto him that was able to save him from death*. Nor were his cries or tears sufficient evidences of his inward Sufferings, nor could the sorrows of his breast be poured forth either at his lips

Mat. 26. 38.

lips or eyes; the innumerable pores of all his Body must give a passage to more lively representations of the bitter anguish of his Soul: and therefore while he *prayed more earnestly*, in that agony *his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground*. As the Psalmist had before declared; *I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joynt: my heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels*. Psal. 22. The heart of our Saviour was as it were melted with fear and astonishment, and all the parts of his Body at the same time inflamed with anguish and agony; well then might that melting produce a Sweat, and that inflamed and rarified blood force a passage through the numerous pores.

And as the Evangelists expressions, so the Occasion, of the Grief will manifest the height and bitterness thereof. For God *laid on his own Son the iniquities of us all*; and as we are obliged to be sorry for our particular Sins, so was he grieved for the sins of us all. If then we consider the perfection and latitude of his Knowledge; he understood all the sins of men for which he suffered, all the evil and the guilt, all the offence against the Majesty, and ingratitude against the Goodness of God, which was contained in all those sins. If we look upon his absolute Conformity to the will of God; he was inflamed with most ardent Love, he was most zealous of his Glory, and most studious to preserve that Right which was so highly violated by those sins. If we look upon his Relation to the sons of men; he loved them all far more than any did themselves, he knew those sins were of themselves sufficient to bring eternal destruction on their Souls and Bodies, he considered them whom he so much loved as lying under the wrath of God whom he so truly worshipped. If we reflect upon those Graces which were without measure diffused through his Soul, and caused him with the greatest habitual detestation to abhor all sin: If we consider all these circumstances, we cannot wonder at that Grief and Sorrow. For if the true Contrition of one single sinner, bleeding under the sting of the Law only for his own iniquities, all which notwithstanding he knoweth not, cannot be performed without great bitterness of sorrow and remorse; what bounds can we set unto that Grief, what measures to that Anguish, which proceedeth from a full apprehension of all the transgressions of so many millions of sinners?

Add unto all these present apprehensions, the immediate hand of God pressing upon him all this load, laying on his shoulders at once an heap of all the Sorrows which can happen unto any of the Saints of God; that he, being *touched with the feeling of our infirmities*, might become *a merciful High-priest, able and willing to succour them that are tempted*. Thus may we behold Heb. 2. 17, 18. 4. 15. Lam. 1. 12. and see if there be any sorrow like unto that sorrow which was done unto him, wherewith the Lord afflicted him in the day of his fierce anger. And from hence we may and must conclude, that the Saviour of man, as he took the whole Nature of man, so he suffered in whatsoever he took: in his Body, by internal Infirmities and external Injuries; in his Soul, by Fears and Sorrows, by unknown and inexpressible Anguishes. Which shews us fully (if it can be shewn) the third Particular propounded, What our Saviour suffered.

That our Saviour did thus *suffer*, is most necessary to believe. First, that thereby we may be assured of the verity of his Humane Nature. For if he were not Man, then could not Man be redeemed by him; and if that nature in which he appeared were not truly humane, then could he not be truly Man. But we may be well assured that he took on him our nature, when we see him subject unto our infirmities. We know the Godhead is of infinite perfection, and therefore is exalted far above all possibility of molestation.

When

When therefore we see our Saviour truly suffer, we know his Divine Essence suffered not, and thence acknowledge the addition of his Humane Nature, as the proper subject of his Passion. And from hence we may infallibly conclude, Surely that Mediator between God and Man was truly Man, as we are men, who when he fasted was an hungry, when he travelled was thirsty and weary as we are, who being grieved wept, being in an agony sweat, being scourged bled, and being crucified died.

Secondly, it was necessary Christ should suffer for the Redemption of lapsed men, and their reconciliation unto God; which was not otherwise to be performed than by a plenary satisfaction to his will. He therefore was by all his sufferings made an Expiation, Atonement and Propitiation for all our sins. For Salvation is impossible unto sinners without Remission of sin; and Remission in the decree of God impossible without effusion of blood. Our Redemption therefore could not be wrought but by the blood of the Redeemer, but by a Lamb slain, but by a suffering Saviour.

Thirdly, it behoved Christ to suffer, that he might purchase thereby eternal Happiness in the Heavens both for himself the Head, and for the members of his Body. *He drunk of the brook in the way, therefore hath he lift up his head. Ought not Christ to suffer, and so to enter into his own glory? And doth he not by the same right by which he entered into it, confer that glory upon us? The recompence of the reward was set before him, and through an intuition of it he cheerfully underwent whatsoever was laid upon him. He must therefore necessarily suffer to obtain that Happiness, who is therefore happy because he suffered.*

Fourthly, it was necessary Christ should suffer, that we might be assured that he is truly affected with a most tender compassion of our afflictions. For this end was he subjected to Misery, that he might become prone unto Mercy: for this purpose was he made a Sacrifice, that he might be a compassionate High-priest: and therefore was he most unmerciful to himself, that he might be most merciful unto us.

Fifthly, it was necessary the Son of man should suffer, thereby to shew us that we are to suffer, and to teach us how we are to suffer. For *if these things were done to the green tree, what shall be done to the dry?* Nay, if God spared not his natural, his eternal, his only-begotten Son; how shall he spare his adopted sons, who are best known to be children because they are chastised, and appear to be in his paternal affection because they lie under his Fatherly correction? We are therefore Heirs only, because Co-heirs with Christ; and we shall be Kings only because we shall reign together with him. It is a certain and infallible consequence, *If Christ be risen, then shall we also rise*; and we must look for as strong a coherence in this other, *If Christ hath suffered, then must we expect to suffer.* And as he taught the Necessity of, so he left us the Direction in, our Sufferings. Great was the example of Job, but far short of absolute perfection: the pattern beyond all exception is alone our Saviour, who hath taught us in all our afflictions the exercise of admirable Humility, perfect Patience, and absolute Submission unto the will of God.

And now we may perceive the full importance of this part of the Article, and every Christian may thereby understand what he is to believe, and what he is conceived to profess, when he makes this confession of his Faith, *He suffered.* For hereby every one is obliged to intend thus much: I am really persuaded within my self, and do make a sincere profession of this as a most necessary, certain and infallible truth, That the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father, and of the same Essence with the Father, did for the

Redemption of mankind really and truly suffer; not in his Divinity, which was impassible, but in his Humanity, which in the days of his Humiliation was subject unto our Infirmities: That as he is a perfect Redeemer of the whole man, so he was a complete Sufferer in the whole; in his Body, by such dolorous Infirmities as arise internally from humane frailties, and by such Pains as are inflicted by external injuries; in his Soul, by fearful Apprehensions, by unknown Sorrows, by Anguish unexpressible. And in this latitude and propriety I believe our Saviour suffered

Under Pontius Pilate.

After the substance of this part of the Article, consisting in our Saviour's Passion, *He suffered*, followeth the circumstance of time, declared by the present Governour, *under Pontius Pilate*. Which, though the name of a stranger to the Commonwealth of *Israel* and the Church of *Christ*, is well preserved to eternal memory in the sacred Articles of our Creed. For as the Son of God by his determinate counsel was sent into the world to die in the fulness of time: so it concerns the Church to be assured of the time in which he died. And because the ancient custom of the world was, to make their Computations by their Governours, and refer their Historical relations to the respective times of their Government: therefore, that we might be properly assured of the Actions of our Saviour which he did, and of his Sufferings, (that is, the Actions which others did to him,) the present Governour is named in that form of speech which is proper to such Historical or Chronological narrations, when we affirm that he suffered || *under Pontius Pilate*.

|| Ἐπὶ Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ which words are capta-

ble of a double construction. First, as they are used by S. Paul, 1 Tim. 6: 12. Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ὅτι Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ τὴν καλῶν ὁμολογίαν, Who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession; that is, standing before him as before a Judge. As of the same person, Matt. 28. 14. Καὶ ἐὰν ἀναθῆ ἄλλο ὅτι τὸ ἡγεμόντος, If this come to be tried before the Procurator. Thus Festus propounded it to S. Paul, Acts 25. 9. θέλεις κείνου ἐπ' ἐμοῦ; and S. Paul answered in the same propriety of speech, ἐπὶ τῷ βίματι Καίσαρος ἐγὼ εἶμι. Thus Corinθ tells his Apostles, Mark 13. 9. ὅτι ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων σαθίσατε. And in this sense ὅτι is often used by the Greeks. Secondly, ὅτι Πιλάτου is under Pilate, that is, in the time of his Government, when and while he was Procurator of Judaea: as ἐπ' ἀρχιερέων Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, Luke 3. 2. and ὅτι Ἀβιάθαρ τὸ ἀρχιερέως, Mark 2. 26. which is also according to the custom and language of the Greeks: As, Κατακλυσιμὸς ὅτι Δουκκίλωντος ἐγένετο. Marm. Arundel. Οὗτοι ἦσαν ὅτι τὸ Λαομέδοντος Ἰσθνασάντων Τρώων, Plat. Epist. ad Archytan and ὅτι τότε βασιλεύοντος, in this King's reign, is the common phrase of Pausanias. Thus the Athenians among their ἑξ ἄρχοντες had one who was called Ἐπόνομος, because his name was used for the denotation of that year; and the phrase was usual, ὅτι τὸ δέκα, or ὅτι τὸ δέκα ἀρχόντος; as I find it thrice in one place, Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἰσκαρίωτος ὅτι Λυσισμάχῃ, Πλάτωνος δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου γέροντος ἐφ' ἑ Πειρακλῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. Laert. in Platone. In the same manner did the Lacedaemonians make their historical accounts by their Ephori, and the Argivi by the Priestesses of Juno: Ἐπὶ Χρυσίδῃ ἢ Ἀργῆι τότε πινθήκοντα δύοιν δέοντα ἐτη ἐβάρυθρος καὶ Αἰνιόσις ἐφόρε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ Πυθαγόρῃ ἐτι Δουμύλας ἀρχόντος Ἀθωαίσις. Thucyd. l. 2. And as the Greeks thus referred all actions to the times of these Governours, so did the Jews under the Roman Government to the Procurators of Judaea; as appeareth by Iosephus, who mentioning the first of that Office, Coponius, presently relates the Insurrection of Judas Galilaus in this manner: ὅτι τότε (Κοπονίου) τῆς ἀγῆς Γαλιλαίας, Ἰούδας ὄνομα, εἰς δόξασι ἐνήγαγε πᾶσι ὀπιχαιοῖς, de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12. Iben names his successor Ambivius, ἐφ' ἑ Σαλώμῃ Ἰουμαὶν κατὰ λαοῦσιν: after him Rufus, ἐφ' ἑ δὲ καὶ τελευτῆσῃ Καίσαρος Ἀντίου. Jud. l. 18. c. 3. And in the same manner in the Creed, παθὼν ἐπὶ Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ, our Saviour suffered under Pontius Pilate, that is, at the time when he was Procurator of Judaea; as Ignatius fully, ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ, Epist. ad Magnificos.

And because he not only suffered under him as the present Governour, but also was arraigned and condemned by him as a Judge; therefore it will be necessary for the illustration of the manner, and confirmation of the truth, of our Saviour's Sufferings, to declare what hath been left and derived to our knowledge both concerning his Person and his Office.

For the first, we find him described by two names; nor is any other name of his extant, although, according to the || general custom of the *Romans*,

|| Ρωμανίας, which is of the

Romans, Τεία ὀπίστε ἢ ὀλίγισσα, καὶ ἐτι πλείονα ὀνόμασι ἐκαστῷ τίθενται, And although Diomedes and Plutarch have observed, that even among the Romans there were some Diomedes, yet the Proetorian was never omitted, as Priscian affirmeth, Ex illo tempore consuetudo tenuit, ut nemo Romanus sit absque praenomine. lib. 2.

Pontius and Pilatus were his Nomen and Cognomen, in the same manner as Julius and Cæsar are described by Suetonius: Non Cæsare & Bibulo, sed Julio & Cæsare, Coss. actum scriberent, bis eundem præponentes, nomine atque cognomine. lib. 1. cap. 20. Thus without a Prænomen or Agnomen, he is only known to us by his Nomen properly called, and his Cognomen. The nature of which two is thus described by the Ancients: Nomen proprium est gentilicium, id est, quod originem gentis & familiæ declarat, ut Pontius, Cornelius; Cognomen est quod uniuscujusque proprium, & nominibus gentilicis subjungitur, ut Caro, Scipio. Dionides de Oratore l. 1. Nomen quod Familiæ originem declarat, ut Cornelius; Cognomen, quod nomini subiungitur, ut Scipio. Charibius. l. 2. The first of these Dionysius calls τὸ Συγγροικὸν καὶ πατρικὸν ἢ Πάτριον οὐκίαν ἢ ὄνομα κοινὸν, and κοινὸν ἐπὶ Συγγροικία; the second he calls περὶ συγγροικίαν ἢ ἐξ ὀνόματι. Thus Pontius was his Nomen gentis or gentilicium, and Pilatus his Cognomen. As therefore Pontius Aquila, Pontius Cominius, Pontius Herennius, Pontius Paulinus, &c. so also Pontius Pilatus. Wherefore in vain have some of the Ancients endeavoured to give an Etymology of these names, as they do of Greek and Hebrew names in the Scripture, and think thereby to express the nature or actions of them that have the names. As Isidorus Hispal. Orig. l. 7. c. 10. Pontius, Declinans concilium, utique Judæorum: accepta enim aqua lavit manus suas, dicens, Innocens ego sum à sanguine hujus justii. And Eutyechius Patriarch of Alexandria deduced Pontius from an Island called Ponta, near to Rome. And S. Jerome, Quod significat nomen Pilati, i. e. Malleatoris, i. e. qui domus ferreas gentes. ad Matt. 15. Pilatus, Os malleatoris; quia dum Christum ore suo & justificat & condemnat, more malleatoris utrinque ferit, Isid. ib. Pontius, declinans concilium; Pilatus, Os malleatoris. S. Jer. de nom. Hebraicis, in Luca, & rursus in Actis. where he lets us understand that these Etymologies were made from the Hebrew language; and makes an excuse, because the letter P is here taken for the Hebrew פ, to which the Latin F more properly answers. Sed sciendum est quod apud Hebræos P litera non habetur, nec ullum nomen est quod hoc elementum sonet: abusive igitur accipienda, quasi per F literam scripta sint. Thus did they vainly strive to find an Hebrew Original, and that such an one as should represent the conditions of Pilate; when these two names are nothing else but the Roman Nomen and Cognomen of that Person.

he should have three. The first of these two is * Pontius, the name descended to him from the original of his Family, which was very ancient; the second Pilatus, as a cognominal addition distinguishing from the rest descending from the same Original.

He was by birth a Roman, by degree of the Equestrian Order, sent by Tiberius the Emperour to be a Governour of Judæa. For about threescore years before our Saviour's birth the Jews by Pompey the Great were made tributary to the Romans. And although during the life of Hircanus the High-Priest, the reign of Herod and his son Archelaus, the Roman State suffered the Jews to be ruled by their own Laws and Governours; yet when Archelaus was banished by Augustus, they received their Governours from the Roman Emperour, being made a part of the Province of Syria belonging to his care. In the life of Augustus there was a Succession of three, Coponius, Ambrius, and Rufus. At the beginning of the reign of Tiberius they were governed by Valerius Gracchus, and at his departure by Pontius Pilate.

|| Τῶν Ἀρχελάου ἐθνικῶν ἢ ἀρχελάου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἢ ἀρχελάου ἀρχιεπισκόπου. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 13. Τῶν ἢ Ἀρχελάου ἢ Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου. in Antiq. Jud. l. 17. c. 15. Παρὼ ἢ Κυρὼ ἢ Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου. ibid. l. 18. c. 1.

The Office which this Pilate bare was the Procuratorship of Judæa, as is most evident out of the History both of the Romans, from whom he received his authority, and of the Jews, over whom he exercised his dominion. But what was the Office of a Procurator in those times, though necessary for our present purpose, is not so easie to determine, because it was but newly introduced into the Roman Government. For before the Dominion of that City was changed from a Commonwealth into an Empire, there was no such publick Office in any of the Provinces, and particularly in Judæa none till after the Banishment of Archelaus, some years after our Saviour's birth. When Augustus divided the Provinces of the Empire into two parts, one of which he kept for his own care, and left the other to the inspection of the Senate, he sent, together with the President of each Province, as the Governour in chief of the Province, a Procurator, whose Office was, to take an account of all the Tribute, and whatsoever was due to the Emperour, and to order and dispose of the same for his advantage. Neither was there at the first institution of this Office any other act belonging properly to their Jurisdiction, but

* Tacitus speaking of the Christians, Author nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio impetrante per Procuratorē Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus est. Annot. l. 1. c. 14. And Tertullian, most skilful of their Laws and Customs, speaks thus of our Saviour; postremo oblatum Pontio Pilato, Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procurantem. Apologu. cap. 21. Whom S. Cyprian follows: Hunc Magistri eorum..... Pontio Pilato, qui tunc ex parte Romana Syriam procurabat, tradiderunt. advers. Demetr. Thus also Josephus for the Jews: Παρὼ ἢ Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἐπὶ Τιβέριου Πιλάτου. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 14. And Philo, Πιλάτου ἢ Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἐπὶ Τιβέριου ἀρχιεπισκόπου. de legat. ad Caium. And therefore those words of S Luke, c. 3. 1. ἡμεῖς δεῖν Πιόνιον Πιλάτου ἢ Ἰουδαίου.

were properly translated by the old Interpreter, procurante Pontio Pilato Judæam. *Tous* Lucius Dexter *ad annum Christi* 29. Pontius Pilatus procurator Judææ à Tiberio mittitur in Judæam. *And* Justin Martyr most properly: Τὸν αὐρανόβητα ὄντι Πενθίς Πιλάτος, τὸν ἡρωῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ὄντι ἡρόνους Τιβέριος Καίσαρ ὄντι ἐπέστειλε. *Apol.* 2. *And* again, speaking to the Emperors, by whom the Procurators were sent: Καὶ Πιλάτος τὸν ἐμαρτύρησεν παρ' Ἰουδαίους ἡρωῶν ὄντι ἐπέστειλε. *And* again, καὶ τὸν ὀνόμαζεν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν αὐρανόβητα ὄντι Ἰουδαίᾳ, τὸν ἡρωῶν ἐπέστειλε τὸν Ἰουδαίᾳ. *Dial. cum Tryph.* *As* also Eusebius, Δωδεκατηρονιαυτοῦ τῆς Τιβέριος βασιλείας, ἐπιτέρεπτο τὸν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐπὶ Τιβέριος καθίσταται Πιλάτος. *Hist.* l. 1. c. 10. *And* S. Jerom's translation of his *Chronicon*; Pilatus procurator Judææ à Tiberio mittitur. *Tous* it appears that Pilate of the Equestrian Order was properly Procurator, as that Office was ordinarily given to men of that Order, as Tacitus testifies: Cuius Julius Agricola utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quæ equestris nobilitas est. in *vit. Jul. Agr.* Which is to be understood concerning the Imperial Provinces: for into those which were of the Provinces of the People, the Procurators sent by Caesar were of the Liberti. For the Emperor sent into all the Provinces his Procurators, but with this difference, as Dio observes; εἰς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη, τὰ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἰσότητος, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀπελευθέρων. *πέμπει.* *Hist.* l. 53. || The Roman Procurator is ordinarily in Greek Authors express'd by their Ἐπίτερεπτο, as the Glossa Latin. Græc. Procurator, Ἐπίτερεπτο. But yet they are not of the same latitude in their use; Ἐπίτερεπτο comprehending the notion of Tutor, as well as Procurator. *Heivch.* Ἐπίτερεπτο, ὁ προστάτης χυρίων, καὶ ὅλων τῶν ἑσίων, καὶ ὁρρογῶν. *Gloss. Vet.* Ἐπίτερεπτο, Procurator, tutor. Ἐπίτερεπτο therefore was used by the Greeks in both notions, whereof Procurator of the Latins is but one. *And* in the language of the Romans he is a Procurator which undertakes to manage the business of another man. Procurator si negotium suscipit, *sicut* Alconius in *Divin.* and *Sex. Pompeius*, Procurator absentis nomine actor fit; he to whom the care of another man's estate or affairs was committed. *Gloss. Vet.* Ἐπίτερεπτο, commissum, ὁ Ἐπίτερεπτο, procurator. *In* correspondence to these Procurators of the affairs and estates of private persons, there were made such as did take care in every Province of the Imperial Revenue: who, in respect of the Person whom they served, were called Procuratores Caesaris, or Augustales; in respect of the Countries where they served, were termed Procuratores provinciales. Their Office is best described by *Dion.* *Hist.* l. 53. Τὸν ὄντι ἐπέστειλε, ἔτω γὰρ τὰς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγονται, καὶ προσελαγμένα σφίσι ἀναλίσκοιται, ὀνομάζονται. We call, says he, these Ἐπίτερεπτο, that is Procuratores, which receive the publick Revenues, and dispose of them according to the commands received from the Emperour. For they acted in his name, and what was done by them was accounted as done by the Emperour himself. *Quæ acta gesta sunt à Procuratore Cæsaris, sic ab eo comprobari ac si à Cæsare gesta essent, Ulpian.* l. 1. ff. *As* we read in Tacitus of the Emperour Claudius; Sæpius audita vox Principis, parvam vim rerum habendam à Procuratoribus suis judicatarum, ac si ipse statuisset. *Annal.* l. 12. *And* in Suetonius; Ut rata essent quæ Procuratores sui in judicando statuerent à Senatu precepio exegit. The proper Office therefore of the Provincial Procurator was, to receive the Imperial Revenue, and dispose of it as the Emperour commanded, and to all intents and purposes to do such things as were necessary thereunto, with such authority as if the Emperour himself had done them.

such a care and disposal of the Imperial Revenue: which they exercised as inferior and subordinate to the President, always supreme Provincial Officer.

Now Judæa being made part of a Province of Syria, and consequently under the care of the President of that Province, according to this institution, a particular Procurator was assigned unto it for the disposing of the Emperour's Revenue. *And* because the Nation of the Jews were always suspected of a rebellious disposition against the Roman State, and the President of Syria, who had the power of the Sword, was forced to attend upon the other parts of his Province; therefore the Procurator of Judæa was furnished with power of life and death, and so administered all the power of the President, which was, as to the Jews, supreme. Which is very observable, as an eminent act of the Providence of God, by which the full power of Judicature in Judæa was left in the hands of the Resident Procurator.

|| This appeareth by Coponius, the first proper Procurator of Judæa, who was brought in by

Quirinus Præses of Syria, when he came to dispose of the goods of Archelaus, and to reduce Judæa into the form of a Province, and adjoin it to Syria. *Of* this Coponius Josephus writeth after this manner, Κατωρίος τε αὐτοῦ (Κυρλίω) σωματαπέμπεται, τὸν ματὸν Ἰππέαν ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ἰουδαίας τῆς ὄντι τῆσιν Ἰουδαίᾳ: that being of the Equestrian order, he was sent with Quirinus to govern the Jews with the supreme power. *Antiq.* l. 18. c. 1. *And* yet more expressly as to the time, occasion, and extent of his power: Τῆς Ἡ Αρχιλάου χάρις εἰς ἐπαρχίαν ἀπερχομένης, ὄντι ἐπέστειλε τῆσιν Ἰουδαίᾳ τὸν ματὸν Ἰππέαν, μετὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λαβὼν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρ ὄντι ἐπέστειλε. *Id.* de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 11. *When* these parts which were under the command of Archelaus were reduced into a Province, Coponius was sent thither by the Emperour, and furnished with power of life and death. For although in the Proconsular Provinces the Procurator of the Emperour had no power but in those things which belonged to the Exchequer; yet in those Provinces which were properly præsidiales the Procurator was often loco Præsidis. *From* whence in the ancient Inscriptions we read of the same person, Procurator & Præses Alpium, Procurator & Præses provinciarum per Orientem, Procurator & Præses provinciæ Sardinia. *It* was often therefore so, that the Procurator did Præsidis partibus fungi: as Ulpian. l. 2. de officio Proconsulis; In provinciam enim Præsidium provinciarum, nec aliter Procuratori Cæsaris, hæc cognitio injungitur, quam Præsidis partibus in provincia fungatur. *And* this is very necessary to be observed, because a Procurator barely such, not armed with the power of the Præses provinciæ, had not the power of the Sword. *As* Antoninus in Valerius; Procurator meus, qui vice Præsidis non iungebatur, exsilii tibi poenam non potuit irrogare. l. 9. Cod. de poenis. *And* to Heliodorus; Procurator meus, qui vice Præsidis provinciæ non iungitur, sicut exigere poenam deferta accusationis non potest, ita iudicare ut ea inferatur sententiâ suâ non potest. l. 3. C. Ubi causæ. *This* was plain in the case of Lucilius Capito, Procurator of Asia minor, who was called in question for exceeding his power, and deserted therein by Tiberius. Procurator Asiae Lucilius Capito, accusatione provinciæ, causam dixit magna cum adlevatione Principis, non se ius nisi in terrore & pecuniis familiaribus dedisse. Quod si vim Prætoris usurpasset, manibus; militum usus foret, scripta in eo mandata sua, audirent socios. *Tacit.* *Annal.* *And* Dio upon the said example observes in general, that the Procurators had no such power. Οὐ γὰρ ἐξέλιω τότε τοῖς τὰ αὐτοῦ. Ἰστορικὰ χημάτα; διοικῶσι πλέον ἢ δύνανται, ἢ τὰς νενομισμένας προσόδους ἐκλέγονται, καὶ οὐδὲν διαφορῶν ἐν τε τῶν ἀγορῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων ὄντι ἰσα τοῖς ἰδιώταις διακρίσθη. *But* although the ordinary Procurators had no other power but to dispose of the Revenue, and determine private causes; yet he which was vice Præsidis had the power of the Præses: and such a Procurator was Pontius Pilate in Judæa, in the others who preceded him also were.

For by this means it came to pass that Christ, who by the determinate counsel of God was to die, and by the prediction of the Prophets was to suffer in a manner not prescribed by the Law of *Moses*, should be delivered up to a foreign power, and to suffer death after the customs of that Nation to whose power he was delivered. The malice of the obstinate *Jm* was high to accuse and prosecute him, but the power of the *Jews* was not so high as judicially to condemn him. For although the chief Priests and the Elders and the Scribes condemned him guilty of death; yet they could not condemn him to die, or pronounce the sentence of death upon him, but delivered him up unto *Pilate*: and when he refusing said unto them, *Take ye him, and judge him according to your law*; they immediately returned, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* The power of life and death was not in any Court of the *Jews*, but in the *Roman* Governour alone as supreme; and || therefore they answered him, it was *not lawful*: not in respect of the Law of *Moses*, which gave them both sufficient power and absolute command to punish divers offenders with death; but in relation to the *Roman* Empire, which had taken all that dominion from them. Forty years before the destruction of *Jerusalem* the *Jews* themselves acknowledge that they lost their power; which is sufficient to shew that they had it not when our Saviour suffered: and it is as true that they lost it twenty years before, at the regulation of *Archelaus*, and the coming of *Coponius* the Procurator with full power of life and death. Wherefore our Saviour was delivered unto *Pilate* as the supreme Judge over the Nation of the *Jews*, that he might pronounce the sentence of death upon him.

Matt. 14. 24.
John 12. 30.
31.

I say therefore the Jews answered that it was not lawful for them to put any Man to death, because their power was taken out of their hands, but although some will say they thought it not lawful in respect of the Passover, Intellegendam est eis dixit, non sibi licere interficere quemquam, propter diei festi sanctitatem, quem celebrare jam ceperant, *Tract.* 14. in *Juan.* and S. Cyril be of the same opinion; yet others of the Ancients deliver the true cause why they applied themselves to *Pilate* to be their want of power; as *Ammonius* most expressly, *Τίνος ἕνεκεν αὐτὸν ἐκ ἀνείλον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Πιλάτον ἤγαγον; μαλιστα μὲν τὸ ποιοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀπεπέμειλο, λοιπὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαῖοις τῶν πραγμάτων κειμένων.* and upon the words in S. John. *Ὡς ἐπαπεσείθη τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἵσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαῖοις, ἔγοντο τετο.* So *Theophylact*, *Ἄγασαν αὐτὸν ὡς τὸ παραίρειον, ἔ γὰρ εἶχον αὐτοὶ ἐξουσίαν ἀνελεῖν, ἅτε τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαῖοις κειμένων.* and before him S. *Chrysostome*.

But how this Judge could be persuaded to an act of so much injustice and impiety is not yet easie to be seen. The numerous controversies of the Religion of the *Jews* did not concern the *Roman* Governours, nor were they moved with the frequent quarrels arising from the different Sects. *Pilate* knew well it was for envy that the chief Priests delivered him; and when he had examined him, he found no fault touching those things whereof they accused him. Three times did he challenge the Nation of the *Jews*, *Why? what evil hath he done?* three times did he make that clear profession, *I have found no cause of death in him.* His own wife admonished in a dream, sent unto him, saying, *Have thou nothing to do with that just man*; and when he heard that he made himself the Son of God, he was more afraid: and yet notwithstanding these apprehensions and professions, he condemned and crucified him.

Matt. 27. 18.
Luce 23. 14.
22.

Matt. 27. 19.
John 19. 7. 2.

ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἠψήθη ἵνα ἀπέλθῃ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθους, ὅτι οὐκ ἔθελε ἵνα ἴσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἑτάροιο τοῦ Λαοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔθελε ἵνα ἴσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἑτάροιο τοῦ Λαοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔθελε ἵνα ἴσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἑτάροιο τοῦ Λαοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔθελε ἵνα ἴσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἑτάροιο τοῦ Λαοῦ.

Here we must look upon the nature and disposition of *Pilate*, which inclined and betrayed him to so foul an Act. He was a man of an || high, rough, untractable and irreconcilable spirit, as he is described by the *Jews*, and appeareth from the beginning of his Government, when he brought the Bucklers stamp't with the pictures of *Cæsar* into *Jerusalem*, (which was an abomination to the *Jews*,) and could neither be moved by the blood of many, nor persuaded by the most humble applications and submits intreaties of the whole Nation, to remove them, till he received a sharp reprehension and severe command from the Emperour *Tiberius*. After that he seized on the *Corban*, that sacred Treasury, and spent it upon an *Aquæduct*: nor could all their religious and importunate petitions divert his intentions, but his resolution

lution went through their blood to bring in water. When the Galileans came up to Jerusalem to worship God at his own Temple, *he mingled their blood with their sacrifices.* Add to this untractable and irreconcilable spirit, by which he had so often exasperated the Jews, an avaricious and rapacious disposition, which prompted him as much to please them; and we may easily perceive what moved him to condemn that person to death whom he declared innocent. The Evangelist telleth us that *Pilate, willing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus to be crucified.* They accused him at Rome for all the ^a insolencies and rapines which he had committed, and by this Act he thought to pacifie them.

Luke 12. 1.

Mark 15. 15.

^a For that which is observed by Philo upon the dedication of the

Shields at the first entrance into his Government, must needs be much more true at this time of our Saviour's Passion, when he had committed so many more insolencies, viz. that he feared the Jews should complain of him to Tiberius. τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦ μάστιγα αὐτὸν ἔξετελέχευε, καὶ ἀδείσαντα μὴ τὸ ὄντι πρεσβυσιμῶσι καὶ τῆς ἀλλοῦ αὐτῶ ἐπισητῆος ἔξελέγχετο τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἀρπαγὰς, τὰς αἰκίας, τὰς ἐπιχειρίας, τοῦ ἀκείτου καὶ ἐπαλλήλου φόβου, τῶν ἐπιλύσεων καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτων ἀμότηση διεξελθόντες. de Legat. ad Caium.

It was thus necessary to express the Person under whom our Saviour suffered, First, that we might for ever be assured of the ^b time in which he suffered. The enemies of Christianity began first to unsettle the time of his Passion, that thereby they might at last deny the Passion it self; and the rest of their Falshood was detected by the ^c discovery of their false Chronology. Some fixed it to the ^d seventh year of the reign of *Tiberius*: whereas it is certain *Pontius Pilate* was not then Procurator in *Judaea*, and as certain that our Saviour was baptized eight years after, ^e *in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar.* Some of the Jews, lest the destruction of *Jerusalem* might seem to follow upon, and for our Saviour's Crucifixion, have removed it near threescore years more backward yet, ^f placing his death in the beginning of *Herod's* reign, who was not born till toward the death of the same King. Others have removed it farther yet near ^g twenty years, and so vainly tell us how he died under *Aristobulus*, above fifty years before his birth in *Bethlehem.* This they do teach their Profelytes, to this end, that they may not believe so much as the least historical part of the blessed Evangelists. As therefore they deny the time of our Saviour's Passion, in design to destroy his Doctrine; so, that we might establish the substance of the Gospel depending on his death, it was necessary we should retain a perfect remembrance of the time in which he died. Nor need we be ashamed that the Christian Religion, which we profess, should have so known an *Epocha*, and so late an Original. Christ came not into the world in the beginning of it, but *in the fulness of time.*

^b Cautissime qui Symbolum tradiderunt, etiam tempus quo hæc sub Pontio Pilato gesta sunt designarunt, nec ex aliqua parte velut vaga & incerta gestorum tractatio vacillaret. Rufinus in Expof. Symb. Credimus itaque in eum qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est & sepultus. Addendum enim erat iudicis nomen propter temporum cogitationem. S. Aug. de Fide & Symb. Pilatus Judex erat in illo tempore ab Imperatore positus in Judæa, sub quo Domi-

nus passus est; cuius mentio ad temporis significationem, non ad personæ illius pertinet dignitatem. Sermon. 131. de Tempore. Irenæus, speaking of S. Paul, Evangelizabat Filium Dei Christum Jesum, qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est. l. 5. c. 12. And to make the more certain character of time, Ignatius added to the name of Pilate that of Herod: Ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένου ἑσθ' ἡμεῶν (Cæsar. Epist. ad Smyrn. So Eusebius detelied some of those which lived not long before him: Οὐκ ἄν σαζῶς ἀπελάλεγκται τὸ πλάσμα ἡμῶν καὶ τῶ σωτήριου ἡμεῶν ὑπομνήμα] α χθῆς καὶ πρώτω διαδεδομένον, ἐν οἷς πρώτῳ αὐτὸς ὁ ἁ πνευματικῶς χεῖρῶν ἡμῶν πεπλακῆται ἀτελέγχει τὸ ψεῦδος; H st. Eccles. l. 1. c. 11. Ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης δ' ἔν ὑπατίας Γιλβείας, ἢ γέροντος ἐτικῆ ἐβδόμη τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ πρὶ τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ π[ρ]ὸ τολμηθέντα ποιεῖ χειρ, καθ' ὃν δεικνύσαι χεῖρον μὴδ' ἐπίσει πω τῆ Ἰακωβία Πιλάτῳ. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 10. Luke 3. 1. Divers of the Jews place the Passion of Christ in the year of their account 3721, which is 69 years before our common account of the year in which he truly suffered. This invention of their own, grounded upon no foundation, and backed with not so much as the least probability, they deliver us a Tradition amongst them, continued in this Rhythm,

בשנה ג איפיה חשכד הנצרי נכד
ובשנה תקקב בעץ נצלב

i. e. In the year 3724 he of Nazareth was taken,
And in the year 532 he was crucified on a tree.

Not that they thought him taken in one year, and crucified in another; but those two unequal numbers signify the same year, the lesser number being a Per. of years which seven times number equals the greater. So that their meaning is, that after seven period.

continuing

continuing of 522 years, in the year of the world 3724, Jesus of Nazareth was crucified. ^b Others of the Jews pretend another account, viz. that J. was born in the year 362, which was the fourth of Janneus, and crucified in the year 3707, which was the third of Aristobulus; making him the disciple of R. Josuah the Son of Perachiah; according to that usual Phrase of the *rs.* כרבי יושע בן פרחיה שדחפו לישו בשנת יד'ב' Vide Sopher Juchatin.

^a Nota quod in Pilato & uxore eius, iustum Dominum confitentibus, Gentilis populi testimonium est. S. Hier. in Mat. 27.

ⁱ That Pontius Pilate wrote unto Tiberius of

the death and resurrection of our Saviour, is testified by Tertullian, who was best acquainted with the Roman History: Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, & ipse iam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cafari tum Tiberio nunciavit. *Apolo.* c. 21. And again: Tiberius ergo, cuius tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introivit, annunciatum sibi ex Syria Palaestina, quae veritatem illius (Christi) divinitatis revelarat, detulit ad Senatum cum prerogativa suffragii sui. *cap. 5.* This is related by Eusebius out of Tertullian in his *Ecclesiastical History*, l. 2. c. 2. and referred to the two and twentieth year of Tiberius in his *Chron.* Pilato de Christianorum dogmate ad Tiberium referente, Tiberius retulit ad Senatum, ut inter cetera sacra reciperetur. The authority of this Express is grounded on the great reputation of Tertullian, (as is observed also by the Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, who concludes the relation with these words, *ὡς ἰσραὴλ ἑβραϊστὴς ὁ Ῥωμαῖος*;) and the general custom by which all the Governours of the Provinces did give an account unto the Emperour of all such passages as were most remarkable: *παλαῖς κεκεγνηκότ' ἔθης τοῖς ἡ' ἐθρῶν ἀρχαῖς, τὰ πρὸς οὐσιαστικὸν τοῦ βασιλείου ἀρχαῖς ὀπικετῶν τι σημάων, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτὸν διαβιβέσκει ἢ γινούμεν.* Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* l. 2. c. 2. ^k The ancient Romans were desirous to preserve the memory of all remarkable passages which happened in the City: and this was done either in their Acta Senatūs, or Acta diurna populi; which were diligently made, and carefully kept at Rome. In the same manner the Governours in the Provinces took care that all things worthy of remark should be written in publick Tables, and preserved as the Acta in their Government. And agreeably to this custom Pontius Pilate kept the Memoirs of the Jewish Affairs, which were therefore called Acta Pilati, in which an account was given of our blessed Saviour; and the Primitive Christians did appeal unto them in their disputes with the Gentiles, as to a most undoubted testimony. Justin Martyr urged them even unto the Roman Emperours: *καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέροντες, δωμάδε μαθεῖν ἐκ ἡ' ὅτι Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγουμένων Ἀκρίων.* And again: *Ὅτι ἢ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ ἡ' ὅτι Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγουμένων Ἀκρίων μαθεῖν δωμάδε.* *Apol.* 2. And in the differences between the Christians, they were cited by both parties. As the Tessaresdecatae alleged them for their custom of the observance of Easter, as Epiphanius testifieth of them: *ἐκ ἡ' Ἀκρίων δὲθεν Πιλάτου ἀρχαῖς ἢ ἀκρίων ἀν' ἐβραϊστικῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐμμέρεται, τῶ πρὸς οὐλῶ καλανδῶν Ἀπειλιῶν ἢ Σωτήρα πεσονθέναι.* And Epiphanius urgeth the same Acta against them, but according to other Copies: *Ἐτι ἢ ἐβραῖω ἀνίγχετα ἐκ ἡ' (lege Ἀκρίων) Πιλάτου, ἐν οἷς σημαίνει, πρὸς δεκαπέντε καλανδῶν Ἀπειλιῶν τὸ πάθ' ἢ γέννησ'.* Hist. 50. Though the Author of the 8 Homily in Faicla, under the name of S. Chrystome, agreeth in this reading with the Tessaresdecatae: *ὁ μὲν χρίστος καθ' ἑν ἑταβῶν ὁ Σωτήρ ἐκ ἡ' γέννηται: τὰ δὲ σημνῶματα τὰ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου παραχθέντα ἢ ἢ περθεσίαν σείειχ' τὸ πάθ' ἢ ἰσραὴται γέν ὅτι τῶ πρὸς οὐλῶ καλανδῶν Ἀπειλιῶν ἑπαθεν ὁ Σωτήρ.* Tom. 5. p. 942. These were also mentioned in the Acta S. Turachi, *Probi & Andronici*, cap. 9. *Grases dixit, Inique, non scis, quem invocas, Christum, hominem quidem fuisse factum, sub custodia Pontii Pilati & punitum, cujus existant Acta Passionis? These Acta in the time of Maximinus were adulterated, and filled with many blasphemies against our Saviour; as appears by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 9. ἔκων σαρωῶς ἀπελήγευχε τὸ πλάσμα ἡ' χ' τὸ Σωτήρ ἢ ἢ ὑπομνήματα χ' ἢ πρὸς διαδιδάκταν; & l. 9. c. 5. Πλαστικοὶ δὲ τα Πιλάτου ἢ τὸ Σωτήρ ἢ ἢ ὑπομνήματα πάσης ἐμπλεα χ' τὸ χεῖρ βλασφημίας γνώμη τὸ μείζον' ὅτι πάσαν διασπίμποναι τῶ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχαῖ.*

Thirdly, it behoved us to take notice of the Roman Governour in the expression of our Saviour's Passion, that thereby we might understand how it came to pass that Christ should suffer according to the Scriptures. The Prophets had foretold his death, but after such a manner as was not to be performed by the Jews, according to whose Law and Custom no man amongst them ever so died. Being then so great a Prophet could not die but in Jerusalem, being the death he was to suffer was not agreeable to the Laws and Customs of the Jews; it was necessary a Roman Governour should condemn him, that so the counsel of the will of God might be fulfilled, by the malice of the one, and the customs of the other.

And now the advantage of this Circumstance is discovered, every one may express the importance of it in this manner. I am fully perswaded of this truth, as beyond all possibility of contradiction, that in the fulfols of time God sent his Son, and that the eternal Son of God so sent by him did suffer for the sins of men, after the fiftenth year of Tiberius the Roman Emperour, and before his death, in the time of Pontius Pilate the Casarean Procurator

rator of *Judæa*; who, to please the Nation of the *Jews*, did condemn him whom he pronounced innocent, and delivered him, according to the custom of that Empire, and in order to the fulfilling of the Prophecies, to die a painful and shameful death upon the Cross. And thus I believe in Christ that *suffered under Pontius Pilate*,

Was Crucified.

From the general consideration of our Saviour's Passion, we proceed to the most remarkable particular, his Crucifixion, standing between his Passion, which it concludeth, and his death, which it introduceth. For the explication whereof it will be necessary, first, to prove that the promised *Messias* was to be crucified, that he which was designed to die for our sins was to suffer upon the Cross; secondly, to shew that our *Jesus*, whom we worship, was certainly and truly crucified, and did suffer whatsoever was foretold upon the Cross; thirdly, to discover what is the nature of Crucifixion, what peculiarities of suffering are contained in dying on the Cross.

That the *Messias* was to be crucified, appeareth both by Types which did apparently foreshew it, and by Prophecies which did plainly foretel it. For though all those Representations and Predictions which the forward || zeal of some ancient Fathers gathered out of the Law and the Prophets cannot be said to signifie so much; yet in many Types was the Crucifixion of Christ represented, and by some Prophecies foretold. This was the true and unremovable *stumbling-block to the Jews*; nor could they ever be brought to confess the *Messias* should * die that death upon a Tree to which the Curse of the Law belonged: and yet we need no other Oracles than such as are committed to those *Jews* to prove that Christ was so to suffer.

|| The ancient Fathers following the steps of the Apostles, to prove all the particulars of our Saviour's death out of the Old Testament, have made use of those Types and Prophecies which

did really and truly fore-shew it; but together with them, partly out of their own conceptions, partly out of too much credit to the translations, have urged those places which the Jews may most easily evade, and we can produce but with small or no pretence. As for the extending of the hands of Moses, they conceive it to be a perfect Type; and Barnabas tells us, the Spirit command'd Moses that he should make the similitude of a Cross; λέγει κ' εἰς καρδίαν Μωσῆ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα ποιῆσῃ τύπον σταυροῦ κ' αὐτὸ μέλλον] τὸ πά-
 χειν* but the Text assures us no more than that Moses held up his hand, which might be without any similitude of a Cross. And when both were lifted up by Aaron and Hur, the representation is not certain. And yet after Barnabas, Justin tells us that Moses represented the Cross, τὰς χεῖρας ἐκείνου ἐπέστρεψας* and Tertullian calls it habitum Crucis. In the same manner with the strange Indian Statue, which is described by Bardisanes as ἀνδρείας ἕως ὀρθῶς, ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας ἡλωθῆσαι ἐν τύπῳ σταυροῦ. Porphyr. de Seyge. With less probability did they gather both the name of *Jesus*, and the Cross of *Christ*, from the 318 servants of Abraham. Ἰῶτα δ' αὖ, ἦτα δ' ἄρα, ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν ἔτι ἢ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ ἑμμελλεν ἔχειν τὸ χεῖρον, λέγει γὰρ πρὸς τειρακοσίς, δ' αὐτὸ ἔν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τοῖς δυοῖν γράμμασι, κ' ἐν ἐντὶ σταυρῶν. Epist. Barn. c. 7. As if I H stood for *Jesus*, and T for the Cross. And yet Clemens Alex. follows him: Φασὶν ἔν τῷ Ἰησοῦ κ' ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τὸ κ' αὖ καὶ σημεῖον τύπον χ' τὸ γ' ἡμμελλεν ἔχειν τὸ χεῖρον, λέγει γὰρ πρὸς τειρακοσίς, δ' αὐτὸ ἔν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τοῖς δυοῖν γράμμασι, κ' ἐν ἐντὶ σταυρῶν. Stromat. l. 5. As also S. Ambrose; Nam & Abraham 318 duxit ad bellum, & ex innumeris trophæa hostibus reportavit, signoque Dominice crucis & nominis, &c. Proh. ad l. i. de Fide. Eos adflicent quos dignos numero fidelium judicavit, qui in Domini nostri Jesu Christi Passione crederent. Trecentos enim T Græca litera significat; decem & octo autem summum I H exprimit nomen. Id. de Abrah. l. i. c. 3. And S. Augustine of another 300: Quorum numerus, quia trecenti erant, signum intinuat Crucis, propter literam T Græcam, quia iste numerus significatur. And Clemens Alexandrinus again of the 300 cubits in the Ark: Εἰσὶ δ' οὖν τῶν τειρακοσίων τῆς αὐτῆς ἀριθμοῦ συμβολαὶ τὰ λίαν καὶ σημεῖον λέγουσι. Strom. l. 6. Sed sicut ille non multitudine nec virtute legionum, sed jam tum in Sacramento Crucis, cujus figura per literam Græcam T numero trecentorum exprimitur, adversarios principes debellavit; cujus mysterii virtute trecentis in longum terra cubicis superavit Arca diluvium, ut nunc Ecclesia hoc seculum supernavigat. S. Paulinus Epist. 2. As unlikely a Type did they make Jacob's Ladder. Ego puro Crucem Salvatoris illam esse scalam quam Jacob vidit. Hieron. Scala usque ad coelum attingens Crucis figuram habuit; Dominus inmixta scala, Christus crucifixus ostenditur. Aug. Toese, and many others, by the Writers of the succeeding Ages were produced out of the Old Testament as Types of the Cross, and may in some sense be applied to it being otherwise proved, but prove it not. * Trypho the Jew, in the Dialogue with Justin Martyr, when he had confessed many of the Christian Doctrines, would by no means be brought to this, Εἰ δ' ἂν ἀπίστος ἔτος σταυρωθῆσσι τὸν Χριστὸν, (tubaud. ἔδει) σταυρωθῆσσι δὲ κατὰ τὸν γὰρ ὁ σταυρωθῆσσι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγουσι ἔδει ὡσεὶ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπιστίας ἔχου. And afterwards, granting his Passion, wretch him to prove his Crucifixion; Ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰδὲν εἰς ἔννοταν ἐλθῶν διαδάξασθαι. So Tertullian describes the Jews, negantes passionem Crucis in Christum predicatam, & argumentantes insuper non esse credendum ut ad id genus moris expo-
 tuerit Deus Filium suum, quod ipse dixit, Maledictus omnis homo qui pendit in ligno. Adv. Judæos c. 10.

A clearer Type can scarce be conceived of the Saviour of the world, in whom all the Nations of the earth were to be blessed, than *Isaac* was: nor

can

can God the Father, who gave his only-begotten Son, be better expressed than by that Patriarch in his readiness to sacrifice his son, *his only son Isaac, whom he loved*. Now when that grand Act of Obedience was to be performed, we find *Isaac* walking to the mountain of *Moriah* with the wood on his shoulders, and saying, *Here is the wood, but where is the sacrifice?* while in the command of God, and the intention and resolution of *Abraham*, *Isaac* is the Sacrifice, who bears the wood. And the *Christ*, who was to be the most perfect Sacrifice, the person in whom all Nations were perfectly to be blessed, could die no other death in which the wood was to be carried; and being to die upon the Cross, was, by the formal * custom used in that kind of death, certainly to carry it. Therefore *Isaac* || bearing the wood did signify *Christ* bearing the Cross.

* This Custom is very considerable as to the explanation of this

Type, and is therefore confirmed by the testimonies of the Ancients, which are most express. Βασίλειον τινα ἦν δαυιδόνων χθονίαν κακέρχον ἢ ἰδόντι σωζέν αὐτὸ σημαίνει· ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ σωζὸς θανάτω, καὶ ὁ μέλλον περὶ σπλάγχνων πείτερον αὐτὸν βασίλειον. Artemid. l. 2. c. 41. Τῷ μὲν σώματι ἦν κολαζουμένων ἕκαστος ἦν κακέρχον ἐκέρει ἢ αὐτὸ σωζέν. Plutarch. De his qui ferro puniuntur. So these not long after our Saviour's death: and much before it, Plautus in Carbonario, Patibulum ferat per urbem, deinde affigatur cruci. || This is not only the observation of the Christians, but the Jews themselves have referred this Type unto that Custom. For upon Gen. 22. 6. And Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son, the lesser Bereshith hath this note, כָּנָסוּ אֵת יְצִיבוֹ עַל שְׁׁוֹטוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר אֵת אִישׁ נוֹשֵׂא אֶת צִלְעוֹ עַל שְׁׁוֹטוֹ as a man carries his Cross upon his shoulders.

When the fiery Serpents bit the *Israelites*, and much people died, *Moses*, by the command of God, *made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole: and it came to pass that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived*. Now if there were no expresser Promise of the *Messias* than the seed of the woman which should bruise the serpent's head; if he were to perform that Promise by the virtue of his Death; if no Death could be so perfectly represented by the hanging on the pole as that of Crucifixion: then was that manifestly foretold which *Christ* himself informed *Nicodemus*, *As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up*.

John 3. 14. The common phrase by which that death was expressed. In crucem tolli: Paul. l. 5. Sentent. Tit. 22, 23. & 25. As in the Chaldee by origination elevation, by use is particularly crucifixio.

Justin Martyr shows how the manner of the

The Paschal Lamb did plainly typifie that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world; and the preparing of it did not only ^b represent the Cross, but the Command or Ordinance of the Passover did foretel as much. For while 'tis said, ^c ye shall not break a bone thereof, it was thereby intimated, that the Saviour of the world should suffer that death to which the breaking of the bones belonged, (and that, according to the constant custom, ^d was the punishment of Crucifixion;) but only in that death should by the providence of God be so particularly preserved, as that not one bone of his should be touched. And thus the Crucifixion of the *Messias* in several Types was represented.

roasting of the Paschal Lamb did represent the affixing of a man unto the Cross, and thereby was a Type of *Christ*. Τὸ κελδοῦδεν πέφκατον ἐκεῖνο ὄλον γινεῖσθαι, τὸ πάθος τῶ σωρῆ δι' ἡ πάχον ἐμελεῖν ὁ κείδος σύμβολον ἰὼ τὸ γὰρ ὀπίσθιον περὶ σατον, ἀνηματιζέσθον ὀρείως τὸ γράματι τῶ σωρῆ ὁ πλάται. Εἰς γὰρ ὀρεθιτὸ ὀβελίσκον διαπερνεῖται ἀπὸ ἡσ καταλάτω μερῶν μέγχι ἡ κεφαλῆς καὶ εἰς πάλιν καὶ τὸ μετὰ τρενον, ὀ περὶ σατον καὶ ὀ χῆρις τῶ περὶ σατον. Dial. cum Tryphone. Τοῦ which Arnoldus Carnotensis: alladeth: In veru Crucis boni odoris allatio excoquat carnalium sensum cruditatem. De cena Domini, commonly attributed to S. Cyprian. Nor is this roasting of the Lamb any far-fetch'd figure of the Cross; for other roasting hath been thought a proper resemblance of it: where the body of the thing roasted hath limbs, as a Lamb, there it bears the similitude of a proper Cross, with an erect and transverse beam; where the roasted body is on'y of length and uniform, as a Fish, there the resemblance is of a straight and simple cross. As it is represented by Helychius: Σκόλο ἰν ὀς ὀπίσθον· τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν κακέρχον ἀνεπὶ ὀλοπιζον ἐξμοίωτες εὐλεν δια ἡ βῆχως καὶ τῶ κῶτε, καθάσθ τῶς ὀπίσθινας ἰχθῆς ὀπὶ ὀβελίσκον. Exod. 12. 46. Although indeed it must be confessed, that the Crucifragium and the Crucifixion were two several Punishments, and that they ordinarily made the Cross a lingering death: yet because the Law of *Moses* did not suffer the body of a man to hang upon a tree in the night, therefore the Romans, following the Jews, did break the bones of those whom they crucified in *Judaea* constantly, whereas in other Countries they did it but occasionally.

Nor was it only thus prefigured and involved in these Typical Resemblances, but also clearly spoken by the Prophets in their particular and express Predictions. Nor shall we need the accession of any lost or additional Pro-

Prophetical expressions; which some of the || Ancients have made use of: || those which are still preserved even among the Jews, will yield this Truth sufficient Testimonies.

As Barnabas cites one of the Prophets whom we know not: Ομοίως πα-

λιν ὀρί τ' αὐτῶν ἐρέσει ἄλλω περιήτη λέγοντι, καὶ τότε ταῦτα ὤψιλε δῆσαι; καὶ λέγει Κύριε, Ὁταν ἔσθλον κλῆθῆι ἂν ἀναστῆ, καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα σαξῆι, which words are not to be found in any of the Propnets. Iustus Justin Martyr, to prove ἀριετὴ τὸ σαρωθῆναι βασιλεύσῃ ὁ Χριστός, produces a Prophecy out of the 96th Psalm, in these words; ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ. And Tertullian, who advances all his conceptions; Age nunc, si legis penes Prophetam in Palmis, Dominus tēnauit à ligno; exirecto quid intelligas, ne forte lignarium aliquem regem significari putetis, & non Christum, qui exinde passione Christi (lege Crucis, for he himself hath it ligni, Adv. Marcion. l. 3. c. 19.) superatà morte regnavit, Adv. Jud. c. 10. And in the place cited against Marcion: Et si enim mors ab Adam regnavit usque ad Christum, cur Christus non regnasse dicatur à ligno, ex quo crucis ligno mortuus regnum mortis exclusit? Thus they, and some after them, make use of those words, and there any thing like them in the Original, or any Translation extant; nor the least mention or foot-step of them in the Sacra Græcorum Patrum. Iustus Martyr indeed excused the Jews for raising the words ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ out of the Text: Ἀπὸ τῷ ὀνεγκοῦ πῆμι πη δαλλμὸ ὁ δὲ δαβὶδ λέχθέντων λόγων λέξει βερχαία ἀφίλοντε, ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ ἐρηψὲς γὰρ λόγος, ἔπαλε ἐστὶς ἐθεσον, Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ, ἀρῆσαν οἴπατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν. Let first he doth not accuse them for raising it out of the Original Hebrew, for his Discourse is only to show that they abused the LXX. Secondly, though the Jews had raised it out of their own, it appeareth not how they should have gotten it out of the Bibles in the Christians hands, in which those words are not to be found.

When God foretels by the Prophet Zachary, what he should suffer from the Sons of Men, he says || expressly, 'They shall look upon me whom they have pierced; and therefore shews that he speaks of the Son of God, which was to be the Son of Man, and by our Nature liable to Vulneration; and wital foretels the piercing of his Body: which being added to that Prediction in the 2 Psalms, * They pierced my hands and my feet, clearly representeth and foretelleth to us the Death upon the Cross, to which the Hands and Feet of the Person crucified were affixed with Nails. And because these Prophecies appeared so particular and clear, and were so properly applied by that Disciple whom our Saviour loved, and to whom he made a singular Application even upon the Cross; therefore the Jews have used more than ordinary Industry and Artifice to clude these * two Predictions, but in vain. For these two Prophets, David and Zachary, manifestly did foretel the particular Punishment of Crucifixion.

|| Zach. 12. 10. These words of Zachary are clear in the Original, אֶת־הַכּוֹבֵדִים אֲרַךְ אֶת־רַגְלֵי וְאֶת־יָדָיו אֲרַךְ אֲנִי וְאֵת־יְהוָה אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, although the LXX have made another sense, ἐπὶ ἑλέφου παλε με ἀνθ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀρχαίων, by translating אֲרַךְ אֲנִי אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, co quod; as alio the Chaldee

Paraphrase אֶת־הַכּוֹבֵדִים אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, with the Arabick Version; and the Syriack another, he read it sic eum quem, as if they should look upon one, and pierce another: yet the plain construction of אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, meaning up but quem, relating to the person in the affix of the precedent אֲרַךְ, who, being the same, with him who immediately before upon man the Spirit of grace, must needs be God which that the Jews might avoid, they read it not אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, but אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, not on me, but on him, to distinguish him whom they were to pierce, from him who was to give the Spirit of Grace. But this fraud is easily detected, because it is against the Hebrew Copies, the Septuagint and Chaldee Paraphrase, the Syriack and Arabick Translations. Nor can the Rabbins shife this place, because it was aversely by the Jews interpreted of the Messias, as themselves confess. So R. Solomon Jarchi upon the place, אֲרַךְ אֲנִי אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, Our Masters have expounded this of the Messias the Son of Joseph. That they interpreted it therefore of the Messias, is granted by them; that any Messias was to be the Son of Joseph, is already denied and refused: it remaineth therefore that the ancient Jews did interpret it of the true Messias, and that St. John did apply it to our Saviour according to the acknowledged exposition. And in Bereshith Rabba, we are clearly taught that אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, for unto the 2 question, Who art thou, O great Mountain? Zacc. 4. 7. He answereth, אֲרַךְ אֲנִי אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, the great mountain is the Messias the Son of David. And he proves it thus, Grace grace unto it, אֲרַךְ אֲנִי אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, because he saith grace and supplications; as it is written, Zach. 12. 10. Psalm 22. 17. * This Translation indeed seems something different from the Hebrew Text as now we read it, אֲרַךְ אֲנִי אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, sicut leo, manus meas & pedes meos. but it was not always such as now it is. For R. Jacob the Son of Chajim in Massoreth magna, מערכת אורת הארץ, ordina אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, testifieth that he found ספרים בְּקֶצֶר אֲרַךְ אֲנִי in some correct Copies, כתוב written in the Text אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, but אֲרַךְ אֲנִי read, and therefore written in the margin אֲרַךְ אֲנִי. The same is testified by the Masorah on Num. 24. 9. citing the words of this Text, and adding אֲרַךְ אֲנִי. And Johannes Isaac Levita confirmeth it by his own experience, who had seen in an ancient Copy אֲרַךְ אֲנִי in the Text, and אֲרַךְ אֲנִי in the Margin. It was anciently therefore without question written אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, as appeareth not only by the LXX, who translated it ἑξῆσαν, foderunt, and Aquila, who rendered it ἑξῆσαν, foderunt, in the same sense with that of Virgil,

Obscenus pelagi ferro fœdare volucres,
and the old Syriack, which translates it אֲרַךְ אֲנִי transfixerunt; but also by the 1st, or marginal, Masorah, which testifieth that the word אֲרַךְ אֲנִי is found written alike in two places, Job and Esay 38. 12. but in divers significations: Wherefore being in Esay it manifestly significeth sicut leo, it must not signify the same in Job; and being the Jews themselves pretend to nothing else, it followeth that it will read as it was, אֲרַךְ אֲנִי, and translated foderunt. From whence it also appeareth, that this was one of the places which were altered by the Scribes. * For the Masorah in several places confesseth, that 18 places in the Scriptures have been altered by the Scribes; and when they come to reckon the places, they mention but 16; the other two without question are those concerning the Crucifixion of the Messias, Psal. 22. 17. and Zach. 12. 10. For that of Zachary, a Jew confessed it to Mercerus; and that of David we showed before to be the other.

It was therefore sufficiently adumbrated by Types, and promulgated by Prophecies, that the promised *Messias* was to be crucified. And it is as certain that our *Jesus*, the *Christ* whom we worship, and from whence we receive that Honour to be named *Christians*, was really and truly crucified. It was first the wicked Design of *Judas*, who betrayed him to that Death: it was the malicious Cry of the obdurate *Jews*, *Crucifie him, crucifie him*. He was actually condemned and delivered to that Death by *Pilate*, who gave sentence that it should be as they required: he was given into the Hands of the Souldiers, the Instruments commonly used in inflicting that Punishment, who led him away to crucifie him. He under-went those previous Pains which customarily antecede that Suffering, as * Flagellation, and bearing of the *Cross*: for *Pilate*, when he had scourged *Jesus*, delivered him to be crucified; and he bearing his *Cross* went forth into *Golgotha*. They carried him forth out of the *City*, as by custom in that kind of Death they were wont to do; and there between two Malefactors, * usually by the *Romans* condemned to that Punishment, they crucified him. And that he was truly fastned to the *Cross*, appears by the satisfaction given to doubting *Thomas*, who said, ^d *Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, I will not believe*: and our Saviour said unto him, *Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands*: whereby he satisfied the Apostle, that he was the *Christ*, and us, that the *Christ* was truly crucified; against that fond || *Heresie*, which made *Simon* the *Cyrenian* not only bear the *Cross*, but endure *Crucifixion*, for our Saviour. We therefore infer this second Conclusion from the undoubted Testimonies of his Followers, and unfeigned Confessions of his Enemies, That our *Jesus* was certainly and truly crucified, and did really undergo those Sufferings, which were pre-typified and foretold, upon the *Cross*.

Mat. 26 2.
John 19 15.
Luk. 23 24.

¶ That the Soldiers did execute the Sentence of Death given by the Roman Magistrates in their Provinces, and not only in the Camp, is evident out of the Historians of that Nation.
* Matth. 27. 31.
† Sciendum est, Romanis Pilcum legibus ministrante, quibus facitum est, ut qui crucifiguntur prius flagellis verbereretur. S. Hieron. ad stat. 27. 27. To which Lucian alludes in his own condemnation: Έμοι μ' ανεισκολοπιδω δεχεσθαι αυτων, εν Διζ, μαρτυρησθαι τε προτερον. Lucian in Piscatore. Multi occisi, multi capiti, alii verberati crucibus affixi. Liv. l. 34. And l. 28. Ad palum deligatus, lacerato virgis tergo, cervicem cruci Romana subjecim. So Curtius reports of Alexander, Omnes verberibus affectos sub ipsis radicibus Petra crucibus iussit affigi. Thus were the Jews themselves used, who caused our Saviour to be scourged and crucified: μαρτυρωσθαι, η προσλασπιζωσθαι τ' θανάτου πασαν αλγειν, ανεισκολοπιδο. Joseph. excid. l. 5. c. 32. ^b Matth. 27. 25. ^c John 19. 17. || This was observed both by the Jews and Romans, that their capital punishments were inflicted without their Cities. And that particularly was observed in the punishment of Crucifixion. Plautus;

Credo ego isthuc, extemplo tibi
Esse eundum actutum extra urbem dispectis manibus,
Paribulum cum habebis.

Tally, Cum Mamertini more atque insituto suo crucem fississent post urbem in via Pompeia. * Thieves and Robbers were usually by the Romans punished with this death. Thus Caesar used his Pirates, τωσ ληστων ανεισκολοπιδο. Plut. in Vita. Imperator Provincia iussit Latrones crucibus affigi. Petron. Sat. Latronem istum, miserorum pignorum meorum peremptorem, cruel affigatis. Apuleius de Am. Afri. l. 3. Latrocinium fecit aliquis, quid ergo meruit? ut suspendatur. Sen. Epist. 7. Where suspendi is as much as crucifigi, and is so to be understood in all Latin Authors which wrote before the days of Constantine. Famous latrones, in his locis ubi grassati sunt, furca figendos compluribus placuit. Callist. l. 38. de panis. Where furca figendos is put for crucifigendos, being so altered by Tribonianus, who, because Constantine had taken away the punishment, took also the Name out of the Law. ^d John 20. 25, 27. || This was the peculiar Heresie of Basilides, a man so ancient, that he boasted to follow Glaucias is ris Master, who was the Disciple of S. Peter. And Irenæus hath declared this particularity of his: Quapropter neque passum cum: & Simonem quendam Cyrenæum angariatum portasse crucem ejus pro eo; & hunc secundum ignorantiam & errorem crucifixum, transfiguratum ab eo, uti pararetur ipse esse Jesus; & ipsum autem Jesum Simonis accepisse formam, & stantem irritasse eos. Adv. Her. l. 1. c. 23. And Tertullian of the same Basilides: Hunc (Christum) passum à Judais non esse, sed vice ipsius Simonem crucifixum esse: unde nec in eum credendum esse qui sit crucifixus, ne quis confiteatur in Simonem credidisse. De Præsc. adv. Her. c. 46. From these is the Jame delivered by Epiphanius, Her. 24. and by S. August. Her. 4.

Being thus fully assured that the *Messias* was to be, and that our *Christ* was truly crucified; it thirdly concerns us to understand what was the nature of Crucifixion, what the Particularities of suffering which he endured on the *Cross*. Nor is this now so easily understood as once it was. For being a *Roman* Punishment, it was continued in that Empire while it remained *Heathen*: but when the Emperours themselves received *Christianity*, and the towering Eagles resigned the Flags unto the *Cross*, this Punishment was

was || forbidden by the supreme Authority, out of a due respect and pious Honour to the Death of Christ. From whence it came to pass, that since it hath been disused universally for so many hundred years, it hath not been so rightly conceived as it was before, when the general practice of the World did so frequently represent it to the Christians Eyes. Indeed if the Word which is used to denote that Punishment did sufficiently represent or express it, it were enough to say that Christ was crucified: but being the most usual or * Original Word doth not of it self declare the Figure of the Tree, or Manner of the Suffering; it will be necessary to represent it by such expressions as we find partly in the Evangelical Relations, partly in such Representations as are left us in those Authors whose Eyes were daily Witnesses of such Executions.

|| This is obli-
vied by S. Au-
gustine, serm. 12.
de Verbis Dom.
Quia ipse ho-
noraturus erat
fidele suos in
fine hujus se-
culi, prius ho-
noravit crucem
in seculo, ut ter-
rarum principes
credentes
in eum prohiberent aliquem
nocentium cruci-
figi. 171

Tract. 26. in Joh. speaking of this particular punishment; Modo in pœnis reorum non est apud Romanos: ubi enim Domini crux honorata est, putatum est quod & reus honoraretur si crucifigeretur. Hence appears, first, that in the days of S. Augustin Crucifixion was disused: Secondly, that it was prohibited by the secular Princes. But when it was first prohibited, or by whom, he sheweth not. It is therefore to be observed, that it was first forbidden by the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the Great. Sozomenus gives this relation; Ἀμέλι τῶν περὶ τὸν νενομισμένον Ῥωμαίων ἦ ἦ σαυρὸν τιμαρίων νόμο ἀπέβλε τῆς χυρῆσεως ἡδὲ διακρίτων. l. 1. c. 8. * The Original word in the New Testament for the Tree on which our Saviour suffered is σαυρὸς, and the ALION or Crucifixion σαυρωσις, the active σαυρωῶ, and the passive σαυροῦμαι. Now σαυρὸς from which the rest necessarily derived, hath of it self originally no other signification than of a Stake. As we find it first used by Homer, Ὀδυσ. 5.

Σταυρὸς δ' ἐκ τὸς ἔλασσε διαμπερὲς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
Πυκνὸς καὶ θαμέας, τὸ μέλαν δρυὸς ἀμυρικήσας. And Ἰλ. α'.
Ἄμει ἦ οἱ μεγάλαν ἀλλῶ ποίησαν ἀνακίη
Σταυροῖν τυκνοῖσι.

These are the same which Homer elsewhere calls σκόλοτες: and the ancient Grammarians render each by other. As Eustathius. Σταυροί, ὀρθὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ξυμμετρῶν ἔξυλα· οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ σκόλοτες λέγονται, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι, καὶ ἀνασαυροῦμαι. So he expounding σαυρὸς. And in the same manner expounding σκόλοτες: λέγουσι δ' οἱ ποιῆται σκόλοτες καὶ σαυροῖ· ἐν ἧ τὸ τῶν τὸ ἀνασκολοπιζῶν, καὶ ἀνασαυρῶν. As when Homer describes the Phœacian walls, τέχνα μακρὰ, ἴσηλα, σκόλοτεσσιν ἀρρηῆτα, he gives this exposition: Σκόλοτες δ' ἡ τῶν ἔξυλα ὀρθὰ, οἱ καὶ σαυροῖ. In the same manner Helychius; Σταυροί, ὀρθὰ καὶ ἀπὸ πηχῶν σκόλοτες, χάρσκιες· and Σκόλοτες, ὀρθὰ (i. ὀρθὰ) καὶ ὀξεία ἔξυλα, σαυροῖ χάρσκιες· and again, χάρσκιες, σαυρωσις, ὀξεία ἔξυλοι· οἱ δ' καλὰ μοι, οἱ δ' σαυροῖ. Besides they all agree in the same Etymology; Στῆ ἦ ἴσαδς· and therefore always take it for a straight standing Stake, Pillar, or Palisadoe. Thus καλέουσι in Antiphon are briefly rendered ἡδὲ ἔξυλα: but more expressly thus by Etymologus, Κελεύουσι, πυκνοὶ οἱ ἰσὸποδες, καλαχρηστικῶς δ' καὶ τὰ κοίλα πηχῆστα ἔξυλα, ἀ καὶ σαυρὸς καλεῖται. This is the undoubted signification of σαυρὸς, in vain denied by Salmastius, who will have it first to signify the same with furca, and then with crux; first the name of γ, and then of τ. Whereas all Antiquity renders it no other than as a straight and bare Stake. In which signification it was first to denote this punishment, the most simple and prime σαυρωσις, or ἀνασκολοπις, being upon a single piece of wood, a denique & erectus stipes. And the Greeks which wrote the Roman History, used the word σαυρὸς as well for their palus, as their crux. As when Antony beheaded Antiochus the King of the Jews, Dion thus begins to describe his Execution: Ἀντιόχον ἐκαστήσασα σαυρὸν τετραπόδον: not that he crucified him, as Barinius mistakes; but that he put him to another Death after the Roman Custom, as those died in Livy, l. 28. Deligati ad palum virgisque caui, & securi percussit, so that σαυρὸν τετραπόδον is, ad palum deligare. Thus were the heads of men said ἀνασαυρωθῆναι, as of Niger and Albinus in Dio and Herodian: which cannot be meant but of a single palus: And we read in Ctesias how Amytis put Inarus to death, ἀνασαυρωσεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σαυροῖς. Not that he crucified him upon three Crosses, but pierced his Body with three Stakes fastned in the ground, and thrust at the upper end. As appears by the like Persian punishment inflicted by Parysatis on Melabares, delivered by Plutarch in Artaxerxes: περσέταξεν ἐκσῆσαι ζῶντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν σώμα πλάγιον διὰ βίῶν σαυρῶν ἀναπέσει, τὸ δ' ἄεμα χαλεπὴ ἀναταστῆθευσεν· which the Latin Translator renders, in tres fustoli cruces, (a thing impossible;) whereas it was to be answered joining to three Stakes piercing the Body lying, and thrust down upon them; which in the Excerpta of Ctesias is delivered only in the word ἀνασαυροῦμαι· σαυρὸς therefore is no more originally than σκόλοφος, a single Stake, or an erect piece of wood, upon which many suffered who were said ἀνασαυροῦμαι and ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι. And when other transverse or prominent parts were added in a perfect Cross, it retained still the original name, not only of σαυρὸς, but also of σκόλοφος: as, ἀρεταιεν εἰς ἐπίθεξιν τριόστη· Στῆ ἦ σκόλοφος· τριόστης ἀφανὴς ἡδὲ στῆ, ἢ τῶ ὀρθῆ ἦ σκόλοφος αὐτὸ φανὴ ὄτ' ἀπέστη. Cælius apud Orig. l. 2. Thus in a long, or rather too long Verse, written by Audax to S. Augustine, Epist. 139. Expectat quos plena fides Christi de stipite pendens.

The Form then of the Cross on which our Saviour suffered was not a simple, but a compounded Figure, according to the custom of the Romans, by whose Procurator he was condemned to die. In which there was not only a straight and erected piece of Wood fixed in the Earth, but also a transverse Beam fastned unto that towards the top thereof, and beside these two

* That the Figure and parts of a Roman Cross, such as that was on which our Saviour suffered, may be known, we must begin with the first composition in the Frame or Structure of it. And that is the conjunction of the two Beams, the one erect, the other transverse; the first to which the body was applied, the second to which the hands were fastned. These two, as the chief parts of the Cross, are several ways expressed. First, by the Jews, who had no one word in their Language particularly to express that punishment, (as being not mentioned in the Law, or at all in use among them) and therefore call it by a double name, expressing the conjunction of these Beams, צלב ו ירש, stamen & subregmen, the staff and the roof. The Greeks express the same by the latter Σταυρ, as partly appears by what is already spoken of the name of σταυρ, and is yet more evident by the testimony of Lucian, who makes Mankind complain of the letter Σταυρ, because it wants in imitation of it to make the Cross. τῶ δὲ τὰ σώματά μοι σταυρῶν ἀκολουθῶσιν, καὶ μνησθῆναι τὸ πλάσμα, ἢ τῆς σχήματι τοῦ σταυροῦ. λα τὴν ἰσχυρίαν, ἀνθρώπος ἀνασκολοπιζῶν ἐπ' αὐτά. Jul. local. ipsa est enim litera Grecorum Σταυρ, αὐτὴν autem τ, species cruce.

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crucis. Tertul. adv. Marc. l. 3. c. 22. S. Jerom affirms the same of the Samaritan Tau: but there is no Similitude to be found in that which is now in use, or any other Oriental, only in the Coptick Alphabet Salebdi, that is, the cross Di. These two parts of the Cross are otherwise express'd by the Mast and Yard of a Ship. So Justin Martyr: Θάλασσα μὲν γὰρ τέμνεται, ἡ μὴ τὸ το τὸ τετραπύρον, ἡ καλεῖται ἰστὸν, ἐν τῷ νηὶ εὐάνθω μόνη. And Tertullian, Antenna navis crucis pars est. And Minutius Felix: Signum sane Crucis naturaliter visum in navi, cum n velis tumendis vehitur. And Max. Taurin. Cum à nautis scinditur mare, prius arbor erigitur, velum distenditur, ut cruce Domini facti aquarum fluentia rumpantur. Now because the extremities of the antenna are a kind of κέρατα, (as Virgil that great Master of Propriety, Cornua velatarum obvertimus antemnarum;) therefore in Greek κεραια is antenna: and from it the Greek Fathers applied the words of our Saviour, Matth. 5. 18. Ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μίαν κεραια εἰ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, εὐς ἀν τὰ πάντα ῥηθῆναι, to the Cross of Christ; τὸ γὰρ σαυρὸ Ἰῶτα ἐστὶ τὸ ὄρθρον ξύλον, ἡ κεραια τὸ πλαγίον. because Ἰῶτα is like the straight piece or Mast of the Cross, and κεραια the Yard or transverse part; therefore some of the Ancients interpreted this place of the Cross, saith Theophylact on the place. And Gregor. Nyssen. l. 2. de vita Moïsi: 'Αληθῶς γὰρ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν διακρίσει ἐν τῷ νηὶ μάστιγα τὸ χρῖ ἢ σαυρὸν θεωρεῖται μυστικῶς. Διὸ ἐπὶ οὗ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἐπὶ ἐκ τῶ νηὶ τὸ ἰῶτα ἡ κεραια ἐπαρέχεται σημαίνον διὰ τῆ ἀρνησάντων τε ἐκ πλαγίον ζαμμύλων, ἡ τὴν κεραιον, δι' ὧν τὸ σχῆμα τὸ σαυρὸ καλαραζέται. Not that this is the true interpretation of that place; (for κεραια signifies a part of a letter, as in Apollonius Syntax. l. 1. 7. τὸ [α] τὴν κεραιαν ἀπὸ τῆ [α],) but by that they relieve their apprehension of the figure of a Cross: which is well express'd by Eusebius, ascribing the form of the Cross which appeared to Constantine, ὁ ἄπλοδὸν δέξου χεῦτο καὶ σημειομορφῶν κέρατα ἔχον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ σαυρὸ ὀρθρῶν πεποιημένον, de Vita Constant. l. 1. c. 31. And this similitude of the Mast and Yard leads to the consideration of that part of the erected Pale which was eminent above the Transverse beam. For as the κεραιον was above the κεραια, so the Stipes did extend it self above the Patibulum. And this is evident by those expressions which make the two Beams have four Sides and four Extremities, as two Lines cutting each other at equal Angles needs must have. These Theophanes and Gregor. Nyssen call τὰς δὲ τὸ μέσω τέσσαρες πύλοδας, Damascus. Τὰ τέσσαρες ἀκρὰ τοῦ σαυρὸ διὰ τὸ μέσω κέντρον κεραιῶν κέραια ἡ ὑψηλὸν κέραιον. Hence Nonnus calls the Cross ὄρθρον τετραπλόδον. And of these four parts the Fathers interpret the breadth, and breadth, and length, and depth, mentioned by S. Paul, Eph. 3. as Gregor. Nyssen: Ἐξαιτίας τὴν τὸ πᾶν διακεκοσάν τε ἡ ὑψηλῶσαν διακρίσει τὸ ὀρθρῶν τὸ σαυρὸ καλαραζέται... ὁ ἄπλοδὸν ἡ βλάτῃ ἡ πλάτῃ ἡ μήκῃ καλονομάζων, ἐκείνου κέραιον τὸ χρῖ τὸ ὀρθρῶν τὸ σαυρὸ θεωρεῖται ἰσοίσις τεσσαρῶν ὀνόμασιν: ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀνω μέρος ὁ ἄπλοδὸν, βλάτῃ ἢ τὸ χρῖ τὴν ὑψηλῶσαν καλονομάζων, τὴν ἢ ὑψηλῶσαν καθ' ἑαυτὸν κεραιαν τὸ μὲν μήκῃς τὴν ἢ πλάτῃς ὀνόμασι διασημαίνων. Contra Euseb. Orat. 4. & idem, Catech. Orat. c. 32. & in Resur. Orat. 1. And S. Augustine makes the same interpretation: In hoc mysterio figura Crucis ostenditur, which he thus expresseth: Latitudo est in eo ligno quod transversum desuper figitur; . . . longitudo in eo quod in ipso ligno usque ad terram conspicuum est; . . . altitudo est in ea ligni parte quæ ab illo quod transversum figitur sursum verius relinquitur, hoc est, ad corpus crucifixi, &c. Epist. 120. & alibi sept. These four parts are severally express'd by the Ancients, and particularly by the figure of a Man with his hands stretched forth; which is the most proper Similitude, because the Cross was first made adapted to that Figure. Quod caput emicat, quod spina dirigitur, quod humerorum obliquatio cornuat, si statueris hominem manibus expansis, imaginem Crucis feceris. Tertul. adv. Nat. l. 1. c. 12.

cutting each other transversely at right Angles, (so that the erected part extended it self above the transverse) there was also another * piece of Wood infixed into, and standing out from that which was erected and straight up. To that erected piece was his Body, being lifted up, applied, as Moses's Serpent to the Pole; and to the transverse Beam his Hands were nailed: upon the lower part coming out from the erected piece his sacred Body rested, and his Feet were transfix'd and fasten'd with Nails: his Head being press'd with a Crown of Thorns, was applied to that part of the erect which stood above the transverse Beam; and above his Head to that was fasten'd the * Table on which was written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin Characters, the Accusation, according to the Roman Custom: and the Writing was, JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS.

* Beside the direct and transverse part of the Cross, with their four Extremities, which only usually are considered, and represent'd in the figures, we must find yet another part, and a fifth extremity. Hence giving several examples of the man-

er 5, delivers it plainly thus, l. 2. c. 42. Ipse habitus Crucis fines & summitates habet quinque, duos in longitudine, & unum in medio, ubi requiescit qui clavis affigitur. Beside therefore the four Extremities of the direct and transverse-Beams, there was a fifth also in medio, (viz. of the erected palus) on which the crucified Body rested. This fifth part of the Cross fasten'd to the arrectarius stipes, was before Irenæus acknowledged and describ'd by Just. Martyr under the notion of the horn of the Rhinoceros, ῥακη in the Figure or Type of the Cross Μοροκέρωθ γὰρ κεραια ἐδενεῖ ἄλλα πρᾶσμαθ ἢ σχήμαθ ἔσχει ἀν τις οἰσῆν καὶ ὑποδέραι, ἢ μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἢ σαυρὸν δέικνυσιν ὀρθρον γὰρ τὸ ἐν δὲ ξύλον, ἀπ' ἔστι τὸ ἀνώτατον μέρος ὡς κέρατα ὑψηλῶσαν, ὅταν τὸ ἄλλο ξύλον περὶ σαρμοδῆν, καὶ ἐκἀέρεθον ὡς κεραια τὸ ἐν κεραιῶν παρεξέδυσθρα τὰ ἀκρὰ εἰσῆσαι καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πησνύμενον ὡς κέρατα καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξέχον ἐστίν, ἐπ' ὃ ἐποχῶνται οἱ σαυρὸ μόνον καὶ πεπνυμένων. Dial. cum Tryphone Where beside the ὀρθρον ξύλον, or arrectarius stipes, ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλο ξύλον, or transversarium lignum, there is a third τὸ ἐν μέσῳ πησνύμενον, fasten'd in the middle ἐπ' ὃ ἐποχῶνται οἱ σαυρὸ μόνον, l. 1. c. 1; ubi requiescit qui clavis affigitur, says Irenæus. So Tertullian, l. 1. adv. Nationes, c. 12. Pars Crucis, & quidem una, est omne robur quod directâ statione defigitur. Sed nobis tota Crux imputatur, cum antenna scilicet sua, & Moses in excelsis. Where the excelsus is the τὸ ἐξέχον, signifying the nature, as the scdile signifieth the use of the part. which in another place, in imitation of Justinus, he refers unto the Typical Unicorn: Nam & in antenna navis, quæ crucis pars est, extremitates cornua vocantur: Unicornis autem medio stipite palus. Adv. Marcion. l. 3. c. 18. & adv. Jud. c. 10. To this scdile in the Cross Meccanas seems to allude in those words in Seneca; Hanc mihi vel acuta subsidem cruce sustine. And Seneca himself does expand him: Suffragis licet, & acutum scilicet cruceem subdas, est tunc vulnus suum premere, & patibulo pendere districtum. Epist. 101. Of this Innocentius the first also speaks, Sermon. 1. de uno Mart. Fuerunt in Cruce Dominica ligna quatuor; stipes erectus, & lignum transversum, truncus suppositus, & titulus superpositus. This Gregorius Turonensis, after the use of the Cross was long omitted, interpret'd of luppदानicum, a piece of wood fasten'd under the Feet of him that suffred, De glo. Mart. c. 6. Clavorum ergo Dominicorum gratia, quod quatuor fuerunt, hæc est ratio. Duo sunt affixi in palmis, & duo in plantis: & quaritur cur planta ista non quæ in cruce tantâ dependere visâ sunt potius quam stare. Sed in stipite erecto sacramentum factum manifestum est, res quoque parvula: tabella in hoc foretuo insertus est. Super hanc vero tabulam tanquam stans factis lacrimis facta affixæ sunt

funt plantæ. * That which was written over the Head of our Saviour, is called simply by S. Luke δὲ ἄνω, by S. Matthew, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνω, by S. Mark ἡ ἐπισημὴ τῆς αἰτίας, and by S. John τίτλον, making use of a Latin word, as is observed by Nonnus: Καὶ Πιλάτου ἔπι τὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἔπι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. From all which we may collect, that there was an Inscription written over the Head of our Saviour, signifying the Accusation and pretended Crime for which he was condemned to that Death. Gloss. Vet. Αἰτία, causa, materia, titulus. As Ovid. Trist. 3. Eleg. 1.

Causa superposita scripto testata corona, Servatos cives indicat hujus ope:

that is, OB CIVES SERVATOS, was ἡ ἐπισημὴ τῆς αἰτίας, causa scripto testata. In the language of Suetonius, Titulus, qui causam pœnæ indicavit. As Ovid. Fast. 6.

Vixit ut occideret damnatus crimine regni:

Hunc illi titulum longa senectâ dabat.

This was done according to the Roman custom, as we read in Dio. l. 54. of the Sin of Caprio, τὸν δὲ ἄνω τὸν περὶ οὐνοῦ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφορῆς μέσης καὶ γεγραμμένων. τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανάσεως αὐτοῦ ἀνέγραψεν, διαγραφόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἀνεγράφησαν τὰ. This Title was written upon a Table, and that Table fastned to the upper part of the Cross. The Synack, Arabick, and Persian Translations render τίτλον expressly a Table. And Helychius, Τίτλον, πύχλιον ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἔχον, (not ἔχον as it is printed) not the inscription it self, but that upon which the inscription was written. Thus the Epistle of the French unto the Christians in Achaia represents the Inscription of the Martyr Attalus in a Table: πειραχθεὶς κύκλῳ τῷ ἀμυθηδόνου, πίναντων αὐτὸν περὶ ἀσπίδος. ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγεγραμμένο Ῥωμαίοι, Οὗτος ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ χειρῶν. Euseb. l. 5. c. 1. And Sozomen describing the invention of the Cross by Helena, says, there were three several Crosses in the same place: καὶ χυρὴν αἰλοζύλον ἐν μέσῃ λαδικώματι Ῥωμαίων καὶ γεγραμμένην Ἑβραϊκοῖς, Ἑλληνικοῖς, τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις. Thus Nicephorus calls λαδικώματι, which is the proper interpretation of λαδικώμα. Suidas, Λαδικώμα, τοῦ χυρῆ (Etymol. πῖναξ) γύφου ἀληθινῶν περὶ γεγραμμένων πολιτικῶν περὶ ἀσπίδος. Helych. Σαῖς, δὲ γὰρ, λαδικώμα, as Julius Pollux says ἰσχυρῶς and λαδικώμα together, ἐν ᾧ αἱ γεγραμμέναι ἄβλυται ἐν γεγραμμένῳ περὶ τὸν κατέργασεν: τίθεσθαι ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ ταύταις, leg. σαυρῆ. His meaning is, that such a λαδικώμα as contained the accusation or Crime of Malefactors was placed upon the Cross on which they suffered, and without question he speaks this in reference to our Saviour's Cross, because he used in a manner the same words with S. John, τίθεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ σαυρῆ, says Helych. ἐπὶ τῷ σαυρῆ, saith S. John, it was therefore a Table of wood whitened and fastned to the top of the Cross, on which the Accusation or Crime was written, as it is expressed by Nicephorus: Σαῖς λαδικῆ ἢ βασιλῆα τῷ Ἰουδαίων γεγραμμένη Πιλάτου ἔπι κεφαλῆς ἐπιθῆς, ἐν ἑβραϊκοῖς βασιλῆα τῷ Ἰουδαίων τῷ σαυρῆ ἐν κηρύττων. Hist. Eccl. l. 8. 29. And thus there were, as Xanthopoulos observes, Ὁ σαυρῆς ἕκαστος καὶ γεγραμμένη τίτλον ἄνω.

Thus by the propriety of the Punishment, and the titular Inscription, we know what Crime was then objected to the immaculate Lamb, and upon what Accusation Pilate did at last proceed to pass the Sentence of Death upon him. It was not any opposition to the Law of Moses, nor any danger threatened to the Temple, but pretended Seditious and affectation of the Crown objected, which moved Pilate to condemn him. The Jews did thus accuse him; We found this fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying, that he himself is Christ a King. And when Pilate sought to release him, they cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a King speaketh against Caesar. This moved Pilate to pass Sentence upon him, and because that Punishment of the Cross was by the Roman custom used for that Crime, to crucifie him.

Luke 23. 2.
John 19. 12.

|| Auctores seditionis aut tumultus, pro qualitate dignitate, aut in crucem tolluntur, aut beatiis obijciuntur. Paulus l. 5. tit. 22.
* Illa morte pejus nihil fuit inter omnia genera mortium. S. Aug. in Joan. Tract. 30. Tully calls it, crudelissimum.

Two things are most observable in this Cross; the Acerbity, and the Ignominy of the Punishment: for of all the Roman ways of Execution it was * most painful, and most shameful. First, the exquisite Pains and Torments in that Death are manifest, in that the Hands and Feet, which of all the parts of the Body are most nervous, and consequently most sensible, were pierced through with Nails; which caused not a sudden dispatch, but a lingering and tormenting Death. Insomuch that the Romans, who most used this Punishment, did in their Language deduce their expressions of pains and cruciation from the Cross. And the Acerbity of this Punishment appears, in that those who were of any merciful disposition would * first cause such as were adjudged to the Cross to be slain, and then to be crucified.

teterrimumque supplicium: and Aufonius, pœnæ extremum. † Ubi dolores acerrimi exagitant, cruciatus vocatur, a cruce: nomlnatus: pendent enim in ligno crucifixi, clavis ad lignum pedibusque manibusque confixi, producta morte necantur. Non enim crucifigi hoc erat occidi, sed diu vivebatur in Cruce: non quia longior vita eligebatur, sed quia mors ipsa prece debatur, ne dolor citius finiretur. S. Aug. Tract. in Joan. 36. To this Etymology did Terence allude in those words, & illis crucibus, quæ nos nostramque adolescentiam habent despiciant, & quæ nos semper omnibus cruciant modis. * As was observed of Julius Caesar: Pitarus à quibus captus est, cum in dissonem redegisset, quoniam se haurum se cruci ante interire jugulari prius iussit, deinde suffigi. Suet. l. 1.

As this Death was most dolorous and full of Acerbity, so was it also most infamous and full of Ignominy. The Romans themselves accounted it a

|| servile

|| Vulcarius Gallicanus re-
lation of Avdili-
 us Cassius, *in*
cal. ut Cen-
 turions *in* *lib*
had been pro po-
cessant in *er*
ting *in* *er*
 Coars *g*ion,
 Rapi *er*s iustit,
 & in *er*ucem
 tolli, *er*villique
 sup *er* plicio affici:
 quod *er*cem-
 pium non *er*-
 tebat. *And* Ju-
 venal *er* *er* *er*
with relation to
this custom, Po-
 te *er* *er* *er*
 vo. So Pal-
 fusio *er* *er* *er*
 tus; Nisi qui-

|| servile punishment, and inflicted it upon their Slaves and Fugitives. It was a high Crime to put that dishonour upon any Free-man; and the greatest indignity which the most undeserving * Roman could possibly suffer in himself, or could be contrived to shew their detestation to such Creatures as were below * humane Nature. And because when a man is beyond possibility of suffering pain, he may still be subject to Ignominy in his Fame; when by other exquisite Torments some men have tasted the bitterness of Death, after that, they have in their * breathless Corps by vertue of this punishment suffered a kind of surviving shame. And the exposing the Bodies of the dead to the view of the people on the *Cross*, hath been thought a || sufficient Ignominy to those which died, and terrour to those which lived to see it. Yea, where the Bodies of the dead have been out of the reach of their surviving Enemies, they have thought it highly opprobrious to their Ghosts to take their Representations preserved in their * Pictures, and affix them to the *Cross*. Thus may we be made sensible of the two grand Aggravations of our Saviour's Sufferings, the bitterness of Pain in the Torments of his Body, and the indignity of Shame in the interpretation of his Enemies.

dem illa nos volt, q i servi sumus, Propter suum amorem omnes crucibus contubernales dari. *And again,* Noli munitari; scio crucem futuram mihi sepulchrum. || majores mei sui sunt, pater, avus, proavus, abavus. *So in Terence, Pam. Quid melius es? Dr. Cruce n: an i Horace, Si quis eum servum patinam qui tollere iustus, Semefos pisces tepidum que ligurierit ius, In cruce: suffragat. So Capitolinus of Pertinas, in cruce m sublatis talibus servis; and Herodian of Macrinus, δαλοι οσος δεσποτας κληση σαλων ανεσοκοροσι δεσαν.* *This punishment of the Cross did so properly belong to the Slaves, that when Servants and Free-men were involved alike in the same Crime, they were very careful to make a distinction in their death, according to their condition: Ut quisque liber aut servus, sua fortuna a quoque sumptum supplicium est. Liv. l. 3. And then the Servants were always crucified. As Servius observes among the Lacedaemonians: Servos patibulis suffixerunt, filios strangulavere, nepotes fugaverunt. C. l. 2. Noverca quidem perpetuum indicium exsilium, servus vero patibulo suffigitur. Apul. Metam. l. 10. Thus in the Ambassadors at Rome, upon the death of Julius Caesar; Ἀμυνυμυκοι ἀτηρήθησαν ἑστοι, κη Συλληγεῖντες ἑτεροι εὐρε- μύθησαν ἑστοι δεξέσποντος ἑστοι, οἱ ἡ ἐλδθεροι κη ἡ κρημνὸ κατῆρηθησαν. Appian. de Bell. civil. l. 2. Ea nocte speculatores prehenti servitutes, & unus ex legione vernacula: servi sunt in cruce m sublatis, militi cervicis abscissa. Hirtius l. de Bell. Hispan. So Africanus: Gravior in Romanos quam in Latinos transfugas animadvertit: illos enim, tanquam patriae fugitivos, crucibus affixit; hos, tanquam perfidos socios, securi percussit. Valer. Max. l. 2. This punishment of the Cross was so proper unto Servants, that servile supplicium in the language of the Romans signifies the same: and though in the words of Vulcarius & here cited they go both together, as also in Capitolinus, Nam & in cruce m milites tulit, & servilibus supplicio semper affecit; yet still it is sufficient to express Crucifixion: as in Tacitus, Malam potentiam servili supplicio expiavit, Hist. 4. and again, Sumptum de eo supplicium in servilem modum, Hist. 2. And therefore when any Servants were made free, they were put out of fear of ever falling into this punishment. An vero servos nostros horum suppliciorum omnium meum dominorum benignitas una vindicta liberavit; vos a verberibus, ab onco, crucis denique terrore, neque res gestae, neque acta atas, neque nostri honores vindicabant? Cic. Orat. pro Rabir. * Carnifex, & obductio capitis, & nomen ipsum Crucis absit, non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus. Harum enim omnium rerum non solum eventus atque perceptio, sed etiam conditio, expectatio, mentio denique, indigna civi Romano atque homine libero est. Cic. Orat. pro Rabir. Facinus est vincire civem Romanum, scelus verberare, parricidium necare: quid dicam in cruce m tollere, crudelissimum terriberrimumque supplicium? verbo tuis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest. Idem. 5. in Verrem. * As when the Capitol was betrayed by the stealth of Dogs, but preserved by the noise of Geese, they preserved the memory by a solemn honouring of the one party, and dishonouring the other. Eadem de causa supplicia annua canes pendunt, inter aedem Junonis & Summani vivi in furca sumbeuca arbore hnti. Plin. l. 9. c. 4. Προμπεδὲ μέχει τῷ ὄπῃ μνήμη ἦν τότε Συμπρωμάτων ἢ τύχη, κῶν ἡ ἀνεσσυραυδῖσθ, ἡλω ἡ μάλα ὄπῃ στραμῆς πολυτελεὲς κη φορεῖς καθήμωθ. Plutarch. de Pont. Rom. * As Octave the Persian, when he had treacherously and cruelly murdered Polyocrates the Tyrant of Samos, Σποκλήνας δέ μιν ἐκ ἀξίως ἀστυνησι ἀνεσσυραυσε. Herod. l. 2. So Antiochus first cut off the head of Achaus, and then fastened his body to a Cross. Ἐδδξε τῆσται ἀ ἀκρησμησσαι τὸν ταλαίπωρον, κη ἡ ταῦτα τῶν κισακλῶν ἀσπρημόντας αὐτῶ, κη κατῆρησαντας εἰς ὄνειον ἀσκόν, ἀνεσσυραυσαι τὸ ἄσμο. || This was the design of Tarquinius Priscus, when the extremity of labour which he laid upon his Subjects had many way brought hands upon them selves; Passim concicita nece Quiritibus rædium fugientibus, novum & inexco- gnatum antea posteaque remedium invenit ille Rex, ut omnium ita defunctorum figeret crucibus corpora, spectanda civi- bus ferat, & feris vulneribus que laceranda. Plin. l. 36. 25. who makes this handsome Observation of it; Quamobrem pudor & irarati nominis proprius, qui saepe res perditas servavit in praeliis, tunc quoque tubvenit: sed illo tempore imposuit, tum crucifiscens cum pudere viros, tanquam pudiciturum esset extinctos. * Thus they used Cellus, one of the 30 Tyrants of Rome, as Trebellius Pollio testifies: Novo injuit genere imago in cruce m sublata, perulsante vulgo, quasi patibulo ipse Cellus videretur affixa.*

It is necessary we should thus profess Faith in *Christ Crucified*, as that Punishment which he chose to undergo, as that way which he was pleased to die. First, because by this kind of Death we may be assured that he hath taken upon himself, and consequently from us, the malediction of the Law. For we were all under the *Curse*; because it is expressly written, *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the*

1. 10. 2. 26.
 Gal. 3. 1.

Law to do them: and as it's certain none of us hath so continued; for the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, which is nothing else but a breach of the Law: therefore the Curse must be acknowledged to remain upon all. But now Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us; that is, he hath redeemed us from that general Curse, which lay upon all men for the breach of any part of the Law, by taking upon him that particular Curse, laid only upon them which under-went a certain punishment of the Law; for it was written, *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.* Not that Suspension was any of the Capital Punishments prescribed by the Law of Moses; not that by any Tradition or Custom of the Jews they were wont to punish Malefactors with that Death: but such as were punished with Death according to the Law or Custom of the Jews, were for the Enormity of their Fact oft-times after Death exposed to the Ignominy of a Gibbet; and those who || being dead were so hanged on a Tree, were accursed by the Law. Now though Christ was not to die by the Sentence of the Jews, who had lost the Supreme Power in Causes Capital, and so not to be condemned to any Death according to the Law of Moses; yet the Providence of God did so dispose it, that he might suffer that Death which did contain in it that Ignominious particularity to which the legal Curse belonged, which is, *the hanging on a tree.* For he which is crucified, as he is affixed to, so he hangeth on the Cross. And therefore true and formal Crucifixion is often named by the general word * Suspension; and the Jews themselves do commonly call our blessed Saviour by that very || name to which the Curse is affixed by Moses; and generally have objected that he died a * cursed Death.

Gal. 3. 13.

Gal. 3. 12.

Deut. 21. 23

|| Deut. 21. 22

If a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree. In which words being put to death, crucifix being being hanged, but, i consp. in our Eng. Translat. hath another

sense, [and he be to be put to death,] as if he were to die by hanging. And so the Vulgar Latine, Et adjudicatus morti appensus fuerit patibulo, as if he were adjudged to be hanged, and so his Sentence were suspension. And the Syriack yet more expressly, & appendatur ligno atque interficiatur. But there is no such Sentence contained in the Original as the Vulgar, nor futuration of Death as our English Translation mentioneth. The Hebrew is *והיהויה* in Hophal, that is, interfectus, occisus, morti factus fuerit; or, as the LXX clearly translate it, *ὁ κρεμάζων* and the Chaldee, *ܟܘܪܟܝܢ* & occilius fuerit. * As we before noted on the words of Seneca, Thus the Greeks do often use *κρεμάζων*, for crucifigere. For Curtius, speaking of the taking of Tyre by Alexander, says, Duo millia crucibus affixa per ingens littoris spatium pependerunt. And Diodorus Siculus relating the same, Τὸς ἡ ἰένος τὸν ἄναξ ὄντας ἐν ἐλάτῃσιν ἤδ' ἀσχιλίῳν ἐκρέμασαν. So the same Curtius testifies that Musicanus was in cruce[m] sublatu[s]: *Of whom* Arrianus speaks thus; τὸτον κρεμάσαι Ἀλέξανδρος κελδεῖ ἐν τῇ αὐτῆ γῆ. Thus in the language of the Scriptures, *ἦς ἤδ' κρεμάσθησαν τῶν κρεμάζων*, is one of the crucified Thieves, Luke 23. 39. And the Jews are said to have slain our Saviour, *κρεμάσαντες ἐν ξύλῳ*, Acts 5. 30. & 10. 39. The Latins likewise often use the word *suspenderere* for crucifigere. As Ausonius, in the Idyllium, whose Title is *Cupido cruci affixus*, describes him thus, *Hujus in excelso suspensum stipite Amorem.* And when we read in Volubius, that they did *ἀνασπαύσασαι τὸ Γόμα* of Achæus; Ovid describes his punishment thus,

More vel intereas capri suspensus Achæi,
Qui miser aurifera, teste pendit aqua.

|| The words of Moses are, Deut. 21. 23. *קָרַן אֶל־הַיָּם תְּלוּ*, maledictio Dei suspensus: and this word *תְּלוּ*, which is of it self simply suspensus, as 2 Sam. 18. 10. I saw Absolon *תְּלוּ בְאֶרֶץ* hanged on an Oak, is ordinarily attributed by the Jews to our Saviour, to signify that he was crucified. Hence they term Christians *וְיִשְׁרָאֵלִים* cultores suspensi; and they call the crucifix *וְיִשְׁרָאֵלִים* figuram suspensi. * So Trypho the Jew objected to Justin Martyr: *ἢ ἡ ἀμέλειά σου ἀερόμενον* *ἢ τὸν ἀτιμόν* *ὃν ἡ ἀδύναμις γέγονεν, ὡς ἡ τῆ ἐσχάτη κἀδύνα τῆ ἐν πῶ νόμῳ τῷ Θεῷ περιπεσῆν ἐσαυρομένη γὰρ.* Dialocon Tryph.

Secondly, it was necessary to express our Faith in Christ crucified, that we might be assured that he hath abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments; which if he had not done, the strength and power of the whole Law had still remained. For all the people had said Amen to the Curse upon every one that kept not the whole Law; and entered into a curse and into an oath, to walk in God's law, which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of the Lord their God, and his judgments and his statutes. Which was in the nature of a Bill, Bond, or Obligation, perpetually standing in force against them, ready to bring a Forfeiture or Penalty upon them, in case of non-performance of the Condition. But the strongest Obligations may be cancelled; and one ancient Custom of cancelled Bonds was, by striking a Nail through the Writing: and thus God, by

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dulous persons to believe it. But that which would make his present life truly miraculous, must be the reality and certainty of his former death. The feigned Histories of *Pythagoras* and *Zamolxis*, of *Theseus* and *Hercules*, of *Orpheus* and *Protesilaus*, made no certain mention of their deaths, and therefore were ridiculous in the Assertion of their resurrection from death.

* Christ, as he appeared to certain witnesses after his Resurrection, so he died before his enemies visibly on the Cross, and gave up the ghost conspicuously in the sight of the World.

* This is excellently observed and expressed by Origen who settaneth this answer to the Ob-

jection made by the Jew in Celsus, of those fabulous returns from the dead: *Φέρει παρασηπιαῖον ὅτι ἐδωκέναι τὸ κτ' τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἰσραηλῶν, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγηγέρθη, τέτοις παραβάλλει. Ἐκαστὸ μὲν γὰρ ἦν λεγόμενον κτ' τοῦ τόπου ἡρώων βοληθεῖς ἀνιδρωθήναι ἐαυτὸν ὑπεκκλίσειν ἢ ὕψους ἢ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πάλιν κείναι ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς ὅς καταλέλοιπεν. Ἰησοῦς ὁ σωρωθέν) ὅτι πάντων Ἰουδαίων, καὶ καθαρῶν ἢ αὐτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὄψει τῶν δήμων αὐτῶν, πῶς οἴοντο παραπλήσιον πλάσσειν λέγειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἰσραηλῶσι ἡρώων εἰς ἀδυσβηκίαν, καὶ κείθεν ἀνεληλυθέναι, σαυρῶν δ' ὅτι μὴ ποτε πρὸς ἀπολοῖαν, τὰ ἐσαυρῶν τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοῦτον λέγουσι ἀν, μάστιγα διὰ τὰ σπεί ἢ ἡρώων ἰσραηλῶν ἢ εἰς ἀδυσβηκίαν, βεβηκέναι βιαζομένων. ὅτι εἰ καθ' ἑσθῆσιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐτεθνήκει ἀσήμε θανάτω, ἔχ' ὡσεὶ δ' ἄλλο ἢ) ἀποθνήσκων ἔλω τὸν δήμον ἢ Ἰουδαίων, ἢ τὰ μὲν τὰ ἀληθῆς ἢ ἀνάστα ἐκ νεκρῶν, χάραν εἶχεν ἀν τὸ ἀπονοθθῆναι σπεί ἢ ἡρώων καὶ σπεί τὰς λεχθῶν. μὴ ποτ' ἐν πρὸς ἀλλοῖς ἀντίοις τῶν σωρωθῶν τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὸτο δωκέναι συμβάλλει τὸ αὐτὸν ὀπισθίμως ὅτι τὰ σωρῶ ἀποθνήσκον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔχη λέγειν ὅτι ἐκὼν ὑπεξέστη ἢ ὕψους ἢ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἀποθνήσκον, ἐκ ἀποθνήκει ὅ, ὅτ' ἐβουλήθη πάλιν ὀπρῶν εἰτερεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν. Adv. Celsum, l. 2.*

And now we have made this discovery of the true manner and nature of the Cross on which our Saviour suffered, every one may understand what it is he professeth when he declareth his Faith, and faith, I believe in *Christ crucified*. For thereby he is understood and obliged to speak thus much: I am really persuaded, and fully satisfied, That the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, *Christ Jesus*, that he might cancel the hand-writing which was against us, and take off the curse which was due unto us, did take upon him the form of a servant, and in that form did willingly and cheerfully submit himself unto the false accusation of the *Jews*, and unjust sentence of *Pilate*, by which he was condemned, according to the *Roman* custom, to the Cross; and upon that did suffer servile punishment of the greatest acerbity, enduring the pain, and of the greatest ignominy, despising the shame. And thus I believe in *Christ crucified*,

Dead.

Though Crucifixion of it self involveth not in it certain Death, and he which is fastned to a Cross is so leisurely to die, as that he being taken from the same may live; though when the insulting *Jews* in a malicious derision called to our Saviour to *save himself*, and *come down from the Cross*, he might have come down from thence, and in saving himself have never saved us: yet it is certain that he felt the extremity of that punishment, and fulfilled the utmost intention of Crucifixion: so that, as we acknowledge him *crucified*, we believe him *dead*.

For the Illustration of which part of the Article, it will be necessary, First, to shew that the *Messias* was to die; that no Sufferings, howsoever shameful and painful, were sufficiently satisfactory to the determination and predictions Divine, without a full dissolution and proper death: Secondly, to prove that our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, did not only suffer Torments intolerable and inexpressible in this life, but upon and by the same did finish this life by a true and proper Death: Thirdly, to declare in what the nature and condition of the Death of a person to totally singular did properly and peculiarly consist. And more than this cannot be necessary to shew we believe that *Christ was dead*.

First then, we must consider what *S. Paul* delivered to the *Corinthians* first *1 Cor. 15: 3.*

of all, and what also he received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; that the *Messias* was the *Lamb slain before the foundations of the world*, and that his death was severally represented and foretold. For though the sacrificing *Isaac* hath been acknowledged an express and lively Type of the promised *Messias*; though, after he was bound and laid upon the wood, he was preserved from the fire, and rescued from the religious cruelty of his Father's knife; though *Abraham* be said to have offered up his only-begotten Son, when *Isaac* died not; though by all this it might seem foretold that the true and great promised seed, the Christ, should be made a sacrifice for sin, should be fastned to the Cross, and offered up to the Father, but not suffer death: yet being without effusion of blood there is no remission, without death no sacrifice for sin; being the saving of *Isaac* alive doth not deny the death of the Antitype, but rather suppose and assert it, as presignifying his Resurrection from the dead, from whence *Abraham* received him in a figure; we may safely affirm the ancient and legal Types did represent a Christ which was to die. It was an essential part of the Paschal Law, that the Lamb should be slain: and in the Sacrifices for sin, which presignified a Saviour to sanctify the people with his own blood, the bodies of the beasts were burnt without the camp, and their blood brought into the sanctuary.

Nor did the Types only require, but the Prophecies also foretel, his Death. For he was brought, saith *Isaiah*, as a Lamb to the slaughter: he was cut off out of the land of the living, saith the same Prophet; and made his soul an offering for sin. Which are so plain and evident predictions, that the * Jews shew not the least appearance of probability in their evasions.

* That this place of *Isaiah* might be understood of the *Messias*, I have already proved against the Jews out of the Text, and their own Traditions. Their objection particularly to these words is, that the land of the living is the land of Canaan. S. Solomon Jarchi, מֵהָאָרֶץ הַחַיִּים הִיאַ אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל, From the land of the living, that is, the land of Israel. And D. Kimchi endeavours to prove that exposition out of David, כִּי נָנוּחַ מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים כְּאִשֶׁר נָלַח מֵאֶרֶץ שֵׁנִקְרָאתָ אֶרֶץ חַיִּים נִמְו אֶתְהַלֵּךְ לִפְנֵי ה' בְּאֶרֶץ חַיִּים: as if the land of the living must be the land of Canaan, because David professeth he will walk before the Lord in the land of the living; whereas there is no more in that phrase, than that he will serve God while he liveth. As *Psal.* 27. 13. I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living; and *Isa.* 38. 11. I said, I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord in the land of the living; which is sufficiently interpreted by the words which follow, I shall behold man no more with the Inhabitants of the world. The land of the living *even* was not particularly the land of Canaan: nor can they persuade us that it could not refer to Christ, because he was never removed out of that land: but to be cut off out of the land of the living is, certainly, to be taken away from them which live upon the earth, that is, to die.

Being then the obstinate Jews themselves acknowledge one *Messias* was to die, and that a violent death; being we have already proved there is but one *Messias* foretold by the Prophets, and shewed by those places which they will not acknowledge that he was to be slain: it followeth by their unwilling confessions and our plain probations, that the promised *Messias* was ordained to die: which is our first Assertion.

Secondly, we affirm, correspondently to these Types and Prophecies, That Christ our Passover is slain, that he whom we believe to be the true and only *Messias* did really and truly die. Which affirmation we may with confidence maintain, as being secure of any even the least denial. *Jesus* of Nazareth upon his Crucifixion was so surely, so certainly dead, that they which wished, they which thirsted for his blood, they which obtained, which effected, which extorted his death, even they believed it, even they were satisfied with it: the chief Priests, the Scribes and the Pharisees, the Publicans and sinners, all were satisfied; the Sadduces most of all, who hugged their old opinion, and loved their error the better, because they thought him sure for ever rising up. But if they had denied or doubted of it, the very stones would cry out and confirm it. Why did the Sun put on mourning? why were the graves opened, but for a Funeral? Why did the Earth quake? why were the Rocks rent? why did the frame of Nature shake, but because the

the God of nature died? Why did all the people, who came to see him crucified, and love to feed their eyes with such Tragick spectacles, why did they beat upon their breasts and return, but that they were assured *it was finished*, there was no more to be seen, all was done? It was not out of compassion that the mercileſs Soldiers brake not his legs, but becauſe they found him dead whom they came to diſpatch; and being enraged that their cruelty ſhould be thus prevented, with an impertinent villany they pierce his ſide, and with a fooliſh revenge endeavour to kill a dead man; thereby becoming ſtronger witneſſes than they would, by being leſs the Authours than they deſired, of his death. For out of his ſacred, but wounded ſide, came blood and water, both as evident ſigns of his preſent death, as certain ſeals of our future and eternal life. Theſe are the two bleſſed Sacraments of the Spouſe of Chriſt, each aſſuring her of the death of her beloved. The Sacrament of Baptiſm, the water through which we paſs into the Church of Chriſt, teacheth us that he died to whom we come. *For know you not, ſaith S. Paul, that ſo many of us as are baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, are baptized into his death?* The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Bread broken, and the Wine poured forth, ſignifie that he died, which inſtituted it; and *as often as we eat this bread and drink this cup, we ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come.*

Rom. 6. 4.

1 Cor. 11. 26.

Dead then our bleſſed Saviour was upon the Croſs; and that not by a feigned or metaphorical, but by a true and proper, death. As he was truly and properly man, in the ſame mortal nature which the ſons of *Adam* have; ſo did he undergo a true and proper death, in the ſame manner as we die. Our life appeareth principally in two particulars, Motion and Senſation; and while both or either of theſe are perceived in a body, we pronounce it lives. Not that the life it ſelf conſiſteth in either or both of theſe, but in that which is the original principle of them both, which we call the Soul; and the intimate preſence or union of that Soul unto the body is the life thereof. The real diſtinction of which Soul from the body in man, our bleſſed Saviour taught moſt clearly in that admonition, *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoul; but rather fear him which is able to deſtroy both body and ſoul in hell.* Now being Death is nothing elſe but the privation or ceſſation of Life, and we are then properly ſaid to die when we ceaſe to live; being Life conſiſteth in the Union of the Soul unto the Body, from whence, as from the fountain, flow Motion, Senſation, and whatſoever vital perfection; Death can be nothing elſe but the ſolution of that vital union, or the actual ſeparation of the Soul, before united to the Body. As therefore when the Soul of man doth leave the habitation of its Body, and being the ſole fountain of vitality bereaves it of all vital activity, we ſay that body or that man is dead: ſo when we read that Chriſt our Saviour died, we muſt conceive that was a true and proper death, and conſequently that his body was bereft of his Soul, and of all vital influence from the ſame.

* Το ἔμψυχον τὸ ἀψύχον οὐκ εἶναι μάλιστα διὰ τὸ ἀφαιρεθὲν δεκτικὸν κινήσει τε καὶ πρὸς ἀδαιεσίαν παρεπιλήσωνται ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι εἴρησιν ἡ δὲ οὐσία τοῦ σώματος οὐκ εἶναι δύναται. Arist. de Anim. l. 1. c. 2. ὅτι διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὰ ἀψύχα (leg. ἔμψυχα) ἄψύχων, τὸ τοῦ εἶναι ψυχῆ διαφέρει τὸ κινήσει, ἀδαιεσει, εαντασία, ῥήσσει. Sallust. de Divis. c. 8. ὅτι Matt. 10. 28. ὅτι ὡς Secundus εὐγνὴ καὶ ἀπο-

κλίσις βίαι. ^a As the Philosophers have anciently expressed it, especially Plato, who by the advantage of an error in the Original of Souls best understood the end of Life: *Τὸτό γε θάνατος ὀνομαζέσθαι, λύσις καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος*. in Phaedone. Again; *Ὁ θάνατος τυγχάνει ὡν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἕδεν ἄλλο ἢ δυοῖν παραμάτοις διάλυσις, ἢ χωρῆσι καὶ τὸ σώματι*, ἀτ' ἀλλήλων in Gorgia. And more plainly and fully yet: *Ἡ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ θάνατον εἶναι Πάνυ γ', εἶναι ἑσοπαθὸν ὁ Σιμμίαι, ἄρα μὴ ἀλλὰ τι ἢ τὴν ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγῆναι; καὶ εἶναι τὸ τεθνήσκειν, χωρεῖν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαλλαγῆναι οὐτὸ καὶ' ἑαυτὸ τὸ σώμα γυγόνεσθαι, χωρεῖν ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν τὸ σώματι ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ' αὐτῷ εἶναι; ἄρα μὴ οὐδὲ τι ἢ ὁ θάνατος ἢ τὸτο; Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τὸτο, εἶρη.* in Phaedone. Thus with four several words, *λύσις, διάλυσις, χωρισμὸς, and ἀπαλλαγῆναι*, doth Plato express the separation of the Soul from the Body, and maketh Death formally to consist of that separation. This solution is excellently expressed by Phocylides:

Οὐ καλὸν ἀρμονίῳ ἀναλυμένῳ ἀνθρώποιο.
 Ψυχῆ γὰρ μίμνεσθαι ἀκήσει ἐν εὐθροῖσι.
 Πνεῦμα γὰρ δὲ θεῶν χηρῶσι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἰκύν.
 Σῶμα γὰρ ἐν γαίῃ ἐχέσθαι, καὶ πύργος ἐς αὐτὴν
 Λύσεται κόνις ἐσθλὴ. ἀπὸ δ' ἀνά πνεῦμα δίδεται.

of Tertullian: Opus autem mortis in medio est, discretio corporis animæq;. De Anim. c. 51. Si mors non aliud determinatur quam discretio corporis animæq;, contrarium mortis vita non aliud definitur quam conjunctio corporis animæq;. ib. c. 27. This is more philosophical than the notion of Aristotle, who makes it to consist in the corruption of natural heat; (Πῦρ ἐν τῷ βίον ζωῶν τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν ἡ φύσις, καὶ τὸ θερμὸν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ τὸ καλὸν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως) τὸ δὲ τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ βίον. Nam, in as much as the heat is not that natural heat, and the corruption of that heat followeth upon the separation of the Soul.

Nor is this only our conception, or a doubtful truth; but we are as much assured of the propriety of his death, as of the death it self. For that the unspotted Soul of our Jesus was really and actually separated from his Body, that his Flesh was bereft of natural life by the secession of that Soul, appeareth by his own resignation, *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit*, and by the Evangelists expression, *and having said thus, he gave up the ghost*. When he was to die, he resigned his Soul; when he gave it up, he died; || when it was delivered out of the body, then was the body dead: and so the eternal Son of God upon the Cross did properly and truly die.

Luke 23. 46.

* This is expressed three ways, all signifying the separation of his Soul from his body.

S. Mark and S. Luke ἐξέτευσεν, which is of the same force with ἐξέβηθε. But because ἐκλύθη doth not always signifie an actual expiration, but sometimes a lipthymic only: as Helichius, ἐκλύθη, λειποθυμῶσι. S. Hippocrates useth it, εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτως (καί) ὅστις ἢ ἐκλύθη ἢ τι ἀεληθῆσαι, l. 1. de Morbis; and again, ἐκλύθη ἢ διὰ τῆς αἵματός ἢ μεταστανεῖ ἐξαιτίας τοῦ σώματος. lest therefore we should take ἐξέτευσεν in such an imperfect sense, S. Matthew hath it εὐχόμενος τὸ πνεῦμα, and S. John, παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα. Which is a full expression of the secession of the Soul from the body, and consequently of death, which is, in the language of secundus, τὸ δὲ μὲν δὲ σπῆσαι. || These three points or distinctions of time I have therefore noted, that I might occur to any objection which possibly might arise out of the ancient Philosophical subtilty, which Aulus Gellius reports to be agitated at the Table of Taurus. The Question was propounded thus, Quæritur est, quando moriens moreretur, cum jam in morte esset. an tunc etiam cum in vita foret. Where Taurus admonisheth the rest, that this was no light question; for, says he, gravissimi Philosophorum super hac re serio quæriverunt; & alii moriendi verbum atque momentum manente adhuc vitæ dici atque fieri putaverant; alii nihil in illo tempore vitæ reliquerunt, totumque illud quod mori dicitur mori vendicarent. The ancient Philosophers were divided; some saying a man died in the time of his life, others in the time of his death. But Plato observed a contradiction in both; for a man can neither be said to die while he is alive, nor when he is dead: & idcirco peperit ipse aliud quoddam novum in confinio tempus, quod verbis propriis atque integris τὸ ἐξαιώνος εὐσιν appellavit: which he thus describes in his Parmenides; Τὸ γὰρ ἐξαιώνος τοῖστίον τι ἔοικε σημαίνειν, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ βλάβον εἰς ἐκάτερον. So A. Gellius l. 6. c. 13. Thus when our Saviour commended his Soul into the hands of the Father, he was yet alive; when the soldier pierced his side, he was already dead: and the instant in which he gave up the ghost was the τὸ ἐξαιώνος when he died.

This reality and propriety of the Death of Christ is yet farther illustrated from the cause immediately producing it, which was an external violence and cruciation, sufficient to dissolve that natural disposition of the body which is absolutely necessary to continue the vital union of the Soul: the torments which he endured on the Cross did bring to that state in which life could not longer be naturally conserved, and death, without intervention of supernatural power, must necessarily follow.

For Christ, who took upon him all our Infirmities, Sin only excepted, had in his nature not only a possibility and aptitude, but also a necessity of dying; and as to any extrinsecal violence, able according to the common course of nature to destroy and extinguish in the body such an aptitude as is indispensably required to continue in union with the Soul, he had no natural prefervative; nor was it in the power of his Soul to continue its vital conjunction unto his body bereft of a vital disposition.

John 10. 18.

It is true that Christ did voluntarily die, as he said of himself, *No man taketh away my life from me, but I lay it down of my self: I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again*. For it was in his power whether he would come into the power of his enemies; it was in his power to suffer or not to suffer the sentence of Pilate, and the nailing to the Cross; it was in his power to have come down from the Cross, when he was nailed to it: but when by an act of his will he had submitted to that Death, when he had accepted and embraced those Torments to the last, it was not in the power of his Soul to continue any longer Vitality to the Body, whose Vigour was totally exhausted. So not by a necessary compulsion, but voluntary election, he took upon him a necessity of dying.

John 11. 49.

'Tis true that Pilate marvelled he was dead so soon, and the two thieves lived

ved longer to have their legs broken, and to die by the accession of another pain: but we read not of such long furrows on their backs as were made on his, nor had they such kind of Agony as he was in the night before. What though *he cried with a loud voice, and gave up the ghost*? What though *the Centurion, when he saw it, said, Truly this man was the Son of God*? The miracle was not in the death, but in the voice: the strangeness was not that he should die, but that at the point of death he should cry out so loud: he died not by, but with, a miracle.

Should we imagine Christ to anticipate the time of death, and to substract his Soul from future torments necessary to cause an expiration; we might rationally say the *Jews* and *Gentiles* were guilty of his death, but we could not properly say they slew him: guilty they must be, because they inflicted those torments on which in time death must necessarily follow; but slay him actually they did not, if his death proceeded from any other cause, and not from the wounds which they inflicted: whereas *S. Peter* expressly chargeth his enemies, ^a *Him ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain*; and again, ^b *The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, and hanged on a tree*. Thus was the Lamb properly slain, and the *Jews* authors of his Death, as well as of his Crucifixion.

Wherefore being Christ took upon himself our mortality in the highest sense, as it includeth a necessity of dying; being he voluntarily submitted himself to that bloody Agony in the garden, to the hands of the Plowers who made long their furrows, and to the nails which fastned him to the Cross; being these Torments thus inflicted and continued did cause his death, and in this condition *he gave up the ghost*: it followeth, that the only-begotten Son of God, the true *Messias* promised of old, did die a true and proper death. Which is the second Conclusion in this Explication.

But thirdly, because Christ was not only Man, but also God, and there was not only an union between his Soul and Body while he lived, but also a conjunction of both Natures, and an union in his Person: it will be farther necessary for the understanding of his Death, to shew what Union was dissolved, what continued; that we may not make that Separation either less or greater than it was.

Whereas then there were two different substantial Unions in Christ, one of the parts of his humane nature each to other, in which his Humanity did consist, and by which he was truly Man; the other of his Natures Humane and Divine, by which it came to pass that God was Man, and that Man God: first, it is certain, as we have already shewed, that the union of the parts of his humane nature was dissolved on the Cross, and a real separation made between his Soul and Body. As far then as Humanity consists in the essential union of the parts of humane nature, so far the Humanity of Christ upon his death did cease to be, and consequently he ceased to be Man. But secondly, the union of the natures remained still as to the parts, nor was the Soul or Body separated from the Divinity, but still subsisted as they did before, by the subsistence of the second person of the Trinity.

The truth of this Assertion appeareth, first from the Language of this very ^c Creed. For as we proved before, that the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, God of God, very God of very God, was *conceived*, and *born*, and *suffered*, and that the truth of these Propositions relied upon the communion

^c *Credimus certe non in solum Deum Patrem, sed & in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum; totum ibi intellige, & verbum, & animam, & carnem. Sed utique continetur etiam illud quod habet eadem Fides, in eum Christum te credere qui crucifixus est & sepultus. Ergo etiam sepultum Christum esse non negas, & tamen sola caro sepulta est. Si enim erat ibi anima, non erat mortuus; si autem vera mors erat, & ejus vera sit resurrectio, sine anima fuerat in sepulchro, & tamen sepultus est Christus. Ergo Christus erat etiam sine anima caro, quia non est sepulta nisi caro. S. August. in Joh. tract. 43.*

^{Mark 15. 37.}
^{39.}

^a *Acts 2. 23.*

^b *Acts 5. 30.*

In both which places the Original sheweth more expressly, that by their Crucifixion they slew him: in the former thus, διὰ χειρῶν ἀνόμων πρὸς πῶλοντες ἀνέλιπε in the latter thus, διὰ μῆτις διεχειρισσάμενος καὶ μὴ σάντες ὅτι ζῶντις.

of Properties, grounded upon the hypostatical union : so while the Creed in the same manner proceedeth speaking of the same person, that he was buried and descended into hell, it sheweth that neither his body, in respect of which he was buried, nor his Soul, in respect of which he was generally conceived to descend into hell, had lost that union.

Again, as we believe that God redeemed us by his own blood, so also it hath been the constant Language of the Church, that God died for us; which cannot be true, except the Soul and Body in the instant of separation were united to the Deity.

Indeed, being all the gifts of God are without repentance, nor doth he ever substract his grace from any without their abuse of it, and a sinful demerit in themselves; we cannot imagine the grace of union should be taken from Christ, who never offended, and that in the highest act of obedience, and the greatest satisfaction to the will of God.

'Tis true, Christ cried upon the Cross with a loud voice, saying, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* * But if that dereliction should signifie a solution of the former union of his Natures, the separation had been made not at his death, but in his life. Whereas indeed those words infer no more, than that he was bereft of such joys and comforts from the Deity, as should assuage and mitigate the acerbity of his present torments.

* Greg. Niss. Orat. 1. de Resurr. "Ολον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ Θεὸν διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνακράσεως εἰς τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν μετασπιδάσαντες, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ᾧ καὶ τὸ πάθος οἰκονομία ἐ πατέρη μέρος τὸ ἀπαξ ἐγγεθὲν ἀνεχώρησεν· ἀμεταμέλητα γὰρ τὸ Θεὸν τὰ χαιρίσματα· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὴ ψυχὴν τὸ σώματι ἢ δεύτης ἐκείνης διέδωκεν, ἑαυτὴν ᾗ ἐναμφοτέρις μύθεον ἔειπε.

¶ This is the conclusion of S. August. Ex quo Verbum caro factum est, ut habitaret in nobis, & susceptus est à Verbo homo, id est totus homo, anima & caro, quid fecit passio, quid fecit mors, nisi corpus ab anima separavit? animam verò à Verbo non separavit. Si enim mortuus est Dominus.....sine dabo caro ipsius exspiravit animam, (ad tempus enim exiguum anima deseruit carnem, sed redeunte animâ resurrecturam) à Verbo autem animam separatam esse non dico. Latronis animæ dixit, *Hodie tecum eris in Paradiso.* Fidelem latronis animam non deserbat, & deserbat suam? Absit: sed illius ut Dominus custodivit, suam verò inseparabiliter habuit. Si autem dixerimus, quia ipsa se anima posuit, & iterum ipsa se sumpsit, absurdissimus sensus est: non enim quæ à Verbo non erat separata à seipsâ potuit separari. Tract. in Job. 47.

It remaineth therefore, that when our Saviour yielded up the ghost, he suffered only an external violence; and what was subject to such corporal force did yield unto those dolorous impressions. Being then such is the imbecillity and frailty of our nature, that life cannot long subsist in exquisite torments; the disposition of his Body failed the Soul, and the Soul deserted his Body. But being no power hath any force against Omnipotency, nor could any corporal or finite agent work upon the union made with the Word; therefore that did still remain entire both to the Soul and to the Body. The Word was once indeed without either Soul or Body; but after it was made flesh, it was never parted either from the one or from the other.

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This Christ did really and truly die, according to the condition of death, to which the nature of man is subject: but although he was more than man, yet he died no more than man can die: a separation was made between his Soul and Body, but no disunion of them and his Deity. They were dis-

* Γρηγορίου ἡ δὲ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον συγκρατήσας ἀπὸ τῆς θεότητος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἐπαύθη τὸ εὐνοεῖν τὸν Θεόν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνακράσεως ἐπὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας, τῆς καὶ τὸ ἴσον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἔσσης, πάλιν πρὸς ἄλλα τὰ διασῶτα συγκρατήσεται. Greg. Niss. Orat. 1. de Resurr. Tam velox incorrupte carnis vindicatio fuit, ut maior ibi esset toporis similitudo quam mortuis; quoniam Deitas, quæ ab utraque suscepti hominis substantia non recessit, quod potestate divisit, potestate conjunxit. Lec. Serm. 1. de Resurr.

joined one from another, but not from him that took them both together; rather by virtue of that remaining conjunction they were again united after their separation. And this I conceive sufficient for the third and last part of our explication.

¶ This I conceive sufficient for the third and last part of our explication.

The necessity of this part of the Article is evident, in that the Death of Christ is the most intimate and essential part of the Mediatorship, and that which most intrinsically concerns every Office and Function of the Mediator, as he was Prophet, Priest, and King.

First, it was necessary, as to the Prophetical Office, that Christ should die, to the end that the truth of all the Doctrine which he delivered might be confirmed by his Death. He was ^a *the true and faithful witness*, ^b *who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession*. ^c *This is he that came by water and blood: and there are three that bare witness in earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood*. He preached unto us a new ^d *and better covenant, which was established upon better promises*, and that was to be ratified with his blood; which is therefore called by Christ himself the ^e *blood of the New Testament*, or ^f *everlasting Covenant*: for that Covenant was also a testament; and ^g *where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator*. Beside, Christ, as a Prophet, taught us not only by word, but by example; and though every action of his life, who came to fulfil the Law, be most worthy of our imitation; yet the most eminent example was in his death, in which he taught us much variety of Christian Vertues. What example was that of Faith in God, ^h *to lay down his life, that he might take it up again*; in the bitterness of his torments to ⁱ *commend his spirit into the hands of his Father*; and ^k *for the joy that was set before him, to endure the cross, and despise the shame*? What a Pattern of Meekness, Patience, and Humility, for ^l *the Son of man to come not to be ministred unto, but to minister, and give his life a ransom for many*; ^m *to be led like a sheep to the slaughter, and like a lamb dumb before the shearer, not to open his mouth*; to ⁿ *endure the contradictions of sinners against himself, and to* ^o *humble himself unto death, even the death of the Cross*? What a precedent of Obedience, for the Son of God *to learn obedience by the things that he suffered*; to be *made under the Law*, and, though he never broke the Law, to *become obedient unto death*; to go with cheerfulness to the Cross upon this resolution, *as my Father gave me commandment, even so I do*? What exemplar of Charity, to *die for us while we were yet sinners and enemies, when greater love hath no man than this, to lay down his life for his friends*; to pray upon the Cross for them that crucified him, and to apologize for such as barbarously slew him, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do*? Thus Christ did suffer for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps; that as he suffered for us in the flesh, we should arm our selves likewise with the same mind. For he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin: That he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh, to the lusts of men, but to the will of God. And so his Death was necessary for the confirmation and completion of his Prophetical Office.

Secondly, it was necessary that Christ should die, and by his death perform the Sacerdotal Office. For every High-priest taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins. But Christ had no other Sacrifice to offer for our sins than himself. For it was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins: and therefore when Sacrifice and offering God would not, then said he, *Loe, I come to do thy will, O God*; then did Christ determine to offer up himself for us. And because the Sacrifices of old were to be slain, and generally without shedding of blood there is no remission; therefore if he will offer Sacrifice for sin, he must of necessity die, and so *make his Soul an offering for sin*. If Christ be our Passover, he must be sacrificed for us. We were sold under sin, and he which will redeem us must give his life for our redemption: for we could not be redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but only with the precious

precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot. We all had sinned, and so offended the Justice of God, and by an act of that Justice the sentence of death passed upon us: it was necessary therefore that Christ our surety should die, to satisfy the justice of God, both for that iniquity, as the propitiation for our sins, and for that penalty as he which was to bear our griefs. God was offended with us, and he must die who was to reconcile him to us. *For when we were enemies, saith S. Paul, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son. We were sometimes alienated, and enemies in our mind by our wicked works; yet now hath he reconciled us in the body of his flesh through death.* Thus the death of Christ was necessary toward the great act of his Priesthood, as the oblation, propitiation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world: and not only for the act it self, but also for our assurance of the power and efficacy of it, (*For if the blood of bulls and goats sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge our consciences from dead works?*) and of the happiness flowing from it, (*for he that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?*) Upon this assurance founded on his Death, we have the freedom and boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil that is to say, his flesh. Neither was the Death of Christ necessary only in respect of us immediately for whom he died, but in reference to the Priest himself who died, both in regard of the qualification of himself, and consummation of his Office. *For in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful High-priest, and having suffered, being tempted, might be able to succour them that are tempted: so that passing through all the previous torments, and at last through the pains of Death, having suffered all which man can suffer, and much more, he became, as an experimental Priest, most sensible of our infirmities, most compassionate of our miseries, most willing and ready to support us under, and to deliver us out of, our temptations. Thus being qualified by his utmost suffering, he was also fitted to perfect his Offering. For as the High-priest once every year for the atonement of the sins of the people entered into the Holy of Holies not without blood; so Christ being come an High-priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect Tabernacle, not made with hands, by his own blood entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. And this is the grand necessity of the Death of Christ in respect of his Sacerdotal Office.*

Thirdly, there was a necessity that Christ should die in reference to his Regal Office. *O King, live for ever*, is either the loyal or the flattering vote for temporal Princes; either the expression of our desires, or the suggestion of their own: whereas our Christ never shewed more Sovereign Power than in his death, never obtained more than by his death. It was not for nothing that Pilate suddenly wrote, and resolutely maintained what he had written, *This is the King of the Jews*. That title on the Cross did signify no less than that his Regal Power was active even there: for *having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it; and through his death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil.* Nor was his death only necessary for the present execution, but also for the acquisition of farther Power and Dominion, as the means and way to obtain it. *The Spirit of Christ in the Prophets of old testified before-hand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. He shall drink of the brook in the way, saith the Prophet David; therefore shall he lift up his head. He humbled him-*

Rom. 5. 1.
Col. 1. 21.

Heb. 9. 13, 14.

Rom. 8. 32.

Heb. 10. 19, 20.

Heb. 2. 17, 18.

Heb. 9. 7, 11,
12.

Col. 2. 4.
Heb. 2. 14.

1 Pet. 1. 11.
Psal. 110. 7.
Phil. 2. 8, 9.

him-

himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name. For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord of the dead and living. Rom. 14. 9.

Thus it is necessary to believe and profess our Faith in *Christ* who died: for by his Blood and the virtue of his Death was our Redemption wrought, as the price which was paid, as by the atonement which was made, as by the full satisfaction which was given, that God might be reconciled to us, who before was offended with us, as by the ratification of the Covenant made between us, and the acquisition of full power to make it good unto us.

After which exposition thus premised, every Christian is conceived to express thus much when he makes profession of Faith in *Christ Jesus* which was dead: I do really and truly assent unto this, as a most infallible and fundamental Truth, that the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, for the working out of our Redemption, did in our nature, which he took upon him, really and truly die, so as by the force and violence of those torments which he felt, his Soul was actually separated from his Body; and although neither his Soul nor Body was separated from his Divinity, yet the Body bereft of his Soul was left without the least vitality. And thus I believe in *Jesus Christ* which was crucified and dead,

And Buried.

When the most precious and immaculate Soul of *Christ* was really separated from his flesh, and that union in which his natural life consisted was dissolved, his sacred Body, as being truly dead, was laid up in the chambers of the Grave: so that as we believe him dead, by the Separation of his Soul, we also believe him buried, by the Sepulture of his Body.

And because there is nothing mysterious or difficult in this part of the Article, it will be sufficiently explicated when we have shewn, first, that the promised *Messias* was to be buried; and, secondly, that our *Jesus* was so buried as the *Messias* was to be.

That the *Messias* was to be buried, could not possibly be denied by those who believed he was to die among the *Jews*; because it was the universal custom of that Nation to || bury their dead. We read most frequently of the sepulchres of their Fathers: and though those that were condemned by their supreme power were not buried in their Fathers graves, yet publick sepulchres there were appointed even for them to lie in: and not only they, but all the Instruments which were used in the punishment were buried with them. And yet beside the general consequence of Death among the *Jews*, there was a perfect Type in the person of *Jonas*: for as that Prophet ^a was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so was the *Messias*, or the Son of man, to be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.

|| It is observed by Tacitus of the Jews, in opposition to the Roman Customs, Corpora condere, quæ cremare è more Agyptio. Hist. l. 5. As if the Egyptians by others, ἑτάφησαν ἢ λιγυρήσασιν ἢ

ταειχάσασιν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ κείοντες, Πάσιονες δὲ οἰς τὰς λίμνας ῥιπιδύνας, Laert. Pyrrh. But the Jews received this custom more from the Egyptians than from the Persians, whom they may be rather said to follow, because they used not the Egyptian ταειχάσασιν: neither were they more distinguished from the Romans than from the Grecians, who also burned the bodies of the dead. Διελθόντες κτ' τὰ ἔθνη τὰς ταραξάς, δ' αὐτὸ Ἑλλήνων ἔκαστον. δὲ ἢ Πέρσης ἔθαλον· ὁ δὲ Ἰουδαῖος ἕτερον ἔθνος κείοντες ταειχάσασιν ἢ ὁ Αἰγυπτίος. Lucian. ἐπιπύοντες. Although therefore it be not true, that the Jews received their custom of burying their dead from the Egyptians, because Abraham at the first purchased a burying-place; yet it hath been observed, and is certainly true that their general custom was to inter. Philo, one of their own Writers, Ἀνθρώποις δὲ πᾶσι χρεασίαισι οἱ κείοντες ἢ γούσι χρεῖον ἀπέναιμε γυνῶ, ἢ μόνον ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θάπτοντες. Ἰν' ἢ αὐτῇ καὶ τῶ πρώτῳ ὑποδείχεται ἡμίσειν, καὶ τῶ ἐκ τῶ βίβι τελευτάων ἀνάχυσιν. l. 1. in Flaccum. Math. 12. 40.

Eph. 1. 10.

* S. the Mi-
 death Tillm-
 erently expan-
 dit, My flesh
 shall rest in
 hope מתיק
 סתירה אחר
 death; adding
 מתיק
 מן
 שלט
 כורמה
 יחולעו.

Nor was his burial only represented Typically, but foretold Prophetically both by a suppositive Intimation, and by an exprefs Prediction. The Psal- mist intimated and supposed no less, when speaking in the person of the *Christ*, he said, *My flesh shall rest in hope, for thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy one to see corruption.* That *flesh* is there sup- posed only such, that is, a body * dead, and that body *resting* in the grave, the common habitation of the dead; yet *resting* there *in hope* that it should never *see corruption*, but rise from thence before that time in which bodies in their graves are wont to putrefie. Beside this intimation there is yet a clear expression of the grave of the *Messias* in that eminent Prediction of *Isaiah*; *He was cut off out of the land of the living, and he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death.* For whatsoever the true interpretati- on of the Prophecy be, (of which we shall speak hereafter) it is certain that he which was to be *cut off*, was to have a *grave*: and being we have already shewn that he which was to be *cut off* was the *Messias*; it followeth, that by virtue of this Prediction the promised *Messias* was to be *buried*.

that Rabbi Hu-
 ac said, he
 taught by these
 words, that the
 moth and worm
 should have no
 power over him.
 Whence, by the
 Argument of S.
 Peter, it
 must be under-
 stood not of
 David, for his
 flesh saw corrup-
 tion, nor of any
 other but the
 Messias. And
 although the
 Rabbins are
 wont to say,
 That the worm
 shall never eat
 the just, in
 opposition to
 the last words
 of Esay; yet
 they must con-
 fess there is
 no difference
 in the grave:
 and therefore
 that worm
 must signifie
 something else
 than the corrup-
 tion of the
 body. Well
 therefore are
 those words
 paraphra-
 sed by Didymus,
 ἐπ' ἐλπίδι κατεσκήνωσεν ἢ
 Ἐλπίδι, διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
 ἰσοπέλω ἀνάστασιν. Isa. 53. 8, 9.

Secondly, that our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, was thus buried, we shall also prove, although it seem repugnant to the manner of his death. For those which were sentenced by the *Romans* to die upon the *Cross*, had not the favour of a sepulchre, but their bodies were || exposed to the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field, or if they escaped their vo- racity, to the longer injury of the * air and weather. A guard was also usu- ally || set about them, lest any pitying hand should take the body from the cursed tree, and cover it with earth.

|| To this custom
 Horace alludes,
 Epist. 16. l. 1.
 Non hominem
 occidit: non
 parces in cruce
 corvos. and Ju-
 venal, Vultur,
 iumento & canis
 is crucibusq; relic-
 tis, Ad fœtus pro-
 perat, partemq;
 eadaveris affect.
 So Prudencius,
 Crux illum tollat
 in auras, Viventiq;
 oculos ceterat
 altibus, ὄρεϊ
 σαρ. Hymn 4.
 This punishment
 did appear in the
 Mythology of
 Prometheus; &
 although he were
 by some represent-
 ed simply as
 δεσμώτης, by
 others particularly
 he is described
 as ἀναστροφῶν,
 especially by
 Lucian, who
 describes him
 πρῶτον ἀδύφρον,
 κρημνίζων,
 πασσατῆρα
 ὠδύφρον, ἀνα-
 στροφῶν, ἀνα-
 σκολετὶ ἄδύφρον.
 And Tertullian
 speaking of
 Pontus from
 whence Marcian
 came; Omnia
 torpent, omnia
 rigent: nihil
 illic nisi feritas
 caler, quæ
 factas feritas
 dedit, de
 sacrificiis
 Taurorum, &
 amoribus
 Colchorum, &
 crucibus
 Caucaforum.
 Adv. Marc. l. 1. c. 1.
 He touches
 the story of
 Medea, Iphigenia
 in Tauris, and
 Prometheus
 Vincetus, or
 rather Crucifixus.
 As therefore
 the Eagle there
 did peck upon his
 liver, so were
 the bodies of
 crucified persons
 left to the
 promiscuous
 rapacity of
 carnivorous
 fowls. So true
 it was of
 them what
 Augustus once
 said, Cuidam
 sepulcrum
 petenti
 respondit,
 jam illam in
 volucrum esse
 potestate,
 Suet. c. 13.
 Nor were
 they only in
 the power of
 the fowls of
 the air, as
 Prometheus
 was, whom
 they durst
 not hang
 too low,
 lest men
 should succour
 him. ἵστε
 τὸ πᾶσι καὶ
 τῷ γαίον ἔσασθαι
 ἔξῃ, says
 Vulcan in
 Lucian for
 that reason;
 but
 ordinarily
 they hung
 so low
 upon the
 Cross, that
 the ravenous
 beasts
 might reach
 them as
 Apuleius
 describes
 Patibuli
 cruciatum,
 cum canes
 &
 vultures
 intima
 protrahunt
 viscera.
 * So the
 bodies were
 often left
 upon the
 Cross till
 the Sun and
 rain had
 putrefied
 and
 consumed
 them. As
 when the
 daughter of
 Poly-
 crates did
 see her
 father's
 face in a
 dream, to
 be washed
 by Jupiter,
 and to be
 anointed
 by the Sun
 when he
 hung upon
 the Cross,
 it was
 professed.
 Ποντικῆς
 ἢ
 ἀσασθῆναι
 ἵδρω
 ἢ
 ἐπιπέλει
 ἢ
 τῶσαν
 τὴν
 ὄψιν
 τῆς
 θυγατρὸς,
 ἔλετο
 ἢ
 δὲ
 ἴδω
 τὸ
 Διὸς
 ὄψιν,
 ἐξήϊστο
 ἢ
 ἴδω
 τὸ
 ἥλιον
 ἀπὸ
 τοῦ
 σταυροῦ
 ἐν
 τῷ
 ἑσπέρῳ
 ἡμέρας.
 Herod. Thalia.
 Of which
 Tertul. de
 Anim. c. 45.
 Ut cum
 Poly-
 crati
 samio
 nlia
 crucem
 prospicit
 de
 solis
 unguine
 &
 lavaero
 Jovis.
 And
 which
 is
 further
 thus
 express'd
 by
 Valerius
 Maximus:
 Patres
 ejus
 artus,
 &
 tabido
 errore
 manantia
 membra,
 atque
 illam
 ltvam
 cui
 Neptunus
 annulum
 manu
 piscatoris
 restituerat,
 ita
 marcidam,
 Sanguis
 latis
 oculis
 aspexit, l. 6. c. 9.
 Thus
 were
 the
 bodies
 of
 the
 crucified
 left: ut
 in
 sublimi
 putrescerent.
 Quid?
 Cyrenam
 Theodorum
 Philo-
 sophum
 non
 ignobilem
 nonne
 miramur? cui
 cum
 Lyfimachus
 Rex
 crucem
 minaretur,
 Istis,
 quatio,
 inquit,
 ista
 horribilia
 minare
 purpuratis
 tuis,
 Theodori
 quidem
 nihil
 interest
 humine
 an
 sublimi
 putrescat.
 Cicero
 v. l. 1. c. 1. Quasi.
 And
 so
 they
 perished,
 as
 the
 Scythians
 generally
 did, according
 to
 the
 description
 of
 Silius
 Italicus, l. 13.

At gente in Scythia fustia cadavera truncis
 Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia rabo.

That is, in the East, or in the East, or by the injury of time or weather, the flesh of those which were crucified was consumed; as Artemidorus observes, who concluded from thence, That it was bad for the rich to dream of being crucified: Τὸς ἢ πλοῦσις βλά- πται: γυναικὶ δὲ σαυρῶν, καὶ τὰς Ἐσθρας ἀπολλύσιν οἱ σαυρῶν ἡνίκα. Onirocr. l. 2. c. 58. || As appeareth by that Relation in Petronius Arbitri: Imperator Provinciarum latrones jusse crucibus affigi.... Proxima autem nocte, cum miles qui cruce afferva- bat, ne quis ad sepulcrum corpora detraxeret, &c. And when that soldier was absent, Itaq; cruciarii unius parentes, ut vide- rant laxatam custodiam, detraxere nocte pendentem, supremoq; mandaverunt officio. Where we see the soldier set for a guard, and the end of that custodia, (which the Greek Geographers do not well confine to the στέγδιμα τῷ σταμῶνειῳ ἐπιπέφρον) ἔ- λετ.

keep the body of him which was crucified from being buried by his friends. Thus when Cleoptrenes was dead, his body was fastned to a Cross (another example of the ignominy of his punishment) by the command of Ptolemy: Ο ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, ὡς ἔγνω ταῦτα προσέταξε τὸ μὲν Σῶμα τὸ Κλεοπτρῆος κρεμᾶσαι καὶ ἀβυσθῶσαι. Where κρεμᾶσαι is again to be observed as taken for ἀνασῶσαι: for not long after in the same Authour it follows, Ὀλίγαις ὃ ὕστερον ἡμέραις, οἱ τὸ σῶμα τὸ Κλεοπτρῆος ἀνασῶσαντες πικραυλάτοις ἔδδον ἐπιπέθειν δεξιῆσιν αὐτοῦ τῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀπειπελεγεμένον, καὶ ἀποκρίπτουσα τὸ πρόσωπον, ὡς μὴ δύναντο ἐπιπέθειν ἀσκαρῶσιν. Where we see a guard set to keep him from burial, and the voracious fowls ready to seize on him, had they not been kept off by a serpent involving his head. Thus were soldiers, upon the crucifixion of any person, set as a guard, τὸν ἀνασῶσαντα πικραυλάτους, or τηρέτες, & cruceem afferuantes, viz. ne quis ad sepulchram corpus detraheret.

Under that custom of the Roman Law was now the body of our Saviour on the Cross, and the guard was set; there was the Centurion and they that were with him, watching Jesus. The Centurion returned as soon as Christ was dead, and gave testimony unto Pilate of his death: but the watch continueth still. How then can the ancient Predictions be fulfilled? how can this Jonas be conveyed into the belly of the whale? where shall he make his grave with the wicked, or with the rich, in his death of crucifixion? By the providence of him who did foretel it, it shall be fulfilled. They which petitioned that he might be crucified shall intercede that he may be interred. For the custom of the Jews required, that whosoever suffered by the sentence of their Law should be buried, and that the same day he suffered. Particularly they could not but remember the exprefs words of Moses, If a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree; His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day. Upon this general custom and particular Law, especially considering the sanctity of the day approaching, the Jews, that the bodies should not remain upon the Cross on the Sabbath-day, besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. And this is the first step to the Burial of our Saviour.

Math. 27. 54.

2 Jsa. 53. 9.

מִצוֹת
עֲשֵׂה
לְקַבֵּר
אֶת
הַרוּחַ
בְּיוֹם
הַהוּנָה
Maimon. Treat.
Sanhed. cap. 10.
So Job 19.
Τὸ σῶμα τοῦ
θανάτου τοῦ
ταπεινοῦ
ἀνθρώπου,
ὡς καὶ τοῦ
ἐν

καταδικῆς ἀνασῶμενος πρὸς δῶνται ἡλίε ἀνελεῖν τε καὶ θάπτειν. De Bell. Jud. l. 24. c. 18. * John 19. 31. ^b Dent 21. 22, 23.

For though by the common rule of the Roman Law, those which were condemned to the Cross were to lose both Soul and Body on the tree, as not being permitted either sepulture or mourning; yet it was in the power of the Magistrate to indulge the leave of burial: and therefore Pilate, who crucified Christ because the Jews desired it, could not possibly deny him burial when they requested it; he which professed to find no fault in him while he lived, could make no pretence for an accession of cruelty after his death.

Non solent autem Iugeri (ut Neratius ait) hostes, vel perditiones damni, nec suspendiosi, nec qui manus sibi intulerunt,

non tædio vitæ, sed mala conscientia. Digest. l. 3. tit. 2. l. Liberorum. * So Ulpianus, l. 9. de Officio Proconsulis: Corpora eorum qui capite damnantur cognatis ipsorum neganda non sunt; & id se observavit etiam Divus Augustus in his decimo de vita sua scribit. Hodie autem eorum in quos animadvertitur corpora non aliter sepeliuntur quam si fuerit petitiu & permissum; & nonnunquam non permittitur, maxime majestatis causa damnatorum. So Paulus l. 1. Sententiarum: Corpora animadversorum quibuslibet petentibus ad sepulchram danda sunt. Obnoxios criminum digno supplicio subjectos sepulture tradi non vetamus, Cod. l. 3. tit. 43. l. 11.

Now though the Jews had obtained their request of Pilate, though Christ had been thereby certainly buried; yet had not the prediction been fulfilled, which expressly mentioned the rich in his death. For as he was crucified between two thieves, so had he been buried with them, because by the Jews, there was appointed a publick place of burial for all such as suffered as Malefactors.

Wherefore to rescue the body of our blessed Saviour from the malicious hands of those that caused his Crucifixion, there came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, an honourable counsellour, a good man and a just, who also himself waited for the kingdom of God, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for

Math. 27.
Mark. 15.
Luke 23.
John 19.

fear of the Jews: this Joseph came and went in boldly unto Pilate, and besought him that he might take away the body of Jesus. And Pilate gave him leave, and commanded the body to be delivered: he came therefore and took the body of Jesus.

John 3. 1. 17
John 19. 39. 40.

Beside, there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, a man of the Pharisees, a ruler of the Jews, a Master of Israel; this Nicodemus came and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

And thus was the Burial of the Son of God performed, according to the custom of the people of God. For the understanding of which there are three things considerable: first, what was done to the body, to prepare it for the Grave; secondly, how the Sepulchre was prepared to receive the body; thirdly, how the persons were fitted by the interring of our Saviour to fulfil the Prophecy.

Mark 14. 3. 2.

As for fulfilling the custom of the Jews as to the preparation in respect of his body, we find the spices and the linen clothes. When there came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard, very precious, and she brake the box and poured it on his head; Christ made this interpretation of that action, she is come before-hand to anoint my body to the burying. When Christ was risen, Mary Magdalen and the other Mary brought the spices which they had prepared, that they might come and anoint him. Thus was there an interpreted and an intended unction of our Saviour, but really and actually he was interred with the spices which Nicodemus brought. The custom of wrapping in the clothes we see in Lazarus rising from the grave; for he came forth bound hand and foot with grave-clothes, and his face was bound about with a napkin. In the

Mark 16. 1.
Luke 24. 1.

same manner when our Saviour was risen, Simon Peter went into the sepulchre and saw the linen clothes lie, and the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by it self. Thus according to the custom of the Jews, was the body of Christ bound in several linen clothes with an aromatical composition, and so prepared for the sepulchre.

John 11. 44.

John 20. 6, 7.

* There are four words in the Gospels expressing the linen clothes

in which the dead were buried, Σινδών, ὀθόνια, κειρία, & Κυβέριον. The Σινδών is used by three Evangelists, as what was brought by Joseph. Καὶ ἀρροσάσας σινδῶνα, καὶ καθιλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπέθηκε τῷ σινδῶνι, Mark 15. 46. and S. Matthew and S. Luke, ἐπέθηκεν αὐτὸ σινδῶνι. Ὄθονια is used by S. Luke and S. John, Ἔλαβον δὲ τὸ σῶμα Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἔδυσαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις. Now both these words show that the clothes were linen. Σινδών, tunica lineæ, Gloss. Φωσώνιον, λινῶν τι, ἦτοι σινδῶνιον, Etym. Ὄθονια, λινὰ ἱματία, Hefych. This was according to the custom of the Jews, amongst whom there was a kind of Law, That they should use no other Grave-clothes. As therefore the Egyptians in Herodotus, κειρίασες ἢ νεκρῶν κατελίναςσι πᾶν αὐτῶ τὸ σῶμα σινδῶνι. Ἐσάριας, so the Jews. But it is farther to be observed, that S. John saith ἔδυσαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις, they bound up his body with several clothes, which signifies it was done fasciatim. As Herodotus in another case, συμμένησι τε ἰαμβοὶ τὰ ἔλκεα, καὶ σινδῶνι. Ἐσάριας τελαμῶσι κατελίναςσι. Whereas then Julius Pollux observes, εἰρήσαι δὲ περὶ καὶ τελαμῶν σινδῶνίτης. I conceive these ὀθόνια in S. John were such τελαμῶνες σινδῶνίται, lineæ fasciæ, or inflicæ, called in the case of Lazarus κειρία: for as he is described δεδεωμένῳ κειρίασι, so it is said of the body of Christ, ἔδυσαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις, they bound him with linen bandages or swathes. These are the ἑσάρια δίσμα, as the Grammarians interpret κειρία tanquam κειρία. So the ancient MS. in the Library at St. James's reads it, δεδεωμένῳ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοῦ τῆδεος κειρίασι. And so Hefychius read it, when he made that interpretation. Κειρίασι (leg. κειρίασι) ὀθηματία ἐπιτυλιγυῖα. What anciently κειρία was, will appear by the words of Julius Pollux: Καὶ μὴν τὸ κατὰ κλινῶν ἢ παρὰ σκίμα τοδὶ ἐπιτυλιγυῖον, ὡς εἰρήν τὰ τυλιγία, σπάρτια, σπάρτα, τόνον, κειρία, the bands or cords by which the beds or couches are fastened, and upon which the bedding lies. In this sense it is to be taken in that κρονον place of Aristophanes, in Avibus,

Σπάρτιον γὰρ ἂν θάμνω ἐγὼ τῷ μὴ πόδω,
Οὐδ' ἂν χαυδὶ λωπαίνω κειρία ἔχων.

Of which Eustathius Iliad. β'. gives us this account: Φασὶ μὲν ἂν δεθῆναι σπάρτιος, κειρία ἔχων ἦτοι μὴ δεθῆναι σπάρτιος πλεγματῆ, ἐν δὲ λωπαίνω κειρία, ἦτοι δεσυδὸν κλινῶν. Hence the Grammarians give that interpretation of κειρία, as Etymologus. Κειρία σημαίνει τὸ χροῖον τὸ δεσμεῖον τὴν κλινῶν, viz. in reference to that place of Aristophanes, otherwise it hath no relation to a bed, but indifferently signifieth any fasciæ or band. So the scholiast of Aristophanes; Ἡ δὲ κειρία εἴς τὸ ζῶντος ἐκ σκροῖον παρκοῖς ἰμάντι ἢ δεσμεῖσι τὰς κλινῶν, περὶ τὸν τῶν σκροῖον, περὶ τὸν τῶν σκροῖον, περὶ τὸν τῶν σκροῖον. With such lineæ fasciæ, swathes, or bandages, was the body of Lazarus involved. Ἐκ ποδὸς ἀγρῖ καρήνης Στρίγρῶνον πλεκίσσιν ὄλον δίμας εἶχε κειρίασι, says Nonnus. And Juvenecus,

Nec mora, connexis manibus pedibusq; repente
Procedit tumulo, vultum cui lineæ rexist,
Et totum gracilibs connectit fascia corpus.

Hence Basil Bishop of Seleucia makes Lazarus come out of the grave to live like an Infant in swadling-clothes. Ἐκθῆεν ἀνεπίδακτος νεκρῶς τέλει μὲν τὰ τῆ θανάτου ἐπιπέτασμα (υβίεσσα· καὶ τῆ θανάτου ἀποδοσιμῶν τῶν τῆ γενεῶν ἐκ ἡλιθίων ἀλλ' ἐρίσαστο ἢ κρείταις ὡς ἐν τέρω τεχνῶν καὶ ὡς τίκτον φέρων τὰ πάρονα. Orat. in Publican. & Pharif. The κρείται then were infitica, as the *Valgar Latin*; factica, as *Juvenus* and the *Syriack Translucum*, *ܦܘܬܪܝܘܬܝܘܬܝܢ*, *vinculus taticus*. Of the same nature I conceive were the *θῶνα*, mentioned in our *Saviour's* burial; and so *S. Augustine* does express them in recalling the rest of the *Evangelists*, who mentioned only *Joseph* and the *findon*, with *S. John*, who addeth *Nicodemus* and the *ῥήμα*. Neque hic aliquid repugnet recte intelligentibus. Neq; enim illi qui de *Nicodemo* tacuerunt, affirmaverunt à solo *Joseph* *Domini* sepulchum, quamvis solius commemorationem fecerint; aut quia illi una *findone* à *Joseph* involutum dixerunt, propterea prohibuerunt intelligi & alia *lincea* potuisse afferi à *Nicodemo* & superaddi: ut verum narraret *Johannes* quod non uno *linreo*, sed *linreis*, involutus sit; quamvis & propter *sudarium* quod capiti adhibebatur, & infitica quibus totum corpus alligatum est, quæ omnia de *lino* erant, etiamsi una *findon* ibi tuit, verissime dici potuit, ligaverunt eum *linceis*. De consensu *Evang.* l. 3 c. 23. These which he calls *infitica* quibus totum corpus alligatum est, were the *ܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ*, involucre mortui. Beside these we read in the *History* of *Lazarus*, ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὑδάσειον ἐβαλετο, *John* 11. 44. and of our *Saviour*, ἔτι τὸ ὑδάσειον ἔτι ὄψις ἐκεραλίς αὐτοῦ. The same is vendid by the *Syriack* *ܢܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ*, and *Nonnus* makes it a *Syriack* word, Καὶ λινθεοπέπυκαστο κολύμμεσι κυκλάει κέρσην, *Sudæseion* τὸ ὅρ ἐπιτὶ *Sudæron* ζῆμα. Whereas the word is not of a *Syriack*, but *Latin* origin, and from the *Latins* came to the *Greek* and *Eastern* People; *Sudor* and *Sudare*, from thence *Sudarium*. *Vatinius* reus, agente in eum *Calvo*, *sudario* candido frontem deterfit. *Quintil.* *Suetonius* of *Nero*, *Plerumq;* prodit in publicum ligato circa collum *sudario*. This was translated into their own *Language* by the later *Greeks*, to signify that which before was called *ἡμισύειον* and *καλύδρωτιον*, as is observed by *Julius Pollux*: Τὸ ἡμισύειον, ἐστὶ μὲν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων, εἴη ἢ ἀνὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κωμωδῶ καλύδρωτιον καλέωρον, ὁ νῦν σιδάσειον ὀνομάζεται. Ἀειροσάνη γὰρ ἐν Πλάτῳ τοιαύτη τις ἡ δόξα, Ἐπειὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμισύειον καλύων, τὰ βλεφαρα ἐπίψησε. where τὰ βλεφαρα ἐπίψησε is the same with that in *Quintilian*, frontem deterfit; ἡμισύειον then was the same with *Sudarium*. So the *Scholias*t upon that place: Ἠμισύειον ἔλεγε ἡμισυέες λινθὸν τὴν ἐκ μαργῶν. This is the proper signification of *Sudæseion*, viz. a *linen* cloth used to wipe off sweat: but when it was translated into the *Chaldee* or *Syriack* *Language*, it received a more general signification, of any cloth, or veil, or covering of linen, for any other use. As *Ruth* 3. 15. Bring the veil that thou hast upon thee: the *Chaldee* rendreth it, *ܕܝ ܥܝܘܢ ܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ*, and it held six measures of *Barley*. So when *Moses* is said to put a veil on his face, *Exod.* 34. 33. the *Chaldee* again rendreth it *ܕܝ ܥܝܘܢ ܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ*. So the *Rabbins* ordinarily use, *ܕܝ ܥܝܘܢ ܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ* the veil or covering of his head; and in that sense it is here taken, not with any relation to the *Etymology*, as *Nonnus* conceived in those words, *Θεσμὸν ἔχον ἰδρωτακαλυπτήριον προσώπου*, as if *Lazarus* had come sweating out of his grave; but the only use, is being bound about the head, and covering the face, which the *Epistle* of *Martialis* calls *sudarium* mortuorum.

As for the preparation of the sepulchre to receive the body of our Saviour, the custom of the Jews was also punctually observed in that. *Joseph of Arimathea* had prepared a place of burial for himself, and the manner of it is expressed. For in the place where he was crucified, there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre wherein never man was laid, which Joseph had hewn out of the rock for his own tomb: there laid they Jesus, and rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre. And so Christ was buried after the manner of the Jews, in a Vault made by the excavation of the rocky firm part of the earth, and that Vault secured from external injury by a great massy stone rolled to the mouth or door thereof. After which stone was once rolled thither, the whole funeral action was performed, and the Sepulture completed: so that it was not * lawful by the custom of the Jews any more to open the sepulchre, or disturb the interred body.

Mat. 27.
Mark 15.

|| Scrabo observeth of Jerusalem, that the ground above it, εὐθὺς ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, πᾶσι τὸ τέρω, τῶν νῦν nine miles rocky underneath.

It is therefore no wonder that in a garden so near Jerusalem there should be found ground which was petrosa. It is said therefore of *Joseph*, that *μνημεῖον ἐκατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ* of the sepulchre, that ἢν λαλομενῶρον ἐκ πέτρας and λαζδῶρον, which signifie no less than that it was cut out of a rock: and *Nonnus* makes a particular *Paraphrase* to that purpose of λαζδῶρον, only *Ἐλω ὡς γένοιτο κήπω Τύμβῳ ἀδομήτοιῳ βαθωομένῳ ἀπὸ πέτρας Γλυτῆδες ἄλλ' νετόκληθ*. Where *βαθωομένῳ* signifies the excavation of the rock, and *γλυτῆδες* the manner by which that excavation was performed by incision or exculpture. But *Salmastius* hath invented another way, making the earth to be digged, and a sepulchre built by art of stone, within it. And to interpret it he endeavours to prove out of the text: first alledging that πέτρα signifies, in the writers of that Age, a stone, not a rock; and therefore *λαλομενῶρον ἐκ πέτρας*, is ἐκ λίμου, made of stone: otherwise the Articles would have been added ἐκ πέτρας, if he meant the rock which was there. But this is soon answered; for in *S. Matthew* the Article is expressly added, *ἐκατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ*. *S. Matthew* therefore understood it of that rock which was in the garden: and the rest without question understood the same. Again, he objects that *λαλομεν* signifies not only lapides ex lapidina cadere, but also polire & quadrare ad edificandum; and λαζδῶρον signifies the last only. Wherefore being it is said not only *λαλομενῶρον*, which may be understood of building, but also λαζδῶρον, which can be understood of no other; therefore he concludes that it was a Vault built of square stones within the ground. But there is no necessity of such a precise sense of λαζδῶρον, which may be extended to any sense of λαζδῶρον; (as *Origen* intelligently λαλομενῶρον ἢ λαζδῶρον μνημεῖον ἐν πέτρᾳ) and that, when it speaks of a Jewish custom, must be taken in that sense which is most congruous to their custom, and as they used the word. Now they rendered the word *ܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ* as a *King*. s. 15. *ܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ* λαλομεν ἢ ὄρον, *Mat.* 51. 1. *ܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ* *ܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ* *ܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ*, ἐκπέτασε οἱς τὴν σερῶν πέτραν ἢν ἐκ *Mat.* 51. 1. unde *excum*. As therefore *Deut.* 6. 11. *λακκὸς λαλομενῶρος* ὡς ἐκ *Ἑβραϊσμοῦ* ἢ *Ἑβραϊσμοῦ*, so *Mat.* 22. 10. Ὅτι ἐκατόμησεν πᾶσι τὸ ἔσω μνημεῖον, καὶ ἔγχευσε σκαυτὸν ἐν πέτρᾳ σκλιῶν in both places λαλομενῶρον is nothing else but *ܩܘܢܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ*, and there μνημεῖον λαλομενῶρον in the language of the Jews is to be taken in the same sense with λαλομενῶρον λαλομενῶρον, that is, digged or hewn out of the ground. This is well expressed by *Origen*. Ἡ ταρῆ ἔχει τὴν καθαρῆτην διὰ τὸ συμβολικῶς δηλομενῶρον ἐν τῷ ἀπελευθερωθῆναι αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἐν μνημῶν καὶνῶ ὕψιστῳ. ἢ ἐκ ἐκ λωράδων λίθων οἰκοδομηθέντι, καὶ τὴν ἐνοσην ὡς οὐσιῶν ἔχοντι ἀλλ' ἐν μῆτι καὶ ἢ ὄρον ἢ ἢ μῆτι πέτρα λατομητῆ καὶ λαζδῶρον. l. 2. adv. *Cellum*. And this cutting the sepulchre out of the rock, rather than building it of masonry, is very material in the opinion of *S. Jerome*, who makes this observation on *Matth.* 27. In monumento τοῦο, quod est *excum* tunc tunc Petra, conditus est, ne si ex multis lapidibus edificatum est, tunc illius tumuli fundamentis, ablatu turo diceretur, and

give this interpretation of the Prophet Isaiah, Quod autem in sepulchro ponendus esset, Prophetæ testimonium est, dicentis, *the which shall be in excelsis spoliata petra fortissima*: statimque post duos versiculos sequitur, *Regem cum gloria videbitis.* Another use of the same supposition is made likewise by S. Ambrose: Domini corpus tanquam per Apostolorum doctrinam interitur in vacuum & in novam requiem lapidis excisi; scilicet in pectus duritiæ gentilis quodam doctrinæ opere excium Christi interitur, rude scilicet ac novum. & nullo antea ingressu timoris Dei pervium. in *Matth. cap. 27.* *This was the Sepulchre prepared for the body: and when Joseph had laid it there, πρὸς ἀνάστασιν λίθον μέγαν πρὸς τὴν θύραν,* he rolled a great stone to the door, the last part of that solemnity. For this great stone was said to be rolled, by reason of the bigness, as being not portable, (from whence arose the Womens doubt, Mark 16. 3. Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?) and that very properly, for it had its name from that rolling, being called constantly by the Jews, גוֹלָהּ or גוֹלָהּ, from גָּלַל to volve. וְגוֹלָהּ הָיְתָה לְפָתוֹחַ הַקְּבֹרָה בְּרַחֲמֵי שְׁמֵי שְׁמַיִם בְּרַחֲמֵי הַקְּבֹרָה שֶׁלֹּא יִשְׁתַּלְּטוּ אֲחֵרִים עָלֶיהָ * *Tus hab been observed by the Jews themselves, אסור לפתוח הקבר אחר שנתקת הגולת* It is prohibited for any man to open the sepulchre after it is shut with the rolled stone.

|| So they are styled in the Scriptures, Joseph βασιλευς, & Nicodemus ἀρχων, and these two powers ruled all them at Jerusalem under the Romans. As appeared when Agrippa prevented a war by the sudden raising of a tax: *Εἰς ἧ τὰς κώμας οἱ τὲ θεγεροὶ καὶ οἱ ἐσθλῶταί μενεστέλλες οὐκ ἔβουλησαν.* Joseph. l. 2. c. 20. * *Mark 15. 44.* 45.

Thirdly, two eminent persons did concur unto the burial of our Saviour, a || Ruler and a Counsellor, men of those orders among the Jews as were of greatest authority with the people; Joseph of Arimathea, rich and honourable, and yet inferior to Nicodemus, one of the great Council of the Sanhedrim: these two, though fearful while he lived to acknowledge him, are brought by the hand of Providence to interr him; that so the prediction might be fulfilled which was delivered by Isaiah to this purpose. The counsel of his enemies, the design of the Jews, *a made his grave with the wicked,* that he might be buried with them which were crucified with him: but because he hath done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth; because he was no way guilty of those crimes for which they justly suffered; that there might be a difference after their death, though there appeared little distinction in it; the counsel of his Father, the design of Heaven put him *with the rich in his death,* and caused a Counsellor and a Ruler of the Jews to bury him.

The necessity of this part of the Article appeareth, first, in that it gives a testimony and assurance of the truth both of Christ's Death preceding, and of his Resurrection following. Men are not put into the earth before they die: Pilate was very inquisitive whether our Saviour *b had been any while dead,* and was fully satisfied by the Centurion, before he would give the body to Joseph to be interred. Men cannot be said to rise who never died; nor can there be a true Resurrection, where there hath not been a true Dissolution. That therefore we might believe in Christ truly rose from the dead, we must be first assured that he died: and a greater assurance of his death than this we cannot have, that his body was delivered by his enemies from the Cross, and laid by his Disciples in the grave.

1 Cor. 15. 20.
1 Rom. 6. 4.

Secondly, a profession to believe that Christ was buried is necessary, to work within us a correspondence and similitude of his burial. For we are *c buried with him in Baptism,* even *d buried with him by Baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.* That || nothing may be done or suffered by our Saviour in these great transactions of the Mediator, but may be acted in our Souls, and represented in our spirits.

Quisquid gestum est in cruce Christi, in sepultura, in resurrectione terrio die, in ascensione in caelum, & in sede ad dextram Patris, ita gestum est, ut his rebus, non mysticè tantum dictis, sed etiam gestis, configuraretur vita Christiana qua huc geritur. Nam propter ejus crucem dictum est, *Qui autem Jesu Christo sunt, carnem suam cruciaverunt cum vitis & concupiscentiis;* propter sepulturam, *Consepulti enim sumus cum Christo per baptismum in mortem;* propter Resurrectionem, *Ut quemadmodum Christus resurrexit à mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita & nos in novitate vite ambulemus;* propter ascensionem in caelum, sedemq; ad dextram Patris, *Si autem Resurrexistis cum Christo, quæ sunt sunt quæcumque, ubi Christus est ad dextram Dei sedens.* S. August. Enchirid. ad Laur. *And this was before observed by Origen. l. 2. adv. Cell. Τα Συμβεβηκέναι ἀναγερασμῶν τῶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐν φιλίᾳ τῷ λείπει καὶ τῆ ἰστορία τῶ πάντων ἔχει θεωρίαν ἢ ἀληθείαν. Ἐκαστὸν γὰρ αὐτῶ καὶ σύμβολόν τινος ἢ πῶς τοῖς Συμβεβηκέναι ἐν ἡμεῖς τῶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀποκρίνεται. Ὡσαύτως ἂν τὸ σαυροθῆναι αὐτὸν ἔχει τὴν ἀληθείαν ἀλθθεναν ἐν τῶ Χριστῶ. Συμβεβηκέναι ἐν τῶ, Ἐμοὶ ἢ μὴ ἤσοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῶ σαυρῶ τῶ Χριστῶ, ἢ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῶ. δι ἕμοι κόσμος ἔσαυρωται, καὶ γὰρ τῶ κόσμος καὶ ὁ θάνατος αὐτῶ ἀναγκαστῶ, διὰ τὸ, Ὁ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν ἀπὸ θανάτου ἀπέθανεν ἰσάπαξ, καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶ δικαίων λῆξιν, Συμμεροθῆναι τῶ θανάτῳ αὐτῶ, καὶ τὸ, Εἰ γὰρ Συμμεροθῆναι, καὶ Συζήσωμεν. ἔτω καὶ ἡ τασὴ αὐτῶ θάνατον ἐπὶ τοῖς Συμμεροθῆναι θανάτῳ αὐτῶ, καὶ τῶ Συμμεροθῆναι αὐτῶ καὶ τῶ Συμμεροθῆναι, καὶ τῶ Παύλῳ λῆξιν τὸ, Συμμεροθῆναι γὰρ αὐτῶ, καὶ τῶ ἀπὸ τῶ θανάτου αὐτῶ, καὶ τῶ ἀπὸ τῶ θανάτου αὐτῶ.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, it was most convenient that those pious solemnities should be performed on the body of our Saviour, that his Disciples might for ever learn what honour was fit to be received and given at their Funerals. When *Ananias* died, though for his sin, yet they *wound him up, and carried him out, and buried him*: when *Stephen* was stoned, *devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him*: and when *Dorcas* died, they *washed her, and laid her in an upper Chamber*. So careful were the Primitive Christians of the rites of Burial. Before, and at our Saviour's time, the *Greeks* did much, the *Romans* more, use the burning of the bodies of the dead, and reserved only their ashes in their urns: but when Christianity began to encrease, the funeral flames did cease, and after a few || Emperours had received Baptism, there was not a body burnt in all the *Roman* Empire. For the first Christians wholly abstained from consuming of the dead bodies with fire, and followed the example of our Saviour's funeral? * making use of precious ointments for the dead, which they refused while they lived, and spending the spices of *Arabia* in their graves. The description of the persons which interred *Christ*, and the enumeration of their Vertues, and the everlasting commendation of her who brake the box of precious ointment for his burial, have been || thought sufficient grounds and encouragements for the careful and decent sepulture of Christians. For as natural reason will teach us to give some kind of respect unto the bodies of men, though dead, in reference * to the Souls which formerly inhabited them: so, and much more, the followers of our Saviour while they looked upon our bodies as living *temples of the Holy Ghost*, and bought by *Christ*, to be made one day like unto his glorious body, they thought them no ways to be || neglected after death, but carefully to be laid up in the wardrobe of the Grave, with such due respect as might become the honour of the dead, and comfort of the living. And the decent custom of the Primitive Christians was so acceptable unto God, that by his providence it proved most * effectual in the conversion of the Heathens, and propagation of the Gospel.

Afts 5. 6.
Afts 8. 2.
Afts 9. 37.

|| This appeareth by Macrobius, who lived in the time of Theodosius junior, and testifieth thus much; Licet u-randi corpora defunctorum usus nostro se-culo nullus sit, lectio tamen docet, eo tempore quo igni dari honor mortuis habebatur, &c. l. 7. c. 7. That this was done by the Christians is certain, because the Heathens anciently did object it to the Christians, Inde videlicet & exacerantur rogos, & damnant ignium sepul-

ras. *And the answer given to this objection was, Nec, ut creditis, ullum damnum sepulturae timemus, sed veterem & meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus. Minut. Felix in Octavio. And Tertull. Et hoc etiam in opinione quorundam est; propterea nec ignibus funerandum aiunt, parentes superfluo animæ. Alia est autem ratio pietatis istius, non reliquis animæ adulatrix, sed crudelitatis etiam corporis nomine averfatrix, quod & ipsum homo non utique mereatur pœnali exitu impendi. De anima c. 51. At ego magis ridebo vulgus tunc quoque, cum ipsos detunctos atrocissime exuerit, quos postmodum gulosissime nutrit, isdem ignibus & promerens & offendens. O pietatem de crudelitate ludentem! sacrilect, an insultet, cum crematis cremat? Idem de Resur. Carn. c. 1. * The Heathens objected it to the Primitive Christians; Reservatis unguenta funeribus. Minutius Felix. And Tertullian confesseth it, Thura plane non emimus. Si Arabia queruntur, sicut Sabæi pluris & cariores suas merces Christianis sepelendis profligari, quam Diis summandis. Apol. c. 42. And speaking of spices, lib. de Idololat. Etiam hominibus pigmenta medicinalia, nobis quoque insuper ad solatia sepulturae usui sunt, So Clem. Alex. Μυείζονται οί γάρ νεκροί. And again, Αί γάρ κούρμετροί χρίσεις ής μύραν κηδίας, & σμυβάστωσ Σπ-πύσσον. Pedag. l. 2. c. 8. || Ipse Dominus die tertio resurrecturus religiose mulieris bonum opus predicat, predicandumque commendat, quod unguentum pretiosum super membra ejus effuderit, atque hoc ad eum sepeliendum fecerit. Et laudabiliter commemorantur in Evangelio, qui corpus ejus de cruce acceptum diligenter atque honorifice tegendum sepeliendumque curarunt. Verum istæ authoritates non hoc admonent, quod insit ullus eadaveribus sensus: sed ad Dei providentiam, cui placent etiam talia pietatis officia, corpora quoque mortuorum pertinere significant, propter fidem resurrectionis assequendam. S. August de Civitate Dei, l. 1. c. 13. * Ούδέν ή λυπέ ήμās ήδ ή τή εσθ' ήρα κλητέα λεζόμρον, ή εσθ' Κέλοθ παραλήρεν, ήτι νεκρός ήσ κοπέων εν κληήστροι, και τοιγε ήσποι τις αν ή σελ τέτα, ήτι τά μ' κόσσια εκ κληήστρον, οί δ' ήσ ανθράπων νεκρος, δια τλή εναιήσσαν ψυχλή, ή μέλιστα ήσ ήσ ασειοτέρα, εκ εκ κληήστρον. Καθα γάρ τήσ ασειοτέρα ήσ νόμων, μδ τής ενδεχομένησ ήσ πρής τήσ τοιαύτα τιμήσ ταής αξήται: ήνα μδ ήσειοταήσ τήσ σωάμεν τλή εσειοτήσσαν ψυχλήσ σπύρρηήστρον, μδ τήσ ήσειοτήσσαν αώτλήσ τήσ σώμα, ήσ ήσ τήσ κηλυών σάσ αία. Orig. πέν. Celsum. l. 5. Οδύσ. δ'.*

Νεμεσομαι γε μ' εδεν
Κλοίεν ήσ κε θάνησ βροήσ ήσ πότμον ήσ ήσ πη.
Τήσ τήσ νυ ήσ γέρας ήσ εν ήσ ζυέισ βεήστρον
Κήστρον τε κήμυ, βαλέιν τ' ήσ θάνησ παρην.

|| Nec ideo tamen contemnenda & abjicienda sunt corpora defunctorum, maximèque justorum acque fidelium, quibus tantam organis & vasis ad omnia bona opera Sanctus usus est Spiritus. Si enim paterna vestis & annulus, ac si quid huiusmodi tanto charius est posteris, quanto erga parentes major existit affectus; nullo modo ipsa spernenda sunt corpora, quæ utiq; multo familiarius atq; conjunctius quam qualibet indumenta gestantur. Hæc enim non ad ornamentum vel adjuvantium quod

Quod adhibetur extrinsecus, sed ad ipsam naturam hominis, pertinent. *S. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 1. c. 13.* Ταῦτα τελέσαι ὁ ἱερέτης, ἀποτίθηεν ἐν οἴκῳ τιμῶν τὸ σῶμα μὴ ἑτέρων, ὁμοίων ἱερῶν σωμάτων. Εἰ γὰρ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι τιμῶ θεοῦ, ζῶν ὁ κεκοιμημένος ἔβω, τίμιον ἔσαι καὶ τῆς ὁσίας ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ σωθῆναι αὐτὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ἱερεῖς ἰδρῶται, ἐρθεὶν ἢ θάνατον ἀποτιμῶν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἑρῶται τὰς ἀμοιβαίας λήξας, ὡς ἀμετορῶν καὶ ζυμμετόχων τῆς ὁσίας ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ζωῆς. *Dionys. Eccl. Hierarch. c. 7.* Propter patrem miliciam Christi deieram, cui sepulturam Christi causā non debeo, quam etiam omnibus ejus causā debeo? *S. Hieron. Epist. ad Heliodorum.* * This was observed by Julian the Apostate, who, writing to an Idolatrous High-Priest, puts him in mind of those things by which he thought the Christians gained up in the world, and recommends them to the practice of the Heathen Priests. Of these he reckons three; the gravity of their carriage, their kindness to strangers, and their care for the Burial of the dead. Τί ἐν ἡμῖς οἰόμεθα ταῦτα ἀρκῶν εἶδ' ἀποβλέπουμεν ὁ μάλιστα τὸ ἀθεοτήτα (so he calls Christianity, because they rejected all the Heathen Gods) ἑπιπέσειν, ἢ καὶ τὸ ξένος φιλανθρωπία, καὶ καὶ τὰς ταράσας ἢ νεκρῶν περιμήθεια, καὶ ἡ πεπλάσμενη (κενύτης καὶ ἢ κίον) ὧν ἕκαστον οἴομαι χεῖνα παρ' ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁπίτηδ' εἶδ' εἶδ'. *Epist. 49. ad Arfacium.* And as Julian observed the care of Burial as a great encouragement to the Heathens to turn Christians, so Gregory Nazianzen did observe the same to the great dishonour of the Apostate, comparing his Funeral with his Predecessors. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ (that is Constantius) περὶ πέμπεται πανδημοῖς ἐυσημίας τε καὶ πομπῆς, καὶ τότε οἱ τοῖς ἡμέτεροις σεμνοῖς ὁ δ' αἰς ταννύχοις καὶ δαδύχοις, αἰς χειρῶν τιμῶν μελέσασιν ἐυσέβῃ νομίζομεν. καὶ γίνεσθαι πανήγυρις καὶ πᾶσι ἡ ἀκομιδὴ τῶν σωμάτων. But as for Julian, μέμοι γελοῖον ἦγον αὐτὸν, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκκλησίας ἀρχεπὶ ἐπομπάετο..... ἕως ἢ τὰς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπομπῆται πόλις..... ἔνθα ἢ οἱ τέμνωσ' ἀτιμον, καὶ τὰς ἐξάρσις καὶ ἀπόπτυσθ', καὶ εἰς θεατὸς ἐυσέβων ὄψεσθ'. *Stelitent. 2.*

Thus I believe the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, for the confirmation of the truth of his death already past, and the verity of his resurrection from the dead suddenly to follow, had his body, according to the custom of the *Jews*, prepared for a funeral, bound up with linen clothes, and laid in spices; and after that accustomed preparation, deposited in a Sepulchre hewn out of a rock, in which never man was laid before, and by rolling of a stone unto the door thereof, entombed there. Thus I believe that *Christ* was buried.

ARTICLE V.

He descended into Hell: the third day he rose again from the dead.

THE former part of this Article, of the *Descent into Hell*, hath not been so ^a anciently in the Creed, or so universally, as the rest. The first place we find it used in was the Church of *Aquileia*; and the time we are sure it was used in the Creed of that Church was less than 400 years after *Christ*. After that it came into the ^b *Roman Creed*, and ^c others, and hath been acknowledged as a part of the *Apostles Creed* ever since.

^a First, it is to be observed, that the Descent into Hell was not in the ancient Creeds or Rules of Faith. Some tell us that it

was not in the Confession of Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes. But indeed there is no Confession of Faith in that Epistle; for what is read there was thrust in out of Clemens his Constitutions. In like manner, in vain is it objected that it was omitted by Polycarp, Clemens Romanus, and Justin Martyr, because they have not pretended any Rule of Faith or Creed of their times. But that which is material in this Cause, it is not to be found in the Rules of Faith delivered by Irenaeus, lib. 1. cap. 2. by Origen. lib. *ἀπὸ ἀρχαίων*, in Proœm. or by Tertullian, adv. Praxeam, cap. 2. de Virg. veland. cap. 1. de Praescript. adv. Haeretic. cap. 13. It is not expressed in those Creeds which were made by the Councils as larger Explications of the Apostles Creed: not in the Nicene or Constantinopolitan, not in that of Ephesus, or Chalcedon; not in those Confessions made at Sardica, Antioch, Seleucia, Sirmium, &c. It is not mentioned in several Confessions of Faith delivered by particular persons: not in that of Eusebius Caesariensis, presented to the Council of Nice, Theodor. l. 1. c. 2. not in that of Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra, delivered to Pope Julius, Epiphani. Har. 72. not in that of Arius and Euzoius, presented to Constantine, Socrat. l. 1. c. 19. not in that of Acacius Bishop of Caesarea, delivered into the Synod of Seleucia, Socrat. l. 2. c. 40. not in that of Eustathius, Theophilus and Silvanus, sent to Liberius, Socrat. l. 4. c. 12. There is no mention of it in the Creed of S. Basil; Tract. de Fide in Asceticis; in the Creed of Epiphanius, in Ancorato, c. 120. Gelasius, Damasus, Macarius, &c. It is not in the Creed expounded by S. Cyril, (though some have pretended that Creed to prove it;) it is not in the Creed expounded by S. Augustine de Fide & Symbolo; not in that De Symbolo ad Catechumenos, attributed to S. Augustine; not in that which is expounded by Maximus Taurinensis, nor that so often interpreted by Petrus Chrysologus, nor in that of the Church of Antioch, delivered by Cassianus, de Incarn. l. 6. neither is it to be seen in the MSS. Creeds set forth by the learned Archbishop of Armagh. Indeed it is affirmed by Rufinus, that in his time it was neither in the Roman nor the Oriental Creeds: Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiae Romanae Symbolo non habetur additum, descendit ad inferna; sed neq; in Orientis Ecclesiae habetur hic sermo. Russ. in Exposit. Symboli. It is certain therefore (nor can we disprove it by any acknowledged Evidence of Antiquity) that the Article of the Descent into Hell was not in the Roman or any of the Oriental Creeds. ^b That the Descent into Hell came afterwards into the Roman Creed, appeareth, not only because we find it there of late, but because we find it often in the Latin Church many Ages since. As in that produced by Etherius against Elipandus in the year 785, in the 115. Sermon. de Tempore, falsely ascribed to S. Augustine, where it is attributed to S. Thomas the Apostle: In the Exposition of the Creed falsely ascribed to S. Chrysostome. ^c As in the Creed attributed to Athanasius, which though we cannot say was his, yet we know was extant about the year 600. by the Epistle of Iudorus Hispanensis ad Claudium Ducem. It was also inserted into the Creed of the Council of Ariminum, Socr. l. 2. c. 37. and of the fourth Council of Toledo, held in the year 633, and of the sixteenth Council of the same Toledo, held in the year 693.

Indeed the *Descent into Hell* hath ^d always been accepted, but with a various Exposition; and the Church of England at the Reformation as it received the *three Creeds*, in two of which this Article is contained, so did it also make this one of the Articles of Religion, to which all who are admitted to any Benefice, or received into Holy Orders are obliged to subscribe. And at the first reception it was propounded with a certain Explication, and thus delivered in the fourth year of King Edward the Sixth, with reference to an express place of Scripture interpreted of this *Descent*: ^e *That the body of Christ lay in the Grave until his Resurrection; but his spirit, which he gave up was with the spirits which were detained in Prison, or in Hell, and preached to them, as the place in S. Peter testifieth.* So likewise after the same manner in the Creed set forth in Metre after the manner of a Psalm, and still remaining at the end of the Psalms, the same Exposition is delivered in this Staff;

And so he died in the flesh,
But quickned in the spirit:
His body then was buried,
As is our use and right.

^d Quis nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum? S. Aug. Epist. 99.

^e 1 Pet. 3. 19. Nam corpus ulq; ad Resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit; spiritus ab illo emissus cum spiritibus qui in Carcer-

five in inferno detinebantur, fuit, illisque praedicavit, in cellatur Petri locus, &c. Articuli ann. 1552. ubi h. plac. m. 10. add. made use of in the Exposition of the Creed contained in the Catechism set forth by the Authority of King Edward, in the seventh year of his Reign.

His spirit did after this descend
Into the lower parts,
Of them that long in darkness were
The true light of their hearts.

But in the *Synod* ten years after, in the days of *Queen Elizabeth*, the *Articles*, which continue still in force, deliver the same *Descent*, but without any the least explication or reference to any particular place of *Scripture*, in these words; *As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into Hell.* Wherefore being our *Church* hath not now imposed that *Interpretation* of *S. Peter's* words, which before it intimated; being it hath not delivered that as the only place of *Scripture* to found the *Descent into Hell* upon; being it hath alledged no other place to ground it, and delivered no other *Explication* to expound it: we may with the greater liberty pass on to find out the true meaning of this *Article*, and to give our particular judgment in it, so far as a matter of so much obscurity and variety will permit.

A. 1. 13.
1562.

First then, it is to be observed, that as this *Article* was first in the *Aquileian Creed*, so it was delivered there not in the express and formal term of *Hell*, but in such a word as may be capable of a greater latitude, *Descendit in inferna*: which words as they were continued in ^a other *Creeds*, so did they find a double interpretation among the *Greeks*; some translating *inferna* *Hell*, others the ^b *lower parts*: the first with relation to *S. Peter's* words of *Christ*, ^c *Thou shalt not leave my soul in Hell*; the second referring to that of *S. Paul*, ^d *He descended into the lower parts of the earth.*

^a Descendit in Inferna, or ad inferna, is the general writing in the ancient MSS. as the learned Archbishop testifieth of

two in the *Benedictine* and *Cottonian Libraries*; to which I may add those in the *Library* at *Westminster*: we see the same likewise in that of *Elipandus*, *Descendit ad inferna*. which words are forecited in the *Creed* delivered in the *Catechism* set forth by the Authority of *Edw. VI.* An. Dom. 1553. ^b So the ancient MS. in *Barnet Colledge Library*, κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα and the *Conception* made at *Sirinum*, εἰς τὰ κατωθόνια κατελθόνια. Since that it is *Descendit ad inferos*, and κατελθόντα εἰς ἄδου, or *Descendit ad infernum*, as *Venentius Fortunatus*. For τὰ κατώτατα is a fit interpretation, if we take *Inferna* according to the *vulgar Etymology*; or *S. Augustine*, *Inferi, eo quod infra sint*, Latine appellantur, *De Gen. ad lit. l. 12. c. 34.* or as *Nonius Marcellus*, *Inferum ab imo dictum, unde inferi, quibus inferius nihil.* Again, *inferna* may well be translated ἄδου, if it be taken according to the true *Origination*, which is from the *Greek* ἔνεστι, with the *Æolick digamma*, from which *Dialect* most of the *Latine Language* came, Ἐν ἔνεστι *Inferi*. Now ἔνεστι, according to the *Greek composition*, is nothing else but ψορχθόνιος. *Etym.* Ἐνεστι, of νεστι, δὸν τὸ ἐν τῷ ἔρα κῆδος, ὃ ὄν, ἐν τῷ γῆ and said, Ἐνεστι, νεστι, δὸν τὸ ἐν τῷ ἔρα κῆδαι. Ἐεε is an entry in the earth, from whence ἔεζε, χαμάζε, to the earth: ἔνεστι then are in the earth, as they supposed the *Manes* or *Spirits* of the dead to be; from whence *Homer*, *Iliad. c.* Ἄιδου ἐνεστὸν ἀνάστων, of *Pluto*; and *Hesiod*, Τῶν Ἄιδου ἐνεστὸσι καλασθιάνουσι ἄιδου or and in imitation of them *Aeschylus* in *Perseus*, γῆτε καὶ Ἐρμῆ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέραν, ἠέμ' ἵατ' ἐνεσθῶν. *Juvenal* εἰς ἄδου. The ἔνεστι are those which *Aeschylus* elsewhere calls τῶν γῆς νεσθῶν, & τῶν γῆς ἐνεσθῶν. And as ἔνεστι, the *Souls* of the dead in the earth, so are *Inferi* in the first acception, that is, *Manes*. *Pomponius Mela*, *Au. lia manes tantum Deos putant*; *whic* *Pliny* delivers thus, *Augila inferos tantum colunt*; and *Solinus*, *Augila vero solos colunt inferos*. *Inferi* were then ἔνεστι, the *Souls* of men in the earth: and as *Manes* is not only that for the *Souls* below, but also for the place, as in the *Poet*;

Manesque profundi, and,
Hæc manes veniat mihi fama sub imos;

^c Inferi is most frequently used for the place under ground where the *Souls* departed are: and the *inferna* must then be those *Regions* in which they take up their habitations. And so *Descendit ad inferna*, κατελθῶν εἰς ἄδου, and *Descendit ad Inferos*, are the same. ^d *A. 1. 2. 27.* ^e *Eph. 4. 9.*

Secondly, I observe that in the *Aquileian Creed*, where this *Article* was first expressed, there was no mention of *Christ's* *Burial*; but the words of their *Confession* ran thus, *crucified under Pontius Pilate, he descended in inferna.* From whence there is no question but the *Observation* of *Ruffinus*, who first

^f *S. 2. 1. 2.* words mean *Ruffinus*, *Crucifixus sub Pon-*

tio Pilate, descendit in inferna. And his *Observation* upon them is this; *Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesia Romana Symbolon habetur additum, Descendit ad inferna; sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo: vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sequitur est. Exop. Symb. This sense may also be observed in the *Athanasian Creed*, which has the *Descent*, but not the *Separation*; who suffered for our *Salvation*, descended into *Hell*, rose again the third day from the dead. Nor is this only one table in the two, but also in the *Creed* made at *Sirinum*, and produced at *Ariminum*, in which the words *καθῆς, παυροθῆς, καὶ παθόντας, καὶ ἀπὸ θανάτου, καὶ εἰς τὰ κατωθόνια κατελθόντα.* where though the *Descent* be expressed, and the *Burial* be*

be not mentioned; it is most certain, those men which made it (Hereticks indeed, but not in this) did not understand his Burial, or that Descent: and that appears by addition of the following words, *εις τὰ κατὰχθόνια κατέβησεν, καὶ τὰ ἐκείσε ἐκονομήσας, ὃν πύλωσι τῆς ἑβδύτης ἔρρεσαν.* For he did not dispose and order things below by his Body in the Grave: nor could the Keepers of the Gates of Hell be affrighted with any sight of his Corps lying in the Sepulchre.

expounded it, was most true, that though the *Roman* and *Oriental Creeds* had not their words, yet they had the sense of them in the word *buried*. It appeareth therefore that the first intention of putting these words in the *Creed* was only to express the Burial of our Saviour, or the descent of his Body into the Grave. But although they were first put in the *Aquileian Creed*, to signify the Burial of *Christ*, and those which had only the Burial in their *Creed* did confess as much as those which without the Burial did express the *Descent*; yet since the *Roman Creed* hath added the *Descent* unto the *Burial*, and expressed that Descent by words signifying more properly *Hell*, it cannot be imagined that the *Creed* as now it stands, should signify only the Burial of *Christ* by his Descent into *Hell*. But rather, being the ancient Church did certainly believe that *Christ* did some other way descend beside his Burial; being though he interpreted those words of the Burial only, yet in the relation of what was done at our Saviour's Death, he makes mention of his Descent into *Hell*, beside, and * distinct from his Sepulture; being those who in after-Ages added it to the Burial, did actually believe that the Soul of *Christ* descended: it followeth that, for the Exposition of the *Creed*, it is most necessary to declare in what that Descent consisteth.

* For having produced many places of Scripture to prove the Circumstances of our Saviour's death, and

having cited those particularly which do belong to his Burial, he passes farther to his Descent, in these words; Sed & quod in inferno descendit, evidenter pronuntiat. In Platino, ubi dicit, Et in pulverem mortis deduxisti me; & iterum, Quæ utilitas in sanguine meo dum descendo in corruptione? & iterum, Descendisti in limum profundi, & non est substantia. Sed & Mattheus dicit, Tu es quæ tentatus est, an alium exspectamus? Unde & Petrus dixit, Quia Christus mortificatus carne, vivificatus autem spiritu. In ipso, ait, & eis qui in carcere inclusi erant in diebus Noe: in quo etiam quid operis egerit in inferno declaratur. Sed & ipse Dominus per Prophetam dicit tanquam de futuro, Quia non derelinquis animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctam tuam videre corruptionem: quod rursus propheticè nihilominus ostendit impletum, cum dicit, Domine, eduxisti ab inferno animam meam, salvasti me a descendantibus in lacum. thence it appeareth, that though Rufinus thought that the sense of descendit ad inferna was expressed in sepulcus est; yet he did distinguish the Doctrine of *Christ's* Descent into *Hell* from that of his Burial.

Thirdly, I observe again, that whatsoever is delivered in the *Creed*, we therefore believe because it is contained in the Scriptures and consequently must so believe it as it is contained there; whence all this Exposition of the whole is nothing else but an illustration and proof of every particular part of the *Creed* by such Scriptures as deliver the same, according to the true interpretation of them and the general consent of the Church of God. Now these words as they lie in the *Creed*, *He descended into Hell*, are no-where formally and expressly delivered in the Scriptures; nor can we find any one place in which the Holy Ghost hath said in express and plain terms that *Christ* as he died and was buried, so he descended into *Hell*. Wherefore being these words of the *Creed* are not formally expressed in the Scripture, our inquiry must be in what Scriptures they are contained virtually; that is, where the Holy Ghost doth deliver the same Doctrine, in what words soever, which is contained, and to be understood in this expression, *He descended into Hell*.

Now several places of Scripture have been produced by the Ancients as delivering this truth, of which some without question prove it not: but three there are which have been always thought of greatest validity to confirm this Article. First, that of *S. Paul* to the *Ephesians* seems to come very near the words themselves, and to express the same almost in || terms: * Now

|| For the first expression which we find in Rufinus, Descen-

dit in inferna, comes most near to this quotation; especially if we take the ancient Greek Translation of it: κατέβησεν εἰς τὰ κατώτατα. For if we consider that κατώτατα may well have the signification of the Superlative, especially being the LXX. hath to translate Psalm 62.9. Ἐπέλωσόν μου εἰς τὰ κατώτατα ἡ γῆς: and Psalm 139. 15. καὶ ἡ ἐσώσασίς μου ἐν τοῖς κατώτατοις ἡ γῆς. what can be more than these two, κατέβησεν εἰς τὰ κατώτατα, and κατέβησεν εἰς τὰ κατώτατα; or these two, κατέβησεν εἰς τὰ κατὰχθόνια, and κατέβησεν εἰς τὰ κατώτατα μέρη ἡ γῆς; * Eph. 4. 9.

put to death in the flesh, but quickned by the spirit, by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison. Now that Spirit by which Christ was quickned is ^f that by which he was raised from the dead, that is the power of his Divinity; as *S. Paul* expresth it, ^e *Though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God:* in respect of which he preached to those which were disobedient in the days of *Noah*, as we have ^h already shewn.

^f Quid est enim quod vivificatus est spiritu, nisi quod eadem caro quæ solâ fuerat

mortificatus, vivificante spiritu resurrexit? Nam quod fuerat animâ mortificatus Jesus, hoc est, eo spiritu qui hominis est, quis audeat dicere? cùm mors animâ non sit nisi peccatum, à quo ille omnino immunis fuit cùm pro nobis carne mortificaretur. *S. Aug. Epist. 99. Et alibi.* Certe anima Christi non solum immortalis secundum cæterarum naturam, sed etiam nullo mortificata peccatum vel damnatione punita est; quibus duabus causis mors animâ intelligi potest, & ideo non secundum ipsam dici potuit Christus vivificatus spiritu. In ea re quippe vivificatus est in qua fuerat mortificatus. Ergo de carne dictum est: ipsa enim revixit anima redeunte, quia ipsa erat mortua anima recedente. Mortificatus ergo carne dictus est, quia secundum solam carnem mortuus est: vivificatus autem spiritu, quia illo spiritu operante in quo ad quos (leg. eos) veniebat & prædicabat, etiam ipsa caro vivificata surrexit, in qua modo ad homines venit. ^e 2 Cor. 13. ^h Pag. 112.

The third, but principal, Text is that of *David*, applied by *S. Peter*. For *David speaketh concerning him, I foresaw the Lord always before my face; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved. Therefore did my heart rejoyce, and my tongue was glad: moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope. Because thou wilt not leave my Soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy One to see corruption.* Thus the Apostle repeated the words of the *Psalmist*, and then applied them: *He being a Prophet, and seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption.* Now from this place the Article is clearly and infallibly deduced thus: If the Soul of Christ were not left in Hell at his Resurrection, then his Soul was in Hell before his Resurrection: But it was not there before his Death; therefore upon or after his Death, and before his Resurrection, the Soul of Christ descended into Hell; and consequently the Creed doth truly deliver that Christ, being crucified, was dead, buried, and descended into Hell. For as his flesh did not see corruption by vertue of that promise and propheticall expression, and yet it was in the Grave, the place of corruption, where it rested in hope until his Resurrection: so his Soul, which was not left in Hell, by vertue of the like Promise or Prediction, was in that Hell, where it was not left, until the time that it was to be united to the Body for the performing of the Resurrection. We must therefore confess from hence that the Soul of Christ was in Hell; and no Christian can deny it, saith *S. Augustine*, ⁱ it is so clearly delivered in this Prophecy of the *Psalmist* and Application of the Apostle.

ⁱ Dominum quidem carne mortificatum venisse in infernum satis constat.

Neque enim contradici potest vel prophetiæ quæ dixit, *Quoniam non develinques animam meam in inferno,* (quod ne aliter quisquam sapere auderet, in Actibus Apostolorum idem Petrus exponit) vel ejusdem Petri illis verbis quibus cum asserit soluisse inferni dolores, in quibus impossibile erat eum teneri. Quis ergo nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum? *Epist. 99.*

The only Question then remains, not of the truth of the Proposition, but the sense and meaning of it. It is most certain that *Christ descended into Hell*, and as infallibly true as any other Article of the Creed: but what that *Hell* was, and how *he descended* thither, being once questioned, is not easily determined. Different Opinions there have been of old, and of late more different still, which I shall here examine after that manner which our subject will admit. Our present design is an Exposition of the Creed as now it stands, and our endeavour is to expound it according to the Scriptures in which it is contained. I must therefore look for such an Explication as may consist with the other parts of the Creed and may withal be conformable unto that Scripture upon which the truth of the Article doth rely: And consequently, whatsoever Interpretation is either not true in it self, or not consistent with the body of the Creed, or not conformable to the Doctrine of the Apostle

Apostle in this particular, the Expositor of that Creed by the Doctrine of the Apostle must reject.

First then, we shall consider the Opinion of *Durandus*, who, as often, so in this, is singular. He supposeth this Descent to belong *unto the Soul, and the name of *Hell* to signify the place where the Souls of dead men were in custody: but he maketh a Metaphor in the word *descended*, as not signifying any local motion, nor inferring any real presence of the Soul of Christ in the place where the Souls of dead men were; but only including a virtual motion, and inferring an efficacious presence, by which Descent the effects of the Death of Christ were wrought upon the Souls in Hell: and because the Merits of Christ's Death did principally depend upon the act of his Soul, therefore the effect of his Death is attributed to his Soul as the principal Agent; and consequently Christ is truly said at the instant of his Death to *descend into Hell*, because his Death was immediately efficacious upon the Souls detained there. This is the Opinion of *Durandus*, so far as it is distinct from others.

* Cum Articulus sit, Christus ad Infero descendisse, & in possibilibus, & in intelligi ratione distinctis, secundum quod est ubique; nec ratione corporis secundum quod est in sepulchro; restat quod inelligatur ratione anime: quo supposito, videndum est qualiter anima

Christi descendit ad Infernum. *Durand. lib. 3. dist. 22. q. 3.*

But although a virtual influence of the Death of Christ may be well admitted in reference to the Souls of the dead, yet this Opinion cannot be accepted as the Exposition of this Article; being neither the Creed can be thought to speak a language of so great Scholastick subtilty, nor the place of *David* expounded by *S. Peter*, can possibly admit any such Explication. For what can be the sense of those words, *thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, if his being in Hell was only virtually acting there? If the efficacy of his Death were his Descent, then is he descended still, because the effect of his Death still remaineth. The Opinion therefore of *Durandus*, making the Descent into Hell to be nothing but the efficacy of the Death of Christ upon the Souls detained there, is to be rejected, as not expositive of the Creed's confession, nor consistent with the Scripture's expression.

[*Celsus. in lib. 12. c. 15. S. 11. Si Christus ad infero descendisse dicitur, nihil minus est, cum eam mortem periret, quod si non ad infero. Deo intelligitur, sed in corpore. Ita dicitur, per se, cum dicitur, in anima creature, nam dicitur, per se, hominis per se.*

The next Opinion, later than that of *Durandus*, is, that the || Descent into Hell is the suffering of the torments of Hell; that the Soul of *Christ* did really and truly suffer all those pains which are due unto the damned; that whatsoever is threatned by the Law unto them which depart this life in their sins and under the wrath of God, was fully undertaken and born by *Christ*; that he died a true and natural death, the death of *Gehenna*, and this dying the death of *Gehenna* was the *descending into hell*; that those which are now saved by vertue of his death, should otherwise have endured the same torments in Hell which now the damned do, and shall endure, but that he, being their surety, did himself suffer the same for them, even all the torments which we should have felt, and the damned shall.

This Interpretation is either taken in the strict sense of the words, or in a latitude of expression; but in neither to be admitted as the exposition of this Article. Not if it be taken in a strict, rigorous, proper and formal sense; for in that acception it is not true. It must not, it cannot, be admitted that *Christ* did suffer all those torments which the damned suffer; and therefore it is not, it cannot, be true, that by suffering them he descended into Hell. There is a Worm that never dieth, which could not lodge within his Breast; that is, a remorse of Conscience, seated in the Soul, for what that Soul hath done: but such a remorse of Conscience could not be in *Christ*, who though

Quid igitur? Christus personam suam secundum

humanitatem poenam gehennalem nobis debitam passus est, animam principaliter, corpore secundo, utroque causaliter ad merendum, ad nos suo ipsius merito liberandos. *Parkes de Descentu, l. 3. Sed. 48. Et statim S. c. 49. Descendisse nam que*

Servatorem, modo supra memorato, ad Haden mortis gehennalis, innumeris patet argumentis.

he took upon himself the sins of those which otherwise had been damned, yet that act of his was a most vertuous, charitable, and most glorious act, highly conformable to the will of God, and consequently could not be the object of remorse. The grief and horror in the Soul of *Christ*, which we have expressed in the Explication of his Sufferings antecedent to his Crucifixion, had reference to the sins and punishment of men, to the justice and wrath of God; but clearly of a nature different from the sting of Conscience in the Souls condemned to eternal Flames. Again, an essential part of the Torments of Hell is a present and constant sense of the everlasting Displeasure of God, and an impossibility of obtaining favour, and avoiding pain; an absolute and compleat despair of any better condition, or the least relaxation: But *Christ*, we know, had never any such resentment, who looked upon the reward which was set before him, even upon the Cross, and offered up himself a sweet-smelling Sacrifice; which could never be efficacious, except offered in Faith. If we should imagine any damned Soul to have received an express promise of God, that after 10000 years he would release him from those Torments, and make him everlastingly happy, and to have a true Faith in that Promise, and a firm hope of receiving eternal life; we could not say that man was in the same condition with the rest of the damned, or that he felt all that Hell which they were sensible of, or all that pain which was due unto his sins: because hope and confidence and relying upon God would not only mitigate all other pains, but wholly take away the bitter anguish of Despair. *Christ* then, who knew the beginning, continuance, and conclusion of his Sufferings, who understood the determinate minute of his own Death and Resurrection, who had made a Covenant with his Father for all the degrees of his Passion, and was fully assured that he could suffer no more than he had freely and deliberately undertaken, and should continue no longer in his Passion than he had himself determined, he who by those torments was assured to overcome all the powers of Hell, cannot possibly be said to have been in the same condition with the damned, and strictly and properly to have endured the pains of Hell.

Again, if we take the Torments of Hell in a Metaphorical sense, for those Terrours and Horrors of Soul which our Saviour felt, which may therefore be called infernal Torments, because they are of greater extremity than any other tortures of this life, and because they were accompanied with a sense of the wrath of God against the unrighteousness of men; yet this cannot be an Interpretation of the Descent into Hell, as it is an Article of the *Creed*, and as that Article is grounded upon the Scriptures. For all those pains which our Saviour felt (whether, as they pretend, properly infernal, or metaphorically such) were antecedent to his Death; part of them in the Garden, part on the *Cross*; but all before he commended his Spirit into the hands of his Father, and gave up the ghost. Whereas it is sufficiently evident that the Descent into Hell, as it now stands in the *Creed*, signifieth something commenced after his Death, contra-distinguished to his Burial; and, as it is considered in the Apostle's explication, is clearly to be understood of that which immediately preceded his Resurrection; and that also grounded upon a confidence totally repugnant to infernal pains. For it is thus particularly expressed: *I foresaw the Lord always before my face; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved. Therefore did my heart rejoyce, and my tongue was glad; moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope: because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.* Where the faith, hope, confidence, and assurance of *Christ* is shewn, and his *flesh*, though laid in the Grave, the place of corruption, is said to *rest in hope*, for this very reason, because God would not leave his soul in hell. I conclude there-

כי ארד אל בני אנר שארר, "Οτι καβαθήσομαι πρὸς τὸ υἱόν μου πένθον ἐν ᾧ ἄδης, which we translate, For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning, upon the authority of the ancient Targums. For although that of the Onkelos keep the Original word *שארר*; yet the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan render it *קבורתא*, in domum sepulchri; and the Persian Targum, to the same purpose, *בגור*; as also the Arabick Translation, Imo descendam ad pulverem mæstus de filio meo, So Gen. 42. 38. *הורדתם את שנת בני שארר*, καβαθήσομαι πρὸς τὸ υἱόν μου πένθον ἐν ᾧ ἄδης which we translate, Then shall ye bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave: where the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan have it again *ל בני קבורתא*; and the Persian again *בגור* in sepulchrum; the Arabick, *אל אלתרי* ad pulverem, or ad terram. And it is observed by the Jewish Commentators, that those Christians are mistaken who interpret these words spoken by Jacob, I will go down into Sheol, of Hell, declaring that Sheol there is nothing else but the grave. * Gen. 37. 35. 42. 38. ¹ Sam. 2. 6.

Now being the *Soul* is sometimes taken for the body deserted by the Soul, and *Hell* is also sometimes taken for the Grave, the receptacle of the Body dead; therefore it is conceived that the Prophet did intend these significations in those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*; and consequently, the Article grounded on that Scripture must import no more than this, *Christ* in respect of his body bereft of his Soul, which was recommended into, and deposited in the hands of his Father, *descended into the grave*.

This Exposition hath that great advantage, that he which first mentioned this Descent in the Creed, did interpret it of the Burial; and where this Article was expressed, there that of the Burial was omitted. But notwithstanding those advantages, there is no certainty of this interpretation: First, because he * which did so first interpret it, at the same time, and in the tenure of that expression, did acknowledge a descent of the Soul of *Christ* into Hell; and those other || Creeds which did likewise omit the Burial, and express the Descent, did shew, that by that Descent they understood not that of the Body, but of the Soul. Secondly, because they which put these words into the *Roman Creed*, in which the Burial was expressed before, must certainly understand a Descent distinct from that; and therefore though it might perhaps be thought a probable interpretation of the words of *David*, especially taken as belonging to *David*, yet it cannot pretend to an exposition of the Creed, as now it stands.

* Ruffinus, who first mentioned this Article, did interpret it of the grave, as we have already observed; but yet he did believe a Descent distinct from that, in the Exposition of the Creed: Sed & quod in infernum descendit,

evidenter prænunciatur in Psalmis, &c. and then citing that of S. Peter, Unde & Petrus dixit, Quia Christus mortificatus carne, vivificatus autem spiritu, in ipso, ait, & eis qui in carcere inclusi erant in diebus Noë; in quo etiam quid operis egerit in inferno declaratur, as we before more largely cited the same place. || I shewed before, that in the Creed made at Sirmiun there was the Descent mentioned, and the Burial omitted, and yet that Descent was so expressed that it could not be taken for the Burial: besides now I add, That it was made by the Arians, who in few years before had given in another Creed, in which both the Burial and the Descent were mentioned; as that of Nice in Thracia, *καθάρωσα, καὶ ταφένωσα, καὶ ἐν ταῖς καλαχθόνια κατεθάωσα, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ ᾄδης ἐτέταξαζεν*. Theodoret. Hist. l. 2. c. 21. and not long after gave in another at Constantinople to the same purpose, *καθάρωσα, καὶ ταφένωσα, καὶ ἐν ταῖς καλαχθόνια διεληλυθότα, ἐν τινι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ᾄδης ἐπέτηξεν*, Socrat. lib. 2. c. 4.

The next Opinion is, That the Soul may well be understood either for the nobler part of Man distinguished from the Body; or else for the person of Man consisting of both Soul and Body, as it often is; or for the living Soul as it is distinguished from the immortal spirit: but then the term *Hell* shall signify no place, neither of the man, nor of the body, nor of the Soul; but only the state or condition of men in death, during the separation of the Soul from the Body. So that the Prophecy shall run thus, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell*, that is, Thou shalt not suffer me to remain in the common state of the dead, to be long deprived of my natural life, to continue without exercise, or power of exercising, my vital faculty; And then the Creed will have this sense, that *Christ* was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into Hell; that is, he went unto the dead, and remained for a time in the state of death, as other dead men do.

But this interpretation supposeth that which can never appear, that *Hades* signifieth not Death it self, nor the place where Souls departed are, but the state and condition of the dead, or their permanion in death; which is a

Notion wholly new, and consequently cannot interpret that which representeth something known and believed of old, according to the notions and conceptions of those times. And that this Notion is wholly new, will appear, because not any of the ancient Fathers is produced to avow it, nor any of the Heathen Authors which are produced do affirm it: Nay, it is evident that the *Greeks* did always by *Hades* understand a place into which the Souls of men were carried and conveyed, distinct and separate from that place in which we live; and that their different Opinions shew, placing it, some in the Earth, some under it, some in one unknown place of it, some in another. But especially *Hades*, in the judgment of the ancient *Greeks*, cannot consist in this notion of the state of death, and the permanfion in that condition, because there were many which they believed to be dead, and to continue in the state of death, which yet they believed not to be in *Hades*; as || those who died before their time, and those whose bodies were unburied. Thus likewise the ancient Fathers differed much concerning the place of the *Infernis*; but never any doubted but that it signified some * place or other: and if they had conceived any such notion as the state of death, and the permanfion of the dead in that state, they needed not to have fallen into doubts or questions; the Patriarchs and the Prophets being as certainly in the state of death, and remaining so, as *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* are, or any person which is certainly condemned to everlasting flames. Though therefore it be certainly true that *Christ* did truly and properly die, as other men are wont to do, and that after expiration he was in the state or condition of the dead, in deadlihood, as some have learned to speak; yet the Creed had spoken as much as this before, when it delivered that he *was dead*. And although 'tis true that he might have died, and in the next minute of time revived, and consequently his death not (precisely taken) signifie any permanfion or duration in the state of death, and therefore it might be added, *he descended into Hell*, to signifie farther a permanfion or duration in that condition: yet if *Hell* do signifie nothing else but the state of the dead, as this opinion doth suppose, then to *descend into Hell* is no more than to be dead; and so notwithstanding any duration implied in that expreffion, *Christ* might have ascended the next minute after he descended thither, as well as he might be imagined to revive the next minute after he died. Being then to *descend into Hell*, according to this interpretation, is no more than to be dead; being no man ever doubted but that person was dead who died; being it was before delivered in the Creed that *Christ* died, or, as we render it, *was dead*: we cannot imagine but they which did add this part of the Article to the Creed, did intend something more than this, and therefore we cannot admit this Notion as a full or proper Exposition.

The Opinion of the ancient Greeks in this case is excellently expressed by Tertullian, who shews three kinds of men to be thought not to descend ad inferos when they die; the first Insepulti, the second Aori, the third Bieothanati. Creditum est, insepultos non ante ad inferos redigi quam iusta perciperint. De Anim. c. 26. Aiunt & infortunatamorte preventas eoque vagari isthic, donec reliquatio coplearur atatis quacum pervisissent si non intempetive obisissent. Ibid. Proinde extores inferum habebuntur, quas vi ereptas arbitrantur. precipue per atrocitates suppliciorum; crucis dico & securis, & gladii, & sera. Ib. The Souls then of those whose bodies were unburied were thought to be kept out of Hades till their Funerals were performed, and the Souls of them who died an untimely or a violent death, were kept from the place until the time of their natural death should come. This he farther expresses in the terms of the Magicians, whose Art was conversant about Souls departed. Aut optimum est hic criueri secundam achoros, (i.e. a' d'rus) aut Pessimum, secundum Bieothanatos. (Βιωθανάτους) ut ipsis jam vocabulis utar, quibus auctrix opinionum istarum Magica sonat, Hostanes, & Typhon, & Dardanus, & Damageron, & Neclabis, & Bernice. Publica jam literatura est qua animas etiam iusta atate sopitas, etiam proba morte disjunctas, etiam prompta humatione disjunctas, evocaturam se ab inferum incolatu pollicetur. cap. 57. Of the Insepulti, he produceth the example of Patroclus: Secundum Homericum Patroclum funus in fomis de Achille flantantem, quod non alias adire portas inferum posset, arcantibus cum longe animabus sepulcorum. The place he intended is this, Hades.

Θάπτειμε, ὅτι τὰ χίσα πύλας αἰδέο φοῖσῶ.
 Τὴλέ με ἔργουσι ψυχὰς, ἠδὲ πῶλα καμίνῃων.
 Οὐδέ μὲ πως μίσσησθ' ὡσὲρ ποταμοῦ ἕσπον.

In the same manner he describes Elpenor, Odys. λ'.

Πρώτη δ' ψυχὴ Ἐλπινόρου ἦλθεν ἑταίρου.
 Οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἐπίθαστο ὡσὲρ χθονὸς ἐυροσείης.

Where it is the observation of Eustathius, Ὅτι δὲ ἴσα ὡς τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, τὰς τῶν ἀθάπτων ψυχὰς μὴ ἀναιμίγους φησὶ ταῖς. And the same Eustathius observes an extraordinary accurateness in that Question of Penelope concerning Ulysses, upon that same ground, Odys. d'.

Εἶπε ἔτι ζῶει, καὶ ὄρα ῥά σ' ἡελίοιο.
Ἦ ἔτι τεθνῆκε, καὶ ἴν' αἴδαο δόμοισι.

Τὸ δὲ, ὡς ὄρα ῥῶς ἦλκε, δι' ὀρθότητά ἐννοία καίται. ὡς δὲ ἡελίον ὄν ζῆν μὲν, μὴ βλέπειν δέ. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ, ἴν' αἴδαο δόμοισι, πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν λόγου ἔρρηθη· καὶ ῥῥά τ' ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς δημοσώμῳρον Ἑλληνικῶν μῦθον, ἔπει τεθνικὸς καὶ ἐν αἴδαο γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ πυρᾷ ὀδῆν, καθὰ καὶ ὁ Εὐεπίδου ἐμφανίει Πολυδωροῦ· ὡσεὶ τὸ, ἢ ἦδη τέθνηκε, καὶ ἴν' αἴδαο δόμοισιν ἀγῆ τῶ, ἢ ἦδη τέθνηκε, καὶ τέθνηται. It is here very observable that, according to the opinion of the Greeks, to be dead is one thing, and to be in Hades is another; and that every one which died was not in Hades, ἔπει τεθνικὸς καὶ ἐν αἴδαο γίνεσθαι, as Eustathius speaks. Legimus præterea in Sexto infepulorum animas vagas esse, Serv. in Æneid. 3. The place which he intended I suppose is this,

Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataq; turba est;
Portitor ille Charon; hi quos vehit unda sepulcra.
Nec ripas datur horrendas nec rauca fluentia
Transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
Centum errant annos volitantq; hæc littora circum.

Thus he is to be understood in the description of the Funeral of Polydorus, Æneid. 3. Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, & ingens Aggeritur tumulo tellus, animamq; sepulchro Condimus. Not that anima does there signifie the body, as some have observed; but that the Soul of Polydorus was then in rest when his body had received funeral rites, as Servius, legimus præterea in Sexto infepulorum animas vagas esse, & hinc constat non legitime sepulchrum fuisse. Rite ergo reddita legitima sepultura, redit ad quietem sepulchri, saith Servius; or rather, in the sense of Virgil, ad quietem inferni, according to the petition of Palinurus, Sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam. And that the Soul of Polydorus was so wandring about the place where his body lay unburied, appeareth out of Euripides in Hecuba, where he speaketh thus, Νῦν ἄσπ' ἄμλεος φίλης Ἐκδῆος αἴετα. αἰμ' ἐρημώσας ἐμδν, Τελῶων ἦδη σέγγ' αἰωρέμωσ'· And in the Troades of the same Poet this ἀλη, or erratio vagabunda infepulorum, is acknowledged by the Chorus in these words, Ὡ φίλ' ἄ, ἄ πόσι μοι, Σὺ μὲν σθηνικῶν ἀλάνας Ἀθαπί' ἄνυδ' ἄ. And when their bodies were buried, then their Souls passed into Hades, to the rest. So was it with Polydorus, and that Man mentioned in the History of the Philosopher Athenodorus, whose umbra or phasma walked after his death. Inveniuntur ossa interta cænis & implicata, quæ corpus avo terraq; putrefactum nuda & exesa reliquerat vinculis: collecta publice sepeliuntur; domus postea rite conditis manibus caruit. Plin. l. 7. Epist. 27. This was the case of the Infepulci. And for that of the Biothanati, it is remarkable that Dido threatneth Æneas,

—————sequar atris ignibus absens,
Et cum frigida mors animâ seduxerit artus,
Omnibus umbra locis adero. —————

Upon which place Servius observes, Deunt Physiçi Biothanatorum animas non recipi in originem suam, nisi vagantes legitimum tempus sati compleverint; quoniam Doctæ ad sepulchram transferunt, ut. Centum errant annos. Hoc ergo nunc dicit Dido, Occisura me ante diem sum; vagantem tibi dabis pœnas: Nam te persequar, & adero quam diu erravero semper. * Ἀδης δὲ τὸ π' ἢ μὲν αἰδῆς, ἢ γὰρ ἀφανὸς καὶ ἀγνώσ'· ὁ τὰς ψυχὰς ἢ αἰδ' ἐν δ' ἐν ἐκδημώσας δεχόμεν'· Andreas Cæsar: in Apocal.

There is yet left another Interpretation grounded upon the general opinion of the Church of *Christ* in all Ages, and upon a probable exposition of the Prophecy of the Psalmist, taking the *Soul* in the most proper sense, for the spirit or rational part of *Christ*; that part of man which according to our Saviour's doctrine, the *Jews* could not kill, and looking upon *Hell* as a place distinct from this part of the world where we live, and distinguished from those Heavens whither *Christ* ascended, into which place the souls of men were conveyed after or upon their death: and therefore thus expounding the words of the Psalmist in the person of *Christ*; Thou shalt not suffer that Soul of mine which shall be forced from my body by the violence of pain upon the Cross, but resigned into thy hands, when it shall go into that place below where the Souls of men departed are detained: I say, thou shalt not suffer that Soul to continue there as theirs have done; but shalt bring it shortly from thence, and re-unite it to my body.

For the better understanding of this Exposition, there are several things to be observed, both in respect to the matter of it, and in reference to the authority of the Fathers. First therefore, this must be laid down as a certain and necessary truth, that the Soul of man, when he dieth, dieth not, but returneth unto him that gave it, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure; according to the ground of our Saviour's counsel, *Fear not them which kill the body, but cannot kill the soul.* That better part of us therefore in and after death doth exist and live, either by virtue of its spiritual and immortal nature, as we believe; or at least the will of God, and his power upholding and pre-

Math. 10 28.

erving it from dissolution, as many of the Fathers thought. This Soul thus existing after death, and separated from the body, though of a nature spiritual, is really and truly in some place; it not by way of circumscription, as proper bodies are, yet by way of determination and indistancy, so that it is true to say, this is really and truly present here, and not elsewhere.

Again, the Soul of man, which, while he lived, gave life to the body, and was the fountain of all vital actions, in that separate existence after death, must not be conceived to sleep, or be bereft and stript of all vital operations, but still to exercise the powers of understanding and of willing, and to be subject to the affections of joy and sorrow. Upon which is grounded the different estate and condition of the Souls of men during that time of separation; some of them by the mercy of God being placed in peace and rest, in joy and happiness, others by the justice of the same God left to sorrow, pains and misery.

As there was this different state and condition before our Saviour's death, according to the different kinds of men in this life, the wicked and the just; the elect and reprobate: so there were two societies of Souls after death; one of them which were happy in the presence of God, the other of those which were left in their sins and tormented for them. Thus we conceive the righteous *Abel*, the first man placed in this happiness, and the Souls of them that departed in the same Faith to be gathered to him. Whosoever it was of the sons of *Adam* which first died in his sins was put into a place of torment; and the Souls of all those which departed after with the wrath of God upon them were gathered into his sad society.

Now as the Souls at the hour of death are really separated from the Bodies; so the place where they are in rest or misery after death, is certainly distinct from the place in which they lived. They continue not where they were at that instant when the Body was left without life; they do not go together with the Body to the grave; but as the sepulchre is appointed for our flesh, so there is another receptacle, or habitation and mansion for our spirits. From whence it followeth, that in death the Soul doth certainly pass by a real motion from that place, in which it did inform the Body, and is translated to that place, and unto that society, which God of his mercy or justice hath allotted to it. And not at present to enquire into the difference and distance of those several habitations, (but for methods sake to involve them all as yet under the notion of the Infernal parts, or the Mansions below) it will appear to have been the general judgment of the Church that the Soul of *Christ* contradistinguished from his Body, that better and more noble part of his Humanity, his rational and intellectual Soul, after a true and proper separation from his flesh, was really and truly carried into those parts below where the Souls of men before departed were detained; and that by such a real translation of his Soul, he was truly said to have descended into Hell.

Many have been the Interpretations of the opinion of the Fathers made of late; and their differences are made to appear so great, as if they agreed in nothing which concerns this Point: whereas there is nothing which they agree in more than this which I have already affirmed, the real descent of the Soul of *Christ* unto the habitation of the Souls departed. The persons to whom, and end for which he descended, they differ in; but as to a local descent into the infernal parts, they all agree. Who were then in those parts, they could not certainly define; but whosoever were there, that *Christ* by the presence of his Soul was with them, they all determined.

That this was the general Opinion of the Church, will appear, not only by

by the testimonies of those || ancient Writers which lived successively, and wrote in several Ages, and delivered this exposition in such express terms as are not capable of any other interpretation; but also because it was generally used as an Argument against the *Apollinarian* Heresie: than which nothing can shew more the general opinion of the Catholicks and the Hereticks, and that not only of the present, but of the precedent Ages. For it had been little less than ridiculous to have produced that for an argument to prove a point in Controversie which had not been clearer than that which was controverted, and had not been some way acknowledged as a truth by both. Now the error of *Apollinarius* was, That *Christ* had no proper intellectual or rational Soul, but that the Word was to him in the place of a Soul: and the * Argument produced by the Fathers for the conviction of this error was, that *Christ* descended into Hell; which the *Apollinarians* could not deny; and that this descent was not made by his Divinity, or by his Body, but by the motion, and presence of his Soul, and consequently that he had a Soul distinct both from his Flesh and from the Word. Whereas if it could have then been answered by the Hereticks, as now it is by many, that his descent into Hell had no relation to his Soul, but to his body only, which descended to the grave; or that it was not a real, but only virtual, descent, by which his death extended to the destruction of the powers of Hell; or that his Soul was not his intellectual Spirit or immortal Soul, but his living Soul, which descended into Hell, that is, continued in the state of death: I say, if any of these senses could have been affixed to this Article, the *Apollinarians* answer might have been found, and the Catholicks Argument of no validity. But being those Hereticks did all acknowledge this Article: being the Catholick Fathers did urge the same to prove the real distinction of the Soul of *Christ* both from his Divinity and from his Body, because his Body was really in the grave when his Soul was really present with the Souls below: it followeth that it was the general Doctrine of the Church, that *Christ* did descend into Hell by a local motion of his Soul, separated from his body, to the places below where the Souls of men departed were.

|| *As Francus l. 5. c. 26. Cur enim Dominus in medio umbrae mortis abierit ubi anime mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit. manifestum est, quia & discipulorum eius, propter quos & hac operatus est Dominus, anime abibent in invisibilem locum definitum eis à Deo. &c. Clemens Alexandrinus* was shew'd of that opinion, that he thought the Soul of *Christ* preached Salvation to the Souls in Hell. *Strom. lib. 6. And Tertullian proves that the Inferi are a Cavity in the earth where the Souls of dead men are, because the Soul of Christ went thither. De Anima, cap. 55. Quod si Christus Deus, quia & homo mortuus secundum*

sepulchro secundum eandem hic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humane mortis apud Inferos functus, nec ante ascendit in sublimitate celorum quam descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic Patriarchas & Prophetas compotes sui faceret; habes & regionem Inferum subterranean credere, & illos cubito pellere qui satis superbe non putent animas fidelium inferis dignas. *Γεννήσας* *Σαμαρά* *ἡ* *ψυχῆ* *ἡ* *ζυμναῖς* *Σαμαράτων* *ὠμίλει* *ψυχῶς.* *Orig. contra Celsum, lib. 2.* Ipsa anima est in abyso, jam non est, quia scriptum est, Non derelinques animam meam in inferno. *S. Ambros. de incarn. cap. 5.* Si ergo secundum hominem quem Verbum Deus suscepit putamus dictum esse, *Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso*, non ex his verbis in celo existimandus est esse Paradisus. Neque enim ipso die in celo futurus erat homo *Christus* *Jesus*, sed in inferno secundum animam, in sepulchro autem secundum carnem. Et de carne quidem, quod eo die in sepulchro sit posita, manifestum est Evangelium. Quod vero illa anima in infernum descenderet, Apostolica doctrina predicat. Quandoquidem *B. Petrus* ad hanc rem testimonium de Psalmis adhibet, *Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno. & sic dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.* Illud de anima dictum est, quia ibi non est derelicta, unde in circumspicavit; illud de corpore, quod in sepulchro corrumpi celeri resurrectione non potuit. *S. August. Epist. 57. ad Iudaeum. Καταβὴς μέρους ἡ* *χθονὸς* *Ἐπίδη* *ἡ* *ἑσπέραις,* *Κατέβαι δ' ἰσὸς τάρταρα, Ψυχῶν ὅθι μνηστὰ θάνατος ἰκάνθη.* *Φεῖς ἡ* *σὺ* *γάρ* *βραν* *τότε* *Ἄϊθα* *ὁ* *παλαι* *θνήσκει.* *Καὶ* *λαοὸς* *κύων* *Ἀνεκάστατο* *βηλα.* *Syne. Hymn. c. Ψυχῆ* *ἡ* *ἡ* *θῆκε* *τιῶν* *πρὸς* *αὐτὸν* *λαχούσα* *Σωθρημύτε* *ἡ* *ἔνοσον* *καταπεφοίτηκε* *ἡ* *εἰς* *ἄδην.* *Θεο* *ρεσπῆ* *ἡ* *δω* *ἡ* *με* *ἡ* *ἔκστα* *ζυμναῖς* *ἡ* *τοῖς* *ἐκπῆσι* *πνύμασι* *κατασφαινετο.* *Cyvil. Alex. Dial. de Incarn. Ὁ* *ἡ* *τῆρ* *αὐτὸ* *σῶμα* *μόνον* *ὑπεβῆσατο,* *ψυχῶν* *ἡ* *μένω* *ὁ* *ἄδης.* *Anast. apud Euthy. Panopl. Postquam igitur exaltatus est, id est, à Judæis in cruce iussensus, & spiritum reddidit, unita suæ Divinitati Anima ad inferorum profunda descendit. Autor. Sermon. de tempore. Corpore in sepulchro seposito, Divinitas cum anima hominis ad inferna descendens vocavit de locis suis animas sanctorum. Gaudens Brit. Tract. 10. In hoc Divinitas Christi virtutem suæ impassibilitatis ostendit, quæ ubique semper & ineffabiliter præsens, & secundum carnem suam in inferno sine doloribus fuit, & secundum animam suam in sepulchro sine corruptione jacuit; quia nec carni suæ defuit, cum animam suam in inferno dolere non sineret; nec animam suam in inferno deseruit, cum in sepulchro carnem suam à corruptione servaret. Fulgent. ad Transmund. l. 3. c. 31. * What the Apollinarian Heresie was is certainly known: they denied that Christ had an humane Soul, affirming the Word was to him in the place of a Soul. Apollinarius instituit qui de anima Christi à Catholicis dissenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani Deum Christum carnem sine anima suscepisse. In questione testimonii Evangelicis victi, mentem, qua rationalis est anima hominis, non tulit in anima Christi, sed pro hac ipsum Verbum in ea fuisse, dixerunt. *S. Aug. de Heres. Against this Heresie the Catholicks argued shew the Descent into Hell, as that which was acknowledged by them all, even by the Arians, (with whom the Apollinarians in this aspect), as we have shewn before by three several Creeds of theirs in which they expressed this Descent. This is the Argument of Athanasius in his fourth Dialogue de Trinitate, which is particularly with an Apollinarian: Ὁ* *σπῆρ* *ἡ* *ἔδωκατο* *ὁ* *θῶς* *ἡ* *μνήματι* *ἡ* *ἡ**

* common receptacle of the Souls of all men, both the just and unjust, thought the Soul of Christ descended unto those which departed in the true faith and fear of God, the Souls of the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and the people of God.

* Some of the Ancient Fathers did believe that the word "adus" in the Scriptures had the sanctification which it hath among the Greeks, as comprehending all the Souls both of the wicked and the just; and so they took Infernus in the same latitude.

As therefore the ancient Greeks did assign one "adus" for all which died, Πάντας ὁμοῦς θνήσκοντες εἰς ἓν λέχεται: and Εἰς κοινὸν ἄδην πάντες ἤσαν βεβητοί. As they made within that one "adus" two several receptacles, one for the good and virtuous, the other for the wicked and unjust; (according to that of Diphilus, Καὶ γὰρ καθ' ἄδην δύο τεῖχος νομίζομεν, Μίαν δικαίων, κατέρχον ἀσεβῶν ὄψιν: and that of Plato, Οὗτοι δ' ἐν ἑπειδὴν τλάττωσι, δικάσων ἐν τῷ κελύθει ἐν τῷ τεύθει, εἰς ἧς εὐρέστον τὰ ὄσα, ἢ μὲν εἰς μακρὰν νῆσον, ἢ εἰς ταρταρον: and that of Virgil,

Hic locus est partes ubi se via findit in ambas:
Dextera quæ Ditis magni sub moenia tendit;
Hac iter Elysiūm nobis: at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.)

As they did send the best of men to "adus", there to be happy, and taught rewards to be received there as well as punishment: (λέχεται ἢ ὑπὸ τῆ μελιχῆ Πινδαροῦ ταυτὶ φησὶν ἐυσεβῶν ἐν ἄδῃ, Τοῖσι λάμπη μὲν ῥῆες ἀλίη τὰν ἐνθάδε κυκλῆκάτω, φορνικοςθῆαι τε λῆμῶδες εἰσι περὶ αἰῶνα αὐτῶν, ἔσθ. Plut. de consolat. ad Apollon. Ὁ τεσσάρησιοι Κένοι βεβητοί, οἱ ταῦτα διερχόμενοι τὴν Μολῶσ' εἰς ἄδην: τοῖσι δ' ἄλλοισι πάντι ἐκεί κακά, Sophocles.) So did the Jews also before and after our Saviour's time. For Josephus says the Soul of Samuel was brought up εἰς ἄδην, and delivers the opinion of the Pharisees after this manner, Antiq. Jud. l. 18. c. 2. Ἀθανάτων τε ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς αὐτοῖς, ἔδ' ἢ ὑπὸ χθονὸς δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ τιμῆς οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιβήσασιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέροντες: and of the Sadducees after this manner; Ψυχῆς τε ἢ διαμονῆς, καὶ τὰς καθ' ἄδην τιμῆς καὶ τιμῆς ἀναρῆσι. Therefore the Jews which thought the Souls immortal did believe that the just were rewarded as well as the unjust punished ὑπὸ χθονὸς, or καθ' ἄδην. And so did also most of the ancient Fathers of the Church. There was an ancient Book written de Universi natura, which some attributed to Justin Martyr, some to Irenæus, others to Origen, or to Calus a Presbyter of the Roman Church in the time of Victor and Zephyrinus, a Fragment of which is set forth by David Hæccheus in his Annotations upon Photius, delivering the state of "adus" at large. Περὶ ἧ ἄδης, ἐν ᾧ ζωόχονται ψυχὰι δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδικῶν, ἀναγκῶν εἶπεν. Here then were the just and unjust in Hades, but not in the same place: Οἱ δ' ἴσθαι ἐν τῷ ἄδην νῦν μὲν ζωόχονται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ὡς οἱ ἀδικοί. Μία γὰρ εἰς τὸ τοῦ χάριος καθόδῳ, &c. There was but one passage into the Hades, saith he; but when that gate was passed, the just went on the right hand to a place of happiness, (τὸ τοῦ ὄνομα κικλήσκουσι κέλιον Ἀεραῖον) and the unjust on the left to a place of misery. Οὗτῳ δ' ἔστι ἄδης λόγῳ, ἐν ᾧ ψυχὰι θνήσκουσιν: Habes etiam de Paradiso à nobis libellum, quo constituimus omnem animam apud Inferos tequestri in diem Domini. De Anima cap. 55. S. Jerome on the third chapter of Ecclesiastes; Ante adventum Christi omnia ad Inferos pariter ducebantur: Unde & Jacob ad inferos pariter descensurum se dicit; & Job pius & impius in Inferno queritur retentari: & Evangelium, Chaos magnum interpositum apud Inferos; & Abraham cum Lazaro, & divitem in supplicii, esse restatur. And in his 25 Epistle. Perfecilis ad ista responso est; Luxisse Jacob filium, quem putabat occisum, ad quem & ipse erat ad inferos descensurus, dicens, Descendam ad Filium meum lugens in infernum: quia necdum Paradisi januam Christus effregerat, necdum flammicam illam romphæam & veriginem prædentium Cherubin sanguis ejus extinxerat. Unde & Abraham, licet in loco refrigerii, tamen apud inferos cum Lazaro fuisse scribitur. And again, Nequeo satis Scripturæ laudare mysteria, & divinum sensum in verbis licet simplicibus admirari: quod Moyses plangitur; & Jesus Nave, vir sanctus, sepulchre fertur, & rami flexus esse non scribitur. Nempe illud, quod in Moysæ, id est, in lege veteri, sub peccato Adam omnes tenebantur elogio, & ad inferos descendentes consequenter lacrymæ prosequerantur.....In Jesu vero, id est, in Evangelio, per quem Paradisus est apertus, mortem gaudia prosequuntur. Τὸ πρῶτον ὁ θάνατος εἰς ἄδην κατήγετο ἢ ὁ θάνατος πρὸς ἄδην χεῖρὸν περὶ ἑμῶν. S. Chrys. Panagy. ad sanctas Marc. And in his Treatise proving that Christ is God makes this expostion, of Malah 45. 2. Πύλας ζωῆς ζωοχόνας, καὶ μοχλῆς ἑθνεῶν ζωοχόνας, καὶ ἀνοίξω θανάτου, καὶ οὐρανῶν, σκοτεινῶν, σκοτεινῶν, ἀσπερῶν, ἀσπερῶν ἀναδείξω σοὶ ἄδην ἔτι καλῶν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἄδης ἦν, ἀλλὰ ψυχὰι ἐπέσται ἀμνηστικὸν καὶ σκῆν τῆς τιμῆς, ἢ Ἀεραῖον, ἢ Ἰουδαῖον, ἢ Ἰακώβ: διὰ καὶ θνητῶν ἐμάλεσε. This doctrine was maintained by all those who believed that the Soul of Samuel was raised by the Witch of Endor: for though he were so great a Prophet, yet they thought that he was in Hades; and not only so, but under the power of Satan. Thus Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho: Φαίνεσθαι ἢ καὶ ἐν τῷ πᾶσι αἰ ψυχὰι ἦν ὅτος δικαίων καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ χθονὸς ἐπιπτότων ἄδην ἀναρῶν, ἐπὶ αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑγγασεμῶν ἐκείνην εἰς αὐτῶν περὶ μύτων ὁμοιοῦται. Who was followed in this by Origen, Anastasius, Antiochenus, and others.

But others there were who thought Hades or Infernus was never taken in the Scriptures for any place of happiness; and therefore they did not conceive the Souls of the Patriarchs or the Prophets did pass into any such infernal place; and consequently, that the Descent into Hell was not his going to the Prophets or the Patriarchs, which were not there. For as, if it had been only said that Christ had gone unto the bosome of Abraham, or to Paradise, no man would have ever believed that he had descended into Hell; so being it is only written, Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, it seems incongruous to think that he went then unto the Patriarchs, who were not there.

|| S. Augustine began to doubt of that general resurrection ordinarily given of Christ's Descent into hell, to bring the Patriarchs and Prophets thence, upon this ground, that he thought the word Infernus was never

taken in the Scriptures with a good sense; Quanquam illud me nondum invenisse confiteor, Inferos appellatos ubi iustorum anime acquiescunt; De Genesi ad litteram, l. 12. c. 23. Proinde, ut dixi, nondum inveni, & adhuc quero; nec mihi occurrerit Inferos alicubi in bono posuisse Scripturam, duntaxat Canonicam. Ibid. Non facile alicubi Scripturarum Inferorum nomen positum invenitur in bono, Epist. 57. Præsertim qui ne ipsos quidem Inferos usquam Scripturarum locis in bono appel-

lato.

latos potui reperire. Quod si nusquam in divinis auctoritatibus legitur, non utiq; sinus ille Abrahæ, id est, secretæ cujusdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars Interiorum fuisse credenda est. Quamquam in his ipsis tanti Magistri verbis, ubi ait dixisse Abrahamam, *Inter vos & nos chaos magnum firmatum est*, facis, ut opinor, appareat non esse quandam partem & quasi membrum Inferorum tantæ illius felicitatis finum. *Epist. 99.*

Now this being the diversity of Opinions anciently in respect of the persons unto whose Souls the Soul of *Christ* descended at his death, the difference of the end or efficacy of that Descent is next to be observed. Of those which did believe the name of *Hades* to belong unto that general place which comprehended all the Souls of men, (as well those which died in the favour of God, as those which departed in their sins) * some of them thought that *Christ* descended to that place of *Hades*, where the Souls of all the faithful, from the death of the righteous *Abel* to the death of *Christ*, were detained, and there dissolving all the power by which they were detained below, translated them into a far more glorious place, and estated them in a condition far more happy in the Heavens above.

* This is the Opinion generally received in the Schools, and delivered as the sense of the Church of God in all Ages: but though it were

not so general as the School-men would persuade us, yet it is certain that many of the Fathers did so understand it. 'Ο μὲν δὲ Ἐνοχὸς ἦν ἄδης ψυχῶν παρῆν, ἐκ μακρῶν αἰώνων τὴν ἀριζὴν αὐτῷ ἀειδυσμένων. *Euseb. de Demonst. Evang. l. 10.* Κατὰ λέγειν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ χθόνια, ἵνα κἀκεῖθεν λυθῶσιν καὶ δικαίως. *Cyrl. Catech. 4.* Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἡ θεότης τελειὸν τὰ πάντα τὰ χθ' μυστήριον ἔσθαι πάθος, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς κατελθόντες τὰ κατὰ χθόνια, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐργάσασθαι τὴν ἐκείῃ ἢ περὶ κακομιμῶν Ἐνοχίου, ἐν αὐτῇ ἄξιον παθεῖν χθόν. Translated erat Enoch, raptus Elias; sed non est Iervus supra Dominum. Nullus enim ascendit in cœlum, nisi qui descendit de cœlo. Nam & Moyseus, licet corpus ejus non apparuerit in terris, nusquam tamen in gloria cœlesti legimus, nisi postquam Dominus suæ resurrectionis pignore vincula solvit Inferni, & piorum animas elevavit. *S. Ambros. l. 4. de Fide ad Gratianum.* Qui in eo loco detinebantur sancti vinculorum solutionem in Christi adventu sperabant. Nemo enim ab Inferni sedibus liberatur nisi per Christi gratiam. Eò igitur post mortem Christus descendit. Ut Angelus in caminum Babylonis ad tres pueros liberandos descendit, ita Christus ad fornacem descendit Inferni, in quo clausæ justorum animæ tenebantur. Postquam eò descendit, Inferorum claustra perfodit, diripuit, vastavit, spoliavit, victas inde animas liberando. *S. Hier. in Ecclesiasten.*

Others of them understood no such translation of place, or alteration of condition there, conceiving that the Souls of all men are || detained below still, and shall not enter into Heaven until the general Resurrection. They made no such distinction at the death of *Christ*, as if those which believed in a Saviour to come should be kept out from Heaven till he came, and those which now believe in the same Saviour already come should be admitted thither immediately upon their expiration.

|| Just. Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho first begins: Ἀλλὰ μὲν ἡ δὲ ἀποθνήσκον ἐπιπέπασται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐν αὐτῷ (ἐρμηνεύον γὰρ

ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῖς κακοῖς) ἀλλὰ τὶ; τὰς μὲν εὐσεβῶν ἐν κρείττονι ποιήσασθαι, τὰς δὲ ἀδίκων ἐξουθενῶν ἐν χέειν, ἢ τὸ κείους ἐνδεχομένης χεῖρον τότε. *After him Irenæus, l. 5. 26.* Cum Dominus in medio umbræ mortis abierit ubi animæ mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, & post resurrectionem assumptus est; manifestum est quia & discipulorum eius, propter quos & hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum definitum eis à Deo, & ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem; post recipientes corpore & perfecte resurgentes, hoc est, corporaliter, quemadmodum & Dominus resurrexit, sic venient in conspectum Dei. Nemo enim est discipulus super magistrum; perfectus autem omnis erit sicut magister ejus. Quomodo ergo Magister noster non statim evolans abiit, sed substinens definitum à Patre resurrectionis suæ tempus, (quod & per Jonam manifestum est) post triduum resurgens assumptus est; sic & nos substinere debemus definitum à Deo resurrectionis nostræ tempus prænunciatum à Prophetis, & sic resurgentes assumi, quotquot Dominus hoc dignos habuerit. Tertullian followeth Irenæus in this particular: Habes & regionem Inferum subterraneam credere & illos cubito pellere qui satis superbe non putent animas fidelium Inferis dignas, servi super Dominum & discipuli super magistrum, aipernati si forte in Abrahæ sinu expectandæ resurrectionis solarium carpere. *De Anima c. 55.* Nulli patet cœlum terrâ adhuc salvâ, ne dixerim clausâ. Cum transactione enim mundi referabuntur regna cœlorum. *Id.* Eam itaque regionem sinum dico Abrahæ, etsi non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen Inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus justorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat. *Adu. Marc. l. 4. c. 34.* Omnes ergo animæ penes Inferos? inquis. Velis & nolis, & supplicia jam illic & refrigeria habes, pauperem & divitem. Cur enim non putes animam & puniri & foveri in Inferis, interim sub expectatione utriusque iudicii in quadam usurpatione & candida ejus? *De Anima cap. 48.* S. Hilary in his Commentary upon these words of the Psalm, *Dominus custodiet & introitum tuum & exitum tuum ex hoc & usque in seculum*: Non enim temporis hujus & sæculi est ista custodia, non aduri sole atque luna, & ab omni malo conservari; sed futuri boni expectatio est, cum exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illum regni cœlestis per custodiam Domini fideles omnes reservabuntur, in sinu scilicet interim Abrahæ collocati, quò adire impiis interjectum Chaos inhihet, quousque introeundi rursus in regnum colorum tempus adveniat. Custodit ergo Dominus exitum, dum de corpore exeuntes secreti ab impiis interjecto Chaos quiescunt. Custodit & introitum, dum nos in æternum illud & beatum regnum introducit. *And at the end of the second Psalm, Judicii enim dies vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna, vel poenæ*: tempus vero mortis habet unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad iudicium unumquemque aut Abrahæ reservat aut poenæ. *Item Gregory Nyssen still leaves the Patriarchs in Abrahæ's bosom, in expectation of admittance into Heaven: Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβραάμ πατρίδαρχου ὅς μὲν ἴδαν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὴν ὀπίσθουσαν ἔχον, καὶ ἐκ ἀνῆκαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡπείρου τὴν ἐπιπέπασται καθὼς ἐπὶ τὸν ὁ Αποστολῆς· ἀλλὰ ὁμῶς ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίσιν ἐστὶ τὴν χεῖρον εἶναι, ὅτι θεὸς κρείττον τὸν ἀπὸ ἡμῶν τεθελειφωδῶς, καὶ τὴν δὲ Παύλου φωνῆς, ἵνα μὴ, ἐπὶ, χεῖρος ἡμῶν τελευθῶσι. De Hominis Opinio, cap. 22.* *Twoe therefore which conceived that the Souls of the Godly now after Christ's ascension*

do go unto the bosom of Abraham, where the Patriarchs and Prophets were and are, and that both remain together till the general Resurrection, did not believe that Christ did therefore descend into Hell, that he might translate the Patriarchs from thence into Heaven.

But such as thought the place in which the Souls of the Patriarchs did reside could not in propriety of speech be called *Hell*, nor was ever so named in the Scriptures, conceived, that as our Saviour went to those who were included in the proper Hell, or place of torment, so the end of his Descent was to deliver Souls from those miseries which they felt, and to translate them to a place of Happiness and a glorious condition. They which did think that Hell was wholly emptied, that every Soul was presently released from all the pains which before it suffered, were branded with the names of *Hereticks*: but to believe that many were delivered, was both by them and many others counted *Orthodox*.

|| S. August. in his Book de Hereticis, reckons this as the seventy ninth Heresie.

Heresie. Alia, descendente ad Inferos Christo credidisse incredulos, & omnes inde existimat liberatos. And though he gives the heresie without a name, as he found it in Philastrius, yet we find the opinion was not very singular. For Euodius propounded it to S. Augustine as a question in which he desired satisfaction, an descendens Christus omnibus evangelizavit, omnesq; à tenebris & pœnis per gratiam liberavit, ut à tempore resurrectionis Domini iudicium expectetur exinanitis inferis. And in his answer to that question he looks not upon the affirmative part as an Heresie, but as a doubtful Proposition. His resolution, first, is, that it did not concern the Prophets and the Patriarchs, because he could not see how they should be thought to be in Hell, and so capable of a deliverance from thence: Addunt quidam hoc beneficium antiquis etiam Sanctis fuisse concessum, Abel, Seth, Noe, & domui ejus, Abraham, Isaac, & Jacob, aliisque Patriarchis & Prophetis, ut cum Dominus in infernum venisset, illis doloribus solverentur. Sed quoniam modo intelligitur Abraam, in cuius sinu pius etiam pauper ille susceptus est, in illis fuisse doloribus, ego quidem non video: explicant fortasse qui possunt. *Epist. 90. ad Euodiam.* Et paulo post: Unde illis iustis qui in sinu Abraham erant cum ille in inferna descenderet nondum quid contulisset inveni, à quibus eum secundum beatificam præsentiam suæ Divinitatis nunquam video recessisse. And yet in another he will not blame them that believed the contrary, nor did he think their Opinion absurd. Si enim non absurde credi videtur, antiquos etiam Sanctos, qui venturi Christi converterent fidem, locis quidem à tormentis impiorum remotissimis, sed apud Inferos, fuisse, donec eos inde sanguis Christi ad ea loca descensus erueret, &c. *De Civitate Dei*, l. 20. c. 15. His second Resolution was, That Christ did by his descent relieve some out of the pains of Hell, taking Hell in the worst sense. Quia evidentia testimonia & Infernum commemorant & dolores, nulla causa occurrit cur illuc credatur venisse Salvator, nisi ut ab ejus doloribus salvos faceret. *Epist. 90.* Quamobrem terreamus firmiter quod fides habet fundatissima autoritate firmata, quia Christus mortuus est secundum Scripturas, & quia repulcus est, & quia redivivens tertia die secundum Scripturas; & cætera quæ de illo, testante veritate, conscripta sunt. In quibus etiam hoc est, quod apud inferos fuit, solutis eorum doloribus quibus eum erat impossibile teneri; à quibus etiam recte intelligitur solvisse & liberasse quos voluit. *Ibid.* His third Resolution was, That how many these were which were delivered out of Hell was uncertain, and therefore temerarious to define. Sed utrum omnes quos in eis invenit, an quosdam quos illo beneficio dignos iudicavit, adhuc requiro, *Id.* Hoc scilicet quod scriptum est, Solutis doloribus Inferni, non in omnibus, sed in quibusdam; accipi potest, quos ille dignos illa liberatione iudicabat: ut neque frustra illuc descendisse existimetur, nulli eorum profuturus qui ibi tenebantur inclui; nec tamen sit consequens, ut quod Divina quibusdam misericordia iustitiæq; concessit, omnibus concessum esse putandum sit. *Ibid.* Potest & sic, ut eos dolores eum solvi se credamus quibus teneri ipse non poterat, sed quibus alii tenebantur quos ille noverat liberandos. Verum quænam isti sunt temerarium est definire. Si enim omnes omnino dixerimus tunc esse liberatos qui illic inventi sunt, quis non gaudeatur, si hoc possimus ostendere? *Ibid.* Thus the Opinion of S. Augustine is clear, That those which departed in the Faith of Christ were before in happiness and the beautiful presence of God, and so needed no translation by the descent of Christ; and of those which were kept in the pains of Hell, some were loosed and delivered from them, some were not: and this was the proper end or effect of Christ's descent into Hell. Thus Capreolus: Ipse in homine est visitare Inferorum dignatus abstrusa, & præpositis mortis patientiâ invictâ majestatis exterruit, & propter liberandos quos voluit, Inferorum portas referari præcipit. *Epist. ad Hispanos*, S. Ambrose: Ipse autem inter mortuos liber remissionem in Inferno positæ soluta mortis lege donabat. *De Incarn. c. 5.* "Ολον γὰρ εὐθὺς σκυλεύσας τὸ ἄδλω, καὶ τὰ ἐσθλὰ πῦρ τοῖς ἁγίοις κεκοιμημένων πνεύμασιν ἀναπέλασας πύλας, ἔρημον τε καὶ μόνον ἀρείς ἐκείσε τὸ διάβολον ἀνέστη, S. Cyril. Homil. Patch. 7. Who speaks full as high as those words of Euodius, or that heretick, whosoever it was, which is mentioned, though not named, by Philastrius. For ἔρημον καὶ μόνον διάβολον it is as much as Interi exinaniti; and κενώσας τὸ δαιμόνιον (which he useth in another Family) is the same.

The means by which they did conceive that *Christ* did free the Souls of men from Hell was the application of his death unto them, which was propounded to those Souls by *preaching* of the Gospel there: That as he revealed here on earth the will of God unto the sons of men, and propounded himself as the object of their Faith, to the end that whosoever believed in him should never die; so after his death he shewed himself unto the Souls departed, that whosoever of them would yet accept of and acknowledge him should pass from death to life.

|| This preaching of the Gospel to the dead, was the general Opinion of the Fathers, at the end of his Descent, or means, by which that

good was wrought for the Souls below, which was effected by his death. Ea propter Dominum in ea que sunt evangelizantem & illis adventum suum, remissionem peccatorum existentem his qui credunt in eum. Crederant autem in eum omnes qui sperabant in eum, id est, qui adventum ejus prænuceperunt, & dispositionibus ejus servierunt, nisi de Prophetis, & Patriarchis, quibus similiter ut nobis remittit peccata. *Tenens*, l. 4. c. 45. Ἐνεργεῖ δὲ θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ

of Scripture to maintain it; but also to be rejected in it self, as false and inconsistent with the nature, scope and end of the Gospel, (which is to be preached with such commands and ordinances as can concern those only which are in this life) and as incongruous to the state and condition of those Souls to whom *Christ* is supposed to preach. For if we look upon the Patriarchs, Prophets, and all Saints before departed, 'tis certain they were never *disobedient in the days of Noah*; nor could they need the publication of the Gospel after the death of *Christ*, who by virtue of that death were accepted in him while they lived, and by that acceptation had received a reward long before. If we look upon them which died in disobedience, and were in torments for their sins, they cannot appear to be proper objects for the Gospel preached. The rich man, whom we find in their condition, desired one might be sent from the dead to preach unto his Brethren then alive, lest they also should come unto that place: but we find no hopes he had that any should come from them which were alive to preach to him. For if the living, who *heard not Moses and the Prophets, would not be persuaded though one rose from the dead*; surely those which had been disobedient unto the Prophets, should never be persuaded after they were dead. Luke 16. 31.

Whether therefore we consider the Authorities first introducing this Opinion, which were Apocryphal; or the testimonies of Scripture, forced and improbable; or the nature of this Preaching, inconsistent with the Gospel; or the persons to whom *Christ* should be thought to preach, (which, if dead in the Faith and Fear of God, wanted no such instruction; if departed in infidelity and disobedience, were unworthy and incapable of such a dispensation:) this Preaching of *Christ* to the Spirits in prison cannot be admitted either as the end, or as the means proper to effect the end, of his Descent into Hell.

Nor is this Preaching only to be rejected as a means to produce the effect of *Christ's* Descent; but the effect it self pretended to be wrought thereby, whether in reference to the just or unjust, is by no means to be admitted. For though some of the Ancients thought, as is shewn before, that *Christ* did therefore descend into Hell, that he might deliver the Souls of some which were tormented in those flames, and translate them to a place of Happiness: yet this opinion deserveth no acceptance, neither in respect of the Ground or Foundation on which it is built, nor in respect of the Action or Effect it self. The Authority upon which the strength of this Doctrine doth rely, is that place of the *Acts*, *whom God hath raised up, loosing the pains of Hell*, for so they read it: from whence the Argument is thus deduced. God did loose the pains of Hell when *Christ* was raised: But those pains did not take hold of *Christ* himself, who was not to suffer any thing after death; and consequently he could not be loosed from or taken out of those pains in which he never was: in the same manner the Patriarchs and the Prophets and the Saints of old, if they should be granted to have been in a place sometimes called Hell, yet were they there in happiness: and therefore the delivering them from thence could not be the loosing of the pains of Hell: It followeth then, that those alone which died in their sins were involved in those pains, and when those pains were loosed then were they released; and being they were loosed when *Christ* was raised, the consequence will be, that he descending into Hell, delivered some of the damned Souls from their Torments there.

¶ The Vulgar Latin renders it thus. Quem Deus sollicitavit solibus doloribus inferni: *Sollicitavit* the word is used in the Original Text, yet it would not follow that God delivered Christ out of those pains in which he was detained any time, much less that the Soul of Christ delivered the Souls of any other; but * only that he was preserved from enduring them.

But first, though the *Latine* Translation render it so, *the pains of hell*; though some Copies and other Translations, and divers of the Fathers, read it in the same manner: yet the Original and authentick *Greek* acknowledgeth no such word as *Hell*, but propounds it plainly thus, *whom God hath raised up, loosing the pains of death*. Howsoever if the words were so expressed in the Original Text, yet it would not follow that God delivered *Christ* out of those pains in which he was detained any time, much less that the Soul of *Christ* delivered the Souls of any other; but * only that he was preserved from enduring them.

¶ *Author his Interpreter*, Quem Deus excitavit, solutis doloribus inferorum: Capreolus Bishop of Carthage, Resolvere, sicut scriptum est, interorum parturitiones: *And before these* Polycarpus, *ὅν ἠγείρεν ὁ Θεός, λύσει τὰς ἀδύνας τοῦ ἀδου*, Quem revolvit Deus, dissolvens dolores inferni, *Epist. ad Phil. whom I suppose* Grotius understands, *whom he cited* Barnabas: *and thus* S. Augustine reads, *and loosed the throes of his Interpretation upon this reading*. Quia evidencia testimonia & infernum commemorant & dolores, *Ecce*. But in the Original *Greek* it is generally written ἀδύνας θανάτου, and in all these many Copies of it, only that of Petrus Fraxardus, and two of the sixteen Copies which Robertus Stephanus made use of, read it ἀδου. And this mistake was very easy: for in the eighteenth Psalm, verse the fifth, there is מִן מֵרֶוֹת דָּוָד, ἀδύνας θανάτου, and verse the sixth, מִן מֵרֶוֹת דָּוָד, ἀδύνας ἀδου. And we find twice in the Proverbs, 14. 12. and 16. 25. מִן מֵרֶוֹת דָּוָד translated πνεύμα ἀδου, and 2 Sam. 22. 6. מִן מֵרֶוֹת דָּוָד, ἀδύνας θανάτου. * Quod si movet aliquem, quemadmodum accipiendum sit, Inferni ab illo solutos dolores: (neque enim coeperat in eis esse tanquam in vinculis, & sic eos solvit tanquam si catenas solvisset quibus fuerat alligatus) facile est intelligere, sic eos solutos, quemadmodum solvi possunt laquei venantium, ne teneant, non quia tenuerunt. S. August. Epist. 99.

Math. 25. 41, 42.
Mark 9. 47.

Again, as the Authority is most uncertain, so is the Doctrine most incongruous. The Souls of men were never cast into infernal torments, to be delivered from them. The days which follow after death were never made for opportunities to a better life. The Angels had one instant either to stand or fall eternally; and what that instant was to them, that this life is unto us. We may as well believe the Devils were saved, as those Souls which were once tormented with them. For it is an *everlasting fire*, an *everlasting punishment*, a *worm that dieth not*. Nor does this only belong to us who live after the death of *Christ*, as if the damnation of all sinners now were ineluctable and eternal, but before that death it were not so; as if Faith and Repentance were now indispensably necessary to Salvation, but then were not. For thus the condition of mankind before the fulness of time, in which our Saviour came into the world, should have been far more *happy and advantageous* than it hath been since. But neither they nor we shall ever escape eternal flames, except we obtain the favour of God before we be swallowed by the jaws of death. *We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body*: But if they be in the state of Salvation now by virtue of *Christ's* Descent into Hell, which were numbred amongst the damned before his death, at the day of the general Judgment they must be returned into Hell again; or if they be received then into eternal Happiness, it will follow either that they were not justly condemned to those flames at first, according to the general dispensations of God, or else they did not receive the things done in their body at the last; which all shall as certainly receive, as all appear. This life is given unto men to work out their Salvation with fear and trembling, but after death cometh judgment, reflecting on the life that is past, not expecting amendment or conversion then. He that liveth and believeth in *Christ* shall never die; he that believeth, though he die, yet shall he live; but he that dieth in unbelief shall neither believe nor live. And this is as true of those which went before, as of those which came after our Saviour, because he was the Lamb slain before the foundation of the World. I therefore conclude, That the end for which the Soul of *Christ* descended into Hell, was not to deliver any damned Souls, or to translate them from the torments of Hell unto the joys of Heaven.

¶ This is the Argument of Gregory the Great: Si fidelis tunc sine operibus bonis non salvatur, & infideles ac reprobi sine bona actione, Dominus ad Inferos descendente, salvati sunt; pro illorum bonis aut qui incarnationem Domini viderunt, quam homines per incarnationis suae mysterium nati sunt. Quod quanta tractatus sit dicitur, que Dominus visitatur, quibus dicitur, *Mark 16. 7.* *Epist. 105.* *2 Cor. 5. 10.*

The next consideration is, whether by virtue of his Descent the Souls of those which before believed in him, the Patriarchs, Prophets, and all the people of God, were delivered from that place and state in which they were before; and whether *Christ descended into Hell* to that end, that he might translate them into a place and state far more glorious and happy. This hath been in the later Ages of the Church the vulgar Opinion of most men, and that as if it followed necessarily from the denial of the former; He delivered not the Souls of the damned, || therefore he delivered the Souls of them which believed, and of them alone: Till at last the Schools have followed it so fully, that they deliver it as a point of * Faith and infallible certainty, that the Soul of *Christ* descending into Hell, did deliver from thence all the Souls of the Saints which were in the bosome of *Abraham*, and did confer upon them actual and essential Beatitude, which before they enjoyed not. And this they lay upon two grounds: first, that the Souls of Saints departed saw not God; and secondly, that *Christ* by his death opened the gate of the Kingdom of Heaven.

|| So Gregory the Great, after he had proved that none of the damned were relieved by *Christ's* descent, thus infers and concludes. Hac itaque omnia perfractantes nihil aliud tenent, nisi

quod vera fides per Catholicam Ecclesiam docet; quia descendens ad Inferos Dominus illos solummodo ab Inferni claustris eripuit, quos viventes in carne per suam gratiam in fide & bona operatione servavit. l. 6. Epist. 179. So Isidore Hispalensis by way of opposition; Ideo Dominus in Inferno descendit, ut his qui ab eo non poenaliter detinebantur viam aperiret revertendi ad caelos. So Venerable Bede upon the place of S. Peter; Catholica fides habet, quia descendens ad Inferna Dominus non incredulos inde, sed fideles tantummodo suos, educens ad caelestia secum regna perduxerit; neque exiit corpore animabus & inferorum carcere inclusis, sed in hac vita vel per seipsum, vel per suorum exempla sive verba fidelium, quotidie viam vitam demonstrat. * These are the words of Suarez in 3^m Thomae Disputat. 43. Sect. 3. Primo ergo, certum est Christum descendendo ad Inferos animabus sanctis, quae in sinu Abraham erant, essentialem beatitudinem & caetera animae donaque illarum consequuntur contulisse. Hoc de fide certum existimo, quia de fide est, illas animas non vidisse Deum ante Christi mortem. Deinde est de fide certum, Christum per mortem aperuisse hominibus januam regni: ideoque de fide etiam certum est, animas Sanctorum omnium post Christi mortem decedentium (si nihil purgandum habeant) itacim videre Deum. Ergo idem est de praedictis animabus.

But even this opinion, as general as it hath been, hath neither that consent of Antiquity nor such certainty as it pretendeth, but is rather built upon the improbabilities of a worse. The || most ancient of all the Fathers, whose Writings are extant, were so far from believing that the end of *Christ's* descent into Hell was to translate the Saints of old into Heaven, that they thought them not to be in Heaven yet, nor ever to be removed from that place in which they were before *Christ's* death, until the general resurrection. Others, as we have also shewn, thought the bosom of *Abraham* was not in any place, which could be termed Hell; and consequently could not think that *Christ* should therefore descend into Hell to deliver them which were not there. And others yet which thought that *Christ* delivered the Patriarchs from their infernal mansions, did not think so exclusively, or in opposition to the disobedient and damned spirits, but conceived many of them to be saved as well as the Patriarchs were, and * doubted whether all were not so saved or no. Indeed I think there were very few (if any) for above 500 years after *Christ*, which did so believe *Christ* delivered the Saints out of Hell, as to leave all the damned there; and therefore this opinion cannot be grounded upon the prime Antiquity, when so many of the Ancients believed not that they were removed at all, and so few acknowledged that they were removed alone.

|| We have shewn this before to have been the opinion of the most ancient, producing the express testimonies of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hilary, Gregory Nyssen. So also Novatian l. de Trinitate, Quae intraterram jacent, neque ipsa sunt digestis & ordinatis potestati bus vacua. Locus enim est quo piorum anime impiorumque ducantur futuri iudicii praedicti sentientes.

* We have already shewn that many did believe all the damned souls were saved then; and S. Augustine had his adhuc requiro, when he wrote unto Euodius concerning that opinion. Beside, the doubt of that great Divine, Gregory Nazianzen, is very observable, who in his Oration de Paschate hath these words, Ἄν εἰς αἴθερα κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἔλθῃ ἢ γινώσκει καὶ τὰ ἐκείσε τῶ Χριστοῦ μυστήρια: τίς ἢ οὐκ οἰοῖται τὸ Πάθος καὶ ἐπιτάξεως; τίς ὁ λόγος; ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπιτάξεως; Where by question is clearly this, whether *Christ* appearing in hell did save all without exception, or did save there as he does here, only such as believed. To this it is answered by Suarez two ways, that it is the ordinary and universal Law; that none of the damned sh. be saved: An vero ex speciali privilegio sua voluntate & arbitrio aliquem damnatum ex Gehenna Christus eduxerit, dubium quoquo modo potest. Et juxta haec possent intelligi Nazianzenus & Augustinus. But this will by no means solve the doubt.

rities; for neither of them did doubt or question whether some of the damned were released, but whether all were released or some only: which Suarez did very well perceive, and therefore was ready in the same sentence with another answer, *Quoniam Nazianzenus non videretur illa scripsisse verba, quoniam de hac veritate dubitaret, sed solum ut proponeret quid de hoc mysterio inquirere ac scire oporteat. Which is as much as to say, that He was satisfied of the truth, but desired to satisfy no man else. Whereas 'tis clear that it was a doubt in his age, as we have before shewn, and that he would leave it still a doubt and undetermined. And as for the other, Augustinus recte potest intelligi de animabus Purgatorii, it is certainly false, unless they will enlarge that Purgatory as wide as Hell; for the question was of emptying that.*

And if the Authority of this opinion in respect of its Antiquity be not great, the certainty of the truth of it will be less. For first, if it be not certain that the Souls of the Patriarchs were in some place called *Hell* after their own death, and until the death of *Christ*; if the bosom of *Abraham* were not some infernal mansion; then can it not be certain that *Christ* descended into *Hell* to deliver them. But there is no certainty that the Souls of the just, the Patriarchs and the rest of the people of God, were kept in any place below, which was, or may be called *Hell*: the bosom of *Abraham* might well be in the heavens above, far from any region where the Devil and his Angels were; the Scriptures no where tell us that the spirits of just men went unto, or did remain in *Hell*; the place in which the rich man was in torments after death is called *Hell*, but that into which the Angels carried the poor mans Soul is not termed so. There was a vast distance between them two; nor is it likely that the Angels which see the face of God should be sent down from Heaven to convey the Souls of the just into that place where the face of God cannot be seen. When God translated *Enoch*, and *Elias* was carried up in a Chariot to Heaven, they seem not to be conveyed to a place where there was no vision of God; and yet it is most probable, that *Moses* was with *Elias* as well before as upon the Mount: nor is there any reason to conceive that *Abraham* should be in any worse place or condition than *Enoch* was, having as great a testimony that he pleased God, as *Enoch* had.

Secondly, It cannot be certain that the Soul of *Christ* delivered the Souls of the Saints of old from *Hell*, and imparted to them the beatifical vision, except it were certain that the Souls are in another place and a better condition now than they were before. But there is no certainty that the Patriarchs and the Prophets are now in another place and a better condition than they were before our blessed Saviour died; there is no intimation of any such alteration of their state delivered in the Scriptures; there is no such place with any probability pretended to prove any actual accession of happiness and glory already past. *Many shall come from the East and West, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of heaven; there then did the Gentiles which came in to Christ find the Patriarchs, even in the Kingdom of Heaven; and we cannot perceive that they found them any where else than Lazarus did. For the description is the same, There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Prophets in the Kingdom of God, and you your selves thrust out. For as the rich man in hell lift up his eyes being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, before the death of Christ; so those that were in weeping and gnashing of teeth, saw Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the Prophets, when the Gentiles were brought in.*

Thirdly, Though it were certain that the Souls of the Saints had been in a place called *Hell*, as they were not; though it were also certain that they were now in a better condition than they were before *Christ's* death, as it is not; yet it would not follow that *Christ* descended into *Hell* to make this alteration; for it might not be performed before his Resurrection, it might not be effected till his Ascension, it might be attributed to the merit of his Passion, it might have no dependance on his Descension. I conclude therefore

that

that there is no certainty of truth in that Proposition which the Schoolmen take for a matter of Faith, That *Christ* delivered the Souls of the Saints from that place of Hell which they call *Limbus of the Fathers*, into Heaven; and for that purpose after his death descended into Hell.

Wherefore being it is most infallibly certain that the death of *Christ* was as powerful and effectual for the Redemption of the Saints before him, as for those which follow him; being *they did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink*; being *Abraham* is the Father of us all, and we now after *Christ's* Ascension are called but to walk in the steps of the faith of that Father; being the bosom of *Abraham* is clearly propounded in the Scriptures as the place into which the blessed Angels before the death of *Christ* conveyed the Souls of those which departed in the favour of God, and is also || promised to them which should believe in *Christ* after his death; being we can find no difference or translation of the bosom of *Abraham*, and yet it is a comfort still * to us that we shall go to him, and while we hope so never fear that we shall go to Hell; I cannot admit this as the end of *Christ's* descent into Hell, to convey the Souls of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, and those which were with them, from thence; nor can I think there was any reference to such an action in those words, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell.*

1 Cor. 12. 3, 4.

Rom. 4. 12, 15.

|| Although the Bosom of Abraham in express and formal terms be spoken only of Lazarus whom Christ being yet alive in the flesh supposed dead; yet the same Bosom is

virtually and in terms equivalent promised to those which afterwards should believe. For the joys of the life to come are likened to a Feast, in which, according to the custom then in use, they lay down with the head of one toward the breast of the other, who is therefore said to be in his bosom, as we read of S. John, *ὡς ἀνακείμενος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ Ἰησοῦ* thus in that heavenly Feast in the Kingdom of God, Lazarus is ἀνακείμενος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ Ἀβραάμ. And in the same Chapter Christ saith, that Many shall come from the East and from the West, *καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετ' Ἀβραάμ*, discurrent cum Abrahamo, sit down with Abraham, as we translate it after our custom, at the same Feast, that is, ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, &c. as Euthymius, Quia Deus Abraham, cœli conditor, Pater Christi est; idcirco in regno cœlorum est & Abraham, cum quo accubiturae sunt nationes quæ crediderunt in Christum filium creatoris. * S. Augustine often shews the comfort which he had in going to the bosom of Abraham: As in the case of his friend Nebridius, Nunc ille vivit in sinu Abraham. Quicquid illud est quod illo significatur sinu, ibi Nebridius meus vivit, dulcis amicus meus, tuus autem, Domine, adoptivus ex liberto filius ibi vivit. Nam quis alius tali animæ locus? Confess. l. 9. c. 3. And he seats that place (as uncertain as before) where it was before. Post vitam illam parvam nondum eris ubi erunt Sancti, quibus dicetur, Venite benedicti Patris, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab initio mundi. Nondum ibi eris, quis nescit? Sed jam poteris ibi esse ubi illum quondam ulcerosum pauperem dives ille superbus & sterilis in mediis suis tormentis vidit à longe requiescentem, Concio 1. in Psal. 35. And this he must necessarily take for a sufficient comfort to a dying Christian, who seats that place in conspectu Domini, de Civit. Dei, lib. 1. cap. 12. and looked upon them which were in it, as upon those, à quibus Christus secundum beatificam præsentiam nunquam recessit, Epist. 99.

Another Opinion hath obtained, especially in our Church, that the end for which our Saviour descended into Hell, was to triumph over Satan and all the powers below within their own dominions. And this hath been received as grounded on the Scriptures and consent of Fathers. The Scriptures produced for the confirmation of it are these two, *Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them*: And, *when he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men*. Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth. By the conjunction of these two they conceive the triumph of *Christ's* descent clearly described in this manner. Ye were buried with *Christ* in baptism, with whom ye were also raised; and when ye were dead in sins, he quickned you together with him, forgiving your sins, and cancelling the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, and spoiling powers and principalities, he made an open shew of them, triumphing over them in himself. That is, say they, ye died and were buried with *Christ*, who fastned the hand-writing of ordinances to the Cross, that he might abolish it, from having any right to tie or yoke his members. Ye likewise were quickned, and raised together with *Christ*, who spoiled powers and principalities, and triumphed over them in his own person. So that these words, *spoiling principalities and powers*, are not referred to the Cross, but to *Christ's* resurrection. This Triumph over Satan

Col. 2. 11, 12

Eph. 4. 8, 9.
B. Eilik. p. 294.
Col. 2. 12, 13.
14, 15.

Eph 4. 2, 5. Satan and all his Kingdom, the same Apostle to the *Ephesians* setteth down as a consequent to *Christ's* death, and pertinent to his resurrection, *Ascending on high he led captivity captive*: and this, *He ascended, what meaneth it, but that he descended first into the lower parts of the earth?* so that ascending from the lower parts of the earth he *led captivity captive*, which is all one with he *triumphed over power and principalities*. With this coherence and conjunction of the Apostles words, together with the interpretation of the ancient Fathers, they conceive it sufficiently demonstrated, that *Christ* after his Death, and before his Resurrection, in the lowermost parts of the earth, even in Hell, did lead captivity captive, and triumphed over Satan.

But notwithstanding, I cannot yet perceive either how this triumph in Hell should be delivered as a certain truth in it self, or how it can have any consistency with the denial of those other ends, which they who of late have embraced this opinion, do ordinarily reject. First, I cannot see how the Scriptures mentioned are sufficient to found any such conclusion of themselves. Secondly, I cannot understand how they can embrace this as the interpretation of the Fathers, who believe not that any of the Souls of the damned were taken out of the torments of Hell, or that the Souls of the Saints of old were removed from thence by *Christ's* Descent; which were the reasons why the Fathers spake of such a triumphing in Hell, and leading captivity captive there.

That the triumphing in the Epistle to the *Colossians* is not referred to the Cross but to the Resurrection, cannot be proved; the coherence cannot inforce so much; no Logick can infer such a division, that the *blotting out of the hand-writing* belongeth precisely to our *burial with him*, and the *triumphing over principalities and powers* particularly to our being *quickned together with him*; or that the *blotting out* was performed at one time, and the *triumphing* at another. Our present Translation attributeth it expressly to the Cross, rendring the last words, *triumphing over them in it*, that is, in the Cross, mentioned in the former Verse; and though || anciently it have been read, *triumphing over them in himself*, yet still there are these two great advantages on our side; First, That if we read, *in it*, it proves the triumph spoken of in this place performed upon the Cross; and if we read, *in himself*, it proveth not that the triumph was performed in any other place, because he was *himself* upon the Cross. Secondly, The ancient * Fathers of the Greek Church read it as we do, *in it*, and interpret the triumph of his death, and those others of the Latin Church, which did read it otherwise, did also acknowledge with the Greeks the Cross not only to be the place in which the victory over Satan was obtained, but also to be the trophy of that Victory, ∴ and the triumphal Chariot.

|| In the Vulgar Latin, Palam triumphans illos in semetipso; as also the Syriack, בקבמה. So Nicetas de Trin. triumphans illis in semetipso. So S. Hilary, triumphans eos in semetipso. So Andronic, Augustine, and Prudent.

* In the former reading, Θεωμεθώσας αὐτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ, and Interpretation, Θεωμεθώσας ἢ χεῖρ ἢ ἡ πτωχῶν σαυτῶν χάρις. Ἡ θεωμεθώσας αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ σώματος, τὰ τέσσα ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν θεωμεθώσας ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀπέτελεσε. Ἐν αὐτῷ αὐτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ, and this θεωμεθώσας ἐν αὐτῷ on the Cross will no way agree with that actual triumph in Hell. But Theophrastus, in the margin, Θεωμεθώσας αὐτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵετέστιν ἐν τῷ σώματι τοῦ δεξιμοῦ ἡ πτωχῶν δεξιάς. Θεωμεθώσας γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ὅταν τις ἐν εἰκόνι τοιοῦτον ἐπανελεθὼν ἀνομοῖαν πομπῆν τελεῖ τοῦ ἡνωθῆναι δεξιῶν πᾶσι δεξιῶν. Ἐν αὐτῷ αὐτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵετέστιν ὡς πρὸς ἐν δημοσίῳ δεξιῶν Ἑλλήνων, Ῥωμαίων, Ἰουδαίων, τοῦ δεξιμοῦ ἐθεωμεθώσας. Theophrastus says it they were read from S. Chrysostom, who maketh the δεξιμοῦ αὐτῶν on the Cross, to consist in the death upon it, Ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτῷ ἐθεωμεθώσας ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵετέστιν ἢ κατέστη λαβῶν. Where it is to be observed that the triumph is not attributed to the body; from the body, and descended into Hell, but rather to the body left by the soul and hanging on the Cross, διὰ τὸ ἡνωθῆναι πᾶσι ἡμῶν ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν χαριστῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, says Theodoret. And before all these Origen will expressly say, Non tibi horum telum produxero Apostolum Paulum? Quod erat contra gentes, non illud de necis affigens cruci sue, exuens principatus & potestates tradidit liberè, triumphans eas in cruce ligni. Ergo duplex Latinicæ crucis est ratio; una illa, quæ dicit Petrus quod Christus crucifixus nobis redemptio, & cruce ligni & cruce secunda, quæ crux illa trophæum Diaboli fuit, in quo & crucifixus est & triumphatus in cruce ligni. Requiritur hoc, cum in cruce posuit principatus & potestates exuit, & triumphavit eos cum ligno crucis, cum in cruce ligni posuit trophæum Diaboli, & deivito Principe mundi, & illis ligno retrogarum immane trophæum.

Prudentius. Dic trophaum passionis, Dic triumphalem crucem, *Cathem. Hymn.* 10. *S. Hilary* most expressly, *Mamus eius ad bellum sunt cum vicit seculum. Ego enim, ait, vici mundum*, cum extensus in crucem invictissimis armis ipsius passionis instructus. *Et posuisti*, inquit, *ut arcam oreum brachia mea*, cum de omnibus virtutibus ac potestatibus in ipso trophæo gloriosa crucis triumphat, & principatus & potestates *traduxit cum fiducia triumphans in semetipso*, in *Plal.* 143. *Where it is observable that the Father does read it in semetipso, and interprets it in cruce.* Nos quoniam trophaum jam videmus, & quod currum suum triumphator ascendit, consideremus quod non arborum, non quadrjugis pluvstri manubias de mortali hoste quasitas, sed patibulo triumphali captiva de seculo spolia suspendit, *S. Amb.* l. 10. in c. 23. *S. Luce*; and amongst the rest of the captives he reckons afterwards, captivum principem mundi, & spiritalia nequitiæ qua sunt in coelestibus. *To this alludes Eulgentius, l. 3. ad Theosim.* Sic oportuit peccatorum nostrorum chirographum deleri, ut dum vetus homo noster simul cruci affigitur, tanquam in trophæo triumphatoris victoria panderetur. *Whether therefore we read it, ἐν αὐτῷ with the Greeks, that is, ἐν σταυρῷ, or, ἐν αὐτῷ with the Latines in seipso, it is the same: for he triumphed over the Devil by himself upon the Cross, as in the same case it is written Eph. 2. 15. καὶ σταυραλώμενος τοῦ ἀμάρτανου ἐν ἐνὶ σταυρῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, σταυρεύσας τὴν ἔχθρην ἐν ἑαυτῷ.*

This place then of *S. Paul* to the *Colossians* cannot prove that *Christ descended into Hell*, to triumph over the Devil there; and if it be not proper for that purpose of it self, it will not be more effectual by the addition of that other to the *Ephesians*. For, first, we have already shewn, that the *descending into the lower parts of the earth*, doth not necessarily signify his descent into Hell, and consequently cannot prove that either those things which are spoken in the same place, or in any other, are to be attributed to that descent. Again, if it were granted, that those words did signify *Hell*, and this Article of our Creed were contained in them, yet would it not follow from that Scripture, that *Christ* triumphed over Satan while his Soul was in Hell; for the consequence would be only this, That the same *Christ* who led captivity captive, *descended first into Hell.* In that he ascended (and ascending led captivity captive) *what is it but that he descended first?* the Descent then, if it were to Hell, did precede the triumphant Ascent of the same person, and that is all which the Apostles words will evince. Nay further yet, the Ascent mentioned by *S. Paul* cannot be that which immediately followed the Descent into Hell, for it evidently signifieth the Ascent which followed forty days after his Resurrection. It is not an Ascent from the parts below to the surface of the earth, but to the heavens above, an *ascending up on high*, even *far above all Heavens*. Now the *leading captivity captive* belongeth clearly to this Ascent, and not to any Descent which did precede it. It is not said, that he *descended first to lead captivity captive*; and yet it must be so, if *Christ* descended into Hell to triumph there; it is not said, when he had *led captivity captive*, he *ascended up on high*; for then it might be supposed that the captives had been led before: but it is * expressly said, *ascending up*

* The Original words do manifestly shew that this triumphant act did not precede this Ascent. For had it been ἀρχμαλωτῶσαι ἀρχμαλωσίαν ἀνὲν ἐν ἐς ἡ ο, we might well have expounded it thus, *Christ did lead*

sin and death and Satan captive; and when he had done so, ascended up on high: but being it is written ἀναβῆς ἐς ἡ ο, that is, having ascended up on high, ἀρχμαλωτῶσεν ἀρχμαλωσίαν, he captivated a captivity, the Ascent must here precede the captivation, though not in time (as it did the giving of gifts) yet in nature: so that it is not proper to say, by *captivating he ascended*; but it is proper to express it thus, by *ascending he led captive a captivity.*

As for the testimonies of the Fathers, they will appear of small validity to confirm this triumphant Descent as it is distinguished from the two former effects, the removal of the Saints to Heaven, and the delivering the damned from the torments of Hell. In vain shall we pretend that *Christ descended into Hell* to lead captivity captive, if we withal maintain, that when he descen-

So S. Hierom on that place of the Ephesians, Inferiora autem terra infernis accipitur, ad quem Dominus nosse Salvatorque descendit, ut Sanctorum animas qui tenebantur in clausum ad caelos Victor abduceret. And on Matth. 12. 29. Alligatus est fortis, & religatus in Tartarum, & Domini contritus pedes; & direpris sedibus Tyranni, captiva ducta est captivitas. So Arnoldus Carnotensis is to be understood, De Unitione Christiatis, Passus est rex illudi, & vita occidi, descendenteque ad inferos captivam ab antiquo captivitate reduxit; *Apply- ing it to the custom of the Church, Omnino convenit, ut eo tempore quo Christus captivos eduxit ab inferis, reconciliati peccatores ad Ecclesiam reducantur. Ibid.* Thus Athanasius when he speaks of Christ's triumphing over Satan in Hell, he mentions ἡ Ἰδου τὰ βασίλειά, Hell spoiled, to wit, of those Souls which before it kept in hold. Otherwise in the same Oration, in Passionem & crucem he acknowledgeth the Triumph on the Cross, Ἐπει γὰρ ἡ νικησὺν ἡ θειομαρτυρία (not θειομαρτυρία) καὶ τὰ βασίλειά μ' ἄλλοι συζωοῦν ἀλλ' ἐαυτὰ βασάζειν τὸ τρέπασιν. Thus Leo the Emperour, Χειρὸς ἀνέστη τὸν ἄδλω σιγματάστας, καὶ τοῖς σιγματάστοις ἐλάθμεϊαν κηρύττει. Hom. de Resurr. And thus Macarius suppoeth Christ victoriously leading into hell and death, Κελεύει εἰς ἄδην καὶ σκότος, καὶ θάνατος, ἕλθων ταῖς ἐγκλημασάστας ψυχάς. Author libelli de Paschate, under the name of S. Ambrose, Expers peccati Christus cum ad Tartari ima descenderet, teras inferni jamatq; contringens, vincas peccato animas, mortis dominatione destructa, e diaboli faucibus revocavit ad vitam. Atque ita divinum triumphum aternis caracteribus est conscriptum, dum dicit, Ubi est, Mors, aculeus tuus? Ubi est, Mors, victoria tua? cap. 4. And the Commentaries under the same name, Gratia Dei abundavit in descensu salvaroris, omnibus dans indulgentiam, cum triumpho sublatis eis in caelum, ad Rom. 5. 14. Secundum animam descendit ad inferna & spoliavit principes tenebrarum ab animabus electorum, Ebert. Serm. 9. contra Catharos. Thus still the Fathers which speak of spoiling hell, of leading Captivity captive, of triumphing over Satan in his own quarters, are to be understood in respect to those Souls which they thought were taken out of the custody, possession, or dominion of Satan, whether just or unjust.

ded thither he brought none away which were captive there. This was the very notion which those * Fathers had, that the Souls of men were conquered by Satan, and after death actually brought into captivity; and that the Soul of Christ descending to the place where they were, did actually release them from that bondage, and bring them out of the possession of the Devil by force. Thus did he conquer Satan, spoil Hell, and lead Captivity captive, according to their apprehension. But if he had taken no Souls from thence, he had not spoiled Hell, he had not led Captivity captive, he had not so triumphed in the Fathers sense. Wherefore, being the Scriptures teach us not that Christ triumphed in Hell; being the triumph which the Fathers mention, was either in relation to the damned Souls which Christ took out of those tormenting flames as some imagined, or in reference to the spirits of the just, which he took out of those infernal habitations, as others did conceive; being we have already thought fit not to admit either of these two as the effect of Christ's Descent, it followeth that we cannot acknowledge this, as the proper end of the Article.

Nor can we see how the Prophet David could intend so much, as if when he spake those words in the person of our Saviour, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in Hell*, he should have intended this, Thou shalt not leave my Soul separated from my Body, and conveyed into the regions of the damned Spirits, amongst all the principalities and powers of Hell; I say, thou shalt not leave me there, battering all the infernal strength, redeeming the Prisoners, leading captivity captive, and victoriously triumphing over death, and Hell, and Satan. In summ, those words of the Prophet cannot admit any interpretation involving a glorious, triumphant and victorious condition, which is not a subject capable of dereliction. For as the hope which he had of his body, that it should not see corruption, supposed that it was to be put in the grave, which could not of it self free the body from corruption; so the hope that his Soul should not be left in Hell, suppoeth it not to be in such a state as was of it self contradictory to dereliction.

And this leads me to that end which I conceive most conformable to the words of the Prophet, and least liable to question or objection. We have already shewn the substance of the Article to consist in this, That the Soul of Christ, really separated from his Body by death, did truly pass unto the places below, where the Souls of men departed were. And I conceive the end for which he did so, was, That he might undergo the condition of a dead man as well as of a living. He appeared here in the similitude of sinful flesh, and went into the other world in the similitude of a sinner. His body was laid in a grave, as ordinarily the bodies of dead men are;

are ; his Soul was conveyed into such receptacles as the Souls of other persons use to be. All, which was necessary for our redemption by way of satisfaction and merit, was already performed on the Cross ; and all, which was necessary for the actual collation and exhibition of what was merited there, was to be effected upon and after his Resurrection : in the interim therefore there is nothing left, at least known to us, but to satisfy the law of death. This he undertook to do, and did : and though the Ancient Fathers by the several additions of other ends have something obscured this, yet it may be sufficiently observed in their * Writings, and is certainly most conformable to that prophetic expression, upon which we have hitherto grounded our Explication, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption.*

* Irenæus Jr calls his descent, legem mortuorum servare, l. 5. c. 25. and S. Hilary expresses that which I intend, very clearly,

Morte non interceptus est unigenitus Dei Filius ; ad explendam quidem hominis naturam, etiam mori se, id est, dissectioni se tanquam animæ corporisq; subjecit, & ad internas sedes, id quod homini debitum videtur esse, penetravit, *Enar. in Psal. 53.* And before him Tertullian, Christus Deus, quia & homo mortuus secundum Scripturas, & sepultus secus eandem, huic quoq; legi satisfecit, forma humana mortis apud inferos functus, *De Anima c. 55.* Ἡλθεν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάντων σωτὴρ, καὶ τὰ ἡμῶν χρεώσεως καὶ τιμωρίας εἰς τὴν ἕξ ἡμῶν, ἀνθ' ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀναμάρτητον αὐτὸς παρέδωκε σάρκα. Κατασφραγίσθη καὶ τὸ θάνατον εἰς τὸ ἄβυσσον ἀνεβήκατο καὶ τότο, καὶ κατήλθεν ἐκαστὸς εἰς αὐτόν. *Gelas. Ath. Conc. Nic. l. 2. c. 32.* *Tuis S. Austina calls proprietatem carnis, Com. Felician. c. 11.* Scio ad inferos Divinitatem Filii Dei descendisse proprietate carnis, scio ad cælum ascendisse carnem merito Deitatis. And afterwards he calls it, injuriam carnis, Erat uno atque eodem tempore ipse totus etiam in inferno, totus in cælo, illic patiens injuriam carnis, hic non relinquens gloriam Deitatis, c. 14. Impleta est Scriptura quæ dicit, *Et cum iniquis reputatus est.* Quod & altius intelligi potest, dicente de semetipso Domino, *Reputatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum: factus sum sicut homo sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber.* Verè enim reputatus est inter peccatores & iniquos ut descenderet ad Infernum, *S. Hierome in Isaie c. 53. v. 12.* *Ruffinus in his Exposition of the Creed, descending upon that place in the Psalms, factus som sicut homo sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber ; Non dixit homo, sed sicut homo. Sicut homo enim erat quia etiam descenderat in infernum ; sed inter mortuos liber erat, quia à morte teneri non poterat.* Et ideo in uno natura humana fragilitatis, in alio divine potestatis majestatis ostenditur. And yet more pertinently Fulgentius, Restabar ad plenum nostræ redemptionis effectum ut illuc usque homo sine peccato à Deo susceptus descenderet ; quousque homo separatus à Deo peccati merito cecidisset, id est, ad infernum, ubi solebat peccatoris anima torqueri, & ad sepulchrum ubi consueverat peccatoris caro corrumpi, *Ad Thrasim. c. 30.* Εἰ ἐν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβον, κἀκεῖθεν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, καὶ διασώτηρι, καὶ ῥυτῆρι ἡμῶν ἐν σκίτη, καὶ ζῶντι Ἰησοῦ ἀπαύτων, θανάτου γλυσιώτης, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄδου κατέβησαν ἐπιβήσασθαι, ὡς ἐν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἡμῶν ὁμοιωθῆναι χάριτι ἀνθρώπων, &c. *Andreas Cræt. Serm. in vitam humanam.* I conclude this with that Exposition of S. Hilary upon the words of those Psalmist, *As I go down into Hell, thou art there also ;* Humanæ ista lex necessitatis est, ut conscriptis corporibus ad inferos animæ descendant : Quam descensionem Dominus ad consummationem veri hominis non reculavit, *Psal. 138.*

Secondly, By the Descent of Christ into Hell, all those which believe in him are secured from descending thither ; he went unto those regions of darkness that our souls might never come into those torments which are there. By his Descent he freed us from our fears, as by his Ascension he secured us of our hopes. He passed to those habitations where Satan hath taken up possession, and exerciseth his dominion ; that having no power over him, we might be assured that he should never exercise any over our souls departed, as belonging unto him. *Through death he destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil,* and by his actual descent into the dominions of him so destroyed, secured all which have an interest in him of the same freedom which he had. Which truth is also still preserved (though among many other strange conceptions) || in the writings of the Fathers. Having thus examined the several Interpretations of this part of the Article, we may now give a brief and safe account thereof, and teach every one how they may express their Faith without any danger of mistake, saying, I give a full and undoubting assent unto this as to a certain truth, that when all the sufferings of Christ were finished on the Cross, and his Soul was separated from his body, though his body were dead, yet his Soul died not, and though it died not, yet it underwent the Condition of the Souls of such as die, and being he died in the similitude of a Sinner,

Heb. 2. 14

|| As we read of the Opinion in Tertullian's time, though not of him ; Sed in hoc, inquit, Christus inferos aditene nos aditimus. Cæterum quod discrimen Ethnicorum & Christianorum,

si carere mortuis idem? *De Animi, cap 55.* Aut ipsius vox est hic, *Et crucifigi animam meam ab inferno inferiori,* aut nostræ vox per ipsum Christum Dominum nostrum, quia id o ille pervenit usq; ad infernum, ne nos remaneremus in inferno, *S. August. in Psal. 85.* Πάσχον γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνάλαβας, καὶ πινῶν αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἕβραες, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄβυσσον καταβῆσθαι, ἡμᾶς ἀνέριστε, *Athan. in Omnia mihi trad. &c.*

his Soul went to the place where the Souls of men are kept who die for their sins, and so did wholly undergo the law of death: but because there was no sin in him, and he had fully satisfied for the sins of others which he took upon him, therefore as God suffered not his Holy One to see corruption, so he left not his Soul in Hell, and thereby gave sufficient security to all those who belong to *Christ*, of never coming under the power of Satan or suffering in the flames prepared for the Devil and his Angels. And thus, and for these purposes may every Christian say, I believe that *Christ descended into Hell*.

He Rose again.

WHatsoever variations have appeared in any of the other Articles, this part of *Christ's* Resurrection hath been constantly delivered without the least alteration, either by way of addition or * diminution. The whole matter of it is so necessary and essential to the Christian Faith, that nothing of it could be omitted; and in these few expressions the whole doctrine is so clearly delivered, that nothing needed to be added. At the first view we are presented with three Particulars: First, The Action it self, or the Resurrection of *Christ*, *he rose again*. Secondly, The Verity, Reality, and Propriety of that Resurrection, *he rose from the dead*. Thirdly, The Circumstance of Time, or Distance of his Resurrection from his Death, *rose from the dead the third day*.

* For though Eusebius Gallicanus and Venantius Fortunatus leave out the last Word, à mortuis, and some Copies in Rufinus have it not; yet is it generally expressed in all the rest which are

more ancient, than Eusebius or Fortunatus: and therefore that omission is to be imputed rather to negligence either of the Author or the Scribe, than to the usage of the Church in their age. Quod die tertio resurrexit à mortuis Dominus Christus, nullus ambigit Christianus, S. Aug. Serm. in Vigiliis Pasche.

For the illustration of the first Particular, and the justification of our belief in *Christ's* Resurrection, it will be necessary, first, To shew the promised *Messias* was to rise from the dead; and secondly, That *Jesus* whom we believe to be the true and only *Messias*, did so rise as it was promised and foretold. As the *Messias* was to be the Son of *David*, so was he particularly typified by him and promised unto him. Great were the oppositions which *David* suffered both by his own People and by the Nations round about him; which he expressed of himself, and foretold of the *Messias* in those words, *The Kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed, that is, his Christ*. From whence it came to pass, *That against the holy child Jesus, whom God had anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together to do whatsoever the hand and the counsel of God determined before to be done, which was to crucify and slay the Lord of life*. But notwithstanding all this opposition and persecution, it was spoken of *David*, and foretold of the son of *David*, *Yet have I set mine anointed upon my holy hill of Zion. I will declare the decree, the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee*. As therefore the persecution in respect of *David* amounted only to a depression of him, and therefore his exaltation was a setting in the Kingdom; so being the conspiracy against the *Messias* amounted to a real Crucifixion and Death, therefore the Exaltation must include a Resurrection. And being he which rises from the dead, begins as it were to live another life, and the grave to him is in the manner of a womb to bring him forth, therefore when God said of his anointed, *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee*, he did foretel and promise that he would raise the *Messias* from death to life.

Psal. 2. 2.

Act. 4. 27, 28.

Psal. 2. 6, 7.

But because this prediction was something obscured in the figurative expression, therefore the Spirit of God hath cleared it farther by the same Prophet, speaking by the mouth of *David*, but such words as are agreeable not to the person, but the Son of *David*, *My flesh shall rest in hope; for thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy One to see corruption.* As for the Patriarch *David*, he is both dead and buried, and his flesh consumed in his sepulchre; but being a Prophet, and knowing that God hath sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loyns according to the flesh he would raise up *Christ* to sit on his throne; he seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of *Christ*, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption. They were both to be separated by his death, and each to be disposed in that place which was respectively appointed for them: but neither long to continue there, the body not to be detained in the grave, the soul not to be left in Hell, but both to meet, and being reunited to rise again.

Psal. 16. 10.

Acts 2. 31.

Again, Lest any might imagine that the *Messias* dying once might rise from death, and living after death yet die again, there was a further Prophecy to assure us of the excellency of that resurrection and the perpetuity of that life to which the *Messias* was to be raised. For God giving this promise to his people, *I will make an everlasting covenant with you* (of which the *Messias* was to be the Mediator, and to ratify it by his death) and adding this expression, *even the sure mercies of David*, could signify no less than that the *Christ*, who was given first unto us in a frail and mortal condition, in which he was to die, should afterwards be given in an immutable state, and consequently that he being dead should rise unto eternal life. And thus by virtue of these three predictions we are assured that the *Messias* was to rise again, as also by those Types which did represent and prefigure the same. *Joseph*, who was ordained to save his brethren from death who would have slain him, did represent the Son of God, who was slain by us, and yet dying saved us; and his being in the dungeon typified *Christ's* death; * his being taken out from thence represented his resurrection, as his elevation to the power of *Egypt* next to *Pharaoh*, signified the Session of *Christ* at the right hand of his Father. *Isaac* was sacrificed, and yet lived, to shew that *Christ* should truly die, and truly live again. And *Abraham* offered him up, ^a *accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead, from whence also he received him in a figure.* In *Abraham's* intention *Isaac* died, in his expectation he was to rise from the dead, in his acceptance being spared he was received from the dead, and all this acted to * prefigure, that the only Son of God was really and truly to be sacrificed and die; and after death was really to be raised to life. What was the intention of our Father *Abraham* not performed, that was the resolution of our heavenly Father and fulfilled. And thus the Resurrection of the *Messias* was represented by Types, and foretold by Prophecies; and therefore the *Christ* was to rise from the dead.

* Post duos annos dierum, tertio incipente, de carcere educitur Joseph. Ernofter Josephus Christus Dominus die tertio à mortuis resurrexit. Præsentatur Pharaoni, mundo resurrectionis declaratur.... Data est Joseph a Pharaone in tota Ægypto potestas. Ernofter Josephus Christus Dominus

post resurrectionem dicit, Data est mihi omnis potestas in cælo & in terra, *Prosser. de Promis. & Predic. p. 1. c. 29.*
^a *Heb. 11. 19.* * Ideo Isaac immolatus non est, quia resurrectio Filio Dei servata est, *Prosser. de Prom. & Pred. p. 1. c. 17.* Οὐτως ὅτι τὸ ἀγία πνεῦμα ἴδεν τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τυτικῶς ἀποπέρας ὀμιλεῖσαι, τὸ τε ἡγαθὸν ἔσθ' ἡ τὸ συμπεριδεῖν ἐν βίῳ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὡς δεῖν θύσαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν τὸ τὸ δανῆτε μυστήριον, ἐν δ' τὸ μόνον ἔσθ' ἡ ζωὴ, ἢ μὴ διακοροῦναι τὸ δανῆτε. *Greg. Nyss. Orat. 1. in Resur.*

That Jesus, whom we believe to be the true and only *Messias*, did rise from the dead according to the Scriptures, is a certain and infallible truth, delivered unto us and confirmed by testimonies Humane, Angelical and Divine. Those pious Women which thought with sweet spices to anoint him dead, found him alive, *held him by the feet, and worshipped him*, and as the first Preachers of his Resur-

Resur-

Acts 1. 2.
 4. 33.
 Acts 1. 21. 22.
 1 Cor. 15. 6.

Resurrection, *with fear and great joy ran to bring his Disciples word.* The blessed Apostles follow them, *to whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs*; who *with great power gave witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus*, the principal part of whose office consisted in this testimony, as appeareth upon the election of *Matthias* into the place of *Judas*, grounded upon this necessity. *Wherefore of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection.* The rest of the Disciples testified the same, to whom he also appeared, even to *five hundred brethren at once.* These were the witnesses of his own family, of such as worshipped him, such as believed in him. And because the testimony of an adversary is in such cases thought of greatest validity, we have not only his disciples, but even his enemies to confirm it. Those Souldiers that watched at the sepulchre, and pretended to keep his body from the hands of his Apostles; they which felt the earth trembling under them, and saw the *countenance of an Angel like lightning, and his raiment white as snow*; they who upon that sight did *shake and became as dead men*, while he whom they kept became alive: even some of these *came into the city and shewed unto the chief Priests all the things that were done.* Thus was the Resurrection of *Christ* confirmed by the highest humane testimonies, both of his friends and enemies, of his followers and revilers.

John 2. 12.

But so great, so necessary, so important a mystery had need of a more firm and higher testimony than that of man: and therefore an Angel from Heaven, who was ministerial in it, gave a present and infallible witness to it. He descended down, *and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it.* Nay, *two Angels in white, sitting the one at the head, the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain*, said unto the Women, *Why seek ye the living among the dead? he is not here but is risen.* These were the witnesses sent from Heaven, this the Angelical testimony of the Resurrection.

1 John 5. 7.

And if we receive the witness of men, or Angels, the witness of God is greater, who did sufficiently attest this Resurrection; not only because there was no other power but that of God which could effect it, but as our Saviour himself said, *The Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me*; adding these words to his Apostles, *and ye shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning.* The Spirit of God sent down upon the Apostles did thereby testify that *Christ* was risen, because he sent that Spirit from the Father; and the Apostles witnessed together with that Spirit, because they were enlightened, comforted, confirmed and strengthened in their testimony by the same Spirit. Thus God raised up *Jesus*, and shewed him openly, *not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God, even to those who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead.* And thus, as it was foretold of the *Messias*, did our *Jesus* rise; which was the first part of our enquiry.

For the second, concerning the reality and propriety of *Christ's* Resurrection, expressed in that term *from the dead*, it will be necessary first to consider what are the essential characters and proprieties of a true resurrection, and secondly, to shew how those proprieties do belong and are agreeable to the raising of *Christ*. The proper Notion of the Resurrection consists in this, that it is a substantial change by which that which was before, and was corrupted, is reproduced the same thing again. It is said to be a change, that it may be distinguished from a second or new creation. For if God should annihilate a man or Angel, and make the same man or Angel out of nothing, though it were a restitution of the same thing, yet were it not properly a resurrection, because it is not a change or proper mutation, but a pure and

total

total production. This change is called a substantial change to distinguish it from all accidental alterations: he which awaketh from his sleep, ariseth from his bed, and there is a greater change from sickness to health, but neither of these is a Resurrection. It is called a change of that which was, and hath been corrupted, because things immaterial and incorruptible, cannot be said to rise again: Resurrection implying a reproduction, and that which after it was, never was not, cannot be reproduced. Again, of those things which are material and corruptible, of some the forms continue and subsist after the corruption of the whole, of others not. The forms of inanimate bodies, and all irrational Souls, when they are corrupted, cease to be; and therefore if they should be produced out of the same matter, yet were not this a proper Resurrection, because thereby there would not be the same individual which was before, but only a restitution of the *species* by another individual. But when a rational Soul is separated from its body, which is the corruption of a man, that Soul so separated doth exist, and consequently is capable of conjunction and re-union with the body; and if the two be again united by an essential and vital union, from which life doth necessarily flow, then doth the same man live which lived before; and consequently this re-union is a perfect and proper Resurrection from death to life, because the same individual person, consisting of the same Soul and Body, which was dead is now alive again.

Having thus delivered the true nature of a proper Resurrection, we shall easily demonstrate that *Christ* did truly and properly rise from the dead. For first, by a true, though miraculous, generation he was made flesh; and lived in his humane nature a true and proper life; producing vital actions as we do. Secondly, He suffered a true and proper dissolution at his death; his Soul being really separated, and his body left without the least vitality, as our dead bodies are. Thirdly, The same Soul was re-united to the same body, and so he lived again the same man. For the truth of which, two things are necessary to be shewn upon his appearing after death, the one concerning the verity, the other concerning the identity of his body. All the Apostles doubted of the first, for when *Christ* stood in the midst of them, *they were affrighted and supposed that they had seen a spirit.* But he sufficiently assured them of the verity of his corporeity, saying, * *Handle me and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.* He convinced them all of the identity of his body, saying, *Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I my self; especially unbelieving Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands, and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side, and be not faithless, but believing.* The body then in which he rose, must be the same in which he lived before, because it was the same with which he died.

Luke 24. 37, 39.

* *Thm* Ignacius disputes against the *Δοκίμα* in his days, *Εχθρὰ γὰρ ἔστι τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν εἶδεν καὶ περιέθεοντα. Καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τὸν...*

*Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔρη αὐτοῖς, λάβετε, ἠπλαρήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι ἐκείμι σαρκίον ἀτόματον. Καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἤφαντο καὶ ὅπως ὄσαν κεραιθῆναι τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτῆ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. ...Μετὰ ἧ ἦ ἀνάστασις συνέσχησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ σιωπῆτιον ὡς σαρκικὸς, καὶ ὡς πνευματικὸς ἐνωμένον τῷ Πάτρι. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* Palpandum carnem Dominus præbuit, quam januis clavis introduxit, ut esse post resurrectionem ostenderet corpus suum & ejusdem naturæ & alterius gloriæ. *Greg. Hom. 26. in Evang.* Resurrexit Christus, absoluta res est. Corpus erat, caro erat, pependit in cruce, positus est in sepulchro, exhibuit illam vivam qui vivebat in illa, *Serm. 158. De Tempore.**

And that we might be assured of the Soul as well as of the Body, first he gave an argument of the vegetative and nutritive faculty, saying unto them, *Have ye here any meat? and they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb, and he took it and did eat before them:* Secondly, Of the sensitive part, conversing with them, shewing himself, seeing and hearing them: Thirdly, He gave evidence of his rational and intellectual Soul, by speaking to them and discoursing out of the Scriptures, concerning those things which he spake unto them

* Ideo claris
 addicipulos
 fuis introibit,
 & flato suo da-
 bat Spiritum
 Sanctum, & da-
 to intelligen-
 tiam lumine fan-
 cterum scrip-
 turarum oc-
 cilia paude-
 bat; & rursus
 idem vulnus ja-
 teris, fixuras
 clavorum, &
 omniarecenti-
 sine passionis
 signa monstra-
 bat, ut agnosce-
 retur in co-
 proprietate di-
 vina humane
 que natura in-
 dividua perma-
 nere, *Le. xom.
 1. de Resurre-
 ctione.*
 ¶ Ut mediator
 Dei & homi-
 num homo
 Christus Jesus
 resurrectione
 clarificaretur,
 prius humili-
 atus est passi-
 one: non enim
 à mortuis resurrexisset si mortuus non fuisset. Humilitas claritatis est meritum, claritas humilitatis est præmium, *S. Aug.
 Tract. 114. in Joh.*

them while he was yet with them. Thus did he shew, that the body which they saw was truly and vitally informed with an humane Soul. And that they might be yet further * assured that it was the same Soul by which that body lived before, he gave a full testimony of his divinity by the miracle which he wrought in the multitude of fishes caught, by breathing on the Apostles the Holy Ghost, and by ascending into Heaven in the sight of his Disciples. For being *no man ascended into heaven but he which came from heaven, the Son of man which was in heaven*, being the divinity was never so united to any humane Soul but only in that person, it appeared to be the same Soul with which he lived and wrought all the miracles before. To conclude, being *Christ* appeared after his death with the same body in which he died, and with the same Soul united to it, it followeth that *he rose from the dead* by a true and proper Resurrection.

Moreover, that the verity and propriety of *Christ's* Resurrection may further appear, it will be necessary to consider the cause thereof, by what power and by whom it was effected. And if we look upon the meritorious cause, we shall find it to be *Christ* himself. For he by his voluntary sufferings in his life, and exact obedience at his death, did truly deserve to be raised unto life again. Because he drunk of the Broom in the way, because he humbled himself unto death, even to the death of the Cross, therefore was it necessary that he should be exalted, and the first degree of his exaltation was his Resurrection. Now being *Christ* humbled himself to the sufferings both of Soul and Body; being whatsoever suffered, the same by the virtue and merit of his passion was to be exalted; being all other degrees of exaltation supposed that of the Resurrection; it followeth from the meritorious cause that *Christ* did truly rise from the dead with the same Soul and the same body, with which he lived united, and died separated.

Acts 2. 32.

The Efficient cause of the Resurrection of *Christ* is to be considered either as Principal or Instrumental. The Principal cause was God himself; for no other power but that which is omnipotent can raise the dead. It is an act beyond the activity of any creature, and unproportionate to the power of any finite Agent. *This Jesus hath God raised up*, saith the Apostle, *whereof we all are witnesses*. And generally in the Scriptures as our, so *Christ's* Resurrection is attributed unto God; and as we cannot hope after death to rise to life again without the activity of an infinite and irresistible power, no more did *Christ* himself, who was no otherwise raised than by an eminent act of God's omnipotency; which is excellently set forth by the Apostle, in so high an exaggeration of expressions, as I think is scarce to be parallell'd in any Author, * *That we may know what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of the might of his power which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him up from the dead*. Being then Omnipotency is a divine attribute, and infinite power belongs to God alone: being no less power than infinite could raise our Saviour from the dead; it followeth, That whatsoever instrumental action might concur, God must be acknowledged the principal Agent.

* Eph. 1. 19.
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Translation: *For first, here are δυναμις and ἰσχύς, two words that signify the power of God and the validity and force of it, but not sufficient; wherefore there is an addition to each of them, μέγας and ἰσχυρός, and ἵνα ἵνα ἵνα, two words more to express the eminent greatness of this power and force but not sufficient; and therefore there is another addition to each add. ἵνα, τὸ ἐξέβαλλον μέγας, and ἵνα ἵνα ἵνα, to set forth the eminent and admirable greatness; and all yet as it were but flat and dull, till it be quickened with an active verb, ἵνα ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, ὅταν ἐγείρατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. At which he set on work all which he effected in Christ, when he raised him from the dead.*

And

And therefore in the Scriptures the Raising of *Christ* is attributed to God the Father (according to those words of the Apostle, *Paul an Apostle not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father who raised him from the dead*) but it is not attributed to the Father alone. For to whomsoever that infinite power doth belong, by which *Christ* was raised, that person must be acknowledged to have raised him. And because we have already proved that the eternal Son of God is of the same essence, and consequently of the same power with the Father, and shall hereafter shew the same true also of the Holy Ghost, therefore we must likewise acknowledge that the || Father, Son, and Holy Ghost raised *Christ* from the dead. Nor is this only true by virtue of this ratiocination, but it is also delivered expressly of the Son, and that by himself. It is a weak fallacy used by the *Socinians*, who maintain That God the Father only raised *Christ*, and then say, they teach as much as the Apostles did, who attribute it always either generally unto God, or particularly to the Father. For if the Apostles taught it only so, yet if he which taught the Apostles, taught us something more, we must make that also part of our belief. They believe the Father raised *Christ*, because *S. Paul* hath taught them so, and we believe the same; they will not believe that *Christ* did raise himself, but we must also believe that, because he hath said so. These were his words unto the *Jews*, ^a *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up*, and this is the explication of the Apostle, *But he spake of the temple of his body*, which he might very properly call a Temple, because ^b *the fulness of the Godhead dwelt in him bodily*. And when he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this unto them, and they believed the Scripture and the word that *Jesus* had said. Now if upon the Resurrection of *Christ* the Apostles believed those words of *Christ*, *Destroy this temple, and I will raise it up*, then did they believe that *Christ* raised himself; for in those words there is a person mentioned which raised *Christ*, and no other person mentioned but himself.

Gal. 1. 1.

|| Quis nisi solus Filius resurrexit, quia solus mori potuit qui carnem habuit? & tamen ab hoc opere quo solus Filius resurrexit non erat Pater alienus; de quo scriptum est, Qui suscitavit & mortuis Jesum. An forte se ipse non suscitavit? Et ubi est quod ait, Solvite templum hoc, & tria diebus iterum sumendi animam suam? Quis autem ita desipiat, ut Spiritum Sanctum

resurrectionem hominis Christi dicat non co-operatum, cum ipsum hominem Christum fuerit operatus. *S. August. contra Serm. Arian. cap. 15.* ^a *John 2. 19, 21.* ^b *Coloss. 2. 9.*

A strange opposition they make to the evidence of this Argument, || saying, That God the Father raised *Christ* to life, and *Christ* being raised to life, did lift and raise his body out of the grave, as the man sick of the Palsie raised himself from the bed, or as we shall raise our selves out of the graves when the Trump shall sound: and this was all which *Christ* could do. But if this were true, and nothing else were to be understood in those words of our Saviour, he might as well have said, ^a *Destroy this temple, and in three days any one of you may raise it up*. For when life was restored unto it by God, any one of them might have lifted it up, and raised it out of the grave, and have shewn it alive.

|| Aliter Deus Christum suscitavit, aliter Christus corpus suum: Deus Christo vitam restituendo, Christus vitam recuperata corpus suum levando, & e sepulchro procedendo, seque post mortem vivum suscitando prae-bendoque. Sic & Paralyticus ille creverat corpus suum, accepta à Christo sanitate: sic & omnes mortui surgent, & ex monumentis procedunt, recepti

This answer therefore is a meer shift: for to raise a body which is dead, is in the language of the Scriptures to give life unto it, or to quicken a mortal body. ^b * *For as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will*. He then which quickeneth the dead bodies of others when he raiseth them, he also quickned his own body when he raised that. The temple is supposed here to be dissolved, and being so to be raised again; therefore the suscitation must answer to the dissolution. But the temple of *Christ*'s body was dissolved when his Soul was separated, nor was it any

ab eodem Christo vita, *Confessionis Sociniane Vindicta.* ^a *John 2. 19.* ^b *John 5. 21.* * *Et sic patet quod veritas and ζωοποιός is the same thing; and therefore one in the Apodosis answereth to both in the Protasis, and sheweth that Christ raiseth and quickeneth whom he will, which demonstrateth his infinite and absolute Power. Καίτοι τὸ, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς ζωοποιός*

ὅτι ἐαυτὸν πάλιν πάλιν ἐλάλει ἐναρτήσαν ἑαυτὸν. Ἐὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἐλάλει, δυνάμει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν· τὸ γὰρ ἐλάλειν ἕξουσία· εἰ δὲ
 ἐλάλει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἔστι δυνάμει. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡς πατὴρ ἐλάλει, τὴν δυνάμει ἐκείνην τὴν ἀπερραγμένην· τὸ δὲ
 ἐὰν ἐλάλει ἡ ἕξουσία τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. S. Chryſ. Hom. 32. in Joh. *Where it is very observable, that though ἐλάλειν τὸν νεκρὸν and
 ζωοποιῶν be the same in the language of the Scriptures, yet ἐλάλειν and ζωοποιῶν are not the same. By which observation the
 late Learned Bishop of Ely hath most evidently proved that S. Lucian saith.* Si quis obſtinatē vocem *Excitabo* [ἐγερῶ] urgere
 vult, is animadvertet quod D. Jetus alibi dicit, *Eum qui perdidit animam, vivificaturam eam.* Ubi si quis intellere vel-
 let ipſis verbis, eum colligere oporteret, *Credentes etiam ipſos ſeſe vivificaturos, & à mortuis excitaturos.* Car. Rac. pag:
 273. *The ἐγερῶ hath maniſteſt relation to the dead, but ζωοποιῶν unto the living. And therefore our Tranſlation hath very well
 ſounded theſe words, Luc. 17. 33. οὐρανὸν ἀπαλεῖψαι ἀπὸ τῶν ζώοντων, Whoſoever ſhall loſe his life ſhall preſerve it, ſo
 that ζωοποιῶν τὸν ζῶον to preſerve life; which interpretation is moſt evident out of the Antithetiſ of the ſame place, ὅς ἐάν
 ζῆλον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγαπήσῃ, ἀπολέσει αὐτόν. For ἀγαπᾷ and ἀπαλεῖψαι in the former part are the ſame with ἀπώλεσεν and ζω-
 οποιῶν in the latter. And indeed, this is the language of S. Luke, who, Acts 7. 15 ſays that the Egyptians ill intreated the Iſraelites,
 τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν τὰ βρέφη αὐτῶν, ἵνα τὸν ζῶον ἐλάλειν: ſo that they caſt out their young children, to the end they might
 not live, that is, remain alive. Συρ. (17) 277, ne ſervarentur, ne vivarent, as the Arabick. In which words there is a maniſteſt
 reference to that place in Exodus, where ſince this word is uſed in a ſenſe by the LXX. as 1. 17. ἰσχυροὶ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἐξω-
 οποιῶν τὰ ἀρσενά, V. T. ſed conſervabant mares, Chald. בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל נֹסְפוּ בְּאֶרְצָם, ἵνα ζῶον, and 22. καὶ
 τὰς θῆρας ζῶον ἐλάλειν αὐτῶν. And indeed ἰσχυροὶ in Pſal. is ſignified for keeping or preſerving alive, and is ſo ſeveral times tran-
 ſlated, ζωοποιῶν as well as ζῶον, as Jud. 2. 10. ἰσχυροὶ 17. εἰ ἐξωοποιῶναι αὐτοὺς, ἐκ ἀν' ἀσέληνα ἡμῶν. V. T. Si ſer-
 vaveris eos, non vos occideris. If ye had ſaved them alive, I would not ſlay you. 1 Sam. 27. 9. ἰσχυροὶ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἐξωο-
 οποιῶν αὐτοὺς, ἵνα ζῶον. V. T. Nec relinquatur viventem virum aut mulierem. And let neither man nor woman alive. And
 which is yet nearer to our purpoſe, 1 Kings 20. 31. ἰσχυροὶ ἄνθρωποι ἰσχυροὶ, LXX. εἰς τὸν ζῶον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡμῶν. V. T.
 ſervabit animas noſtras. Peradventure he will ſave thy life. So that ζωοποιῶν in the language of the LXX. is to ſave
 alive, and ζωοποιῶν τὸν ζῶον, is to preſerve ones life. So that S. Luke in the Text cited by the Socinians, could intend no
 more than, that he which was ready to liſe his life for Chriſt ſhould thereby preſerve it, and conſequently he ſpeaks nothing of the rai-
 ſing of the dead.*

other way diſſolved than by that ſeparation. God ſuffered not his holy One
 to ſee corruption, and therefore the parts of his body, in reſpect of each to
 other, ſuffered no diſſolution. Thus as the Apoſtle *deſired to be diſſolved and
 to be with Chriſt*, ſo the temple of Chriſt's body was diſſolved here, by the ſe-
 paration of his Soul: for the temple ſtanding was the body living; and there-
 fore the raiſing of the diſſolved temple was the quickning of the body. If the
 body of Chriſt had been laid down in the ſepulchre alive, the temple had not
 been diſſolved; therefore to liſt it up out of the ſepulchre, when it was be-
 fore quickned, was not to raiſe a diſſolved temple, which our Saviour pro-
 miſed he would do, and the Apoſtles believed he did.

Again, it is moſt certainly falſe that our Saviour had power only to liſt up
 his body when it was revived, but had no power of himſelf to re-unite his Soul
 unto his body, and thereby to revive it. For Chriſt ſpeaketh expreſſly of him-
 ſelf, *I lay down my life (or ſoul) that I might take it again. No man taketh it from
 me, but I lay it down of my ſelf. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to
 take it again.* The laying down of Chriſt's life was to die, and the taking of it
 again was to revive, and by this taking of his life again he ſhewed himſelf
 to be the *Reſurrection and the life*. For he which was *made of the ſeed of David
 according to the fleſh, was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to
 the ſpirit of holineſs, by the reſurrection from the dead.* But if Chriſt had done no
 more in the Reſurrection, than liſted up his body when it was revived, he had
 done that which any other perſon might have done, and ſo had not declared
 himſelf to be the Son of God with power. It remaineth therefore, that Chriſt
 by that power which he had within himſelf did take his life again which he
 had laid down, did re-unite his Soul unto his body, from which he ſeparated
 it when he gave up the Goſt, and ſo did quicken and revive himſelf: and
 ſo it is a certain truth, ¶ not only that God the Father raiſed the Son, but
 alſo that God the Son raiſed himſelf.

Joh. 10. 17,
 18.

cap. 10. 17. *I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.* Si peccati conſeſſor reſtat à morte, quis eum ſuſcitavit? Nullus mortuus eſt ſuſcitator. Ille ſe ſuſcitavit qui mor-
 tua carne non inſtus eſt. Etenim hoc ſuſcitavit quod mortuum fuerat. Ille ſe ſuſcitavit qui
 in carne ſuſcitanda mortuus erat. Non enim Pater ſolus Filium ſuſcitavit, de quo dictum eſt ab Apo-
 ſtolo, *Et propter deum Patrem exalta vit.* ſed etiam Dominus ſeipſum, id eſt, corpus ſuum: unde dicit, *Solve templum hoc,*
et in tribus diebus ſuſcitabo illud. S. Aug. de Verb. Domin. Serm. 2.

From this conſideration of the efficient cauſe of Chriſt's Reſurrection, we
 are yet farther aſſured, That Chriſt did truly and properly riſe from the dead
 in

in the same Soul, and the same body. For if we look upon the Father, it is beyond all controversy that he raised his own Son: and as while he was here alive, God spake from heaven, saying, *This is my well beloved Son*; so after his death it was the same person, of whom he spake by the Prophet, *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee*. If we look upon *Christ* himself, and consider him with power to raise himself, there can be no greater assurance that he did totally and truly arise in Soul and body by that Divinity which was never separated either from the body or from the Soul. And thus we have sufficiently proved our second particular, the Verity, Reality, and Propriety of *Christ's* Resurrection, contained in those words, *He rose from the dead*.

The third Particular concerns the time of *Christ's* Resurrection, which is expressed by *the third day*; and those words afford a double consideration: one in respect of the distance of time, as it was after three days; the other in respect of the day, which was the third day from his Passion, and the precise day upon which he rose. For the first of these, we shall shew that the *Messias*, who was foretold both to die and to rise again, was not to rise before, and was to rise upon, the third day after his death; and that in correspondence to these predictions, our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, did not rise from the dead until, and did rise from the dead upon, the third day.

The typical predictions of this truth were two, answering to our two considerations, one in reference to the distance, the other in respect of the day it self. The first is that of the Prophet *Jonas*, who was in the belly of the great fish three days and three nights, and then by the special command of God he was rendred safe upon the dry land, and sent a Preacher of repentance to the great City of *Nineveh*. This was an express type of the *Messias* then to come, who was to preach repentance and remission of sins to all Nations; that as *Jonas* was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so should the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth: and as he was restored alive unto the dry land again, so should the *Messias*, after three days, be taken out of the jaws of death, and restored unto the land of the living. Jon. 1. 17. &
2. 10.

The type in respect of the day was the waved sheaf in the feast of the first-fruits, concerning which this was the law of God by *Moses*, *When ye come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first-fruits of your harvest unto the Priest, and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you, on the morrow after the sabbath the Priest shall wave it, and ye shall offer that day when ye wave the sheaf an he-lamb without blemish of the first year for a burnt-offering unto the Lord*. For under the Levitical Law all the fruits of the earth in the land of *Canaan* were prophane; none might eat of them till they were consecrated, and that they were in the feast of the first-fruits. One sheaf was taken out of the field and brought to the Priest, who lifted up as it were in the name of all the rest, waving it before the Lord, and it was accepted for them, so that all the sheafs in the field were holy by the acceptation of that. *For if the first-fruits be holy, the lump is also holy*. And this was always done the day after the Sabbath, that is, the Paschal solemnity, after which the fulness of the harvest followed: by which thus much was foretold and represented, that as the sheaf was lifted up and waved, and the lamb was offered on that day by the Priest to God, so the promised *Messias*, that immaculate Lamb which was to die, that Priest which dying was to offer up himself to God, was upon this day to be lifted up and raised from the dead, or rather to shake and lift up and present himself to God, and so to be accepted for us all, that so our dust might be sanctified, our corruption hallowed, our mortality consecrated to eternity. Lev. 23. 10.

Thus was the Resurrection of the *Messias* after death, typically represented both in the distance and the day.

And now in reference to both resemblances, we shall clearly shew that our *Jesus*, whom we believe, and have already proved to be the true *Messias*, was so long and no longer dead, as to rise *the third day*; and did so order the time of his death, that the third day on which he rose might be that very day on which the sheaf was waved, the day after that Sabbath mentioned in the Law.

As for the distance between the Resurrection and the Death of *Christ*, it is to be considered, first, generally in it self, as it is some space of time; secondly, as it is that certain and determinate space of three days. *Christ* did not, would not, suddenly arise, lest any should doubt that he ever died. It was as necessary for us that he should die, as that he should live, and we, which are to believe them both, were to be assured as well of the one as of the other. That therefore we may be ascertained of his death, he did sometime continue it. || He might have descended from the Cross before he died, but he would not, because he had undertaken to die for us. * He might have revived himself upon the Cross after he had given up the ghost, and before *Joseph* came to take him down, but he would not, lest as *Pilate* questioned whether he were already dead, so he might doubt whether he ever died, The reward of his Resurrection was immediately due upon his Passion, but he deferred the receiving of it, lest either of them being questioned, they both might lose their efficacy and intended operation. It was therefore necessary that some space should intercede between them.

[De cruce descendere poterat, sed distendebat ut de sepulchro resurgeret. S. Aug. in Joh. Tract. 22. Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αὐτῆς ἐξήλθεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὅτι ἠγάπησεν τὸ σῶμα. Διεγράφη δὲ ἐκ τῆς σταυροῦ ἀλλὰ ἐπέμεινε κατὰ τὸν σταυρὸν ἵνα ἴδωμεν ὅτι ἀπέθανεν, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αὐτῆς ἐξήλθεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὅτι ἠγάπησεν τὸ σῶμα. S. Chrysost. Homil. 43. in Matt.

|| Ἐπειὰ μὲν οὖν ἠγάπησεν τὸ σῶμα, ἐπέμεινε ἐκ τῆς σταυροῦ ἵνα ἴδωμεν ὅτι ἀπέθανεν, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αὐτῆς ἐξήλθεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὅτι ἠγάπησεν τὸ σῶμα. S. Chrysost. Homil. 43. in Matt.

Again, because *Christ's* exaltation was due unto his humiliation, and the first step of that was his Resurrection; because the Apostles after his death were to preach repentance and remission of sins through his blood, who were no way qualified to preach any such doctrine till he rose again; because the Spirit could not be sent till he ascended, and he could not ascend into Heaven till he rose from the Grave; therefore the space between his Resurrection and Passion could not be long; nor can there be any reason assigned why it should any longer be deferred, when the verity of his death was once sufficiently proved. Lest therefore his Disciples should be long held in suspense, or any person after many days should doubt whether he rose with the same body with which he died, or no; that he might shew himself alive while the Soldiers were watching at his grave, and while his crucifixion was yet in the mouths of the people, he would not stay || many days before he rose. Some distance then of time there was, but not great, between his Crucifixion and his Resurrection.

The particular length of this space is determined in *the third day*: but that expression being capable of some diversity of interpretation, it is not so easily conclu-

concluded how long our Saviour was dead or buried before he revived or rose again. It is written expressly in *S. Matthem*, that *as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whales belly, so should the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.* From whence it seemeth to follow, that *Christ's* body was for the space of three whole days and three whole nights in the grave, and after that space of time rose from thence. And hence some have conceived, that being our Saviour rose on the morning of the first day of the week, therefore it must necessarily follow that he died and was buried on the fifth day of the week before, that is on Thursday; otherwise it cannot be true that he was in the grave three nights.

But this place, as express as it seems to be, must be considered with the rest in which the same truth is delivered; as when our Saviour said, *After three days I will rise again:* and again, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it up,* or, *within three days I will build another made without hands.* But that which is most used, both in our Saviour's prediction before his death, and in the Apostles Language after the Resurrection, is, that ^a || he rose from the dead the third day. Now according to the Language of the Scriptures, if *Christ* were slain and rose the third day, the day in which he died is one, and the day on which he arose is another, and consequently there could be but one day and two nights between the day of his death and of his resurrection. As in the case of Circumcision, the male Child eight days old was to be circumcised, in which the day on which the Child was born was one, and the day on which he was circumcised was another, and so there were but six compleat days between the day of his birth and the day of his circumcision. The day of Pentecost was the fiftieth day from the day of the wave-offering; but in the number of the fifty days was both the day of the wave-offering and of Pentecost included; as now among the Christians still it is. Whitsunday is now the day of Pentecost, and Easter-day the day of the Resurrection, answering to that of the wave-offering; but both these must be reckoned to make the number of fifty days. *Christ* then who rose upon the first day of the week (as is confessed by all) died upon the sixth day of the week before: for if he had died upon the fifth, he had risen not upon the third, but the fourth day, as *. Lazarus* did. Being then it is most certain that our Saviour rose on **the third day*, being according to the constant Language of the *Greeks* and *Hebrems*; he cannot be said to rise to life on the third day, who died upon any other day between which and the day of his Resurrection there intervened any more than one day: therefore those other forms of speech which are far less frequent, must be so interpreted as to be reduced to this expression of the *third day* so often reiterated.

Mat. 12. 40:

Mat. 27. 63.

Mark 8. 32.

John 2. 19.

Mark 14. 58.

Mat. 16. 21.

17. 23.

20. 19.

Mark 9. 31.

10. 34.

Luke 9. 22.

18. 33.

24. 7. 46.

Acts 10. 40.

1 Cor. 15. 4.

|| These several

phrases are used;

first that *Christ*

was in the heart

of the earth

τρεῖς ἡμέρας,

ἢ τρεῖς νύκτας

secondly, that he

was to rise

τρεῖς ἡμέρας

thirdly, that he

would rebuild

this temple

ἐν τριῶν ἡμερῶν,

and ἐν τρι-

ῶν ἡμερῶν.

and lastly, that

he rose τὴν τρίτην

ἡμέραν, which

is the most gener-

al and constant

form of speech.

.: *Lazarus* is

said to be τρι-

τάριον, four

days dead, that is counting the day on which he died, and the day on which his Sister spake so to our Saviour at his sepulchre. And being he was raised then, he rose τὴν τέταρτην ἡμέραν, the fourth day. Our Saviour rose τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν, and therefore he was τριτάριον when he rose; and so the Fathers call him, as you may observe in the words last cited out of Athanasius. As we read in Plutarch, Σολδῆς ὁ Θεοσπίου ἢ Ἰερίωνος, καὶ τριτάριον ἢ τὸν περὶ τὰς τασαὶ αὐταὶ ἀνλωέγκω. De his qui ferro pun. And of that Spirit in a Boy possessed, who hated all Women ὅτι ἡ γυναῖκ πρὸς τὴν εὐνὴν ὕβρισε, τετάρτος κωιδὸς γαμνησικ ἑτίρω, Philo-Strat. l. 3 c. 12. What this τριτάριον is, the Greek Grammarians will teach us. Ἦδὲ μὲν τοσοῦτα ἀπαρτίζετο τὸ τετάρτον ἢ τριτάριον, καὶ τρεῖς ἢ τὸ πρῶτον τὸ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ὅτι τὰς τρεῖς, πρὸς ἢ τὸ ποσῶν τὸ τριτάριον ἢ τετάρτιον, ὃς πρὸς τὸ ποσῶν ἀτ ἕραν παρῆ; ἀπαρτίζετο τὸ, τριτάριον τυχόν ἢ τετάρτιον, ἢ τριτάριον ἡμέραν ἔχω ἀτ ἢ παρῆμι ἢ τετάρτιον. Schol. Eurip. Hecuba. τριτάριον then, in respect of his coming to or from any place, is that person which is now the third day in or from that place; which cannot be better interpreted, as to the Greek Language, than in the expression of a Tertian Fever, called so because the second accession is upon the third day from the first, and the third from the second, &c. in which case there is but one day between, in which the Patient is wholly free from his disease: from whence παρὰ μίαν and τριτάριον is the same in the Language of the Physicians. This is excellently expressed by Alexander Aphroditicus in that problematical Question, Δια τί ὁ μὲν τριτάριον ἐκθερμῶ γυμῶ γυγνῶσθαι, καὶ ἔχον μασίγασταν καὶ καταλωνουον χολλῶ, παρὰ μίαν κινῶται: ὁ δὲ ἀμνησιουδῆς, ἔχον τετάρτιον τὸ ἐλέγμα τῶν βροσῶν καὶ τῶν χροσῶν καὶ ἡμέραν: ὁ δὲ τετάρτιον δὲ, διὰ δύο ἡμερῶν μέσων. Probl. 1. c. 12. The quotidian Aque hath its accessions καθ' ἡμέραν: the Tertian παρὰ μίαν (ὡς ἡμέραν) after one day of perfect intermission; the Quartan διὰ δύο ἡμερῶν μέσων. In the same manner he mentions the πεμπῆσιον, the ἑξήσοσιον, and ἑναεσιον: in all which this is constantly observable, that the days of perfect intermission are fewer by two, than the number in the name of the Fever

Fever

For everle a τελευτῶ the day of intermission is but one, if τελευτῶ two, if τελευτῶ three, if ἐξομαῖ five, if ὀνομαῖ seven. Thus if our Saviour were one whole day in the grave, and died the day before, and rose the day after, he did rise τελευτῶ if he were two whole days in the grave, he rose τελευτῶ. So Aristotle, Διατι ὁ νεκτικὸς ἑστῆς τελευτῶ λήγει τῆσθεον ὅτι ἐπὶ μικρῆς καὶ ἀδυνάτου ἀρχῆς ἢ τετὴν ἢ κείνη, Probl. 14. Sect. 26. τὸ τετὴν therefore and τελευτῶ is the same. It is from τετὴν comes τελευτῶ, and from τετάρτη, τεταρτῶ, &c. in which ἡμέρα is always understood. Τεταρτῶ, τεταρτῆς, Suidas, Τετῶ then is τετάρτη * συρταῖς τεταρτῶ, διὰ τετῆς and τεταρτῶ, διὰ τεταρτῆς. Tom being Christ did certainly rise τὸ τετὴν ἡμέρα. he did rise according to the Greeks τεταρτῶ and according to the same then he must also rise παρῶ, that is, one day only interceding between the day of his death, and the day of his resurrection.

When therefore we read that *after three days* he would raise the Temple of his Body, we must not imagine that he would continue the space of three whole days dead, and then revive himself; but upon the third day he would rise again: as *Joseph* and his mother, *after three days* found him in the temple, that is, the third day after he carried behind in *Jerusalem*. And when we read, that he was three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, we must not look upon those nights as || distinct from the days, but as *Moses* spake, *the evening and the morning*, that is, the night and the day, were the first day; and as the Saint spake unto *Daniel*, *unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings*, intending thereby so many days: nor must we imagine that those three days were completed after our Saviour's death, and before he rose; but that upon the first of those three days he died, and upon the last of those three days he rose. As we find that *eight days* were accomplished for the circumcising of the child; and yet *Christ* was born upon the first and circumcised upon the last of those ** eight days*: nor were there any more than six whole days between the day of his birth and the day of his circumcision; the one upon the five and twentieth of *December*, the other upon the first of *January*. And as the *Jews* were wont to speak, the Priests in their courses by the appointment of *David* were to minister before the Lord eight days, whereas every week a new course succeeded, and there were but seven days service for each course, (the Sabbath on which they began, and the Sabbath on which they went off being both reckoned in the eight days;) so the day on which the Son of God was crucified, dead, and buried, and the day on which he revived and rose again, were included in the number of three days. And thus did our Saviour rise from the dead upon the third day properly, and was three days and three nights in the heart of the earth: synecdochically.

Luke 2 46.

A night and a day in the Hebrew Language, not used to compositions, is the same with the Greek νύκτι-μεσσην or ἡμε-ροσύναιον,

וַיְהִי עֶרֶב
וַיְהִי בֹקֶר
יִם אֶחָד

The evening and the morning were the first day. For though God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night, yet at the same time that day and that night was called day. So that the same word יום in the same sense signifieth both the natural and artificial day. And the evening and the morn-

ing are sometimes put instead of the days, as Dan. 8. 14. ער ערב בקר ארבע וישרש מאת Into two thousand and three hundred days, and Luke 26. מִדְּאָה הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֹּקֶר, which we translate, the vision of the evening and the morning, but mig't be rather translated in reference to the former, the vision of the days, viz. the 2300 days before spoken of. Now though a Day be thus diversly taken, yet in the measuring of any time which containeth in it both days and nights, a day is always taken in that sense in which it comprehendeth both day and night. Thus Galen, who is very punctual and exact in all his Language, and full of explications of the words he uses, to prevent mistakes, being to speak of the Critical days, gives notice that by a day he understands not that space of time which is apply'd to the night, but that which comprehendeth both the night and day. ἡμερῶν δὲ ἀνομιῶντι παρ ἑλόν τ' λόγον ἐπισημαίους ἐκ ἐν τ' ἡμέρας αὐτῆς μόνως σημαῖσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τ' νυκτὸς χρόνον καὶ ἡμέρας ἐν τ' ἡμέρας τεταρτῆς ἡμερῶν ἔδ' ἀνομιῶν, ἢ μόνον σατον τ' χρόνον ἐν ἑστ' τ' ἡμέρας ὁ ἡμέρας εὐνοίᾳ σημαῖσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τ' νυκτὸς αὐτῆς περιεχόντες. ἕως δὲ πως καὶ τ' ἐνιαυτὸν πάντες καὶ ἐξῆκοντα καὶ τεταρσων ἡμερῶν ἔδ' ἀνομιῶν. De Crithis, l. 2. This is observed by S. Basil to be also the custom of the Scriptures, upon these words in Genesis, Ἔβρατο ὁ ἑσπέρων ἔβρατο πρωῆ, τὸ ἡμερῶν κτίον λέγει ἢ ἐστι περισημαῖσαν, ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτες, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπισημαῖσαν τὴν πᾶσαν περισημαῖσαν ἀπείμα. Ταυτοῦ ἀν καὶ ἐν σατῶν χρόνῳ τὴν συνῆθειαν εὐνοίᾳ ἐν τῷ το χρόνῳ μετῆσαν, ἡμέρας ἡμερῶν καὶ νύκτες ἢ ἡμερῶν. In Hexam. Hom. 2. Now being generally in all computations of time, as S. Basil observeth ἐν τῷ το χρόνῳ μετῆσαι, a day was taken for the whole space of day and night; and as the evening and the morning signifieth the time of a day; and 2300 evenings and mornings no more than so many days; and so three days and three nights in the computation of time signifieth more than three days. (For God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night, and the evening and the morning were the first day, and the evening and the morning were the second day, &c.) Being three days in the Language of the Scripture are said to be fulfilled when the third day is come, though it be not wholly passed over; it followeth that to be three days dead, is to be three days and three nights dead, in the Hebrew Language, cannot necessarily infer any more, than that the person spoken of did continue in the third day.

² Dan. 8. 14. ³ Luke 2. 21. * As we read of the circumcising of our Saviour, ἐπισημαῖσαν ἡμερῶν ἑστῆς, ἢ Zachary, ὡς ἐταρῶσαν αὐ ἡμέρας τ' λειτηρίαι αὐτῶν; and though the number ἑστῆς were not expressed, yet it is to be understood, according to the Language of the Scripture in other cases, and of Josephus particularly in this, Διαταρτῆ ἢ ὑπὸν παρῶν διαταρτῆς τῷ Θεῷ ἑστῆς ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῶν σαββάτων ὅτι σάββατον. So S. Hierome on Jonas 2. 1. Et erat jonas in ventre pisic tribus diebus & tribus noctibus. Hujus loci mysterium in Evangelio Dominus exponit, & super illud ait vel idipsum vel aliud dicere. Hoc solum quarimus, quomodo tres dies & tres noctes scilicet in com-

terra. Quidam παρασκευῶν, quando Sole fugiente, ab hora sexta usque ad horam nonam nox successit diei, in duas dies & noctes dividunt, & apponentes Sabbatum, tres dies & tres noctes affirmant supputandas: nos verò παρασκευῶν totum intelligamus à parte; ut ex eo quod ἐν παρασκευῶν mortuus est, unam diem supputemus & noctem, & Sabbati alteram; tertiam verò noctem, que diei Dominica nuncupatur, referamus ad exordium diei alterius: nam & in Genesi nox præcedentis diei (add non) est sed sequentis, id est, principium futuri, non finis præteriti. *To the same purpose S. Augustine, Ipsum autem triduum non totum & plenum fuisse Scriptura testis est; sed primus dies a parte extrema totus annumeratus est; dies verò tertius à parte prima & ipse totus; medius autem inter eos, i. e. secundus dies absolute totus viginti quatuor horis suis, duodecim nocturnis & duodecim diurnis. Crucifixus est enim primo Judæorum vocibus hora tertia, cum esset dies sexta Sabbati. Deinde, in ipsa cruce suspensus est hora sexta, & spiritum reddidit hora nona. Sepultus est autem cum jam sero factum esset: sic sese habent verba Evangelii, quod intelligitur in fine diei. Unde libet ergo incipias, etiam si alia ratio reddi potest, quomodo non sit contra Evangelium Johannis, ut hora tertia ligno suspensus intelligatur, totum diem primum non comprehendis. Ergo à parte extrema totus computabitur, sicut tertius à parte prima. Nox enim usque ad diluculum quo Domini resurrectio declarata est, ad tertium diem pertinet, De Trinit. l. 4. c. 5. And after him Leo the Great. Ne turbatos Discipulorum animos longa mæstitudo cruciaret, denunciatam tridui moram tam mira celeritate breviavit, ut dum ad integrum secundum diem pars primi novissima & pars tertii prima concurrat, & aliquantum temporis spacio decideret, & nihil dierum numero deperiret. De Resur. Domini, Serm. 1. Ijdr. Pelaf. Epist. 114. l. 1.*

This is sufficient for the clearing the precise distance of *Christ's* Resurrection from his Crucifixion, expressed in the determinate number of three days: the next consideration is, what day of the week that *third day* was, on which *Christ* did actually rise, and what belongeth to that day in relation to his Resurrection. Two characters there are which will evidently prove the particularity of this third day: the first is the description of that day in respect of which this is called the *third*, after the manner already delivered and confirmed; the second is the Evangelists expression of the time on which *Christ* rose.

The character of the day in which our Saviour died is undeniable, for it is often expressly called the || *preparation*; as we read, they therefore laid *Jesus* in the garden, ^a *because of the Jews preparation day, for the sepulchre was nigh at hand.* And ^b *the next day that followed the preparation, the chief Priests and Pharisees* asked a guard. Now this day of preparation was the day immediately before the Sabbath or some other great feast of the *Jews* called by them the *Eve* of the Sabbath or the *Feast*: and therefore called the preparation, because on that day they did prepare whatsoever was necessary for the celebration of the following Festival; according to that command in the case of *Manna*, ^c *It shall come to pass that on the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily.* This preparation being used both before the Sabbath and other Festivals, at this time it had both relations: for first, it was the preparation to a Sabbath, as appeareth by those words of *S. Mark*, ^d *Now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath;* and those of *S. Luke*, ^e *That day was the preparation, and the Sabbath drew on.* Secondly, It was also the *Eve* of a Festival, even of the great day of the *Paschal* solemnity, as appeareth by *S. John*, who saith, when *Pilate* sat down in the Judgment-seat, ^f *it was the preparation of the Passover.* And that the great *Paschal* Festivity did then fall upon the Sabbath, so that the same day was then the preparation or *Eve* of both, appeareth yet farther by the same Evangelist, saying, *The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the Cross on the Sabbath day, for that Sabbath day was an high day;* that is, not only an ordinary or weekly Sabbath, but also a great Festival, even a *Paschal* Sabbath. Now being the Sabbath of the *Jews* was constant and fixed to the seventh day of the week, it followeth that the Preparation or *Eve* thereof must necessarily be the sixth day of the week, which from the day and the infinite benefit accruing to us by the Passion upon that day, we call *Good Friday*. And from that day being the sixth of one, the third must consequently be the * eighth or the first of the next week.

|| Παρασκευῶν, Paracæve interpretatur preparatio, saith S. Augustine, and in the Greek Language it signifieth generally any preparation of what nature soever: but in this case it signifieth rather the time in which preparation was made; as Luke 23. 54. Καὶ ἡμέρην τὴν παρασκευῶν and that preparation among the Jews for the Sabbath; as S. Mark 15. 42. Ἐπεί ἦν παρασκευῶν ὁ ὄρθρος παρασκευῶν and in the Edit of Augustus Cæsar, ἐργῶν τε μὴ ὁμολογῆν ἐν σαββάτῳ, ἢ τῇ περὶ αὐτῆς παρασκευῶν ἑπτάων ἐνάτης, Jud. Ant. l. 6. c. 10. which is well expressed by Synelius, Ep. 4. Πνεῦμα ἡμεῶν ἦν, ἢ τινὰ ἄλλο

γυνη οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρασκευῶν. Ἐξ ἡμέρας τῆς μετ' αὐτὴν ἡμέρας λογίζονται· καθ' ἣν ἡμεῖς θέμεν δεῖν ἀνεργῶν ἕως ἡμεῶν ἀλλὰ τιμῆς διὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀποσκευῶν. *The παρασκευῶν of the Hebrews was answerable to the quarta pura*

commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-day. Now this could not be any special reason why the Jews should observe a seventh day; first, because in reference to their redemption, the number of seven had no more relation than any other number; secondly, because the reason of a seventh day was before rendered in the body of the commandment it self. There was therefore a double reason rendered by God why the Jews should keep that Sabbath which they did, one Special, as to a seventh day, to shew they worshipped that God who was the Creatour of the World; the other Individual, as to that seventh day, to signifie their deliverance from the *Ægyptian* bondage, from which that seventh day was dated.

Being then upon the Resurrection of our Saviour a greater deliverance and far more plenteous redemption was wrought than that of *Ægypt*, and therefore a greater observance was due unto it than to that, the individual determination of the day did pass upon a stronger reason to another day, always to be repeated by a seventh return upon the reference to the Creation. As there was a change in the year at the coming out of *Ægypt*, by the command of God: *This month, the month of Abib, shall be unto you the beginning of months, it shall be the first month of the year to you*, so at this time of a more eminent deliverance a change was wrought in the Hebdomadal or weekly account, and the first day is made the seventh, or the seventh after that first is sanctified. The first day because on that *Christ* rose from the dead, and the seventh day from that first for ever, because he who rose upon that day was the same God who created the world, and rested on the seventh day; *For by him all things were created that are in heaven and that are in the earth, all things were created by him and for him.*

This day did the Apostles from the beginning most religiously observe, by their meeting together for holy purposes and to perform religious duties. The first observation was performed providentially, rather by the design of God than any such inclination or intention of their own: *For the same day, saith the Evangelist, that is the day on which Christ rose from the dead, at evening, being the first day of the week, the Disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews.* The second observation was performed voluntarily, *for after eight days again his Disciples were within, and Thomas with them: the first day of the week, when Christ rose by the providence of God, the Disciples were together, but Thomas was absent; upon the first day of the next week, they were all met together again in expectation of our Saviour, and Thomas with them.* Again, *when the day of Pentecost was fully come, which was also the first day of the week, they were all with one accord in one place, and having received the promise of the Holy Ghost they spake with tongues, preached the Gospel, and the same day were added unto them above three thousand souls.* The same practice of convening we find continued in the following years. *For upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them: and the same Apostle gave express command concerning the collection for the Saints both to the Churches of Galatia and of Corinth, Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him.*

From this Resurrection of our Saviour, and the constant practice of the Apostles, this first day of the week came to have the name of the *Lord's day*, and is so called by *S. John*, who says of himself in the *Revelation*, *I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day.* And thus the observation of that day, which the Jews did sanctifie, ceased, and was buried with our Saviour, and in the stead of it, the religious observation of that day on which the Son of God rose from the dead, by the constant practice of the blessed Apostles was transmitted to the Church of God, and so continued in all Ages.

κοινωνία πάντες τῶν σωτηρίων ποιήσασθε, ἐπιστάντες ἑαυτοὺς ἕνα ἡμέραν ἐν ᾧ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκῆτος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τῆς ἐκείνης κόσμου ἀτείθησεν

Exod. 12. 2.

Coloss. 1. 16.

John 20. 19.

John 20. 25.

Acts 2. 1.

Acts 2. 41.

Acts 20. 7.

^a Rev. 1. 10.
 ἢ τῷ τῷ ἡλίου
 λειτουργῆσθαι ἢ
 μέρα τῶν ἡμερῶν
 καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ἢ ἄ-
 ρχος μετέβησαν
 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
 σωτηρίας με-
 νέσαι, Justin
 Mart. April. 2.
 Ἐν αὐτῷ ἡμέρῃ,
 τῆς ἢ τῷ ἡ-
 γίου ἡμερῆς, ἡ
 ἀτείθησεν

ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἠμέτερον Σάββατον τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη. Τὴν γὰρ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξοσούρουσαν αὐτὸν, καὶ τὴν γὰρ τὴν νικητῶν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡμέρα τῶν ἁποστόλων αὐτῶν καὶ μαθητῶν, ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς ταῦτα ἀπὸ εἰς ὅπως κενεῖν καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπιδοκασαὶ. Ten I take to be, without question, that sacred dies which is mentioned by Pliny in his Epist. to Trajan. Affirmabant hanc tuisse tantam vel culpæ sive vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carnienq; Christo quasi Deo canere. Nobis quibus Sabbata extranea sunt & neomenia & ferie à Deo aliquando commeant, strenæ consonant, iustus, convivia constrepant. O melior fides nationum in suam sectam, quæ nullam solemnitatem Christianorum sibi vindicat, non Dominicum Diem, non Pentecostem, Tertull. de Idol. c. 14. Nam quod in Judaica circumcissione carnali octavus dies observabatur, sacramentum est in umbra atque imagine ante pramissum, sed veniente Christo in veritate completum. Nam quia octavus dies idem post sabbatum primus dies tuturus erat, quo Dominus resurgeret & nos vivificaret, & circumcissionem nobis spirituales daret, hic dies octavus, id est, post sabbatum primus & Dominicus præcessit in imagine, S. Cyr. l. 3. Epist. 8. Euseb. as reports how Constantine taught his Soldiers to observe the Lord's day. Καὶ μὲν καὶ ἡμέραν ἐυχῶν ἢ ἡμέραν κατὰ δόξαν καὶ κυριακὴν ἀνέστη καὶ πρῶτον ὄντως κυριακῶν τε καὶ σαββαίων, ἥ δὲ καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ ζωῆς ἀθανάσιας τε καὶ ἀγαθῆς παντὸς ἐπιόντων. Ouar. de Laudib. Const. c. 9. Quid est secunda sabbati nisi Dominica dies qua Sabbatum sequebatur? Dies autem Sabbati erat dierum ordine posterior, sanctificatione legis anterior. Sed ubi finis legis advenit, & resurrexerit one sua octavum sanctificavit, cepit eadem prima esse que octava est, & octava quæ prima, habens ex numeri ordine prærogativam, & ex resurrectione Domini sanctitatem. S. Ambr. Enar. in Psal. 47. Dicat aliquis, si dies observari non licet, & menses & tempora & annos, nos quoq; simile crimen incurrimus, quartam sabbati observantes, & pascheam, & diem Dominicam, S. Hier. in Epist. ad Gal. c. 4. v. 10. And S. Aug. in answer to the same objection, Nam nos quoq; & Dominicum diem & Pascha solemniter celebramus & quilibet alias Christianas diem festivitates, cont. Adimant. c. 16. Dies Dominicus non Judæis sed Christianis resurrectione Domini declaratus est, & ex illo habere cepit festivitatem suam, S. Aug. 1. p. 119. Hæc tamen scriptura erit Sabbatum nostrum, cuius finis non erit vespera sed Dominicus dies velut octavus æternus, qui Christi resurrectione factus est, æternam non solum spiritus verum etiam corporis requiem præfigurans, Idem de Civit. Dei, l. 22. c. 30. Dominicum diem Apostoli & Apostolici viri ideo religiosa solemnitate habendam tulerunt, quia in eodem Redemptor noster à mortuis resurrexit. Quiq; ideo Dominicus appellatur ut in eo à terrenis operibus vel manui illecebris abstinentes tantum divinis cultibus serviamus, dantes scilicet diei huic honorem & reverentiam propter ipem resurrectionis nostræ quam habemus in illa. Nam sicut ipse Dominus Jesus Christus & Salvator resurrexit à mortuis, ita & nos resurrecturos in novissimo die speramus, Ambr. Sermon. de Tempore, Sermon. 251. & paulo post, Sancti doctores Ecclesiæ decreverunt omnem gloriam Judaici Sabbati in illam transferre, ut quod ipsi in figura, nos celebrarem in veritate. Max. Taurin. de Pentecost. Hom. 3. Dominica nobis ideo venerabilis est atq; solemnitas, quia in ea Salvator velut sol oriens discussis infernorum tenebris, luce resurrectionis emicavit, ac propterea ipsa dies ab hominibus sæculi Dies solis vocatur, quod ostendit cum sol iustitiæ Christus illuminet. Πνεῦμα ἐν ἡμῶν περασσῶν, τὸ Σάββατον τὴν ταρτηρὴν, ἢ Κυριακὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, Author. Clem. Constit. l. 5. c. 13. Ὅτι ἡ δὲ χριστιανὸς Ἰουδαίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Σάββατῳ χοροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, τὴν ἢ Κυριακὴν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ χοροῦσιν, ὡς χριστιανὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἔσονται ἀνάθημα περὶ χριστῶ. Concil. Laodic. Canon. 25.

This day thus consecrated by the Resurrection of Christ was left as the perpetual badge and cognizance of his Church. As God spake by Moses to the Israelites, *Verily my Sabbath shall ye keep, for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, that ye may know that I am the Lord that do sanctify you;* thereby leaving a mark of distinction upon the Jews who were by this means known to worship that God whose name was *Jehovah*, who made the world, and delivered them from the hands of *Pharaoh*: So we must conceive that he hath given us this day a sign between him and us for ever, whereby we may be known to worship the same God *Jehovah*, who did not only create heaven and earth in the beginning, but also raised his eternal Son from the dead for our redemption. As therefore the Jews do still retain the celebration of the seventh day of the week, because they will not believe any greater deliverance wrought than that of *Egypt*: as the *Mahometans* religiously observe the sixth day of the week in memory of *Mahomet's* flight from *Mecca*, whom they esteem a greater Prophet than our Saviour: as these are known and distinguished in the world by these several celebrations of distinct days in the worship of God; so all which profess the Christian Religion are known publickly to belong unto the Church of Christ by observing the first day of the week, upon which Christ did rise from the dead, and by this mark of distinction are openly * separated from all other professions.

* Quid hæc die scilicet in qua Dominus Judæis mortuus est, nobis resurrexit? in qua Synagoga cultus occubuit, & est ortus Ecclesiæ; in qua nos homines fecit secum surgere & vivere & sedere in cælestibus, & impletum est illud quod ipse dixit in Evangelio. Cum autem exaltatus fuero à terra, omnia traham ad me. Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea. Omnes dies quidem fecit Dominus, sed ætæri dies possunt esse Judæorum, possunt esse Hæreticorum, possunt esse Gentilium; Dies Dominica, dies resurrectionis, Dies Christianorum, dies nostra est, *Explic. in Psalm. 117. sub nomine Hieron.*

That Christ did thus rise from the dead, is a most necessary Article of the Christian Faith, which all are obliged to believe and profess, to the meditation whereof the Apostle hath given a particular injunction, *Remember that Jesus*

Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead. First, because without it our Faith is vain, and by virtue of it, strong. By this we are assured that he which died was the Lord of life, and though he were crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God. By this Resurrection from the dead, he was declared to be the Son of God, and upon the morning of the third day did those words of the Father manifest a most important truth, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* In his death he assured us of his humanity, by his Resurrection he demonstrated his Divinity.

2 Cor. 13. 4.

Rom. 1. 4.

Acts 13. 23

Secondly, by the Resurrection we are assured of the justification of our persons, and if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead, it will be imputed to us for righteousness: For he was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification. By his death we know that he suffered for sin, by his Resurrection we are assured that *the sins for which he suffered were not his own: had no man been a sinner he had not died; had he been a sinner he had not risen again: but dying for those sins which we committed, he rose from the dead to shew that he had made full satisfaction for them, that we believing in him might obtain remission of our sins, and justification of our persons, ^a God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, for sin condemned sin in the flesh, and raising up our surety from the prison of the grave, did actually absolve, and apparently acquit him from the whole obligation, to which he had bound himself, and in discharging him acknowledged full satisfaction made for us. ^b Who then shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again.

Rom. 4. 24, 25

* S. Chry-
stom excellen-
ly upon this
place, Οὕτως τὸς
ἑαυτὸν εἰπάτω
τὸ θανάτου,
ἢ αὐτὸν καὶ
ἀποθανῆναι ἡ
κατάστασις πο-
θηται. Διότι ὅτι
ἦν ἑσαυράθην,
ἐν τῷ ἑθι αὐ-
τὸν ἀμαρτι-
αν καὶ δίκην
ἐκ ἡ ἀναστάσι-
ως· εἰ γὰρ ἦν
ἀμαρτωλὸς,
πῶς ἀνέστη; καὶ
πῶς ἀνέστη; καὶ
πῶς ἀνέστη; καὶ
πῶς ἀνέστη;

ὅτι ἀνέστη, ἐξ ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἀμαρτωλὸς ἦν ἢ; εἰ ὅ ἀμαρτωλὸς ἦν ἢ, πῶς ἑσαυράθην; δι' ἑτέρους· εἰ ὅ δι' ἑτέρους, πῶς ἀνέστη. ^a Rom. 8. 3. ^b Rom. 8. 33, 34.

Thirdly, it was necessary to pronounce the Resurrection of Christ as an Article of our Faith, that thereby we might ground, confirm, strengthen and declare our hope. For the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, unto an inheritance uncorruptible and undefiled. By the Resurrection of Christ his Father hath been said to have begotten him; and therefore by the same he hath begotten us, who are called brethren and co-heirs with Christ. For if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by his life. He laid down his life, but it was for us; and being to take up his own, he took up ours. We are the members of that body of which Christ is the head; if the Head be risen, the members cannot be far behind. He is the first-born from the dead, and we the sons of the Resurrection. The Spirit of Christ abiding in us maketh us the members of Christ, and by the same spirit we have a full right and title to rise with our Head. For if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in us, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken our mortal bodies by his spirit that dwelleth in us. Thus the Resurrection of Christ is the cause of our resurrection by a double causality, as an Efficient, and as an Exemplary cause. As an efficient cause, in regard our Saviour by and upon his Resurrection hath obtained power and right to raise all the dead; For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive. As an exemplary cause, in regard that all the Saints of God shall rise after the similitude and in conformity to the Resurrection of Christ; For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection. He shall change our vile bodies that they may be like unto his glorious body: That as we have born the image of the earthy, we may also bear

1 Pet. 1. 3.

Rom. 1. 10.

Col. 1. 12.

Rom. 8. 11.

1 Cor. 15. 22.

Rom. 8. 1.

Phil. 3. 21.

1 Cor. 15. 42.

the image of the heavenly. This is the great hope of a Christian, That *Christ* rising from the dead hath obtained the power, and is become the pattern, of his Resurrection. *The breaker is come up before them: they have broken up and have passed through the gate, their King shall pass before them, and the Lord on the head of them.*

Ephes. 2. 5.
Rom. 6. 4.

Fourthly, it is necessary to profess our Faith in *Christ* risen from the dead, that his Resurrection may effectually work its proper operation in our lives. For as it is efficient and exemplary to our Bodies, so it is also to our Souls. *When we were dead in sins, God quickned us together with Christ.* And, *as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we should walk in newness of life.* To continue among the graves of sin while *Christ* is risen, is to incur that reprehension of the Angel, *why seek ye the living among the dead?* To walk in any habitual sin, is either to deny that sin is death, or *Christ* is risen from the dead. Let then *the dead bury the dead*, but let not any Christian bury him who rose from death that he might live. *Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.* There must be a spiritual Resurrection of the Soul before there can be a comfortable Resurrection of the Body. *Blessed and holy is he that hath part in this first resurrection, on such the second death hath no power.*

Ephes. 5. 14.

Rev. 20. 6.

Having thus explained the manner of *Christ's* Resurrection, and the necessity of our faith in him risen from the dead, we may easily give such a brief account as any Christian may understand what it is he should intend when he makes profession of this part of the Creed; for he is conceived to acknowledge thus much, I freely and fully assent unto this as a truth of infinite certainty and absolute necessity, That the eternal Son of God, who was crucified and died for our sins, did not long continue in the state of death, but by his infinite power did revive and raise himself by re-uniting the same Soul which was separated to the same body which was buried, and so rose the same man: and this he did the third day from his death; so that dying on *Friday* the sixth day of the week, the day of the preparation of the *Sabbath*, and resting in the grave the *Sabbath-day*, on the morning of the first day of the week he returned unto life again, and thereby consecrated the weekly revolution of that first day to a religious observation until his coming again. And thus I believe *the third day he rose again from the dead.*

ARTICLE VI.

He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right hand of God the Father Almighty.

THIS Article hath received no variation, but only in the addition of the name of God, and the attribute *Almighty*; the * Ancients using it briefly thus, *He ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father.* It containeth two distinct parts: one transient, the other permanent: one as the way, the other as the end: the first is *Christ's* Ascension, the second is his Session.

* Ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dextram Patris. Ruffinus in Symb. S. Aug. in Enchirid. Maximus Taurin. Chrysol. Auctor Expof.

Symb. ad Catechumenos, Venantius Fortunatus, the Latin and Greek MSS. set forth by the Arch-bishop of Armagh. S. August. de Fide & Symb. hath it, Sedet ad dextram Dei Patris; to which was afterwards added Omnipotentis. Sedet ad dextram Patris omnipotentis. Euseb. Gallican. Sedet ad dextram Dei Patris omnipotentis, Etherius Uxam. & Auctor Sermonum de Tempore, the Greek and Latin MSS. in Bennet College Library.

In the Ascension of *Christ* these words of the Creed propound to us three considerations and no more: the first of the Person, *He*; the second of the Action, *ascended*; the third of the Termination *into heaven*. Now the Person being perfectly the same which we have considered in the precedent Articles, he will afford no different speculation but only in conjunction with this particular Action. Wherefore I conceive these three necessary and sufficient for the illustration of *Christ's* Ascension: First, to shew that the promised *Messias* was to ascend into Heaven; Secondly, to prove that our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, did really and truly ascend thither; Thirdly, to declare what that heaven is, into which he did ascend.

That the promised *Messias* should ascend into Heaven, hath been represented typically, and declared prophetically. The High-priest under the Law was an express type of the *Messias* and his Priestly Office; the atonement which he made was the representation of the propitiation in *Christ* for the sins of the world: for the making this atonement, the High-priest was appointed once every year to enter into the Holy of Holies, and no oftner. For the Lord said unto Moses, *Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the Holy place within the Vail before the Mercy-seat, which is upon the Ark, that he die not. None entered into that Holy Place but the High-priest alone; and he himself could enter thither but once in the year; and thereby shewed that the High-priest of the good things to come, by a greater and more perfect Tabernacle not made with hands, was to enter into the Holy lace, having obtained eternal redemption for us.* The Jews did all * believe that the Tabernacle did signifie this World, and the Holy of Holies the highest Heavens; wherefore as the High-priest did slay the Sacrifice, and with the blood thereof did pass through the rest of the Tabernacle, and with that blood enter into the Holy of Holies; so was the *Messias* here to offer up himself, and being slain to pass through all the Courts of this world below, and with his blood to enter into the highest Heavens, the most glorious seat of the Majesty of God. Thus *Christ's* Ascension was represented typically.

Lev. 16. 2.

Heb. 9. 11, 12.

* Εἰ τις τῆς σαλευῖς καλονοῖται τῶν τῶν, καὶ τῆς ἱερείας ἰδὲ τῶν κολλῶν τὰ τε σκάνη οἷς εἰσὶν τὴν ἱερουργίαν χρῆμα: τὸν τε ἰουδοῖαν ἔρῃσει θάνατον ἀνδρα καὶ μα-

λοῖος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆ ἀλλοτρίᾳ βλασφημίᾳ ἀκούσας: ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶτον οἷς ἐπιμίμῃσι καὶ διαλύσασιν τῶ ὄλων, οἷς ἀεθῆρας ἐθέλει καὶ μὴ σιωπῆσεν σκοπῆν, ἀρῆσει γεγονότα: τὴν τε γὰρ σκηνὴν τεύκοντα πηχῶν ὄσον ἰσμάς οἷς τετα, καὶ ὄσον μέρη πάντων οἷς τῶς ἱερῶσιν, ὡσπερ βεβηλόσ τινα καὶ κοινὸν τόπον, τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποσπασίσι: καὶ γὰρ ἰαῦτα πάντων ὄσον ὄσπασα: τὴν ὃ τείτω μοίεσιν μόνον σπείεσιν ἐπὶ Θεῶ, διὰ τὸ καὶ ἔβενδὸν ἀντίσασιν ἔδ ἀνθρώποις. Ἰερῆ. Αἰητ.

antiqu. l. 5. c. 2. Where it is to be observed, that the place which S. Paul calls the first Tabernacle, Joiephus terms βιβλίον τινα & καὶ τὸν τριτοῦ, a common and prophane place, as representing this world in which we live, and our life and conversation here: as the Apostle speaks Heb. 9. 1. Ἐν τῷ μὲν ἑνὶ πρώτῳ σκευασμένῳ δόμου μνηστῆρα καθάρῃαι τὸ τῆς ἀγίου κοσμοῦ. For ἀγίου κοσμοῦ τὸν σαυτανū fœculare, as the Synack בית קודשא עלמנא donus sancta manū lana, may well be that part of the Tabernacle which represented this world, and therefore termed common and prophane in respect of that more holy part which represented heaven.

The same Ascension was also declared prophetically, as we read in the Prophet David, *Thou hast ascended up on high, thou hast led captivity captive, thou hast received gifts for men:* which phrase *on high* in the Language of David signifying Heaven, could be applied properly to no other conquerour but the *Messias*, not to *Moses*, not to *David*, not to *Joshua*, not to any but the *Christ*; who was to conquer sin, and death, and hell, and triumphing over them to ascend unto the highest Heavens, and thence to send the precious and glorious gifts of the Spirit unto the sons of men. The Prophecy of *Micah* did foretel as much, even in the opinion and confession of the **Jews* themselves, by those words, *The breaker is come up before them: they have broken up and have passed through the gates and are gone out by it; and their Kings shall pass before them, and the Lord at the head of them.* And thus *Christ's* Ascension was declared prophetically as well as typically; which was our first Consideration.

Psal. 68. 15. This place must necessarily be understood of the Messias, by reason of that high place to which no other conqueror ascended. For that למרום in the language of the Prophets attributed to God, as Psal. 7. 8.

שׁוֹבָה לְמָרוֹם שׁוֹבָה לְמָרוֹם, return to the house of thy majesty; and Psal. 93. 4. אֵיךְ הַיְהוָה בְּמָרוֹם יוֹשֵׁב, the Lord on high is mighty, Chald. בשׁמי מְרוֹמָא, in the upper heavens. Psal. 71. 10. Thy righteousness, O Lord, is עד־לְמָרוֹם usque ad exelsum; the Chald. again, עַד לְשָׁמַי מְרוֹמָא. In the same manner in this place, עָרַית לְמָרוֹם, thou hast ascended on high, the Chaldæe Paraphrase translath קַיַּע סְלִקְתָּא לְרָקִיעַ thou hast ascended the firmament; and he addeth immediately מִשָּׁה נְבִיאָא O thou Prophet Moses: yet there is a plain contradiction in that interpretation; for if it were meant of Moses it cannot be the firmament; if it were the firmament, it cannot be understood of Moses, for he never ascended thither. * *The breaker up is by the confession of the Jews the title of the Messias. So the Author of Sopher Abchath Ruchal in his description of the coming of the Messias maketh use of this place. And the same appears further by that saying of Moses Haddarshan in Berelhit Rabba, נְטִיעָה סָל מִטָּה זֶה אַבְרָהָם נְטִיעָה סָל בְּעֵלְהָ, The plantation from below is Abraham, the plantation from above is Messias, as it is written, the breaker is come up before them, Sec. So he on Gen. 40. 5. Again the same Berelhit Rabba, Gen. 44. 15. אֲמִיתוּ כְשִׁיעֲלוּ הַנְּדִיּוֹת מִנְּהַנֵּם וְהַשְׂכִּינָה בְּרַאשׁוֹם, When shall we rejoyce? when the feet of the Shecinah shall stand upon the Mount of Olives; and again, שְׁנִיעֲבוּר מִלְּכָם לִפְנֵיהֶם וְיָהִי בְּרֵאשׁוֹם, When? when the captives shall ascend from Hell, and Shecinah in the head, as it is written (Mic. 2. 13.) Their King shall pass before them, and the Lord in the head of them.*

Secondly, whatsoever was thus represented and foretold of the promised *Messias*, was truly and really performed by our *Jesus*. That only begotten and eternal Son of God, who by his divinity was present in the Heavens while he was on earth, did by a local translation of his humane nature, really and truly ascend from this earth below on which he lived, into the heavens above, or rather above all the heavens, in the same body, and the Soul with which he lived and died and rose again.

The Ascend of *Christ* into Heaven was not metaphorical or figurative, as if there were no more to be understood by it, but only that he obtained a more heavenly and glorious state or condition after his Resurrection. For whatsoever alteration was made in the body of *Christ* when he rose, whatsoever glorious qualities it was invested with thereby, that was not his Ascension, as appeareth by those words which he spake to *Mary*, *Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father.* Although he had said before to *Nicodemus*, *No man ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven;* which words imply that he had then ascended: yet even those concern not this Ascension. For that was therefore only true, because the Son of man, not yet conceived in the Virgins womb, was not in Heaven, and after his conception by vertue of the hypostatical union was in Heaven; from whence speaking after the manner of men, he might well say, that he had ascended into Heaven; because whatsoever was first on Earth and then in Heaven, we say ascended into Heaven. Wherefore beside that

Jhn 2. 15. Jhn 3. 13.

that grounded upon the hypostatical union, beside that glorious condition upon his Resurrection, there was yet another and that more proper Ascension: for after he had both those ways ascended, it was still true that he had not yet ascended to his Father.

Now this kind of Ascension, by which Christ had not yet ascended when he spake to *Mary* after his Resurrection, was not after to be performed; for at the same time he said unto *Mary*, *Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father.* And when this Ascension was performed, it appeared manifestly to be a true local translation of the Son of man as man from these parts of the world below into the heavens above, by which that body which was before locally present here on earth, and was not so then present in heaven, became substantially present in heaven, and no longer locally present in earth. For *when he had spoken unto the Disciples, and blessed them*, laying his hands upon them, and so was corporally present with them, even *while he blessed them he parted from them, and while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight, and so he was carried up into heaven, while they looked stedfastly towards heaven as he went up.* This was a visible departure, as it is described, a real removing of that body of *Christ* which was before present with the Apostles; and that body living after the Resurrection, by virtue of that soul which was united to it: and therefore the Son of God according to his humanity was really and truly translated from these parts below unto the heavens above, which is a proper local ascension.

Luke 24. 50, 51.
Acts 1. 9, 10.

Thus was Christ's Ascension visibly performed in the presence and sight of the Apostles, for the confirmation of the reality and the certainty thereof. * They did not see him when he rose, but they saw him when he ascended; because an eye-witness was not necessary unto the act of his Resurrection, but it was necessary unto the act of his Ascension. It was sufficient that *Christ* showed himself to the Apostles *alive after his passion*; for being they knew him before to be dead, and now saw him alive, they were thereby assured that he rose again: for whatsoever was a proof of his life after death, was a demonstration of his Resurrection. But being the Apostles were not to see our Saviour in heaven, being the Session was not to be visible to them on earth, therefore it was necessary they should be eye-witnesses of the act who were not with the same eyes to behold the effect.

* Βλεπόντων δ' εκ ανέμων, βλεπόντων δ' ἀπὸ ἔθου· ἐπιθεὶν ἐν ταύτῃ ἡ ὄψις τὸ πᾶν ἔσχυσε· καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀναστάσεως τὸ μὴ τέλει ἴδον, ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς· καὶ τὴν ἀναλήψεως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἴδον, τὸ ὅτι

λατ. ἐκέτι· παρῆλκε γὰρ ἐκείνο τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰδεῖν, αὐτὸ τὰ ταῦτα οὐδε γνοῦμεν πικρῶν· ὅτι τὸ μὴ μίμνημι· ὅτι ἴδον ἔκει· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου ἔδει μαθεῖν, ὁ. Chrj. Hom. 2. in Act. Apost.

Beside the eye-witnesses of the Apostles, there was added the testimony of the Angels; those blessed Spirits which ministered before, and saw the face of God in heaven, and came down from thence, did know that *Christ* ascended up from hence unto that place from whence they came: and * because the eyes of the Apostles could not follow him so far, the inhabitants of that place did come to testify of his reception, For *behold two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.* We must therefore acknowledge and confess against all the wild || Heresies of old, that the eternal Son of God who died and rose again, did with the same Body and Soul, with which he died and rose, ascend up to heaven; which was the second Particular considerable in the Article.

* Ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀκούσθη οἱ δοξολογοῦντες αὐτὸν τὸ ὕψος, ἔδει παρδύσαι πότερον εἰς τὴν ἐρανὸν ἀνελθόντων ἢ εἰς τὴν ἐρανὸν ἀναλήψεως· ἔτι μὲν αὐτὸς ὅτι ἰησοῦς ἦδεν ὅτι ἄνδρα λέγοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν

(πρόβλεπον γὰρ ἐκ ἐθνῶν ἰδόντας γινώσκαι) ὅτι ὅτι εἰς τὴν ἐρανὸν ἀναλαμβάνουσαι, αὐτοὶ λοιπὸν ἐδίδασκον οἱ ἄγγελοι. ὁ. Chrj. Hom. 2. in Act. Apost. ὁ. Acts 1. 10, 11. || The various Heresies in the Primitive time concerning the humanity of Christ.

Πῶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ἐμὴ μὲν τῆ περὶ ἀσκήσεως ἰδὲ γὰρ διὰ τῆς Μαντινῶν λήρας τὸ ἴδιον ἐναποτίθειται ἴσως τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν διὰ τῆς ἀτιμίας. Epist. 1. ad Cledonium. And S. Austin says they taught that sum to both Christ, Manichæi Solem in oculis carnis visibilem, expositum & publicum, non tantum hominibus, sed etiam pecoribus ad videndum, Christum Dominum esse putarunt. Tract. 34. in Job. This opinion is more clearly set down, but without a name, in the Catena Patrum of the 18. Psalm, Οὐ γὰρ περιεβλεψεν τοῖς ὄφθαλμοις ἀλλ' ἔρασαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν ὁ Σατῆρ ἐν τῷ ἰσχυρῷ. Θεολογία ἀπὸ Θεοδώρου ὁ ἑρμηνεύει τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔβλεψεν μέχρι τῆς ἰσχυρῆς παρουσίας. This was the old Heretic of Hermetogenes, as is said by Theodoret, Οὐ γὰρ (ὁ Ἑρμηνεύει) τὸ σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυρῷ ἔβλεψεν ἀλλ' ἔρασαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Heret. Fab. lib. 1. cap. 19.

It was necessary to profess this Article of Christ's Ascension, first for the confirmation and augmentation of our Faith. Our Faith is thereby confirmed, in that we believe in him who is received unto the Father, and therefore certainly came from the Father; his Father sent him and we have received the Message from him, and are assured that it is the same message which he was sent to deliver, because he is so highly rewarded by him that sent him for delivering it. Our Faith is thereby exalted and augmented, as being the evidence of things not seen. The further the Object is removed from us, the more of Faith hath that act which embraceth it, Christ said unto Thomas, because thou hast seen me thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed: and that blessedness by his Ascension he hath left to the whole Church. Thus Christ ascended is the ground and glory of our Faith; and by virtue of his being in heaven our belief is both encouraged and commended; for his ascent is the cause, and his absence the crown of our Faith; because he ascended we the more believe, and because we believe in him who hath ascended, our Faith is the more accepted.

Act. 1. 1. || Magnarum hic vigor est mentium, & valde adheant lumen est animarum incunctanter credere quod corpore non videtur insula, & ibi figere desiderium sequitur

requeras inferre conspectum. Hæc autem pietas unde in nostris cordibus nasceretur, aut quomodo quisquam justificaretur, & fidem, si in his tantum salus nostra consisteret qua obrutibus subjacerent? Leo in Ascen. Ser. 2. Fides eorum qui Deum visuri sunt, quamdiu peregrinantur corda mundantur, quod non videt credit, nam si vides non est fides: credendo colligitur meritum, videnti redditur pramium. Eat ergo Dominus & pareat locus; eat ne videatur, lateat ut credatur: tunc enim locus paratur, si ex fide vivatur: creditus desideretur ut desideratus habebatur, desiderium dilectionis preparatio est mansionis. S. August. Tract. 68. in Job. John 20 29.

Secondly, it is necessary to believe the Ascension of Christ for the corroboration of our hope. We could never expect our dust and ashes should ascend the heavens; but being our nature hath gone before in him, we can now hope to follow after him. He is our Head, and where that is, the members may expect admission: for in so great and intimate an union there is no fear of separation or exclusion. There are many mansions in his Father's house. And when he spake of ascending thither, he said expressly to his Disciples, I go to prepare a place for you, and will come again and receive you unto my self, that where I am, there ye may be also. The first-fruits of our nature are ascended, and the rest is sanctified. This is the new and living way which he consecrated for us through the veil, that is to say, his flesh. And hence we have our hope as an anchor of the soul both sure and steadfast, which entred into that within the veil, whither the forerunner is for us entred. For if Christ in his Ascension be the forerunner, then are there some to follow after; and not only so, but they which follow are to go in the same way, and to attain unto the same place: and if this forerunner be entred for us, then we are they which are to follow and to overtake him there; as being of the same nature, members of the same body, branches of the same vine, and therefore he went thither before us as the first-fruits before those that follow, and we hope to follow him as coming late to the same perfection.

* Christi ascensio nostra proventus est, & quo præcessit gloria spiritus, corpus vocatum & corporis. Leo de Ascen. Ser. 1. John 14. 3. || Διὰ τὸ τοῦ ὁρατοῦ εἰσελθῆναι εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τῆς ἀπαρχῆς καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐδοκίμα ἐσμεν, τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ὁρατοῦ χειρὸς ἀντιπροσώπου. S. Chrys. Orat. 1 de Ascen. Λίθου πέντε χρονοῦ ἐξ ὧν τὸ πᾶν πᾶσι πᾶσι

ἡμεῖς ἐσμ' ἀπαρχὴν ἀπορώμενοι. Ibid. Orat. 2. Heb. 10. 20. Heb. 6. 19, 20. * There is a double notion of τὸ πᾶν τοῦ ὁρατοῦ, to this purpose, one of a manser besite to make preparations for others which follow; in which it is well observed by S. Cyprian some. Οὐ γὰρ πᾶσι πᾶσι τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὡς ἔχει ἰσχυρῶς τὰ χειρὸς, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσελθῆναι ἀλλ' ὅσοι ἔβλεπον τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔβλεπον ἀλλ' ἔρασαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Οὐ πολὺ γὰρ τὸ προσεβίβηκε καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάστασιν ἐβίβηκεν. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάστασιν ἐβίβηκεν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάστασιν ἐβίβηκεν.

δι' ἐπισημίας-υβάνειν. Rom. 11. in Epist. ad Hebraeos. Another notion there is among the Greeks of the fruit which is ripe and come to ripeness before the rest, as Isaiah 28. 4. Καὶ ἔσαι τὸ ἀνήθη τὸ ἐκπεσὸν τὸ ἐκτίθη τὸ δόξας ἐπ' ἀκρῶς τοῦ ἔτους ὡς τρέφουσι σῦκα, ΠΡΩΤΩΝ, tanquam primitia, or fructus primogeniti, ficus praecox. Hesychius, Πρεδέρμα, τὰ ἐν πρῶτῳ ἔτους, ἢ τὰ πρῶτα κλάσματα σῦκα. lege Πρεδέρμοι, for they indeed are properly τὰ προακμαζοῦσα σῦκα, praecoeces ficus: For so Theophrastus speaking particularly of Συκῆς, hath these words, Ἐπισημίας τὸ πρῶτον τῆς τοιαύτης ἕξις τῆς, ὅταν αὐτὸ ἐπισημίας μαλακὸς καὶ ἕρως καὶ θερμὸς, ἔξελκόμενον τὴν βλάστησιν. ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον συμβαίνει εὐαγεῖν, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἔρως ὁ κερπὸς ἀνίστησι, ὅθεν καὶ οἱ Πρεδέρμοι. De causis Plant. lib. 5. cap. 1. Ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος Πάλιν ὃ τὸ πρῶτον αἰ μὲν εἴρασι, αἱ, ἢ τε λακωνικὴ καὶ λακωνικὴ καὶ ἕτερα πρῶτος, αἱ δ' ἔρασι. The first-fruits of the early figs were called Πρεδέρμοι, and the tree which bare them προσημίας. Now as this early fruit doth fore-run the latter fruit of the same tree, and comes to ripeness and perfection in its kind before the rest; So our Saviour goes before these men of the same nature with him, and they follow in their time to the maturity of the same perfection.

¶ Ephes. 2. 5. As therefore ^a God hath quickned us together with Christ, and hath raised us up together by virtue of his resurrection; so hath he also made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, by virtue of his ascension. We are already seated there || in him, and hereafter shall be seated by him; in him already as in our head, which is the ground of our hope; by him hereafter, as by the cause conferring, when hope shall be swallowed up in fruition.

¶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καθεζούμενος καὶ τὸ σῶμα συγκάθηται· διὰ τοῦτο ἐπισημίας ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. S. Chrysost. in locum.

^b Math. 6. 21.
^c John 12. 32.
^d 2 Kings 2. 2.

Thirdly, the profession of Faith in Christ ascended, is necessary for the exaltation of our affections. ^b For where our treasure is, there will our hearts be also. ^c If I be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men unto me, saith our Saviour; and if those words were true of his crucifixion, how powerful ought they to be in reference to his ascension? ^d When the Lord would take up Elijah into heaven, Elisha said unto him, As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee; when Christ is ascended up on high, we must follow him with the wings of our meditations and with the chariots of our affections.

¶ Col. 3. 1, 2, 3. ^e If we be risen with Christ, we must seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. If we be dead, and our life hid in Christ with God, we must set our affection on things above, not on things on earth. Christ is ascended into heaven to teach us, that we are strangers and pilgrims here, as all our fathers were, and that another country belongs unto us: from whence we ^f as strangers and pilgrims should learn to abstain from fleshly lusts, and not mind earthly things; as knowing that we are ^g Citizens of heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, the Lord Jesus, yea ^h fellow-citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God. We should trample upon our sins, and subdue the lusts of the flesh, that our conversation may be correspondent to our Saviour's condition; that where the eyes of the Apostles were forced to leave him, thither our thoughts may follow him.

^f 1 Pet. 2. 11.
^g Phil. 3. 19, 20.
^h Ephes. 2. 19.

Fourthly, the Ascension of Christ is a necessary Article of the Creed in respect of those great effects which immediately were to follow it, and did absolutely depend upon it. The blessed Apostles had never preached the Gospel, had they not been indued with power from above; but none of that power had they received, if the Holy Ghost in a miraculous manner had not descended: And the Holy Ghost had not come down, except our Saviour had ascended first. For he himself, when he was to depart from his Disciples, grounded the necessity of his departure upon the certainty of this truth, saying, If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you: but if I depart, I will send him unto you. Now if all the infallibility of those truths, which we as Christians believe, depend upon the certain information which the Apostles had, and those Apostles appear to be no way infallible till the cloven tongues had fit upon them, it was first absolutely necessary that the Holy Ghost should so descend. Again, being it was impossible that the Spirit of God in that manner should come down, until the Son of God had ascended into Heaven; being it was not fit that the second Advocate should officiate on earth, till the first Advocate had entred upon his Office in heaven; therefore in respect of this great work the Son of God must necessa-

John 15. 7.

necessarily ascend, and in reference to that necessity we may well be obliged to confess that Ascension.

Upon these considerations we may easily conclude what every Christian is obliged to confess in those words of our Creed, *He ascended into Heaven*: for thereby he is understood to express thus much, I am fully persuaded, that the only-begotten and eternal Son of God, after he rose from the dead, did with the same Soul and body with which he rose, by a true and local translation convey himself from the earth on which he lived, through all the regions of the air, through all the celestial Orbs, until he came unto the heaven of heavens, the most glorious presence of the Majesty of God. And thus I believe in *Jesus Christ* who *ascended into heaven*,

**And sitteth on the right hand of God
the Father Almighty.**

THE second part of the Article containeth two Particulars; the Session of the Son, and the Description of the Father: the first sheweth that *Christ* upon his ascension is set down *at the right hand of God*: the second assureth us that the God, at whose right hand *Christ* is set down, is the *Father Almighty*.

For the Explication of *Christ's* Session, three things will be necessary; First, to prove that the promised *Messias* was to sit at the right hand of God; Secondly, to shew that our *Jesus*, whom we believe to be the true *Messias*, is set down at the right hand of God; Thirdly, to find what is the importance of that phrase, and in what propriety of expression it belongs to *Christ*.

That the promised *Messias* was to sit at the right hand of God, was both pre-typified and foretold. *Joseph* who was betrayed and sold by his brethren, was an express type of *Christ*, and though in many things he represented the *Messias*, yet in none more than in this, that being taken out of the prison he was exalted to the Supreme power of *Egypt*. For thus *Pharaoh* spake to *Joseph*, *Thou shalt be over my house, and according to thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. And Pharaoh took off the ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; And he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had, and they cried before him, Bow the knee; and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt.* Thus *Joseph* had the execution of all the Regal power committed unto him, all Edicts and Commands were given out by him, the managing of all affairs was through his hands, only the authority by which he moved remained in *Pharaoh* still. This was a clear representation of the Son of man, who by his sitting on the right hand of God, obtained power to rule and govern all things both in heaven and earth, (especially as the ruler of his house, that is, the Church,) with express command that all things, both in heaven, and earth, and under the earth, should bow down before him: but all this in the name of the Father; to whom the throne is still reserved, in whom the original authority still remains. And thus the Session of the *Messias* was pre-typified.

Gen. 41: 40,
42, 43.

The same was also expressly foretold, not only in the sense, but in the phrase. *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool.* The Jews have endeavoured to avoid this Prophecy, but with no success: some make the person to

Psal. 110. 1.

|| This Justine Martyr testifies of the Jews in his age, Καὶ τὸν τὸν ἄλλων ὅτι αὐτὸν ἔχει τὸν Βασιλέα ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς. *Dial. cum Tryphone.* And out of him Tertullian, citing this Psalm. Sed necesse est ad meam sententiam pertinere defendam eas Scripturas, quas & Judæi nobis avocare conantur. Dicunt denique hunc Psalmum in Ezechiam cecinisse, quia is federic ad dexteram templi, & hostes ejus averterit Deus & absumpserit. *Adv. Marcion l. 5. c. 6.* * So S. Chryostome speaking of the Jews, Τίνα εἰς ἐκεῖνοι τὸν λέγοντα ἄρασι; τὸν Θεόν; ἢ τὴν ἀνάστασιν; ἢ τὸν Ἀβραάμ; ἢ τὸν Ζωροβὰβελ, ἢ ἄλλοι ἕτερον, *ad locum.* Ita *Catena Græca*, Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, τὸ γλοιότερον, εἰς τὸν Ἀβραάμ ἐπέκειντο λέγοντες καὶ τὸν Θεόν ἢ τὸν Θεόν. And this Exposition is now followed by Solomon Iarchi and Lipmannus, Iarchi acknowledging it to be ancient, **רבותי רבינו באברהם ואנו אפרשנו כרבותי נאם ולא כרבותי** † This is the Exposition of the Later Rabbins, as of Aben Ezra, and David Kimchi, who attribute the subject of the Psalm to David: And not only they, but the ancients Rabbins since our Saviour's time, as appeareth by those words of S. Chryostome, Καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἃ δαλοῖσιν ὅτι ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς Ζωροβὰβελ ἐν Ἰαῦθα ἠρῆται ἐπὶ τὸν Δαβὶδ. ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἰερουσαλὴμ τειχιμῆται. Ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν λέγουσιν τὸν ἐυλόγητον τὸν λαὸν λέγοντες ταῦτα ἠρῆται, ὅτι παῦλὸς ἔπειθ' ἡ τὸν Δαβὶδ, ἢ τὸν Ζωροβὰβελ, ἢ τὸν λαὸν ταῦτα ἀρμόζουν; S. Chryostome. * To which purpose saith S. Chryostome, concerning the Jews of his time, Τί γὰρ φασιν ἄλλοι πάλιν; ὅτι ὁ παῖς τὸ Ἀβραάμ ταῦτα λέγει ἐπὶ τὸν Κυεῖν τὸ ἑαυτῶν.

whom God speaks to be || Ezechias, some * Abraham, some Zorobabel, others † David, others .: the people of Israel; and because the Prophecy cannot belong to him who made the Psalm, therefore they which attribute the prediction to Abraham, tell us the Psalm was penned by his * Steward Eliezer: they which expound it of David, say that one of his Musicians was Author of it.

But first it is most certain that David was the Pen-mān of this Psalm; the title speaks as much, which is, .: A Psalm of David: from whence it followeth that the prediction did not belong to him, because 'twas spoken to his Lord. Nor could it indeed belong to any of the rest which the Jews imagine, because neither Abraham, nor Ezechias, nor || Zorobabel could be the Lord of David, much less the people of Israel (to whom some of the Jews referred it) who were not the Lords but the subjects of that David. Beside, he which is said to sit at the right hand of God, is also said to be a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech: but neither Abraham, nor Ezechias, nor any which the Jews have mentioned was ever any * Priest of God. Again, our Saviour urged this Scripture against the Pharisees, saying, What think ye of Christ? whose Son is he? they say unto him, The Son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in Spirit, call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David then call him Lord, how is he his Son? And no man was able to answer him a word. From whence 'tis evident that the Jews of old, even the Pharisees, the most accurate and skilful amongst them, did interpret the Psalm of the Messias; for if they had conceived the Prophecy belonged either to Abraham, or David, or any of the rest since mentioned by the Jews, they might very well, and questionless would have answered our Saviour, that this belonged not to the son of David. It was therefore the general opinion of the Church of the Jews before our Saviour, and of divers .: Rabbins since his death, that this prediction did concern the Kingdom of Christ. And thus the Session of the Messias at the right hand of God, was not only represented typically, but foretold prophetically: which is our first Consideration.

.: As for that objection which is made by Aben Ezra, that it is not the Psalm of David, but penned for by in the honour of David, because the title is דודי במומר as if it were a Psalm for David, not of David: it is by no means to be admitted, because it may not only very well signifie a Psalm made by David; but if it do not, there is no title which shews any Psalm to be his, and some of them we are sure are his, Luke 20. 42.

|| Τὸ εἶναι, ἐπὶ ἐμοί, Ζωροβὰβελ ἡγουμένου τοῦ Δαβὶδ; ὅτι παῦλὸς ἔπειθ' ἡ τὸν Δαβὶδ, ἢ τὸν Ζωροβὰβελ, ἢ τὸν λαὸν ταῦτα ἀρμόζουν; S. Chryost. * This is the Argument which the Fathers used against the Jews, as Justine Martyr, in opposition to their pretence of Ezechias, Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνάστησιν ἢ τὸν Θεόν, ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἰερουσαλὴμ τειχιμῆται. *Dial. cum Tryphone;* and from him Tertullian. Quod & in ipso hic accedit, Tu es Sacerdos in avum. Nec sacerdos autem Ezechias, nec in avum, etsi fuisset. *Secundum Ordinem*, inquit, Melchisedech. Quid Ezechias ad Melchisedech Altissimi sacerdotem, & quidem non circumcisum? *Adv. Marcion. l. 5. c. 6.* and so S. Chryostome in the words before-mentioned. .: As in the Midrash Tillim, Psal. 18. 36. משיב מלך ישיב לימיני שב ראדני שב לימיני נאם יי ראדני שב לימיני R. Joden in the name of Rabbi Chama said that in the time to come God shall place Messias the King at his right hand, as it is written (Psal. 110. 1.) The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand. So Moses Haddarfan on Gen. 18. Hereafter God holy and blessed shall set the King Messias ישיב לימיני on his right hand, as it is written (Psal. 110.) The Lord said, &c.

Secondly, We affirm, that our Jesus, whom we worship as the true Messias, according unto that particular prediction, when he ascended up on high, did sit

fit down at the right hand of God. His Ascension was the way to his Session, and his Session the end of his Ascension; as the Evangelist expresseth it, *He was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God*; or as the Apostle, *God raised Christ from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places*. There could be no such Session without an Ascension; and *David is not ascended into the heavens, but he saith himself, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool*. Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, let all the blind and wilful Jews be convinced of this truth, that God hath not set at his own right hand neither Abraham nor David, neither Ezechias, nor Zerubbabel, but hath made that same Jesus whom they have crucified both Lord and Christ.

This was an honour never given, never promised to any man but the *Messias*: the glorious Spirits stand about the Throne of God, but never any of them set down at the right hand of God. For to which of his Angels said he at any time, *Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool*. But Christ was so assured of this honour, that before the Council of the Chief Priests and the elders of the People, when he foresaw his death contrived, and his Cross prepared, even then he expressed the confidence of his expectation, saying, *Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God*. And thus our Jesus, whom we worship as the true promised *Messias*, is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God. Which was our second Consideration.

Our next inquiry is, what may be the utmost importance of that phrase, and how it is applicable unto Christ. The phrase consists of two parts, and both to be taken metaphorically: First therefore, we must consider what is the *right hand of God*, in the Language of the Scriptures; Secondly, what it is to sit down at that right hand. God being a Spirit can have no material or corporeal parts; and consequently as he hath no body, so in a proper sense can he have no hands at all: but because God is pleased to descend to our capacity; and not only to speak by the mouths of men, but also, after the manner of men, he expresseth that which is in him by some analogy with that which belongs to us. The hands of man are those organical parts which are most active, and executive of our power; by those the strength of our body is expressed, and most of our natural and artificial actions are performed by them. From whence the power of God, and the exertion or execution of that power is signified by the hand of God. Moreover being by a general custom of the world the right hand is more used than the left, and by that general use acquireth a greater firmitude and strength, therefore the *right hand of God* signifieth the exceeding great and infinite power of God.

Symb. * Succedunt brachia & validi lacertorum tori, valida ad operandum manus, & proceribus digitis habiles ad tenendum: Hinc aptior usus operandi, hinc scribendi elegancia, & ille calamus scribæ velociter scribentis, quo divinæ vocis exprimuntur oracula. Manus est quæ cibum ori ministrat; manus est quæ præclaris eniter tactis, quæ conciliatrix divinæ gratiæ sacris inferitur altaribus, per quam offerimus & sumimus sacramenta cœlestia. Manus est quæ operatur pariter atque dispensat divina mysteria, cujus vocabulo non dignatus est se Dei Filius declarari, dicente David, *Deatra Domini exaltavit me*. Manus est quæ fecit omnia, sicut dixit Deus omnipotens, *Nonne manus mea fecit hæc*? S. Ambros. Hexam. l. 6. c. 9.

|| Credimus etiam quod sedet ad dextram Dei Patris. Nec ideo rationem quasi humana forma circumscriptum esse Deum Patrem arbitrandum est, ut de illo cogitantibus dextrum aut sinistrum latus animo occurrat.

S. Aug. de Fide

Again, because the most honourable place amongst men is the right hand, (as when Bathsheba went unto King Solomon, he sat down on his throne, and caused a seat to be set for the Kings mother, and she sat on his right hand) therefore the *right hand of God* signifies the glorious Majesty of God.

Thirdly, because the gifts of men are given and received by the hands of men, and every perfect gift comes from the Father of lights, therefore the *right hand of God* is the place of celestial happiness and perfect felicity; according

Psal. 16. 11. cording to that of the Psalmist, *In thy presence is fulness of joy, at thy right hand pleasures for evermore.*

Now as to the first acception of the *right hand* of God, Christ is said to sit down at the *right hand* of the Father in regard of that absolute power and dominion which he hath obtained in heaven; from whence it is expressly said, *Hereafter ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power.*

Matth. 27. 64.
Mark 14. 62.
Luc 22. 69.

¶ Secundum
conductum
nem nostram
illi confisus
offertur qui a
liquo opere

As to the second acception, Christ is said to sit on the *right hand* of God in regard of that || Honour, Glory, and Majesty which he hath obtained there; wherefore it is said, *When he had by himself purged our sins, he sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high:* and again, *We have an High-priest who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens.*

perfecto honoris gratia promeretur ut sedeat. Ita ergo & homo Jesus Christus passione sua diabolum superans, resurrectione sua inferna reterans, tanquam perfecto opere ad caelos victor adveniens, audit à Deo Patre, *Sede ad dextram meam.* Max. Taurin. Hom. 1. de Pentecoste. ¶ Heb. 1. 3. ¶ Heb. 8. 1.

In reference to the third acception Christ is said to sit on the *right hand* of God, because now after all the labours and sorrows of this world, after his stripes and buffetings, after a painful and shameful death, he resteth above in unspeakable joy, and everlasting * felicity.

* At dextram
intelligendum

est electum esse in summa beatitudine, ubi justitia & pax & gaudium est. S. Aug. de Fide & Symb. Quid est Patris dextera, nisi illa aeterna ineffabilisque felicitas quo pervenit Filius hominis, etiam carnis immortalitate percepta? Idem contra Sermonem Ariani. Beatus est à beatitudine, quæ dextera Patris vocatur; ipsius beatitudinis nomen est dextera Patris. De Symb. ad Catech. Salus temporalis & carnalis in sinistra est, salus aeterna cum Angelis in dextra est. Ideo jam in ipsa immortalitate positus Christus dicitur sedere ad dextram Dei. Non enim Deus habet in seipso dextram aut sinistram; sed dextera Dei dicitur felicitas illa, quæ quoniam ostendi non potest, tale nomen accepit. S. Aug. in Psal. 137.

Rom. 8. 34.

1 Pet. 3. 22.

As for the other part of the phrase, that is, his *Session*, we must not look upon it as determining any posture of his body in the heavens, correspondent to the inclination and curvation of our limbs. For we read in the Scriptures a more general term which signifies only his being in heaven, without any expression of the particular manner of his presence. So S. Paul, *who is even at the right hand of God*; and S. Peter, *Who is gone into heaven, and is at the right hand of God.* Beside, we find him expressed in another position than that of Session: for *Stephen looking steadfastly into heaven, saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God: And said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God.* He appeared standing unto Stephen, whom we express sitting in our Creed; but this is rather a difference of the occasion, than a diversity of position. He

¶ Επει τὸ ἰ-
περ καθίστα
σορταδὲν αὐ-
τοῖς ὡς τῶς
τῆ ἀνα-
στῆως καὶ ἀνα-
στασης.

appeared || standing to Stephen as ready to assist him, as ready to plead for him, as ready to receive him: and he is oftner expressed *sitting*, not for any positional variation, but for the variety of his effect, and operation.

¶ Επει τὸ ἰπερ καθίστασορταδὲν αὐτοῖς ὡς τῶς τῆ ἀναστασης. S. Chryst. Hom. 12. in Act. Si major gratia & manifestior intelligentia in Novo est quam in Veteri Testamento, quare Elias Propheta sedentem in throno Majestatis vidit Deum Sabaoth, in novo autem Stephanus primus Martyr stantem se vidisse ait Jesum à dextris Dei? Quid est istud, ut hic subiectus videatur post triumphos, & illic quasi Dominus antequam vinceret? Prout causa erat fecisse, ita & Dominus se ostendit. Prophetæ enim visus est quasi rex corripientis plebem, & hoc se ostendit quod erat, hoc est, sedentem, in pace enim erat causa divinitatis ejus. Stephano autem ut stans appareret fecit calumnia Judæorum. In Stephano autem Salvatoris causâ vim patiebatur. Ideo sedente Judice Deo stans apparuit, quasi qui causam diceret; & quia bona causa ejus est, ad dextram Judicis erat; Omnis qui causam dicit, nec necesse est. S. Aug. Quest. in Novo Test. 58. Sedere judicantis est, stare verò pugnantis vel adjuvantis. Stephanus ergo in labore certaminis positus, stantem vidit quem adiutorem habuit. Sed hunc post ascensionem Marcus sedere scribit, quia post ascensionis suæ gloriam in fine videbitur. Greg. Hom. 29. in Evang. Maxim. Taurin. de Pentec. Hom. 1. mixes the Question, Quæ sit ratio quod idem Dominus à David sedens prophetatur, stans verò à Stephano predicatur? and then renders this reason, Ut modo ejus omnipotentia, modo misericordia describatur. Nam utique pro potestate regis sedere dicitur, pro bonitate intercessoris stare suggeritur. Ait enim beatus Apostolus, quia *Advocatum habemus apud Patrem Jesum Christum.* Judex est igitur Christus cum residet, Advocatus cum assurgit. Judex plane Judæis, Advocatus Christianis. Hic enim stans apud Patrem Christianorum licet peccantium causas exorat; ibi residet cum patre Pharisæorum persequentium peccata condemnans. Illis indignans vehementer ulciscitur; his interveniens leniter miseretur. Hic ubi recipiat Stephanum Martyris spiritum; ibi residet ut condemnet Judæi proditoris admittam.

This phrase then to *fit*, preſcinding from the corporal poſture of ſeſſion, may ſignifie no more than habitation, poſſeſſion, permanſion, and continuance; as the ſame word in the || Hebrew and Greek Languages often ſignifies. And thus our Saviour is ſet down at the right hand of God in heaven, becauſe he which dwelt with us before on earth, is now aſcended up into heaven, and hath taken his manſion or habitation there; and ſo hath he ſeated himſelf, and *dwelleth in the higheſt heavens.

|| יושב ימינו
proprie ſignificat
eſſe ſed, ut ſu-
per illud ſcribitur
permanſit, and
habitatione, ut
Jud. 5. 17.

יָשִׁיב לְיָמֵינוּ LXX. Ἀσπὴ ἐνάθις παραλίαν θαλασσῶν, Aſter continued on the Sea ſhore. Lev. 8. 35.
 יָשִׁיב לְיָמֵינוּ וְלִיּוֹמֵינוּ וְלִיּוֹמֵינוּ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים, Καὶ ἔθι τὴν δεξιὰν τῆς σκευῆς τῆς ἁγίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα, Therefore ſhall ye abide at the doot of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, day and night, ſeven days. Upon which place S. Auguſt. Quid eſt quod dicit Moyſes ad Aaron et filios eius cum ſanctificatur ad incedendum ſacerdotium? Ad officium tabernaculi teſtimonii ſedebitis ſeptem dies, die & nocte, ne motamini. Numquid nam credibile eſt ſita corporis uno loco federe præceptis per dies ſeptem die & nocte, unde ſe omnino non commoverent? Nec tamèn hic tanquam allegorice aliquid ſignificatum, quod non fieret, cogendi ſumus accipere, ſed potius agnoſcere locutionem Scripturarum, ubi ſeſſionem pro habitatione & commemoratione poſuit. Non enim quia dictum eſt de ſemei quod ſederet in Hieruſalem annos tres, ideo putandum eſt per totum illud tempus in ſella ſediſſe & non ſurrexiſſe. Hinc & ſedes dicuntur, ubi habitationem quorum ſedes ſunt; habitatio quippe hoc nomen accepit. Queſt. ſuper Levit. 24. And this is as familiar with the Latins as the Hebrews. Si veni eſſent, nos hic Corcyra non ſederemus. Cic. l. 9. Epist. Id horrum ſuit præſidium Pœnis ſedentibus ad Trebiam. Liv. l. 2. de Bell. Pun. * Sedet ad dextram Patris. Credite ſedere, intelligite habitare; quomodo dicimus de quocunq; homine, in iſta patria ſedit per tres annos. Dicit illud & Scriptura ſediſſe quendam in civitate tantum tempus. Numquid ſedit, & nunquam ſurrexit? Ideo hominum habitationes ſedes dicuntur. Ubi habitantur ſedes, numquid ſemper ſederet, non ſurgitur, non ambulatur? Et tamen ſedes vocatur. Sic ergo credite habitare Chriſtum in dextera Dei Patris ubi eſt. Author. lib. de Symb. ad Catech.

Again, the Notion of *ſitting* implieth reſt, quietneſs and indiſturbance; according to that promiſe in the Prophet, *They ſhall ſit every man under his ſig-tree, and none ſhall make them afraid.* So Chriſt is aſcended into heaven, where reſting from all pains and ſorrows, he is ſeated free from all diſturbance and oppoſition; God having placed him at his right hand, until he hath made his enemies his footſtool.

Mic. 4. 4

Thirdly, this *ſitting* implieth yet more than quietneſs or continuance, even || Dominion, Sovereignty, and Majeſty; as when Solomon ſat in the throne of his Father, he reigned over *Israel* after the death of his Father. And thus *Chriſt is ſet down at the right hand of the throne of God.* And S. Paul did well interpret thoſe words of the Prophet, *Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footſtool,* ſaying, *He muſt reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.*

|| Ipſum verbum ſedere regni ſignificat poteſtatem. S. Hier. Com. ad Eph. c. 1. v. 19. Heb. 11. 2. Phil. 110. 1. 1 Cor. 15. 25. 2 Prov. 20. 8. 2 Iſa. 16. 5. * Sedere quod dicitur Deus non membrorum poſitionem ſed judiciariam ſignificat poteſtatem, quâ illa Majeſtas nunquam caret, ſemper digna dignis tribuendo; quamvis in ex-

Fourthly, this *ſitting* doth yet more properly and particularly imply the right of Judicature, and ſo eſpecially expreſſeth, *a King that ſitteth in the throne of Judgment;* as it is written, *In mercy ſhall the throne be eſtabliſhed, and he ſhall ſit upon it in truth, in the tabernacle of David, judging and ſeeking judgment, and haſting righteousneſs.* And ſo *Chriſt* * ſitting at the right hand of God is manifeſted and declared to be the great Judge of the quick and the dead. Thus to *ſit* doth not ſignifie any peculiar inclination or flexion, any determinate location or poſition of the body, but to be in heaven with permanence of habitation, happineſs of condition, regular and judiciary power; as in other || Authors ſuch ſignifications are uſual.

remo iudicio multo maniſeſtius inter homines Unigeniti Dei Filii Iudicis vivorum & mortuorum clariuſ indubitata eſſe ſolgebant. S. Auguſt. de Fide & Symb. cap. 7. Hoc quod dicitur Filius ſedere ad dextram Patris, demonſtratur quod ipſe homo, quem ſuſcepit Chriſtus, poteſtatem accepit iudicantis. Author, l. 3. de Symb. ad Catechum. || *Non anciently, federe diſt ſignificat non more than eſſe, to be in any place; as Servius noteth on that place of Virgil, Aeneid. 9. Lucio cum forte parentis Piliſmini Turnus ſicrata valle ſedebat. Sedebat, ut Aſper dicit, erat. Quæ clauſula antiqua eſt, & de uſu remota. And then he goes on to ſhew that ſedere is taken for that which men were wont to do ſitting. Secundum Plautum autem ſedere eſt conſilium capere, qui inducit in Moſtellaria ſervum dicentem, Sine juxta aram ſedem & dabo meliora conſilia. Sed ſecundum Auguſt. ſedere eſt augurium capere: Namque poſt designata cœli partes à ſedentibus captabantur auguria. Quod & ſupra ipſe oſtendit laicent, inducens Picum ſolum ſedentem, ut, Parvaque ſedebat Succinctus nabea, quod eſt augurum, cum aliæ ſtantes induxerit. Ergo Sedebat, aut erat, aut conſilia capiebat, aut augurabatur.*

The importance of the Language being thus far improved, at last we find the substance of the Doctrine, which is, that sitting at the right hand of God was our Mediator's solemn entry upon his Regal Office, as to the execution of that full Dominion which was due unto him. For *worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches and wisdom, and strength and honour and glory and blessing.* Wherefore *Christ* after his death and resurrection saith, *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.* For because he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, therefore God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; That at the name of *Jesus* every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth. And this obedience and submission was and is due unto him, because God raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principalities and powers, and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet; and gave him to be the head over all things to the Church.

There was an express promise made by God to *David*, *Thine house and thy Kingdom shall be established for ever before thee, thy throne shall be established for ever.* This promise strictly and literally taken was but conditional: and the condition of the promise is elsewhere expressed, *Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne. If thy children will keep my covenant and my testimony that I shall teach them, their children also shall sit upon thy throne for evermore.* Notwithstanding this promise this Kingdom of *David* was intercepted, nor was his family continued in the Throne: part of the Kingdom was first rent from his posterity, next the regality it self; and when it was restored, translated to another family: and yet we cannot say the promise was not made good, but only ceased in the obligation of a promise, because the condition was not performed. The posterity of *David* did not keep the Covenant and Testimony of their God, and therefore the throne of *David* was not by an uninterrupted lineal succession established to perpetuity.

But yet in a larger and better sense, after these intercessions, the throne of *David* was continued. When they had sinned and lost their right unto the Crown, the Kingdom was to be given unto him who never sinned, and consequently could never lose it; and he being of the seed of *David*, in him the throne of *David* was without interception or succession continued. Of him did the Angel *Gabriel* speak at his conception, *The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his Kingdom there shall be no end.* Thus the throne of *Christ* is called the throne of *David*, because it was promised unto *David*, and because the Kingdom of *David* was a type, resemblance and representation of it; insomuch that *Christ* himself in respect of this Kingdom is || often called *David*, as particularly in that promise, *I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a Prince among them.*

Now as *David* was not only first designed, but also anointed King over *Israel*; and yet had no possession of the Crown; Seven years he continued anointed by *Samuel*, and had no share in the Dominion; seven years after he continued anointed in *Hebron* only King over the tribe of *Judah*; at last he was received by all the Tribes, and so obtained full and absolute regal power over all *Israel*, and seated himself in the Royal City of *Jerusalem*: So *Christ* was born King of the *Jews*, and the conjunction of his humane nature with his divine in the union of his person was a sufficient unction to his Regal Office,

vice, yet as the Son of man he exercised no such dominion, professing that his *Kingdom was not of this world*; but after he rose from the dead, then as it were in *Hebron* with his own Tribe he tells the Apostles, *All power is given unto him*, and by virtue thereof, gives them injunctions; and at his Ascension he enters into the *Jerusalem* above, and there sits down at the right hand of the throne of God, and so makes a solemn entry upon the full and entire dominion over all things; then could S. Peter say, *Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, That God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.* Acts 2. 36.

The immediate effect of his Regal power, the proper execution of this Office, is the subduing of all his Enemies; For he is *set down on the right hand of God, from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool.* This was the ancient custom of the Oriental Conquerors, to tread upon the necks of their subdued enemies; as when *Josuah* had the five Kings as his prisoners, he *said unto the men of war which went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of them.* Thus to signify the absolute and total conquest of *Christ*, and the dreadful Majesty of his throne, all his enemies are supposed to lie down before him, and he set his feet upon them. Heb. 10. 12, 13.

The Enemies of *Christ* are of two kinds, either Temporal or Spiritual; the Temporal Enemies I call such as visibly and actually oppose him, and his Apostles, and all those which profess to believe in his name. Such especially and principally were the *Jews*, who rejected, persecuted and crucified him; who after his Resurrection, scourged, stoned, and despightfully used his Disciples; who tried all ways and means imaginable to hinder the propagation, and dishonour the profession of Christianity. A part of his Regal Office was to subdue these enemies, and he set down on the right hand of God that they might be made his footstool: which they suddenly were according to his prediction, *There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the son of man coming in his Kingdom.* For within few years the Temple, the City, and the whole Polity of the *Jews* were destroyed for ever in a revenging manner by the hands of the *Romans*, which they made use of to crucify the Lord of life. The *Romans* themselves were the next Enemies, who first complied with the *Jews* in *Christ's* crucifixion, and after in defence of their heathen Deities endeavoured the extirpation of Christianity by successive persecutions. These were next to be made the footstool of the King of kings, and so they were when *Rome* the regnant City, the head of that vast Empire, was taken and sacked; when the Christians were preserved, and the Heathens perished; when the worship of all their Idols ceased, and the whole *Roman* Empire marched under the banner of Christianity. In the same manner all those Persons and Nations whatsoever, which openly oppose and persecute the name of *Christ*, are Enemies unto this King, to be in due time subdued under him, and when he calleth to be slain. Mat. 16. 28.

The Spiritual Enemies of this King are of another nature; such as by an invisible way make opposition to *Christ's* dominion, as Sin, Satan, Death. Every one of these hath a Kingdom of its own, set up and opposed to the Kingdom of *Christ*. The Apostle hath taught us, that *sin hath reigned unto death*; and hath commanded us not to *let it reign in our mortal bodies, that we should obey it in the lusts thereof.* There is therefore a dominion and Kingdom of sin set up against the throne of the immaculate Lamb. Satan would have been like the most high, and being cast down from heaven, hath erected his throne below; he is *the Prince of this world: the spirit which now worketh in the children of disobedience is the Prince of the power of the air*; and thus the Rom. 5. 21.

rulers of the darkness of this world oppose themselves to the true light of the world. Death also hath its dominion, and, as the Apostle speaks, *reigned from Adam to Moses*; even by one offence death reigned by one, and so set up a ruling and a regal power against the *Prince of life*.

For the destruction of these powers was *Christ* exalted to the right hand of God, and by his Regal office doth he subdue and destroy them all. And yet this destruction is not so universal, but that Sin, Satan and Death shall still continue. 'Tis true he shall *put down all rule and authority and power*, but this amounts not so much to a total destruction, as to an absolute subjection: for as he is *able*, so will he *subdue all things to himself*. The principal end of the Regal office of the Mediatour is the effectual redemption and actual salvation of all those whom God hath given him, and whosoever or whatsoever opposeth the salvation of these, is by that opposition constituted and become an enemy of *Christ*. And because this enmity is grounded upon that opposition, therefore so far as any thing opposeth the salvation of the sons of God, so far it is an enemy, and no farther: And consequently, *Christ* by sitting at the right hand of God, hath obtained full and absolute power utterly to destroy those three spiritual enemies, so far as they make this opposition; and farther than they do oppose they are not destroyed by him, but subdued to him: whatsoever hindereth and obstructeth the bringing of his own into his kingdom, for the demonstration of God's mercy is abolished; but whatsoever may be yet subservient to the demonstration of his justice is continued.

Christ then as King destroyeth the power of sin in all those which belong unto his Kingdom, annihilating the guilt thereof by the virtue of his death, destroying the dominion thereof by his actual grace, and taking away the spot thereof by grace habitual. But in the reprobate and damned souls, the spot of sin remaineth in its perfect die, the dominion of sin continueth in its absolute power, the guilt of sin abideth in a perpetual obligation to eternal pains: but all this in subjection to his throne, the glory of which consisteth as well in punishing Rebellion as rewarding Loyalty.

Again, *Christ* sitting on the right hand of God destroyeth all the strength of Satan and the powers of Hell: by virtue of his death perpetually represented to his Father, *he destroyeth him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil*. But the actual destruction of these powers of darkness hath reference only to the Elect of God. In them he preventeth the *wiles*; those he taketh out of the *snare*, in them he destroyeth the *works*, those he preserveth from *the condemnation of the Devil*. He freeth them here from the prevailing power of Satan by his grace, he freeth them hereafter from all possibility of any infernal opposition by his glory. But still the reprobate and damned souls are continued slaves unto the powers of Hell; and he which sitteth upon the throne delivereth them to the Devil and his Angels, to be tormented with and by them for ever; and this power of Satan still is left as subservient to the demonstration of the Divine justice.

Thirdly, *Christ* sitting on the throne of God at last destroyeth death itself: For *the last enemy which shall be destroyed is death*. But this destruction reacheth no farther than removing of all power to hinder the bringing of all such persons as are redeemed actually by *Christ* into the full possession of his heavenly Kingdom. He will *ransom them from the power of the grave*, he will *redeem them from death*. O death, he will be thy plague; O grave, he will be thy destruction. The Trump shall sound, the Graves shall open, the Dead shall live, the Bodies shall be framed again out of the dust, and the Souls which left them shall be re-united to them, and all the Sons of men shall

return

return to life, and death shall be *swallowed up in victory*. The Sons of God shall then be made completely happy both in soul and body, never again to be separated, but to inherit eternal life. Thus he who sitteth at the right hand of God *hath abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light*. But to the reprobate and damned persons death is not destroyed but improved. They rise again indeed to life, and so the first death is evacuated; but that life to which they rise is a *second*, and a far worse death. And thus *Christ* is set down at the right hand of God, that he might subdue all things to himself.

The regal power of *Christ* as a branch of the Mediatorship, is to continue till all those enemies be subdued. *For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. But now we see not yet all things put under him.* Therefore he must still continue there: and this necessity is grounded upon the promise of the Father, and the expectation of the Son. *Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy foot-stool*, saith the Father; upon which words we may ground as well the continuation as the session. Upon this promise of the Father the Son *sate down at the right hand of God, from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his foot-stool*. Being then the promise of God cannot be evacuated, being the expectation of *Christ* cannot be frustrated, it followeth, that our Mediatour shall exercise the Regal power at the right hand of God till all opposition shall be subdued.

When all the enemies of *Christ* shall be subdued, when all the chosen of God shall be actually brought into his Kingdom, when those which refused him to rule over them, shall be slain, that is, when the whole office of the Mediatour shall be compleated and fulfilled, then every branch of the execution shall cease. As therefore there shall no longer continue any act of the Prophetical part to instruct us, nor any act of the Priestly part to intercede for us, so there shall be no further act of this Regal power of the Mediatour necessary to defend and preserve us. The beatifical vision shall succeed our information and instruction, a present fruition will prevent oblation and intercession, and perfect security will need no actual defence and protection. As therefore the general notion of a Mediatour ceaseth when all are made one, because *a Mediatour is not a Mediatour of one*; so every part or branch of that Mediatourship, as such, must also cease, because that unity is in all parts compleat. *Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. For when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that hath put all things under him, that God may be all in all.*

Now though the Mediatourship of *Christ* be then resigned, because the end thereof will then be performed; though the Regal Office was part of that Mediatourship be also resigned with the whole; yet we must not think that *Christ* shall cease to be a King, or lose any of the power and honour which before he had. The dominion which he hath was given him as a reward for what he suffered: and certainly the reward shall not cease when the work is done. He hath promised to make us Kings and Priests, which honour we expect in Heaven, believing we shall *reign with him* for ever, and therefore for ever must believe him King. *The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever*, not only to the modiflicated eternity of his Mediatourship, so long as there shall be need of Regal power to subdue the enemies of God's elect; but also to the compleat eternity of the duration of his humanity, which for the future is co-eternal to his Divinity.

Lest we should imagine that *Christ* should ever cease to be King, or so interpret this Article, as if he were after the day of judgment to be removed from the right hand of God, the ancient Fathers added those words to the Nicene Creed, † whose kingdom shall have no end, against the Heresie which then arose denying the eternity of the Kingdom of *Christ*.

† ὅς ἔστι βασιλεύς ἕως τῆς αἰωνιότητος

in the Nicene Creed, as it was in it self before the additions at Constantinople. But not long after, S. Cyril expounds them in his Catechism and Epiphanius in Ancorato repeating two several Creeds, a shorter and a longer, §. 120. and 121. hath these words in Lat. *Adj.* that they were added expressly in the Constantinopolitan Creed. And the reason of their insertion without question was that which S. Cyril intimates in his explanation, that is, the Heresie which was then newly begun. Ἐάν ποτέ τις ἀκόσως κεραιήσῃ, ὅτι τέλος ἔχει ἡ Χριστοῦ βασιλεία, μίσουσι τὴν ἀρεσκίαν, τὸ δὲ ἀκούοντός ἔστιν ἄλλη κεραιὴ τοῦ σαρδάτης ἐπὶ τῆς Γαλατικῆς ἀναρτυθείσης ἐπέλιπτε λέγειν, ὅτι μὴ τὸ τέλος τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπέλιπτε λέγειν, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐξελθὼν εἶπεν εἰς Πατέρα πάντων ἀναλυθεὶς ἐκείνῳ, Catech. 15. This was the particular Heresie of Marcellus Bishp. of Ancyra, followed by Photius burn in the same place, and therefore termed by S. Cyril ἐπὶ τῆς Γαλατικῆς ἀναρτυθείσης. It consisted of two parts; first, that the Kingdom of Christ did wholly cease at the end of this world; secondly, that the Word was resolved again into the Father, and consequently did not only cease to reign, but also cease to exist. Which is yet more plainly expressed by Eusebius in his second Book against Marcellus. Καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἀθεῶτα παυσιπείθως μὴ τὸν τῆς κρείσσεως καιρὸν, τὰ αὐτῷ Λόγον ἐνωθεὶς πρὸ Θεοῦ, ἀς μηδὲν ἕτερον εἶναι πλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐρήμης κατὰ μαρτυροῦντος ἑσθὸς τῆς Λόγου, ἀς μήτε τὸν ὕδρ τῶ Θεοῦ ποτὶ ὑπερβαίνει, μήτε τὸν ὕδρ τῶ Θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὃν ἀνέληψε. This Heresie of Marcellus S. Basil reproachfully calls an impiety εἰς τὴν ἐσθῆσαν τῶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Epist. 78. and again, Epist. 52. εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπαρξίαν τῆς τῶ μονοθεοῦ θεότητι, which he there more fully expresseth, Ὅς (Μαρκελλῶ) Λόγον μὴ ἐρήμης τὸν Μονοθεῶν εἶδος καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ ὅτι κεραιὴ πρεσβυτέρου, πάλιν ἢ εἰ τὸν θεὸν ἕληθε ἔπαυσε ἑσθῆσαν, ὅτε περὶ τῆς ἐξέσθῃς εἶναι, ὅτε μὴ ἔστάνον ὑπερβαίνει. This existence of the Word and the Kingdom of the Son that Heresie made co-equal; beginning when the Word came from the Father, that is, at the Incarnation, and ending when the Word returned into the Father, that is, at the day of judgment. Which is manifestly delivered by the Eastern Bishops in that profession of Faith which they sent to those in Italy. Ἄλλ' οὐ ποτε Χριστὸν αὐτὸν γοργόνει καὶ ὕδρ τῶ Θεοῦ ἐξ ἑσθῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σάρκα ἀνέληθε, περὶ τετρακοσίαν ὄλων ἐσθῆς, Ἐκ τῆς γὰρ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀρχῆς βασιλείας ἐρχόμενοι θέλωσι, καὶ τέλος εἶναι αὐτὴν μὴ ἔσθῆσαν καὶ κρείσσειν. Τοῦτοι ἢ ἄλλοι οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκέλλου καὶ Φωτίου ἡσθῆς Ἀγκυραγαλακῆς, εἰ τὴν προσωρινὴν ὑπαρξίαν τε καὶ θεότην τῶ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀτελείωτον αὐτῶ βασιλείαν ἀθετοῦσι, ἵνα δὲ εἶναι τὴν μοναρχίαν, Socrat. l. 2. c. 19. But although Marcellus did thus teach the Kingdom of Christ not to be eternal, yet his Heresie did not so much consist in the denial of this eternity as of the subsistence and person of our Saviour: for otherwise he did truly teach that Christ was an eternal King; as appeareth out of his own words in his Book against Asterius the Arian, cited by Eusebius, Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τινα δεκά ἔχειν ἢ καὶ ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶ οἰκονομία τε καὶ βασιλεία, εἶδρ γὰρ ἕτερον βάλισμα ἢ τὸτο τὸ ὑπὸ τῶ Ἀποστόλου ῥηθέν, ἕως ἀνθῆ τῶ ἐχθρὸς αὐτῶ ἀποπέδιον ἡσθῆς ποδῶν αὐτῶ ἢ κύν ἐπειδὴν τῶ ἐχθρὸς οὐδὲ ἀποπέδιον ἡσθῆς ποδῶν, ἢ ἐτι χεῖρ τῆς ἐν μέτρῃ ταύτης βασιλείας πάντων καθόλου βασιλέως ὑπαρχῶν. And therefore he made the same confession with the Catholics, when he delivered an account of his Faith to Julius Bishop of Rome. Πιστεύω ἢ ἐπίμωσθῆς θεῶς ἡσθῆς, ὅτι εἰς Θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ τῶ μονοθεοῦ ὕδρ Λόγος ὁ ἀπὸ Ἰουσαφάρον πρὸ Πατρὸς, καὶ μηδὲ ἀπαποσθῆς ἀρχῆς τῶ εἶναι ἐρχόμενος, ἀληθῶς ἐκ τῶ Θεοῦ ὑπαρχῶν, καὶ κρείσσειν, καὶ ποιηθεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶ, ἀεὶ συμβασιλεύων πρὸ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, εἰ τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ τὴν τῶ Ἀποστόλου μάρτυριαν, ἢ ἔσθῃ τῶ, Epiph. Hæres. 72. §. 2.

The profession of Faith in Christ as sitting on the right hand of God is necessary; First, to mind us of our duty, which must needs consist in subjection and obedience. The Majesty of a King claimeth the Loyalty of a Subject; and if we acknowledge his authority, we must submit unto his power. Nor can there be a greater incitation to obedience, than the consideration of the nature of his government. Subject we must be whether we will or no; but if willingly, then is our service perfect freedom; if unwillingly, then is our averfeneſ everlasting misery. † Enemies we all have been, under his feet we shall be, either adopted or subdued. A * double Kingdom there is of *Christ*; one of power, in which all are under him; another of propriety, in those which belong unto him: none of us can be excepted from the first, and happy are we if by our obedience we shew our selves to have an interest in the second; for then that Kingdom is not only *Christ's* but ours.

† inimicus etas, eris sub pedibus ejus aut adoptatus ut vincas, S. Augustine.
* Βασιλεία τῶ Θεοῦ ἀπὸ οἰσθῆς ἡσθῆς ποδῶν καὶ ἐκείσσειν, † ἢ καὶ ἡμιτελείαν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀπάντων καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὁμιόθεν καὶ ἡσθῆς ἀντίθεσθῆς ἀρχῶν καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμιτελείας λόγον βασιλείαν ἢ ἡσθῆς πῶσθῆς καὶ ἐκείσσειν καὶ ὑπερβαίνει καὶ τὸν τῆς οἰκονομίας, S. Chrysoſt. Hom. 59. in 1 ad Corinth.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe in *Christ* sitting on the right hand of God, that we might be assured of an auspicious protection under his gracious dominion. For God by this exaltation hath given our Saviour to be the head over all things to the Church; and therefore from him we may expect direction and preservation. There can be no illegality where *Christ* is the Law-giver, there can be no danger from hostility where the Son of God is the Defender.

The

of the nature of God, and the Person of the Father is not here to be repeated but supposed; for *Christ* is set down at the right hand of that God and of that Father, which we understand when we say, *I believe in God the Father*. But because there is a difference in the Language of the Greeks between that word which is rendred † *Almighty* in the first Article, and that which is so rendred in the sixth, because that peculiarly signifieth authority of Dominion, this more properly power in operation; therefore we have reserved this notion of omnipotency now to be explained.

† In the first Article it is Παντοκράτωρ, in the sixth Παντοδύναμος. See p. 57. And this distinction is very material, and much observed by the Greeks; as Dionysius Areopagita (whosoever that is) in his Book de Divinis Nominibus in the 18 Chapter, explicates the δυναμιουσία, or παντοδύναμον, and in the 10. Chapter παντοκράτωρ, as two distinct names with different notions of God. Of the Παντοκράτωρ, which we have already considered, he gives this account, Τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγεται διὰ τὸ πάντων ὡτὸν εἶναι παντοκρατορικὴν ἔδραν σωζέχουσαν καὶ σφείχουσαν τὰ ὅλα, καὶ ἐνιδρύουσαν καὶ θεμελιόουσαν καὶ σφειτίζουσαν, καὶ ἀβράγεις ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ πᾶν ὑποτελεῖουσαν καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς τὰ ὅλα καθάπερ ἐκ ῥίζης παντοκρατορικῆς παράγουσαν, καὶ ἵς αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα καθάπερ εἰς πυθμένα παντοκρατορικὴν ὀπίσθιόνουσαν καὶ σωζέχουσαν αὐτὰ, ὡς πάντων ἔδραν παύρα τῆς τῶ σωεργουσία πάντα καὶ μίαν ὑφείχουσαν πάντα (σωζομένην ἀσφαλιζουμένην καὶ ἐκ εἰδῶν αὐτὰ διακπεσύνει αὐτῆς, ὡς ἐκ παύρατος ἐστὶν κινῆμα παύρα πολέως. But of the δυναμιουσία he gives another account, as we shall see hereafter.

In which two things are observable; the Propriety, and the Universality; the Propriety in the Potency, the Universality in the Omnipotency; first, that he is a God of power; secondly, that he is a God of infinite power. The potency consisteth in a proper, innate, and natural force or activity, by which we are assured that God is able to act, work and produce true and real effects, which do require a true and real power to their production: and in respect of this he is often described unto us under the notion of a *mighty* God. The omnipotency or infinity of this power consisteth in an ability to act, perform and produce, whatsoever can be acted or produced, without any possibility of impediment or resistance: and in this respect he is represented to us as an *Almighty* God. And therefore such an Omnipotency we ascribe unto him: Which is sufficiently delivered in the Scriptures, first by the testimony of an Angel, *For with God nothing shall be impossible*; secondly, by the testimony of Christ himself, who said, *With men it is impossible, but not with God; for with God all things are possible*. Now he, to whom all things are possible, and to whom nothing is impossible, is truly and properly Omnipotent. Thus whatsoever doth not in it self imply a repugnancy of being or subsisting, hath in reference to the power of God a possibility of production; and whatsoever in respect of the power of God hath an impossibility of production, must involve in it self a repugnancy or contradiction.

Isaie 1. 24.
Mark 10. 27.

This truth, though confessed by the Heathens, hath yet been denied by some of them; but with poor and insufficient † Arguments, that we shall need no more than an explication of the Doctrine to refute their objections.

† The Arguments which the Heathen used are briefly touched by Plutarch, but were more largely delivered by Pliny. Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ (σηπὶν) σὺ καλλιμάχῳ τῷ λέγοντι, εἰ θεὸν εἶδα, ἴδ' ὅτι καὶ βέβαια δαίμονα πᾶν δυνάον· (So it must be read) εἶδ' ὅτι καὶ θεὸς δυνάσαι πᾶν ποιῶν. Ἐπειταίγε εἰ θεὸς εἶαι ποιῆτω τὴν χίονα μέλαιναν, τὸ δ' ἔπειτα ἄνθρωπος, τὸ δ' καθύπευρον ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον, Plutarch, de Plac. Philos. l. 1. c. 7. Imperfecta verò in homine natura præcipua solatia ne Deum quidem posse omnia. Namque nec sibi potest mortem conciscere, si velit, quod homini dedit optimum in tantis viâ prænis, nec mortales æternitate donare, aut revocare defunctos, nec tacere ut qui vixit non vixerit, qui honores gessit non hælerit; nullumque habere in præterita jus præterquam obliuionis: atque (ut faceret quoque argumentis locitas hæc cum Deo copuletur) ut bis dena viginti non sint, ac multa similia effecere non posse; per quæ declaratur haud dubie natura potentia, idque esse quod Deum vocamus, Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 7. As to those that Objection of Elymas the Sorcerer, recorded by Dionysius, Κάτοι ἐπὶν Ἐλυμας ὁ μάγος, εἰ παντοδύναμος εἶναι ὁ θεὸς πᾶσι λέγει αὐτὸ μὴ δυνατός πρὸς τὰ καθ' ἑμᾶς θεολόγε. Λοιδρεῖται δ' τῷ θεῷ Παύλος εἰσάγει, μὴ δυνάτος † εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀρησάως, De Divinis Nominibus, cap. 3.

First then we must say God is Omnipotent, because all power whatsoever is in any Creature is derived from him; and well may he be termed *Almighty*, who is the fountain of all might. There is no activity in any Agent, no influence of any Cause, but what dependeth and proceedeth from the Principal

cipal Agent, or the first of Causes. † There is nothing in the whole circumference of the Universe, but hath some kind of activity, and consequently some power to act; (for nothing can be done without a power to do it:) and as all their entities flow from the first of beings, so all their several and various powers flow from the first of powers: and as all their beings cannot be conceived to depend of any but an infinite essence, so all those powers cannot proceed from any but an infinite power.

† Ἡ ἀποστολή
δυνάμεως τῆ
Θεοῦ διὰ τὴν
εἰς πάντα τὰ
ὄντα γενεῶν
ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς ἐν-
ταυτῆς ἀποστο-
λῆς ἀποστολῆς
τῶν ἐκείνων τῆς
δυνάμεως, ἀλλ'

ἢ νοεῶν, ἢ λογικῶν, ἢ αἰσθητικῶν, ἢ ζωτικῶν, ἢ ἐπιπέδων δυνάμεων ἔχει. Καὶ αὐτὸ ὅ, εἰ θέμις εἶπέν, τὸ ἴδιον δυνάμει, εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἔχει παρὰ τὸ ἕκαστος δυνάμεως. Dionys. Areopag. De Divin. Nom. cap. 8.

Secondly, God may be called Omnipotent, * because there can be no resistance made to his power, no opposition to his will, no rescue from his hands. ^a *The Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?* ^b *He doth according to his will, in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What dost thou?* According to the degrees of power in the Agent and the Resistent is an action performed or hindered; if there be more degrees of power in the Resistent than the Agent, the action is prevented; if fewer, it may be retarded or debilitated, not wholly hindered or suppressed. But if there be no degree of power in the Resistent in reference to the Agent, then is the action totally vigorous; and if in all the powers beside that of God there be not the least degree of any resistance, we must acknowledge that power of his being above all opposition, to be infinite. As *Jehosaphat* said, ^c *In thine hand, O God, is there not power and might, so that none is able to withstand thee?* From hence there is no difficulty with God to perform any thing; no greater endeavour or activity to produce the greatest than the least of creatures; but an equal facility in reference unto all things: which cannot be † imagined but by an infinite excess of power above and beyond all resistance.

* Neque enim veraciter ob aliud vocatur Omnipotens nisi quia quicquid vult potest; nec voluntate creaturæ voluntatis omnipotentis impeditur effectus, S. Aug. Ench. ad Laur. cap. 96.
^a Isa. 14. 27.
^b Dan. 4. 35.

Thirdly, God is yet more properly called Omnipotent, because his own active power extendeth it self to * all things; neither is there any thing imaginably possible which he cannot do. Thus when God several ways had declared his power unto *Job*, ^d *Job answered the Lord and said, I know that thou canst do every thing.* Now that must needs be infinite activity which answereth to all kinds of possibility. Thus the power of God is infinite extensively, in respect of its object, which is all things; for whatsoever effects there be of his power, yet still there can be more produced; intensively, in respect of the action, or perfection of the effect produced; for whatsoever addition of perfection is possible is within the sphere of God's Omnipotency. The object then of the power of God is whatsoever is simply and absolutely possible, whatsoever is in it self such as that it may be; and so possible every thing is which doth not imply a contradiction. Again, whatsoever implieth a contradiction is impossible, and therefore is not within the object of the power of God, because impossibility is the contradiction of all power. For that is said to imply a contradiction, which if it were, it would necessarily follow that the same thing would be and not be. But it is impossible for the same thing both to be and not to be at the same time and in the same respect: and therefore whatsoever implieth a contradiction is impossible. From whence it followeth, that it may be truly said, God cannot effect that which involveth a contradiction, but with no derogation from his power: and it may be as truly said, God can effect whatsoever involveth not a contradiction, which is the expression of an infinite power.

^c 2 Chron. 20. 6.

† Nisi omnipotens esset, non una eademque facilitate summa atque imae fecisset, Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, cap. 3.
^a Quis est omnipotens nisi qui omnia potest? S. Aug. de Trin. l. 4. c. 7.
^d Job 42. 1, 2.

Now an action may imply a contradiction two ways, either in respect of

the Object, or in respect of the Agent. In respect of the object it may imply a contradiction immediately or consequentially. That doth imply a contradiction immediately, which plainly and in terms doth signifie a repugnancy and so destroys it self, as for the same thing to be and not to be, to have been and not to have been. And therefore it must be acknowledged that it is not in the power of God * to make that not to have been, which hath already been : but that is no derogation to God's power, because not within the object of any power. And he may certainly have all power, who hath not that which belongeth to no power. Again, that doth imply a contradiction consequentially, which in appearance seemeth not to be impossible, but by necessary consequence if admitted, leadeth infallibly to a contradiction. As that one body should be at the same time in two distinct places, speaks no repugnancy in terms ; but yet by consequence it leads to that which is repugnant in it self ; which is that the same body is but one body, and not but one. Being then a covert and consequential contradiction is as much and as truly a contradiction as that which is open and immediate, it followeth that it is as impossible to be effected, and therefore comes not under the power of God.

* Τὸ γὰρ εἶναι
ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλάττω
μὴ ἵσους, διὰ
ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἄγα-
θὸν· ἄλλοτε γὰρ
αὐτὸν καὶ θεὸν
εἶπερ ἦν· Ἄ-
πόστολος τοῖς ἱε-
ρατοῦ λέγει,
Arist. Ethic.
Arist. l. 5. c. 2.
Quisquis dicit,
Si omnipotens
est Deus, faciat
ut quæ facta
sunt facta non
fuerint, non videt
hoc se dicere, si
omnipotens est
faciat ut ea quæ
vera sunt eo ipso
quo vera sunt
falsa sint, S. Aug.
contra Faustum, l.
25. c. 5. It is
granted therefore
to be true, which
Pliny objects,
Deum non facere
ut qui vixit non
vixerit, qui honores
gessit, non gesserit;
as this proves nothing
against omnipotency
because it is no act
of possibility. Had
the Act objected
been seizable, and
God had not the
power to effect it,
then had he wanted
some power, and
consequently had
not been Omnipotent.
But being it is not
want of power in
the Agent, but of
possibility in the
Object, it proveth
no deficiency in
God.

That doth imply a contradiction in respect of the Agent, which is repugnant to his essential perfection ; for being every action floweth from the essence of the Agent, whatsoever is totally repugnant to that essence, must involve a contradiction as to the Agent. Thus we may say, God cannot sleep, God cannot want, God cannot † die ; he cannot sleep whose being is spiritual ; he cannot want, whose nature is all-sufficient ; he cannot die who is essentially and necessarily existent. Nor can that be a diminution of his Omnipotency, the contrary whereof would be a proof of his impotency, a demonstration of his infirmity. Thus it is impossible for God to ^a lie, to whom we say nothing is impossible ; and, he who can do all things, * cannot deny himself. Because a lie is repugnant to the perfection of Veracity, which is essential unto God as necessarily following from his infinite knowledge, and infinite sanctity. We who are ignorant may be deceived, we who are sinful may deceive ; but it is repugnant to that nature to be deceived which is no way subject unto ignorance ; it is contradictory to that essence to deceive, which is no way capable of sin. For as it is a plain contradiction to know all things and to be ignorant of any thing : so is it to know all things and to be deceived ; as it is an evident contradiction, to be infinitely holy, and to be sinful, so is it to be infinitely holy and deceive. But it is impossible for any one to lie, who can neither deceive nor be deceived. Therefore it is a manifest contradiction to say that God can lie, and consequently it is no derogation from his Omnipotency, that he cannot. Whatsoever then God cannot do, whatsoever is impossible to him, doth not any way prove that he is not Almighty, but only shew that the rest of his Attributes and perfections are as essential to him as his power ; and as his power suffereth no resistance, so the rest of his perfections admit no repugnance. Well therefore may we conclude him absolutely † Omnipotent,

† Neque enim
& vitam Dei
& prescientiam
Dei sub neces-
sitate ponimus
si dicamus,
Necessesse est
Deum semper
vivere & cuncta
præficere, sicut
nec potestas
ejus minuitur,
cum dicitur
mori fallique
non posse. Sic
enim hoc non
potest, ut potius
si posset, non
potest esse
utique potestatis ;
Recte quippe
Omnipotentem
dicunt qui tamen
mori & falli
non possunt.
Dicitur enim
Omnipotentem
dicendo quod
vult, non potest
esse quod non
vult. Quod si ei
accideret, nequaquam
esset Omnipotens.
Unde propterea
quidam non potest
quirit Omnipotens
est, Aug. de Civ. Dei,
l. 5. c. 10. Nam ego
dico quanta non
possit. Non potest
mori, non potest
peccare, non potest
mentiri, non potest
falli. Tanta non
potest, quæ si
posset non esset
Omnipotens, Autor
Sermon. 119. ad
Rom. * Heb. 5. 18.
* Nunquid
mentitur Deus?
Sed non mentitur ;
quia impossibile
est mentiri Deum.
impossibile autem
illud nunquam
infirmum est?
Non utique ;
Nam quomodo
omnia potest, si
aliquid efficere
non potest? Quod
ergo ei impossibile
est, non quod
virtute arduum
est, sed quod
impossibile

the Son Almighty, because the Son is God; and *the Holy Ghost Almighty*, because the Holy Ghost is God. The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are God by the same Divinity: therefore the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are Omnipotent by the same Omnipotency. The *Father* then is not called *Almighty* by way of exclusion, but is here mentioned with that Attribute peculiarly, * because the power of God answereth particularly to the right hand of God, as being *the right hand of power*. The *Father* therefore is here described by the notion of *Almighty*, to shew that *Christ* having ascended into heaven, and being set down at *the right hand of God*, is invested with a greater power than he exercised before: and that power which was then actually conferred upon him, acknowledgeth no bound or limits; but *all power* in the ultimate extent of its infinity is *given unto* him, who is set down on the right hand of him who is *God the Father*; and, being so, is therefore truly and properly *Almighty*.

* *Not is it unusual in other Authors to make use of the word Omnipotens, rather in relation to the present occasion, than in reference to the Person who is said to be Omnipotent; as is observed by Servius upon that Verse of Virgil, Æneid. 9. Jupiter omnipotens audacibus annue cœptis. Hoc epitheton interdum ad gloriam numinis ponitur, interdum ad causam dicentis. Namq; hoc loco dicendo Omnipotens ostendit eum etiam his qui per se minus valent præstare posse virtutem.*

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It is necessary to profess belief in God *Almighty*; First, because the acknowledgment of his Omnipotency begetteth that fear and reverence, submission and obedience which is due unto his infinite Majesty. Our God is a *great God, a mighty, and a terrible*; therefore terrible because mighty. *I will fore-warn you, saith our Saviour, whom ye shall fear: Fear him which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell, I say unto you, fear him.* Three times we are commanded to fear, and one only reason rendred, but sufficient for a thousand fears, the power of him who is able eternally to punish us. God gave a general command to *Abraham*, and with it a powerful perswasion to obedience, when he said unto him, *I am the Almighty God, walk before me and be thou perfect.* It was a rational advice which the Apostle giveth us. *Humble your selves under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time.* And it is a proper incentive to the observation of the Law of God, to consider that he is the *one Law-giver who is able to save and to destroy.*

Deut. 10. 7.
Luke 12. 5.

Gen. 17. 1.

1 Pet. 5. 6.

James 4. 12.

Secondly, The belief of God's Omnipotency is absolutely necessary as the foundation of our Faith. All the miracles which have been seen, were therefore wrought, that we may believe; and never miracle had been seen, if God were not Omnipotent. The Objects of our Faith are beyond all natural and finite power; and did they not require an infinite activity, an assent unto them would not deserve the name of Faith. If God were not *Almighty*, we should believe nothing; but being he is so, † why should we disbelieve any thing? What can God propound unto us, which we cannot assent unto, if we can believe that he is Omnipotent?

† *This was the Argument which the Pythagoreans used, who be-*

lieved many miraculous actions, which others looked upon as fabulous. Because they would disbelieve nothing which was referred to the Divine power, and the reason of that was because they thought all things possible to God, as we shewed before. Τῶν τοιάτων ὅ (saith Iamblichus, having related several strange actions either fabulous or miraculous) ἢ δοκοῦντων μυθικῶν ἀπομνημονεύσαν ὡς μηδὲν ἀπιστῶντες ἔτι ἐν εἰς τὸ θεῶν ἀνάγκη. And whereas others looked upon them as weak and simple people, for giving credit to such fabulous relations, πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐχθὲρ αὐτῶ ἐυχέειν νεμίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπιστῶντες, Iamblich. de vit. Pythag. cap. 28.

Thirdly, It is not only necessary in matters of bare Faith, and notions of Belief, but in respect of the active and operative reliance upon the promises of God. This was the particular confidence of *Abraham* the Father of the faithful, *who staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in faith, giving glory to God, and being fully perswaded that what he had promised he was able also to perform.* The promises of God are therefore

Rom. 4. 20, 21.

* firm

* firm and sure, because he is both willing and able to perform them. We doubt or distrust the promises of men, either because we may fear they intend not to do what they have promised, or cannot do what they intend; in the first, we may suspect them, because they are subject to iniquity; in the second, because they are liable to infirmity. But being God is of infinite sanctity, he cannot intend by breaking his promises to deceive us; therefore if he be also of infinite power, he must be able to perform what he intended, and consequently we can have no reason to distrust his promises. From whence every good Christian may say with the Apostle, *I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.* I am assured that if I be a sheep, and hear my Saviour's voice, the powers of darkness and the gates of hell can never prevail against me, for it was the voice of the Son of God, *My Father which gave them me is greater than all; and no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.*

Lastly, The belief of God's Omnipotency is necessary to give life to our devotions. We ask those things from heaven which none but God can give, and many of them such, as, if God himself were not *Almighty*, he could not effect. And therefore in that form of Prayer which *Christ* hath taught us, we conclude all our Petitions unto the Father with that acknowledgment, *For thine is the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory.* Nor can there be a greater encouragement in the midst of all our temptations, than that we are invited to call upon him in the day of trouble, *who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us.*

After this Explication of our Saviour's Session, we may conclude what every Christian ought, and may be supposed to intend, when he maketh profession to believe that *Christ is set on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty.* For thereby he is conceived to declare thus much, I assent unto this as a most infallible and necessary truth, That *Jesus Christ* ascending into the highest heavens, after all the troubles and sufferings endured here for our Redemption, did rest in everlasting happiness; he which upon earth had not a place to lay his head, did take up a perpetual habitation there, and sit down upon the Throne of God, as a Judge, and as a King, according to his office of Mediatour, unto the end of the World, according to that which he merited by his Mediatourship, to all eternity; which hand of God the Father Almighty signifieth an Omnipotent Power, able to do all things without any limitation, so they involve not a contradiction, either in themselves or in relation to his Perfections. And thus I believe in *Jesus Christ* who sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.

* Nulla est in promissis Dei fallitas, quia nulla est in faciendis difficultas aut impossibilitas, Fulgent. l. 1. Ad Monim.

2 Tim. 1. 12.

John 10. 29.

Math. 6. 13.

Eph. 3. 20.

ARTICLE VII.

From * thence shall he come to Judge the Quick and the Dead.

* Or, from whence; the Latines sometimes inde. some times unde. And the Greek isθεν, unde, both in the ancient MS. in Sir Robert Cotton's Library, and in the Creed of Marcellus. But εκθεν ερχομενον, in the later MS. in Bennet College Library. Others neither θεεν nor εκθεν but παλιν, as Justine Martyr, Ημεις επεγνωμεν χειρον υν Θεε σαυραθενηα κη ανασειλα, κη ανελυθητα εις τον κρανον, κη παλιν παραχρηστωμενον κελιω παντων απλωσ ανθρωπων μεχρις αυτου Αδμ. Dial. cum Tryphone. Others without inde or unde, only venturus, as the Nicene Creed, ερχομενον κειναι, others παλιν ερχομενον, or ηζοιη παλιν; and Fortunatus learning out inde venturus, hath only judicaturus vivos & mortuos.

THIS Article containeth in it four particular Considerations, and no more; First, That Christ, who is gone from us, shall come again. Secondly, That the place from whence he shall then come, is the highest Heaven, to which he first ascended; for from thence he shall come. Thirdly, That the end for which he shall come, and the action which he shall perform when he cometh, is to judge; for from thence he shall come to judge. Fourthly, That the object of that action, or the persons whom he shall judge, are all men, whether dead before, or then alive; for from thence shall he come to judge the quick and the dead.

For the illustration of the first Particular, two things will be necessary, and no more; first, to shew that the promised Messias was to come again after he once was come; secondly, to declare how our Jesus (whom we have already proved once to have come as the true Messias) did promise and assure us of a second coming.

That the Messias was to come again, was not only certainly, but copiously foretold; the Scriptures did often assure us of a second advent. As often as we read of his griefs and humility, so often we are admonished of his coming to suffer: as often as we hear of his power and glory, so often we are assured of his coming to judge. We must not fanse with the Jews, a double Messias, one the son of Joseph, the other of David; one of the tribe of Ephraim, the other of Judah; but we must take that for a certain truth, which they have made an occasion of their error; that the Messias is twice to come, once in all humility, to suffer and die, as they conceived of their son of Joseph; and again in glory, to govern and judge, as they expect the son of David. Particularly, Enoch the seventh from Adam prophesied of his Advent, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his Angels. And more particularly Daniel saw the Representation of his judiciary power and glory. I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of man, came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him before him. And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. This Son of man the Jews themselves confess to be the promised Messias, and they take the words to signifie his coming, and so far give testimony to the truth, but then they evacuate the prediction by a false interpretation, saying, that if the Jews went on in their sins, then the Messias should come in humility, according to the description in Zachary, lowly and riding upon an ass; but if they pleased

Jude 14.

1 Pet. 1. 13, 14.

R. Sallustius
Cicero ad Cam.

וזהו משיח
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למשיח דומיני in Bereshit Rabba, speaking of the Genealogy concluding (1 Chron. 2. 24) with Anani the youngest of the children of Elioenai, the Author asks this question, ומי היא ענני and who is this Anani? and answers it thus, והוא משיח זהו זהו היתה נחמיה ליליא וארו עם ענני ששיא בנה אנש אתה הויה שני הויה הויה נחמיה ליליא וארו עם ענני ששיא בנה אנש אתה הויה This is the Messias, as it is written, 1 Pet. 1. 13. I saw in the night visions, and behold one like the Son of man, came with Anani, that is, the clouds of heaven. Sallust. Juchit ad Lucam. אנש הוא מלך המשיח, and Aben Ezra, ibidem, אמר רנני שיעה בני זה בכר, אנש

when he departed from us; For *he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, and from thence shall he come*: that is, from, and out of the highest heaven (where he now sitteth at the right hand of God) shall *Christ* hereafter come to judge both the quick and the dead. For *him must the heaven receive till the time of the restitution of all things*; and when that time is fulfilled, from that heaven shall he come. For *the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel and with the trump of God. Our conversation ought to be in heaven, because from thence we look for our Saviour the Lord Jesus*. Our High-priest is gone up into the Holy of Holies not made with hands, there to make an atonement for us; therefore as the people of *Israel* stood without the Tabernacle expecting the return of *Aaron*, so must we look unto the Heavens and expect *Christ* from thence, *when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty Angels*. We do believe that *Christ* is set down on the right hand of God; but we must also look upon him as coming thence, as well as sitting there; and to that purpose *Christ* himself hath joyned them together, saying, *Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven*. Thus shall the Saviour of the world come from the right hand of power, in fulness of Majesty, from the highest heavens, as a demonstration of his sanctity: that by an undoubted authority, and unquestionable integrity, he might appear most fit to judge both the quick and the dead: which is the end of his second coming, and leads me to the third consideration, the act of his judging, *From whence shall he come to judge*.

For the explication of this Action, as it stands in this Article, three considerations will be necessary, First, How we may be assured that there is a Judgment to come, that any one shall come to judge. Secondly, In case we be assured that there shall be a Judgment, how it appeareth that he which is ascended into heaven, that is, that *Christ* shall be the judge. Thirdly, In case we can be assured that we shall be judged, and that *Christ* shall judge us, it will be worthy our inquiry in what this judgment shall consist, how this action shall be performed: and more than this cannot be necessary to make us understand, that *he shall come to judge*.

That there is a Judgment to come after this life, will appear demonstrable, whether we consider our selves who are to undergo it, or God who is to execute it. If we do but reflect upon the frame and temper of our own spirits, we cannot but collect and conclude from thence, that we are to give an account of our actions, and that a judgment hereafter is to pass upon us. There is in the soul of every man a Conscience, and whose soever it is, it giveth testimony to this truth. The antecedent or directive conscience tells us what we are to do, and the subsequent or reflexive conscience warns us what we are to receive. Looking back upon the actions we have done, it either approves or condemns them; and if it did no more, it would only prove that there is a judgment in this life, and every man his own Judge. But being it doth not only allow and approve our good actions, but also doth create a complacency, apology, and confidence in us; being it doth not only disprove and condemn our evil actions, but doth also constantly accuse us, and breed a fearful expectation and terrour in us; and all this precluding from all relation to any thing either to be enjoyed or suffered in this life: it followeth that this conscience is not so much a judge as a witness, bound over to give testimony, for or against us at some judgment after this life to pass upon us. For all men are a Law unto themselves, and have the work of the Law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or excusing one another in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men.

Again,

Again, if we consider the God who made us and hath full dominion over us, whether we look upon him in himself, or in his Word, we cannot but expect a judgment from him. First, If we contemplate God in Himself, we must acknowledge him to be the judge of all mankind, *so that a man shall say, verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth.* Now the same God who is our Judge, is, by an attribute, necessary and inseparable, Just; and this Justice is so essential to his Godhead, that we may as well deny him to be God, as to be Just. It was a rational expostulation which *Abraham* made, *Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* We may therefore infallibly conclude that God is a most just Judge; and if he be so, we may as infallibly conclude that after this life he will judge the world in righteousness. For as the affairs of this present world are ordered, though they lie under the disposition of providence, they shew no sign of an universal Justice. The wicked and disobedient persons are often so happy, as if they were rewarded for their impieties; the innocent and religious often so miserable, as if they were punished for their innocency. Nothing more certain than that in this life, rewards are not correspondent to the virtues, punishments not proportionable to the sins of men. Which consideration will enforce one of these conclusions; either that there is no Judge of the Actions of mankind; or if there be a Judge, he is not just, he renders no proportionable rewards or punishments; or lastly, if there be a Judge, and that Judge be just, then is there a judgment in another world, and the effects thereof concern another life. Being then we must acknowledge that there is a Judge, which judgeth the earth, being we cannot deny but God is that Judge, and all must confess that God is most Just; being the rewards and punishments of this life are no way answerable to so exact a justice as that which is divine must be; it followeth that there is a judgment yet to come, in which God will shew a perfect demonstration of his justice, and to which every man shall in his own bosom carry an undeniable witness of all his actions.

From hence the Heathen, having always had a serious apprehension both of the power of the conscience of man, and of the exactness of the justice of God, have from thence concluded that there is a judgment to come. Infomuch that when *S. Paul* reasoned of righteousness and temperance and judgment to come, *Felix* trembled. The discourse of righteousness and temperance touched him who was highly and notoriously guilty of the breach of both, and a pre-conception which he had of judgment after death, now heightened by the Apostles particular description, created an horror in his soul and trembling in his limbs. The same Apostle discoursing to the *Athenians*, the great lights of the Gentile world, and teaching them this Article of our Creed, that *God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead; found some which mocked when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, but against the day of judgment none replied.* That was † a principle of their own, that was confessed by all who either believed themselves, or a God; a conscience, or a Deity.

ledged by all their Writers, and as the great encouragement of his Apobgy for the Christian Religion. Ἐπει τοίνυν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας Θεοσεβείας περικείμενος λόγος ἦν ἡ δὲν ὅμαι πιστιμότερον, τοῖς ἀκινδύους βιωῶν τερνῆν ἄλλοις ἢ νερόμισαι διὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν μὲν τὴν τελευτῶν τῆδε τῆ βίης ἔσπεδον γρίσιν. ὡς ἔμινον οἱ ἡμέτεροι καὶ θεὸν κηρύττεισιν πειρηνοὶ περὶ τὰς τε καὶ σομοθέται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν νομιθέντες ἢ σοροί, ἢ ποιηταὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφοι. οἱ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ θεῶν ἐπαγγελῶν παρ' ὑμῶν εἶδεναι γινώσκον, ad Grecos Cohort. 1. Tertullian shews the same not only from the writings but the constant confession and language even of the Gentiles. Anima licet corporis carcere pressa, licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet libidinibus & concupiscentiis evigorata, licet falsis Diis exancillata, cum tamen respicitur ut ex erapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, & sanitatem suam patitur, & Deum nominat, hoc solo quia proprie verus hic unus Deus bonus & magnus. Et quod Deus dederit omnium vox est. Judicem quoque confestatur illum, Deus videt, & Deo commendat, & Deus mihi reddet. O testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ! Apol. adv. Gentes. Indeed the Ancient Gentiles have expressed this judgment to come very exactly. As Philimon cited by Justin Martyr de Monach. Dei, Ἐστὶν Δίκης ὁ καταλαμδς

Psal. 58. 11.

Gen. 18. 25.

Acts 24. 25.

Acts 17. 31.

† This principle of a Judgment to come, Justin Martyr propounds to the Gentiles, as generally acknow-

God, be the Judge of all, then whosoever is God is Judge of all men, and therefore being we have proved the Father and the Son, and shall hereafter also prove the Holy Ghost to be God, it followeth that the † Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost shall judge the World; because the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in respect of the same Divinity, have the same autocratorical power, dominion, and authority.

† Παρῆσι τοῖς
νῶν ἐν τῇ κεί-
σει τῶτε ὁ Θε-
ὸς ὁπάρων πα-
τὴρ, συ καθε-
ζούμεν Χριστῶ;
καὶ συμπαρα-
τῶ Ἄγιε
Πνεύματι,
S. Cyril, Catech
15.

But notwithstanding in that particular day of the general judgment to come, the Execution of this judiciary power shall be particularly committed to the Son, and so the Father and the Holy Ghost shall actually judge the World no otherwise but by him. For God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained.

Acts 17. 31.

It is God who judgeth, it is Christ by whom he judgeth. For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son.

John 5. 22.

There is therefore an original, supreme, autocratorical judiciary power; there is a judiciary power delegated, derived, given by Commission. Christ as God hath the first together with the Father and the Holy Ghost: Christ as man hath the second from the Father expressly, from the Holy Ghost concomitantly.

John 5. 27.

For the Father hath given him authority to execute judgment because he is the Son of man; not simply because he is a man, therefore he shall be judge, (for then by the same reason every man should judge, and consequently none, because no man could be judged if every man should only judge) but because of the three persons which are God, he only is † also the Son of man, and therefore for his affinity with their nature, for his sense of their infirmities, for his appearance to their eyes, most fit to represent the greatest mildness and sweetness of equity, in the severity of that just and unrespective judgment.

† This Explication I thought necessary to insert, because it seems to me the only way to end that controversy

which is raised upon the interpretation of those words of S. John which we ordinarily read thus, 27. Καὶ ἑξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ κρίσιν ποιῆν ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν. 28. Μὴ θαυμάζετε τῆτο. By which distinction those words, because he is the Son of man, have reference to the precedent sentence. But anciently they have been otherwise distinguished, Καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ κρίσιν ποιῆν. Ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ μὴ θαυμάζετε τῆτο. So the old Syriack Translation, verse 27. אִתְּךָ עֵבֶר נִבְרָה לְפָנֵינוּ וְעַתָּה לְפָנֵינוּ : וְעַתָּה וְעַתָּה וְעַתָּה וְעַתָּה וְעַתָּה And S. Chryostome is so earnest for this reading, that he chargeth the former distinction upon Paulus Samosatenus, as invented by him in favour of his Heresie, That Christ was nothing esse but purely man. Ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ μὴ θαυμάζετε τῆτο. Παῦλος μὲν ὁ Σαμοσατικός ἐχέτω ἑρμηνείαν, ἀλλὰ πῶς; Ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κρίσιν ποιῆν ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν. ἀλλ' ἡ δὲ κρίσις ἀποδοθεῖσα ἔχει τῆτο κριτικῶνον (so he argues against that reading) ἢ γὰρ διὰ τῆτο ἔλαβε κρίσιν ὅτι ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν (ἢ περὶ τί ἐμάλυε πείσαι ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ) καὶ τῆτα; ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀρρήτου φύσεως ἐστίν ὁ υἱὸς διὰ τῆτο καὶ κριτικῶνον. Οὕτως ἐν ἀναγνωστοῖς, Ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ μὴ θαυμάζετε τῆτο. Euthymius followeth the distinction of S. Chryostom, and Theophylact makes the same Argument, Χρὶς ἢ μόνον ἐστὶ Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατικός ψιλὸν ἀνθρώπου δογματίζων τὴν κύριον, ἔως ἀνεπίστασε τῆτο τὸ χριτικῶνον. Καὶ ἑξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ κρίσιν ποιῆν, ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ. ἐξουσία ἢ κρίσις ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ἀνεπίστασε τῆτο τὸ, Μὴ θαυμάζετε τῆτο. Ἀπόστολος ἢ τολμῶν ἐστὶ τὸ ἔως ἀναγνωστοῖς, τῶν γὰρ κρίσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Πατὴρ ἔδωκεν, ἐχέτω ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι Θεός. But though this division of the words be both by S. Chryostom and Theophylact, yet upon Paulus Samosatenus the Heretick, yet we find no other distinction in the ancient Copies; nor did the ancient Latine Fathers any otherwise read it than that Paulus did. We must then acknowledge no other coherence than the ordinary, That God gave his Son power to judge, because he was the Son of man. Nor need we to avoid the Argument of S. Chryostom, change the ὅτι into καθότι, the quia into quatenus, for it is not rendered as the absolute reason in it self, but in relation unto God, or the Persons of the Trinity; The Father shall not judge, nor the Holy Ghost, because those two Persons are only God, but all judgment is committed to God the Son, because he is the Son of man.

Nor was this a reason only in respect of us who are to be judged, but in regard of him also who is to judge; for we must not look only upon his being the Son of man, but also upon what he did and suffered as the Son of man. He humbled himself so far as to take upon him our nature, in that nature so taken he humbled himself to all the infirmities which that was capable of, to all the miseries which this life could bring; to all the pains and sorrows which the sins of all the World could cause; and therefore in regard of his humiliation did God exalt him, and part of the exaltation due unto him was this power of judging. The Father therefore, who is only God, and never took upon him either the nature of men or Angels, judgeth no man; (and the same reason reacheth also the Holy Ghost) but hath

John 5. 22, 23, 27.

committed all judgment to the Son; and the reason why he hath committed it to him, is *because he is*, not only the Son of God, and so truly God, but also the Son of man, and so truly man; *because he is that Son of man*, who suffered so much for the sons of men.

From whence at last it clearly appeareth not only that it is a certain truth that *Christ* shall judge the World, but also the reasons are declared and manifested unto us why he hath that power committed unto him, why *He shall come to judge the quick and the dead*. For certainly it is a great demonstration of the justice of God, so highly to reward that Son of man, as to make him Judge of all the World, who came into the World and was judged here; to give him absolute power of absolution and condemnation, who was by us condemned to die, and died that he might absolve us; to cause all the sons of men to bow before his Throne, who did not disdain for their sakes to stand before the Tribunal and receive that sentence, *let him be crucified*; which event as infallible, and reason as irrefragable, *Christ* himself did shew at the same time when he stood before the judgment seat, saying, *Nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven*.

† Veniet Christus ut iudex qui stetit sub iudice: veniet in ea forma in qua iudicatus est, ut videant in quem pupugerunt, & cognoscant Judæi quem negaverunt, convincat eos homo ille susceptus & ab eis crucifixus, *Author l. de Sym. ad Catech. l. 1 c. 4.* Veniet ergo, fratres mei, veniet ille; qui prius venit occultus, veniet in potestate manifestus. Ille qui iudicatus est veniet iudicaturus. Ille qui stetit ante hominem iudicaturus est omnem hominem, *Idem l. 2. c. 8.* Iudex hic erit filius hominis; forma illa hic iudicabit quæ iudicata est. Audite & intelligite, jam hoc Propheta dixerat, *Videbunt in quem pupugerunt.* Ipsam formam videbunt quam lancea percusserunt. Sedebit Iudex qui stetit sub iudice. Damnabit veros reos qui factus est falsus reus. Ipse veniet, forma illa veniet, *S. Aug. de Verbis Domini. Sermon. 64.* ² *Matth. 26. 64.*

Again, If we look upon our selves which are to be judged, whom can we desire to appear before, rather than him who is of the same nature with us? If the children of *Israel* could not bear the presence of God as a Law-giver, but desired to receive the Law by the hand of *Moses*; how should we appear before the presence of that God judging us for the breach of that Law, were it not for a better Mediatour, of the same nature that *Moses* was and we are, who is our Judge? In this appeareth the wisdom and goodness of God, that making a general Judgment, he will make a visible Judge, which all may see who shall be judged. *Without holiness no man shall ever see God*, and therefore if God, as only God, should pronounce sentence upon all men, the ungodly should never see their Judge. But that both the righteous and unrighteous might see and know who it is that judgeth them, *Christ* who is both God and man is appointed Judge; so as he is man all shall see him, and as he is God they only shall see him who by that vision shall enjoy him.

† Cum boni & mali visuri sunt iudicem vivorum & mortuorum, proculdubio cum videre non poterunt mali, nisi secundum formam qua filius hominis est; sed tamen in claritate in qua iudicabit, non in humilitate in qua iudicatus est. Caterum illam Dei formam in qua æqualis est Patri proculdubio impii non videbunt. Non enim sunt mundicordes, *Beati enim mundicordes, quoniam ipsi videbunt Deum, S. Aug. de Trin. l. 1. c. 13.* Hoc rectum erat ut iudicandi viderent iudicem. Iudicandi autem erant boni & mali. *Beati enim mundi corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.* Restabat ut in iudicio forma servi & bonis & malis ostenderetur, forma Dei solis bonis servaretur, *Idem de verbis Domini. Sermon. 64.* *Et potestatem dedit ei iudicium facere quia filius hominis est.* Puto nihil esse manifestius. Nam qui Filius Dei est æqualis Patri, non accepit hanc potestatem iudicii faciendi, sed habet illam cum Patre in occulto. Accepit autem illam ut boni & mali cum videant iudicantem, quia filius hominis est. Visio quippe Filii hominis exhibebitur & malis. Nam visio formæ Dei non nisi mundis corde, quia ipsi Deum videbunt, id est, solis piis exhibebitur, quorum dilectioni hoc ipsam promittit quia scriptum ostendit illis, *Idem rursus de Trin. lib. 1. cap. 13.*

Christ *Jesus* then, the Son of God, and the Son of man, he which was *born of the Virgin Mary*, he which *suffered under Pontius Pilate*, he which *was crucified, dead and buried, and descended into hell*, he which *rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven*, and is *set down on the right hand of God*; *He*, the same person, in the same nature, *shall come to judge the quick and the dead*. For the

² *Matth. 16. 27.*

Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his Angels, and then he shall reward every man according to his works. He then which is to come is the Son of man, and when he cometh, it is to judge. *The same Jesus which was taken up from the Apostles into heaven, shall so come in like manner as they saw him go into heaven.* That Son of man then, which is to judge, is our Jesus, even the same Jesus, and shall come in the same manner, by a true and local translation of the same nature out of heaven. For God will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given an assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead. He then which ascended into heaven, was the same which was raised from the dead, and by that Resurrection God assured us that the same man should judge us. For to this end Christ both died and rose and revived, that he might be the Lord both of the dead and living. It appeareth therefore by God's determination, by Christ's Resurrection and Ascension, that the man Christ Jesus is appointed Judge.

This Office and Dignity of the Son of man was often declared by several figurative and parabolical descriptions. John the Baptist, representeth him that cometh after him by his delineation of an husbandman. *Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floore, and gather his wheat into the garner, but will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.* The Son of man describes himself as an housholder saying to the Reapers in the time of harvest, * *Gather ye together first the tares and bind them in bundles to burn them, but gather the wheat into my barn: and this harvest is the end of the world.* He representeth himself under the notion of a Fisherman, ^a *casting a net into the sea, and gathering of every kind; which, when it was full, he drew to the shore and sat down and gathered the good into vessels, but cast the bad away.* He is the Bridegroom, who took the wife Virgins ^b *with him to the marriage, and shut the door upon the foolish.* He is the man who travelling into a far country, delivered the talents to his servants, and ^c *after a long time cometh again, and reckoneth with them, exalting the good and faithful, and casting the unprofitable servant into utter darkness.* Lastly, He is the Shepherd, and is so expressly described in relation to this judgment. For ^d *when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit down upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd his sheep from the goats. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on his left.* Being then the Son of man is thus constantly represented as making the great dectory Separation, and the last judicatory Distinction between man and man; as an Husbandman separating the Wheat, sometime from the Chaff, sometime from the Tares: as a Fisherman gathering the good Fish, casting the bad away; as a Bridegroom receiving the wife, excluding the foolish Virgins; as a Master distinguishing the Servants of his Family, rewarding the faithful, punishing the unprofitable; as a Shepherd, dividing his Sheep from the Goats, placing one on the right hand, the other on the left; it plentifully proveth that the same Son of man is appointed the Judge of all the Sons of men. And thus it appeareth that Christ is he who shall be the Judge, which is the second consideration subservient to the present Explication.

Thirdly, It being thus resolved that the Son of man shall be the Judge, our next consideration is, What may the nature of this Judgment be; in what that Judicial Action doth consist; what he shall then doe, when he shall come to judge. The reality of this Act doth certainly consist in the final determination, and actual disposing of all persons in soul and body to their eternal condition: and in what manner this shall particularly be performed

Acts 10. 15.

Acts 17. 31.

Rom. 14. 9.

Mat. 3. 12
 Ἀγορεύω ἔτι
 κόλωσιν ἕσται
 ἐν ἡσθησὶ καὶ
 κείλω θείων
 σι, ἢ τὴν ἡμε-
 εἰαν ἀθανάτων
 εἰσάγει. 5.
 Chry. in loc.
 * Mat. 13. 30,
 31.

Ἰδὲν ἀνα-
 μνησκῆ αὐ-
 τῶν ἡμῶν Ἰω-
 ἀννη ῥημάτων
 ἡ καὶ τὴν αὐ-
 τῶν εἰσαγγε-
 λων, S. Chry-
 ad locum.

^a Mat. 13. 47,
 48.

^b Mat. 25. 10.

^c Mat. 25. 19,
 21, 30.

^d Mat. 25. 31,
 32, 33.

† S. Auſtine ſpeaking of the particulars fore-ſaid to be exhibited at the day of Judgment, concludes them in this manner, *Quæ omnia quidem ventura eſſe credendum eſt; ſed quibus modis & quo ordine veniant magis tunc docebit rerum experientia quam nunc valet conſequi ad perfectum hominem intelligentia.* De Civ. Dei, l. 2. c. 30.

^a Matt. 19. 28.

^b Rev. 20. 4. 11.

^c Rom. 14. 10.

^d 2 Cor. 5. 10.

^e Rev. 20. 12.

^f Matt. 25. 32.

^g Matt. 24. 31.

^h 2 Theſſ. 2. 1.

ⁱ 1 Cor. 4. 5.

^k Eccl. 12. 14.

^l Rev. 20. 12.

* Dominus

non accepta

perſona judi-

cat mundum,

unufquiſq; ſe-

cundum quæ

tacite accipiet.

Si fuerit bonus,

bonitas eum

antecedit; ſi

nequam, mer-

ces nequitie

eum ſequitur,

Ep. Barnab. c. 3.

^a Matt. 24. 34.

^b Verſe 41.

^c Verſe 45.

^d Verſe 45.

^e Verſe 45.

^f Verſe 45.

^g Verſe 45.

^h Verſe 45.

ⁱ Verſe 45.

^j Verſe 45.

^k Verſe 45.

^l Verſe 45.

^m Verſe 45.

ⁿ Verſe 45.

^o Verſe 45.

^p Verſe 45.

^q Verſe 45.

^r Verſe 45.

^s Verſe 45.

^t Verſe 45.

^u Verſe 45.

^v Verſe 45.

^w Verſe 45.

^x Verſe 45.

^y Verſe 45.

^z Verſe 45.

is not ſo certain unto us; but that which is ſufficient for us, it is repreſented under a formal judiciary proceſs. In which firſt there is deſcribed a Throne, a tribunal, a judgment-seat; for ^a *in the regeneration the Son of man ſhall ſit in the throne of his glory*: and that this Throne is a ſeat not only of Maſteſty but alſo of Judicature, appeareth by the following words ſpoken to the Apoſtles, *ye alſo ſhall ſit upon the thrones judging the twelve tribes of Iſrael*. As in that viſion in the Revelation, ^b *I ſaw thrones and they ſate upon them, and judgment was given unto them. And I ſaw a great white throne, and him that ſate on it, from whoſe face the earth and the heaven fled away*. This Throne of Chriſt is expreſly called his Judgment-seat, when the Apoſtle tells us, ^c *we ſhall all ſtand before the judgment-seat of Chriſt*, and ^d *we muſt all appear before the judgment-seat of Chriſt*. In reſpect then of the Son of man, he ſhall appear in the proper form and condition of a Judge, ſitting upon a Throne of Judicature. Secondly, there is to be a perſonal appearance of all men before that Seat of Judicature upon which Chriſt ſhall ſit, for *we muſt all appear, and we ſhall all ſtand before that judgment-seat*. ^e *I ſaw the dead*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *ſtand before the throne of God*. Thus ^f *all nations ſhall be gathered before him. He ſhall ſend his Angels with a great ſound of a trumpet, and they ſhall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other*. For the ^h *coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is our gathering together unto him*. Thirdly, when thoſe which are to be judged are brought before the Judgment-seat of Chriſt, all their actions ſhall appear; ⁱ *he will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the counſels of the hearts*: he will ^k *bring every work into judgment with every ſecret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil*. To this end in the Viſion of Daniel, when the Judgment was ſet, the books were opened; and in that of S. John, ^l *the books were opened, and the dead were judged out of thoſe things that were written in the books according to their works*. Fourthly, After the manifeſtation of all their actions, there followeth a * definitive ſentence paſſed upon all their perſons, according to thoſe actions, which is the fundamental and eſſential conſideration of this judgment; the ſentence of Abſolution, in theſe words expreſſed, ^a *Come, ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world*; the ſentence of Condemnation, in this manner, ^b *Depart from me, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels*. Laſtly, after the promulgation of the ſentence followeth the execution. As it is written, ^c *And theſe ſhall go away into everlaſting puniſhment, but the righteous into life eternal*. Thus appeareth Chriſt's Maſteſty by ſitting on the throne, his Authority by convening all before him, his Knowledge and Wiſdom by opening all ſecrets, revealing all actions, diſcerning all inclinations, his Juſtice in condemning ſinners, his Mercy in abſolving believers, his Power in his execution of the ſentence. And thus the Son of man ſhall come to judge, which is the laſt particular ſubſervient to the third Conſideration of this Article.

The fourth and laſt conſideration is what is the object of this Action, who are the perſons which ſhall appear before that Judge, and receive their ſentence from him, what is the latitude of that expreſſion, *the quick and the dead*. The phraſe it ſelf is delivered ſeveral times in the Scriptures, and that upon the ſame occaſion; for Chriſt was ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead; and ſo his commiſſion extendeth to both: he is ready to judge the quick and the dead; his reſolution reacheth to each: and as he is ordained and ready, ſo ſhall he judge the quick and the dead; the execution excludeth neither. But although it be the Scripture language, and therefore certainly true; yet there is ſome ambiguity in the phraſe, and therefore the intended ſenſe not evident.

Act. 10. 42.

1 Pet. 4. 5.

1 Tim. 4. 1.

The Holy Ghost speaketh of death in several notions, which makes the quick and the dead capable of several interpretations. Because after death the soul doth live, and the body only remaineth dead; therefore † some have understood the souls of men by the *quick*, and their bodies by *the dead*: and then the meaning will be this, that *Christ* shall come to judge immediately upon the resurrection, when the souls which were preserved alive shall be joyned to the bodies which were once dead; and so men shall be judged entirely both in body and soul, for all those actions which the soul committed in the body. Now though this be a truth, that men shall be judged when their souls and bodies are united; though they shall be judged according to those works which their souls have acted in their bodies; yet this is not to be acknowledged as the interpretation of this Article, for two reasons; first, because it is not certain that all men shall die, at least a proper death, so that their bodies shall be left any time without their souls; secondly, because this is not a distinction of the parts of man, but of the persons of men.

† So Theophylact testifieth. τῶν ἐσθῆς καὶ σώματος ἐνώπιον, Comment. in 2 Tim. 4. 1. Indeed Hieronymus Pelusiotus testifieth this as the first Interpretation, τὸ κείνην ζῶνται καὶ νεκροί, πρὸς τὸ ὅτι, τὸ καὶ ψυχῶν καὶ σώματις κείνην ἐλδ' ἔσθῆς, καὶ ὅτι ἐν θανάτῳ, ὅτι ἐν θανάτῳ.

τίς κε χειρισθῶν ἄλλ' ὡς ἅρ κοινῶν ἢ ἐναυθα σωματικῶν ἐποίησαντο, ἔτω καὶ τῶν ἐκείθεν δίκην ἠνομήσας ὁ ἁγίος πνεῦμα, Epist. 222. lib. 1.

Again, because the Scripture often mentioneth a death in trespasses and sins, and a living unto righteousness, others have conceived by the *quick* to be understood the † just, and by *the dead* the unjust: so that *Christ* shall judge *the quick*, that is the just, by a sentence of absolution; and *the dead*, that is the unjust, by a sentence of condemnation. But, though the dead be sometimes taken for sinners, and the living for the righteous, though it be true that *Christ* shall judge them both; yet it is not probable that in this particular they should be taken in a figurative or metaphorical sense, because there is no adjunct giving any such intimation, and because the sense affordeth a fair explication; further yet, because the Scripture in the same particular naming the quick and the dead sufficiently teacheth us that it is to be understood of a corporeal death, ^a *Whether we live or die, saith the Apostle, we are the Lords: for to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.*

† This is the second exposition delivered by Hieronymus Pelusiotus to such as are not satisfied with the first, Εἰ ἢ καὶ ἀλλως ζητήσῃς, ἔτω διακρίναι, ζῶνται καὶ ἀζῶντων βίον καὶ θεοφιλημῆλων θέντων, καὶ ἐποδῆναι αὐτοῖς τελευτήτες ἀμοιβῆς, κείνην.

καὶ νεκροθύνται τοῖς ἀδελφίμασι καὶ τὸ ὁθὲν αὐτοῖς τάλαντον ὡς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ καταχάσαντες βαθυμίας, καὶ ἀμύνασθαι αὐτοῦ, Epist. 222. lib. 1.

^a Rom. 14. 9.

Thirdly, Therefore by * *the dead* are understood all those who ever died before the time of *Christ's* coming to judgment, and by *the quick* such as shall be then alive: so that the quick and the dead literally taken are considered in relation to the time of *Christ's* coming; at which time there shall be a generation living upon the face of the earth, and before which time all the generations passed since the creation of the world shall be numbred among the dead. And this undoubtedly is the proper † and literal sense of the Article, that *Christ* shall come to judge, not only those which shall be alive upon the earth at his appearing, but also all such as have lived and died before. None shall be then judged while they are dead: whosoever stand before the judgment-seat shall appear alive; but those which never died, shall be judged as they were alive; those which were dead before, that they may be judged, shall rise to life. He shall judge therefore *the quick*, that is those which shall be * then alive when he cometh, and he shall judge *the dead*, that is those which at the same time shall be raised from the dead.

* This is the third Exposition of Hieronymus Pelusiotus, Εἰ ἢ καὶ ἀλλως, ἔτας, κείνην καὶ τὸ τε ζῶνται καταχάσαντες, καὶ καὶ ἡσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν κερκομῆθῆναι, Ib. Others of the Fathers give the second and the third explication, leaving it indifferent, and preferring neither; ὡς ὁ Κληυσίος.

ταύτῃ λέγει καὶ δίκαιος, ἦτοι καὶ καὶ ἀπελθόντων καὶ καὶ νῦν ὄντων, ὅτι πολλοὶ καταλειθῆσονται ζῶντες, Com. in 2 Tim. 4. 1. Duobus autem modis accipi potest quod vivos & mortuos judicabit; sive ut vivos intelligamus quos hic nondum mortuos sed adhuc in ista carne inventurus est ejus adventus; mortuos autem qui de corpore priusquam venisset exierunt.

vel exiit riant: five vivos iusti, mortuos autem iniustos, quoniam iusti quoque iudicabuntur, *S. August. in Enchirid. c. 52.* Credimus etiam *inde venturum* convenientissimo tempore, & *iudicaturum vivos & mortuos*, five istis nominibus iusti & peccatores significantur; five quos tunc ante mortem nostram in terris inventurus est appellati sunt vivi, mortui vero qui in eius adventu resurrecturi sunt, *lib. de Trid. & symb. c. 2. Inde venturus iudicare vivos & mortuos.* Vivos qui superfuertint, mortuos qui precesserint. Foesit & sic intelligi, vivos, iustos; mortuos, iniustos: utroque enim iudicat sua cuique retribuens. Iustus dicitur est in iudicio, *Venite Benedicite, &c.* Sinitris quid? *Ite in ignem, &c.* Sic iudicabuntur a Christo vivi & mortui, *Author. l. de Symb. ad Catechum.* Duobus modis hae sententia accipitur. Vivi & mortui in animo, item vivi & mortui in corpore. In corpore secundum priorem, iudicabit vivos in anima credentes, & mortuos in anima fidem nullam habentes: secundum posteriorem iudicabit vivos in carne, quos praesentes invenerit eius adventus; iudicabit & mortuos in carne, quos resuscitatus est Deus excelsus, *Author l. 4. de Symb. ad Catech. c. 7.* *But although these two Expressions are both indifferently proposed, yet the former ought by no means so to be received as any way to evacuate or prejudice the latter.* Quod autem dicimus in symbolo, in adventu Domini vivos ac mortuos iudicandos, non solum iustos & peccatores significari, sicut *Diadonius* putat; sed & vivos eos qui in carne inventiendi sunt credimus, qui adhuc morituri credantur, vel immutandi sunt, ut alii volunt, ut iustitiae continuo, vel reformari, cum ante mortuis iudicentur, *Gennadius de Dogmat. Eccl. c. 8.* * *This is the clear interpretation of Theodoret, without the least mention of any other, Νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κεινῶν ἢ Κῶλον κελύκειν, ἐπειδὴν καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνάστα καὶ εἰς τὸ κελύκειον ἀγεί, καὶ τῶν ζῶντων ἢ σωτηρίας μακρὴν ἐνεπισκομῶν ἐσθύνον τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἀποθήκῃ τῶν εὐσυνίας. Πάντες γὰρ, οἴσιν, ἢ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες ὃ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, Com. in 2 Tim. 4. 1. Vivi agnoscuntur qui in corpore erant in adventu Domini, mortui qui ex hac luce migraverunt, Author Exar. Symb. iud nomine S. Conf. * *This is cleared by the Author of the Questions and Answers under the name of Justin Martyr, Εἰ τὸ ἄναστασιος δώσω τὰ π τῶν θανάτων ὁ Θεὸς δίδωσι ἑσθύνου, καὶ πάντες ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀνάστασις τῶν κελύκειν παύσεισθαι μέλλουσι, τῶν πληρωθῆσθαι τὸ κελύκειν νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων ἢ κελύκειν τῶν νεκρῶν κελύκειν δυνήσονται, ἐν τῶν σώματα ἐν μήμασιν ἐκείνηται, αἱ ὃ ψυχὰς τῶν σωμάτων κελύκεισθαι εἰσιν; Resp. Οὐ πάντες, φησὶ, κοιμηθησόμεθα· κεινῆ ἐν ζώντας μὲ, τῶν τ. τ. ζῶντας, νεκρῶν ὃ, τῶν ἀνασταμένους ἐκ τῆς νεκρῶν, Quest. 109.**

The only doubt remaining in this interpretation is, whether those that shall be found alive when our Saviour cometh, shall still so continue till they come to judgment; or upon his first appearance they shall die, and after death revive, and so together with all those which rise out of their graves, appear before the judgment-seat. The consideration of our mortality, and the cause thereof, (that it is appointed for all men once to die, in that death hath passed upon all) might persuade us that the last generation of mankind should taste of death as well as all the rest that went before it; and therefore it : hath been thought, especially of late, that those whom *Christ* at his coming finds alive shall immediately die; and after a sudden and universal expiration shall be restored to life again, and joynd with the rest whom the graves shall render, that all may be partakers of the Resurrection.

*. Omnium enim hominum erit resurrectio. Si omnium erit, ergo omnes moriantur, ut mors ab Adam ducta omnibus filiis eius dominetur, & maneat illud privilegium in Domino, Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Hanc rationem maxima Patrum turba tradente suscepimus, *Gennadius de Eccl. Dogmat. cap. 7.*

But the Apostles description of the last day mentioneth no such kind of death, yea rather excludeth it. *For we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout with the voice of the Archangel and the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we be ever with the Lord.* In which words they which remain unto the coming of the Lord, are not said to die or to rise from the dead, but

are distinguished from those which are asleep and rise first; yea being alive are * caught up together with them, having not tasted death.

* *This is the observation of Epiphanius who from these words proves as much. For having repeated the text, he thus infers, Ἀπὸ τῆς συνιζωγμένων ἐκείνων λέξεως ὁμοίως ἐστὶν τὸ ἐπιλέγειν. Διαφανὲς γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἂν ἀποστολῆς τῆς δύο βόλων τὸ εἶδος οἱ μίαν ἐπιείδα συνιζωγῆναι, καὶ τὸ, ἡμεῖς ἀρπαγησόμεθα ἐν νεβύλαις καὶ σώματα τῆσιν αὐτῶν· ἵνα δὲ εἴρη ἔστω τὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἕχεται πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ἀρπαγῆς ἕποσθαι. *Epiph. de Hæres. 65. §. 7.**

The same is farther confirmed by the same Apostle, saying, *Behold I shew you a mystery, we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed.* Which being added to the former, putteth this doctrine out of question: for the living which remain at the coming of *Christ* are opposed to them which are asleep, and the opposition consists in this, that they shall not sleep; which sleep is not opposed to a long death, but to death it self, as it followeth, *the dead shall be raised*

raised incorruptible, and we, (which shall not sleep) shall be changed; so that their mutation shall be unto them as a resurrection. And the collation of these two Scriptures maketh up this conclusion so manifestly, that I conceive no man had ever doubted or questioned the truth of it, had they not first differed in the * reading of the Text.

quidem exuri & non nudi inveniamur; id est, ante volumus superinducere virtutem cœlestem æternitatis, quam carne exuamur. Hujus enim gratiæ privilegium illos manet, qui ab adventu Domini deprehenduntur in carne, & propter duritiam temporum Antichristi merebuntur compendio mortis per demurationem expunctæ concurrere cum resurgentibus, sicut Theodosius scribit, *Text. de Res. Carn. c. 41.* Sancti qui die consummationis atq; judicii in corporibus reperti sunt cum aliis sanctis qui ex mortuis resurrexerunt, rapiuntur in nubibus obviam Christo in aere, & non gustabunt mortem; eruntq; semper cum Domino, gravissima mortis necessitate calcata, unde ait Apostolus, *Omnes quidem non dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur.* *Theod. Heracl. Com. ad loc. apud S. Hier. Ep. 152.* Apollinarius licet aliis verbis eadem qua Theodoros asseruit; quosdam non esse morituros, sed de præfenti vita rapiendos in turram, ut mutatis gloriificatisq; corporibus sine cum Christo; *S. Hier. ib. "Ο ὅς λέγει τὰς ὄψεις ἔσθαι πάντες ἢ ἀλλοιωσώμεθα, ἢ οὐκ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. Ἐπιτοίχιοι γὰρ καλεῖται. Μὴ τοίνυν ἐπειδὴν ἀποθνήσκουσιν διὰ τὸτο δέειν, εὐπὼν ὡς οὐκ ἀναστειλόμεθα. Εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες, εἰσι, εἰ καὶ τὸτο διατρεχέονται ἡ ὄψεις οὐκ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄψεων εἰς τὸ ἀναστειλόμεθα, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνα τὰ σώματα τὰ μὴ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἀλλοιωσώμεθα, ἢ οὐκ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀναστειλόμεθα, S. Chrys. ad loc. So S. Hier. speaking of that place, 1 Thess. 4.* Hoc ex ipsius loci continentia terri potest, quod sancti qui in adventu Salvatoris fuerint deprehensi in corpore, in iidem corporibus occurrant ei, ita tamen ut inglorium & corruptivum & mortale gloria & incorruptione & immortalitate mutetur: ut qualia corpora mortuorum surrectura sunt, in talem substantiam etiam vivorum corpora transformentur, *S. Hier. Ep. 148. ad Marcell. And St. Austin in relation to the same place, Revera quantum ad verba beati Apostoli pertinet, videtur asserere quosdam in fine sæculi, adveniente Domino, cum futura esse resurrectionem mortuorum, non esse morituros, sed vivos repertos in illam immortalitatem qua Sanctus etiam ceteris datur, repente mutandos, & simul cum illis rapiendos, sicut dicit, in nubibus. Nec aliquid aliud mihi visum est quod de his verbis volui cogitare, S. Aug. ad tertiam Quæst. Dulcitii. These and others of the Ancients have clearly delivered this truth, so that Genadius, notwithstanding his maxima Patrum turba for the contrary, did well confess. Verum quia sunt & alii aequè Catholici & eruditi viri, qui credunt anima in corpore manente immutandos ad incorruptionem & immortalitatem eos qui in adventu Domini vivi inventi sunt; & hoc eis reparari pro resurrectione ex mortuis, quod mortalitate præfentis vite immutatione deponant, non morte. Quolibet quis acquiescat modo, non est hæreticus, nisi ex contentione hæreticus fiat, De Eccl. Dogm. c. 7. * There have been observed three several readings of that place, 1 Cor. 15. 51. one of the Latin, two of the Greek. Illud autem breviter in fine commoneo; hoc, quod in Latinis codicibus legitur, *Omnes quidem resurgemus, non omnes autem immutabimur;* in Græcis voluminibus non haberi, sed vel, *Omnes dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur;* vel, *Non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur,* *S. Hier. Ep. 152.* But there was not one of these three only in the Latin Copies, that is the first, but one which was in the Greek, was also in the Latin, that is the second. For both these S. Austin takes notice of. Nam & illud quod in plerisque codicibus legitur, *Omnes resurgemus,* unde fieri poterit, nisi omnes moriamur? Resurrectio quippe, nisi mors præcesserit, nulla est. Et quod nonnulli codices habent, *Omnes dormiemus,* multo facilius & apertius id cogit intelligi, ad 3. hæret. Dulcit. Sed aliud rursus occurrit quod idem dicit Apostolus cum de resurrectione corporum ad Corinthios loqueretur, *Omnes resurgemus, vel,* sicut alii codices habent, *Omnes dormiemus, Idem de Civit. Dei, l. 20. c. 20.* Two readings therefore were anciently in the Latin, two in the Greek; one of the Greek in the Latin and no more. First then that read *et,* *Omnes quidem resurgemus, &c.* which is at this day in the Vulgar Latin, was by the testimony of S. Jerome and S. Austin the ordinary reading in their times, and is also used by Tertullian, Horum demurationem ad Corinthios dedit dicens, *Omnes quidem resurgemus, non autem omnes demutabimur,* *De Resur. Carn. c. 42.* And altho' S. Jerome testifieth that it was not to be found in the Greek Copies, yet to the same purpose it is amongst the Varie Lectiones March. Velel. Πάντες ἀναστειλόμεθα, ἀλλὰ ὁ πάντες ἀλλοιωσώμεθα. And in codice Clavomontano, the Greek is erased in this place, but the Latin left is, *Omnes quidem resurgemus.* As for the second Reading, *Omnes dormiemus, &c.* this was anciently in the Latin Copies according to S. Austin, and also in the Greek, according to S. Jerome. Didymus did so read it, and contend for that reading, Scio quod in nonnullis codicibus scriptum sit, *Non quidem omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur;* Sed considerandum est an ei quod præmissum est, *Omnes immutabimur,* possit convenire quod sequitur, *Mortui surgent incorrupti, & nos immutabimur;* Si enim omnes immutabuntur, & hoc commune cum ceteris est, superfluum fuit dicere, *& nos immutabimur.* Quamobrem ita legendum est, *Omnes quidem dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur,* *Apud S. Hier. Ep. 152.* Indeed Acacius Bishop of Casarca doth not only acknowledge this Reading, but saith it was in most Copies. Dicamus primum de eo, quod magis in plurimis codicibus invenitur. Ecce mysterium dico vobis, *Omnes quidem dormiemus, non omnes autem immutabimur.* The Alexandrian MS. may confirm this lesson, which reads it thus, *Οἱ πάντες ἢ ἀναστειλόμεθα, ἢ πάντες ὁ ἀλλοιωσώμεθα,* for the first ἢ is not written in the line but above it. And the Ethiopick Version to the same purpose. *Omnes nos moriemur, sed non omnes nos immutabimur.* The third reading, *Non omnes dormiemus, &c.* though it were not anciently in the Latin, yet it was frequently found in the Greek Copies. Acacius testifieth thus much, Transiamus ad lectandam lectionem, que ita fertur in plerisque codicibus, *Non quidem omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur,* *apud Hier. ib.* It was so anciently read in the time of Origen, as appeareth by the fragment taken by S. Jerome out of his *Εὐαγγ. κατὰ ματθ.* the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, (which he mentioneth himself in his 2 Book against Cellus) and by his words in the 5 against Cellus, *ὡς ὁποσάων μετὰ τινος ἀπορίας λελέχθαι παρὰ τὸ Ἀποστόλου, ἢ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ, ἢ πάντες κοιμησώμεθα, πάντες ὁ ἀλλοιωσώμεθα.* The same is acknowledged by Theodoros, Heraclæotes, Apollinarius, Didymus, S. Chrystostome, Theodoros, Theophylact, and Occumenius. The same is confirmed by the ancient Syriack Translation: *כלן נרדמן כלן נרדמן כלן נרדמן כלן נרדמן כלן נרדמן.* Being then of the three Readings but two were anciently found in the Greek Copies, Quæritis quo sentu dictum sit, & quo modo in prima ad Cor. Epistola Pauli sit legendum, *Omnes quidem dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur;* an juxta quendam exemplaria, *Non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur;* utrumq; enim in Græcis codicibus invenitur. S. Hier. ib. being of these two but one is now to be found, and the Greek Fathers successively have acknowledged no other, being that which is left agrees with the most ancient Translations, we have no reason to doubt or question it.*

Wherefore being the place to the Thessalonians sufficiently proves it of itself, being that to the Corinthians, as we read it, invincibly confirmeth the same truth, I conclude that the living when Christ shall come, are properly distinguished from all those which die before his coming; because death it

self hath passed upon the one, and only a change different from death shall pass upon the other; and so conceive that *Christ* is called the Lord and Judge of the quick and dead, in reference at least to this expression of the Creed. For although it be true of the living of any Age to say that *Christ* is Lord and Judge of them and of the dead, yet in the next Age they are not the living but the dead which *Christ* shall come to judge, and consequently no one generation but the last can be the quick which he shall judge. As therefore to the interpretation of this † Article I take that distinction to be necessary, that in the end of the World all the generations dead shall be revived, and the present generation living so continued, and *Christ* shall gather them all to his tribunal seat, and so shall truly come to judge both *the quick and the dead*.

† This was well observed by S. Austin, Si autem in illis verbis Apostoli nullus alius sensus poterit reperiri, & hoc cum intelligi voluisse clarum erit, quod videntur ipsa verba clamare; id est, quod futuri sint in fine seculi, & secundo adventu Domini, qui non expolientur corpore, sed superinduantur immortalitate, ut absorbeatur mortale a vita: huic sententia proculdubio conveniet quod in Regula Fidei confitemur, venturum Dominum, judicaturum vivos & mortuos, ut non hic intelligamus, vivos justos, mortuos autem injustos, quamvis judicandi sint & just & injusti, sed vivos, quos nondum exiisse, mortuos autem, quos jam exiisse de corporibus adventus ejus inveniet, ad 3. Quest. Dulciti. And Origen long before did make the same exposition of those words, That he might be Lord both of the dead and living, Rom 14.9. Ὁρα γὰρ ὅτι τέτοις ὅτι ἀπέθρονεν Ἰησοῦς, ἵνα νεκρῶν κριεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀνίστη ἵνα μὴ μόνον νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ζώντων κριεῖσθαι. Καὶ εἰ δὲ γὰρ ὁ Ἀτίστολθ νεκρῶν μὲν ὡν κριεῖσθαι ὁ κριεὺς, καὶ ἔτι καὶ ζώντων κριεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ πέτρῃ Κορινθίους περὶ τῆρα (σαλ τίσιν γὰρ καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐξεσθῆναι ἀσφαρτοι) ζῶντας δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ καὶ ἀλλογενεῶν, ἐτέρας οὐσίας τῆρα ἐκείνων νεκρῶν. Ἐχρη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆτων ἢ λέγει ἄτος, καὶ ἡμῖς ἀλλογενεῶν ἐξῆς ἡμεῶν τῶν, οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκείνων ἐστὶν περὶ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ πέτρῃ Θεολογικῆς περὶ τῆρα ἐν ἐτέρας λέγει τῆρα αὐτῶν διακρίσθαι τῆρα ἐστὶν, ἀλλος μὲν ἐστὶν καὶ κοιμώμενος, ἀλλος δὲ καὶ ζῶντας λέγων, Ἦσ. l. 2. contra Celsum. Which Exposition is far more proper than that of Methodius, Ἐπὶ τῆ ψυχῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων παρὰ ληθῆον, ζώντων μὲν τῆ ψυχῶν, καὶ ἀθάνατοι, νεκρῶν δὲ τῶν σωμάτων, Phot. in Biblio Cod. 234. and Ruffinus, Quid autem dicitur judicare vivos & mortuos, nisi quod alii vivi, alii mortui ad judicium veniant? sed anima simul judicabuntur & corpora, in quibus vivos animas, corpora mortuos nominavit, Exposit. in Symb.

To believe an universal Judgment to come is necessary: First, to prevent the dangerous doubts arising against the ruling of the World by the providence of God; that old rock of offence upon which so many souls have suffered shipwrack. That which made the Prophet *David* confess, his feet were almost gone, his steps had well nigh slipt, hath hurried multitudes of men to eternal perdition. The conspicuous prosperity of the wicked, and apparent miseries of the righteous, the frequent persecution of Virtue, and eminent rewards of Vice, the sweet and quiet departures often attending upon the most dissolute, and horrid tortures putting a period to the most religious lives, have raised a strong temptation of doubt and mistrust whether there be a God that judgeth the earth. Nor is there any thing in this life considered alone, which can give the least rational satisfaction in this temptation. Except there be a life to come after such a death as we daily see, except in that life there be rewards and punishments otherwise dispensed than here they are, how can we ground any acknowledgment of an over-ruling justice? That therefore we may be assured that God who sitteth in heaven ruleth over all the earth, that a divine and most holy Providence disposeth and dispenseth all things here below: it is absolutely necessary to believe and profess, that a just and exact retribution is deferred, that a due and proportionable dispensation of rewards and punishments is reserved to another World; and consequently that there is an Universal Judgment to come.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe a Judgment to come, thereby effectually to provoke our selves to the breaking off our sins by repentance, to the regulating our future actions by the Word of God, and to the keeping a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man. Such is the sweetness of our sins, such the connaturalness of our corruptions, so great our confidence of impunity here, that except we looked for an account hereafter, it were unreasonable to expect that any man should forsake his delights, renounce his complacencies, and by a severe repentance create a bitterness to his own Soul. But being once persuaded of a judgment, and withly

Isa. 73. 2.

withal possessed with a sense of our sins, who will not tremble with *Felix*? who will not *flie from the wrath to come*? what must the *hardness* be of that *impenitent heart* which *treasureth up unto it self wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God*? We are naturally inclined to follow the bent of our own wills, and the inclination of our own hearts: all external rules and prescriptions are burthensome to us; and did we not look to give an account, we had no reason to satisfy any other desires than our own: especially the dictates of the Word of God are so pressing and exact, that were there nothing but a commanding power, there could be no expectation of obedience. It is necessary then that we should believe that an account must be given of all our actions; and not only so, but that this account will be exacted according to the rule of God's revealed will, that *God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to the Gospel*. There is in every man not only a power to reflect, but a necessary reflection upon his actions, not only a voluntary remembrance, but also an irresistible judgment of his own conversation. Now if there were no other judge beside our own souls, we should be regardless of our own sentence, and wholly unconcerned in our own condemnations. But if we were persuaded that these reflections of conscience are to be so many witnesses before the tribunal of Heaven, and that we are to carry in our own hearts a testimony either to absolve or condemn us, we must infallibly watch over that unquiet inmate, and endeavour above all things, for a good conscience. For *seeing that all things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hastening unto the coming of the day of God*. Reason it self will tell us thus much; but if that do not, or if we will not hearken to our own voice; *the grace of God that bringeth salvation teacheth us, That denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ*.

Thirdly, 'Tis necessary to profess faith in *Christ* as Judge of the quick and the dead, for the strengthening our hope, for the augmenting our comfort, for the establishing our assurance of eternal life. If we look upon the Judgment to come only as revealing our secrets, as discerning our actions, as sentencing our persons according to the works done in the flesh, there is not one of us can expect life from that tribunal, or happiness at the last day. We must confess that we have all sinned, and that there is not any sin which we have committed but deserves the sentence of death; we must acknowledge that the best of our actions bear no proportion to eternity, and can challenge no degree of that weight of glory; and therefore in a judgment, as such, there can be nothing but a fearful expectation of eternal misery, and an absolute despair of everlasting happiness. It is necessary therefore that we should believe that *Christ* shall sit upon the throne, that our Redeemer shall be our Judge, that we shall receive our sentence not according to the rigour of the Law, but the mildness and mercies of the Gospel; and then we may look upon not only the precepts but also the promises of God; whatsoever sentence in the sacred Scripture speaketh any thing of hope, whatsoever Text administreteth any comfort, whatsoever argument drawn from thence can breed in us any assurance, we may confidently make use of them all in reference to; the Judgment to come; because by that Gospel which contains them all we shall be judged. If we consider whose Gospel it is, and who shall judge us by it, *we are the members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones; for which cause he is not ashamed to call us brethren. As one of our brethren he hath redeemed us, he hath laid down his life as a ransom for us. He is our High-priest who made an atonement for our sins, a merciful and faithful*

Rom. 2. 3.

Rom. 2. 16.

2 Pet. 3. 11.

Tit. 2. 11, 12.

Ephes. 5. 29.
Heb. 2. 11.
Lev. 25. 48.

High-priest in all things ; being made like unto his brethren. He which is Judge is also our Advocate ; and who shall condemn us , if he shall pass the sentence upon us , who maketh intercession for us ? Well therefore may we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him unto the Throne of that Judge , who is our Brother , who is our Redeemer , who is our High-Priest , who is our Advocate , who will not by his Word at the last day condemn us , because he hath already in the same Word absolved us , saying ,

Ephes. 3. 12. *Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that beareth my word and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation. But is passed from death unto life.*

John 5. 24.

Having thus explained the nature of the judgment to come , and the necessity of believing the same , we have given sufficient light to every Christian to understand what he ought to intend , and what it is he professeth , when he saith , I believe in him who shall come to judge the quick and the dead . For thereby he is conceived to declare thus much . I am fully perswaded of this as of an infallible and necessary Truth , That the eternal Son of God , in that humane nature , in which he died , and rose again , and ascended into Heaven , shall certainly come from the same Heaven into which he ascended , and at his coming shall gather together all those which shall be then alive , and all which ever lived and shall be before that day dead : when causing them all to stand before his judgment-seat , he shall judge them all according to their works done in the flesh ; and passing the sentence of condemnation upon all the Reprobates , shall deliver them to be tormented with the Devil and his Angels , and pronouncing the sentence of absolution upon all the Elect , shall translate them into his glorious Kingdom , of which there shall be no end . And thus I believe in *Jesuu Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead.*

ARTICLE VIII.

I Believe in the Holy Ghost.

IN this Article we repeat again the first word of the Creed, I believe; whereas a Conjunction might have been sufficient, but that so many particulars concerning the Son hath intervened. For as we are baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: so do we make Confession of our Faith, saying, I believe in the Father, the Son, * and the Holy Ghost; and the ancients whose Creed was something shorter, made no repetition of the Act of Faith, but only an addition of the Object; † And in the Holy Ghost. And as we repeat the Act of Faith in this Article, so some did also in the second, || I believe in Jesus Christ. Wherefore being this word, I believe, is taken here only by way of resumption or repetition, and consequently must be of the same sense or importance of which it was in the beginning of the Creed, it may well receive the same explication here which it received there; to that therefore the Reader is referred.

* Sed enim ordo rationis, & fidei auctoritas digestis vocibus & literis Domini, adiuvet nos post hæc credere etiam in spiritum S. olim Ecclesie re promissum, sed statuis tempo-

rum opportunitatibus redditum. Novatian. de Trin. c. 29. Schlichtingius the Socinian in his Preface to the Polonian Confession of Faith, endeavoureth to persuade us that this Article of the Holy Ghost is not so ancient as the rest; which being diametrically opposite to that Original of the Creed, which I have delivered, the Baptismal words, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, it will be necessary to examine his reason, which is drawn only from the authority of Tertullian; who in his Book de Veland. Virg. reciting the Rule of Faith, makes no mention of the Holy Ghost: and de Pract. Harer. propounds this Article no otherwise, quam ut credamus Christum in celos receptum sedere ad dextram Patris, misisse vicariam vim Sp. Sancti. But this Objection made for the Novelty of this Article is easily answered. For Irenæus before Tertullian hath it expressly in his Confession, l. 1. c. 2. and calls it the Faith in Patrem & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum, and also declares, That the Church received that Faith, and preserved it through the whole World. † So the ancient Greek MS. εἰς πνεῦμα ἄγιον; and Marcellus, εἰς τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα; as also Arius and Euzoius, and the Council of Nice. Thus also the Latines, Post hoc ponitur in ordine fidei, Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Rufinus in Symb. Max. Tavin. ‡ Author lib. de Symb. ad Catechum. The MS. in the Oxford Library, Et in Spiritu Sancto. Others instead of the Conjunction made use of Credo by way of repetition as we do in Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, Chrysost. Euseb Gallican. Author Sermon. de Tempore, Etherius Usam, the Greek and Latine MS. Sanctæ College Library: and Credo in Sancto Spiritu: Venantius Fortunatus. || As the ancient Saxon Creed set forth by Frencrus.

For although the * Ancient Fathers did frequently make use of this Language to prove the Divinity of the Spirit, and did thence argue that he is really and truly God, because we believe in the Holy Ghost; yet being that Language is not expressly read in the Scriptures in relation to the Spirit, as it is in reference to the Son; being to believe in the Holy Ghost, is only the expression of the Church contained in the Creed; being in the same Creed many of the Ancients, without any reprehension, have used the same phrase in the following Articles expressly, and where the Preposition is not expressed, it may very well be thought it was understood; therefore I think fit to acquiesce in my former Exposition, and lay no great force in the Preposition.

* Gregory Nazianzen disputing for the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, proreth that he is no Creature, thus. Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν κτίσμα, τῶς ὡς αὐτὸ πικροῦν ἢ ὡς αὐτὸν τελειοῦσα, ἔγερ τὰ ἄλλα ἔστι πιστὸν εἰς τὴν αἰὶν ὡς πῶς

σθεῖν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι θεότης, τὸ δὲ παντὶ πρόγματι, Orat. 37. Epiphanius seems to speak thus much, shewing that though the Fathers of the Nicene Council had determined nothing particularly of the Holy Ghost, yet they sufficiently shew that he is God by these words, εἰς πνεῦμα ἄγιον. Εὐθύς γὰρ ἡ ἕκθεσις ὁμολογῆσθαι ἐκ ἀρνήσασθαι. Πιστὸν γὰρ εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα. Τὸ δὲ πιστὸν ἄλλως εἰρησι, ἀλλ' ἡ πίστις εἰς τὸν Θεόν. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ἔχ' ἀπλῶς εἰρησι, ἀλλ' εἰς Θεὸν ἢ πίστις. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα, ἔχ' ἀπλῶς εἰς μίαν ὁμοιοῦσαν, καὶ εἰς μίαν ἔρασσαν θεότητα, καὶ μίαν μεσσησια, εἰς τὴν τελείαν, μίαν δὲ θεότητα, μίαν ὁμοιοῦσαν, καὶ μίαν κρείττησαν, καὶ τὸ ὅτι εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν καὶ πιστὸν ἄλλως, Hæres. 4. Agnoscamus verbi ipsius privilegium. Credere illi quilibet potest hominum, esse vero in illum soli debere se Majestati noveris. Sed & hoc ipsum aliud est Deum credere, aliud est credere in Deum. Elic Deum & Diabolus credere dicitur, secundum Apostolum; nam & demones credunt & contremunt. In Deum vero credere, hoc est dicitur cum quæret, & tota in eum dilectione transire. Credo ergo in illum hoc est dicere, Consecro illum, colo illum, adoro illum, totum me in jus eius ac dominium trado, atque transfundo. In professionis hujus reverentia universa divini nominis debita continentur obsequia, Paschasius in Prefat. Operis de spiritu S.

It will therefore be sufficient for the explication of this Article, if we can declare what is the full and proper object of our Faith contained in it, what

we are obliged to believe concerning the *Holy Ghost*. And as to this we shall discharge our undertaking, and satisfy whatsoever is required in this Exposition, if we can set forth these two particulars, the Nature and the Office of that blessed Spirit. For the name of *GHOST* or *GAST* in the ancient Saxon Language signifieth a Spirit, and in that appellation of the Spirit of God, his nature principally is expressed. The addition of Holiness though it denote the intrinsecal sanctity essentially belonging to that Spirit, yet notwithstanding it containeth also a derivative notion, as signifying an emanation of that Holiness and communication of the effects thereof; and in this communication his Office doth consist. Whatsoever therefore doth concern the Spirit of God, as such, and the intrinsecal sanctity which belongeth to that Spirit, may be expressed in the explication of his Nature; whatsoever belongeth to the derivation of that sanctity, may be described in his Office; and consequently more cannot be necessary than to declare what is the Nature, what the Office of the Spirit of God.

For the better indagation of the Nature of the Holy Ghost, I shall proceed by certain steps and degrees, which as they will render the Discourse more clear, so will they also make the Reasons more strong, and the Arguments more evident. And first, as to the existence of the Spirit of God, it will be unnecessary to endeavour the proof of it; for although the Sadducees seemed to deny it, who said that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit; though it hath † been ordinarily concluded from thence that they rejected the Holy Ghost, yet it cannot be proved from those words that they denied the existence of the Spirit of God, any more than that they denied the existence of God, who is a Spirit: nor did the Notion which the Jews had of the Spirit of God any way incline the Sadducees, who denied the existence of the Angels and the Souls of men, to reject it. The Resurrection, Angel, and Spirit, which the Sadducees refused to acknowledge, were but two particulars, for it is expressly added that the *Pharisees confessed both*; of which two the Resurrection was one, * Angels and Spirits were the other; wherefore that which the Sadducees disbelieved was the existence of such created spiritual natures, as the Angels and the Souls of men are conceived to have. And as for those Disciples at *Ephesus*, who had ^a not so much as heard whether there be an *Holy Ghost*; if they were Gentiles, it is no wonder, because they never had that notion in their Religion; if they were *Jews* as they seem to be, because they were baptized with the baptism of *John*, it signifieth not that they never heard of the Spirit of God, but only that they had not heard of the giving of it, which the Apostle mentioned. As we read elsewhere, that the ^b *Holy Ghost* was not yet; not denying the existence, but the plentiful effusion of it. For, whatsoever the Nature of the Spirit of God may be thought to be, no man can conceive the Apostle should deny his existence before *Christ's* glorification, whose operation was so manifest at his conception. Howsoever, the Apostle asked those ignorant Disciples, *Unto what then were ye baptized?* intimating that if they were baptized according to the rule of *Christ*, they could not be ignorant that there is an *Holy Ghost*; because the Apostles were commanded to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the *Holy Ghost*. It is therefore presumed that every one who professeth the name of *Christ*, from the first baptismal institution, acknowledgeth that there is an *Holy Ghost*; and the only question consists in this, what that *Holy Ghost* is, in whose name we are baptized, and in whom, according to our baptism, we profess in the Creed to believe.

In order to the determination of which question; our first Assertion is, That the *Holy Ghost*, described to us in the Word of God, and joyned with
the

Act 23. 5.

† As Epiph. Haref. 14.

Πνεῦμα τὸ ἁ-
γιον Σαδδου-
καῖοι μὴ εἶδέν τι
τὸ πνεῦμα παν ἰ-
σούσαν (εἶδέν
τὸ ἀγγέλους, εἶ-
δέν ἀνάστασιν)
ἐκ οὗτων εἶδεν
ταῖς τοσαύταις
πρὸς αὐτὸ μὴ-
τυεῖαι ἐν τῷ
παλαιῷ διατ-
ήσαντες, Οὐαί.

37.

* Φαιρισταῖσι δὲ
ἐποῖν, ὁμολο-
γῶσι τὰ ἀμ-
εῖρα κήρυμα,
τεία ἐστὶ πᾶς
ἐν λέγει ἀμὲν
τερεῖ, ἢ ὅτι
τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ
ἀγγέλων ἐν
ῥῆτι; S. Chryl.
ad locum.

^a Act 19. 2.

^b John 7. 39.

the Father and the Son in the form of Baptism, is a Person. We are all baptized in the name of Three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and the publick Confession of our Faith hath relation to those Three. We all confess that two of these, the Father and the Son, are persons: that which we now assert is only this, that the Holy Ghost, who is of the three the third, is also a Person as the other two. That blessed Spirit is not only an † energy or operation, not a quality or power, but a spiritual and intellectual subsistence. * If we conceive it is an operation only, then must it only be actuated and not act; and when it is not actuated, it must not be at all. If we say that it is a quality, and not a substance; we say that it is that which we cannot prove to have any being. It seemeth to me strangely unreasonable that men should be so earnest in endeavouring to prove that the Holy Ghost which sanctifieth them is no substance, when they cannot be assured that there is any thing operative in the world beside substantial beings, and consequently if they be not sanctified by that, they can be susceptible of no holiness. By what reason in nature can they be assured, by what revelation in Scripture can they be confident, that there is a reality deserving the name of quality distinguished from all substance, and yet working real and admirable effects? If there were no other Argument but this, that we are assured by the Christian Faith, that there is an Holy Ghost existing; and we cannot be assured, either by reason or faith, that there is a quality really and essentially distinguished from all substance, it would be sufficient to deter us from that boldness to assert the Holy Ghost, in whose name we are baptized, to be nothing else but a quality.

† To conclude the nature of the Holy Ghost, which is not so immediately expressed in the Scriptures, it will be needful so to place our assertions, as that they may occur to all other misconceptions. Now the old notions; (and more they cannot now have,) were thus delivered by Gregory Nazianzen, that great Divine so much concerned in this Subject. Τῶν δὲ καθ' ἑμᾶς σφῶν ὁ μὲν ἐνέργειαν

ἴστο (τὸ πνῦμα) ἠέλαθον, οἱ δὲ κλίσημα, οἱ δὲ Θεῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ ἐργασίαν ὁσότερον τέτων· αἰδοῖ τὴν γρηφῆς, ὡς φασιν, ἐδέτερον σαφῶς διλωσάσι, Ουαί. 37. These were the three particular and opposite Opinions, either the Spirit is an operation, or a created substance, or God; the fourth is but a doubt or hesitation which of the three is true. The first of these is thus propounded by way of question. Τὸ πνῦμα τὸ ζῶιον ἢ ἴσθ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑφίσταται πάλῃος ἠὲ ὁθετέον, ἢ ἴσθ ἐν ἑτέρῳ θεωρηθῶν, ὡν τὸ μὲν ἕπαν καλῶσιν οἱ πᾶσι ταῦτα δεινὸν, τὸ δὲ συμβεβηκός, Either it is subsisting in it self, as a substance, or in another as an accident. This was the first question then, and still is. * This is the Argument of the same Father, Εἰ μὲν ἐν συμβεβηκέν, ἐνέργεια τῶτο ἂν ἔη Θεῶ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον, ἢ τίνθ; ἴστο γὰρ πως μᾶλλον κὲ φάγει σῶθεον, κὲ εἰ ἐνέργεια, ἐνεργηθῆσαι δὴλον ὅτι ἐκ ἐνεργῆσαι, κὲ ὁ μὲν πᾶσι ἐνεργηθῶν πᾶσι εἶαι· τοῦτον γὰρ ἢ ἐνέργεια. Πῶς ἂν ἐνεργῆ, κὲ τὰδε λέγει, κὲ ἀροεῖζθ, κὲ λυπῆται, κὲ παρορῶται, κὲ ὅσα κινῶν ἐκ σαφῶς ὅτι ἢ κινήσας.

But we are not left to guess at the nature of the Spirit of God; the word of God which came from that Spirit hath sufficiently delivered him as a person. It is indeed to be observed that in the Scriptures there are some things spoken of the Holy Ghost which are proper and peculiar to a Person, as the Adversaries confess: others, which are not properly and primarily to be attributed to a Person, as we cannot deny: and it might seem to be equally doubtful, in relation to the Scripture-Expressions, whether the Holy Ghost were a person or no; and that they which deny his Personality may pretend as much Scripture as they which assert it. But in this seeming indifferency we must also observe a large diversity; inasmuch as the Holy Ghost, or Spirit of God, is not always taken in the same propriety of signification; nor do we say that the Holy Ghost which signifieth a Person, always signifieth so much. It is therefore easily conceived, how some things may be attributed to the Spirit in the Scriptures which are not proper to a Person, and yet the Spirit be a Person, because sometimes the Spirit is taken for that which is not a Person, as we acknowledge. Whereas, if ever any thing be attributed to the Holy Ghost, as to a Person, which cannot be otherwise understood of the Spirit of God than as of a Person, then may we infallibly conclude that the Holy Ghost is a Person. This therefore we shall endeavour fully and clearly to demonstrate; first, that the Scriptures declare unto us the Holy Ghost as a Person, by such attributes and expressions as cannot be understood to be spoken:

spoken:

spoken of the Spirit of God any other way than as of a Person: Secondly, that whatsoever attributes or expressions are used in the Scriptures of the Holy Ghost, and are objected as repugnant to the nature of a Person, either are not so repugnant, as is objected; or if they be, they belong unto the Spirit, as it signifies not a Person.

First then the Holy Ghost, or good Spirit of God is clearly and formally opposed to those evil Spirits, which are and must be acknowledged persons, of a spiritual and intellectual subsistence. As, *the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil Spirit from the Lord troubled him.* Now, what those evil spirits from the Lord were, is apparent from the sad example of *Abab*, concerning whom we read, *there came out a Spirit and stood before the Lord and said, I will entice him; and the Lord said unto him; wherewith? and he said, I will go out and be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets; and the Lord said, Thou shalt entice him, and thou shalt also prevail; go out and do even so.* From whence it is evident that the evil Spirits from God were certain persons, even bad Angels, to which the one good Spirit as a person is opposed, departing from him to whom the other cometh.

Again, The New Testament doth describe the Holy Ghost by such personal dispositions, and with such operations, as are as evident marks and signs of a person as any which are attributed to the Father or the Son, which are unquestionable persons, and whatsoever terms are spoken of the Spirit by way of quality, are spoken as well of those which are acknowledged persons. We are exhorted by the Apostle *not to grieve the Spirit of God*, and grief is certainly a personal affection of which a quality is not capable. We are assured that the same *Spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered*; and we can understand what are interceding persons, but have no apprehension of interceding or groaning qualities. The operations of the Spirit are manifest, and as manifestly personal: for he *searcheth all things, yea even the deep things of God*, and so he knoweth all things, *even the things of God*, which can be no description of the power of God; he *worketh all the spiritual gifts, dividing to every man severally as he will*; in which the operation, discretion, distribution, and all these voluntary, are sufficient demonstrations of a person. He revealeth the will of God and speaketh to the sons of men, in the nature and after the manner of a person; for *the Spirit said unto Peter, Behold three men seek thee. Arise therefore and get thee down, and go with them doubting nothing, for I have sent them*: and the *Holy Ghost said unto the Prophets and Teachers at Antioch, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.* We cannot better understand the Nature of the Holy Ghost than by the description given by *Christ* which sent him: and he said thus to his Disciples, *The Comforter (or, the Advocate) which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, he shall testify of me: and ye also shall bear witness. If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart I will send him unto you. And when he is come he will reprove the world, and he will guide you into all truth; for he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear that shall he speak, and he shall shew you things to come; he shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you.* All which words are nothing else but so many descriptions of a person, a person hearing, a person receiving, a person testifying, a person speaking, a person reprovng, a person instructing.

The Adversaries to this truth acknowledging all these personal expressions, *Quod in testimoniis sacris que adversarii citant Spiritui S. actiones personarum, et ea que personarum sunt propria, ex hoc nihil concludi potest, eum aliis rebus, quas personas non esse constat,*

stat, similiter in Scripturis sacris aëiones tribuantur, & ea quæ sunt propria personarum. Cuius rei plenissimam fidem facere potest vel locus ille Pauli, 1 Cor. 13. à v. 4. ad 8. ubi perpetuo de Charitate, tanquam de persona aliqua loquitur illi permulta tribuens, quæ revera non nisi in personam cadunt, *Faustus Socinus contra Hookum, c. 10.*

ons, answer that it is ordinary in the Scriptures to find the like expressions, which are proper unto persons, given unto those things which are no persons: as when the Apostle saith, *Charity suffereth long and is kind, charity envieth not, charity vaunteth not it self, is not puffed up, doth not behave it self unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh none evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.* All which personal actions are attributed to Charity which is no person, as in * other cases it is usual, but belonging to that person which is charitable; because that person which is so qualified doth perform those actions according to, and by vertue of, that charity which is in him. In the same manner, .∴ say they, personal actions are attributed to the Holy Ghost, which is no person, but only the vertue, power, and efficacy of God the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; because that God the Father is a person, and doth perform those personal actions, attributed to the Holy Ghost, by that vertue, power, and efficacy in himself which is the Holy Ghost. As when we read *the Spirit said unto Peeer, ^a Behold three men seek thee; arise therefore and get thee down and go with them, doubting nothing; for I have sent them*: we must understand that God the Father was the person which spake those words, and which sent those men; but because he did so by that vertue which is the Holy Ghost, therefore the Holy Ghost is said to speak those words and send those men. In the same manner when we read, *the Holy Ghost said unto those at Antioch, ^b Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them*; we must conceive it was God the Father who spake those words, who had called *Barnabas* and *Saul*, and to whom they were to be separated: but because God did all this by that power within him which is his Spirit, therefore those words and actions are attributed to the Holy Ghost. This is the sum of their answer; and more than this I conceive cannot be said in answer to that Argument which we urge from those personal expressions attributed to the Spirit of God, and, as we believe, as to a person.

*loquatur, Rom. 2. 19. & Scripturæ quod prospiciat & pronunciet, Gal. 3. 18. & Charitati quod sit longanimis, &c. 1 Cor. 13. 4, 5, 6, 7. Denique Spiritui, i. e. vento, quod spiret ubi velit, c. 6. Vide Socini Epistolam 3. ad Petrum Statorium. .∴ Quod si quis dixerit satis constare Paulum eo in loco figurate loqui, & charitatis nomine eum intelligere qui charitate est præditus quatenus ea est præditus: respondebo, Cum Spiritus S. sit Spiritus Dei, certumq; sit aliqui spiritum alicujus personæ non posse esse personam ab ea cujus est Spiritus distinctam, non minus constare eum Spiritui S. ea tribuuntur, quæ personæ & simul ipsius Dei sunt propria, nihil aliud intelligendum nomine Spiritus S. esse, quam ipsum Deum spiritu suo, id est, virtute atque efficacia sua agentem atque operantem. F. Socinus, *ibid.* Quoniam vero Spiritus S. virtus Dei est, hinc fit ut ea quæ Dei sunt, Spiritui S. attribuantur, & sub nomine Spiritus S. sæpe Deus ipse intelligatur, quatenus suam virtutem Deus per Spiritum suum exerit; *Catech. Racov. ibid.* ^a *Acts* 10. 20. ^b *Acts* 13. 2.*

But this answer is most apparently insufficient, as giving no satisfaction to the Argument. For if all the personal actions, attributed in the Scriptures to the Spirit, might proceed from the Person of God the Father, according to the power which is in him, then might this answer seem satisfactory; but if these actions be personal, as they are acknowledged and cannot be denied, if the same cannot be attributed to the Person of God the Father, whose Spirit it is, if he cannot be said to do that by the power within him, which is said to be done by the Holy Ghost, then is that defence not to be defended; then must the Holy Ghost be acknowledged a person. But I shall clearly prove, that there are several personal attributes given in the sacred Scriptures expressly to the Holy Ghost, which cannot be ascribed to God the Father, which God the Father by that power which is in him, cannot be said to do;

and

1 Cor. 13. 4-5, 6, 7.

* See the Racovian Catech. *doth enlarge this Answer, stating the question thus; Qui vero in Scripturis loci accipiendi sunt in quibus Sp. S. aëiones personarum propria & ad Deum ipsum spectantes attribuantur? And returning this solution, Ad eum modum, quo in Scripturis rebus id attribuitur sepe numero, quod personarum est, neque tamen res illæ propterea personæ censentur, ut peccato, quod deceperit, & occiderit, Rom. 7. 11. & legi, quod*

and consequently cannot be any ground why those attributes should be given to the Spirit if it be not a person.

To make intercession is a personal action, and this action is attributed to the Spirit of God, *because he maketh intercession for the Saints according to the will of God.* But to make intercession, is not an act which can be attributed to God the Father, neither can he be said to intercede for us according to that power which is in him; and therefore this can be no Profopopeia, the Holy Ghost cannot be said to exercise the personal action of intercession for that reason because it is the Spirit of that person which intercedeth for us. To come unto men, as being sent unto them, is a personal action, and so the Comforter, or Advocate, who is the Holy Ghost, did come, being sent; *when the Comforter is come whom I will send you from the Father,* saith Christ, and again, *If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him to you.* But to come unto men as being sent, cannot be ascribed to God the Father, who sendeth, but is never sent; especially in this particular, in which the Father is said expressly to send, and that in the name of the Son (*whom the Father will send in my name,* saith our Saviour.) When therefore the Holy Ghost cometh to the Sons of men, as sent by the Father in the name of the Son, and sent by the Son himself, this personal action cannot be attributed to the Father as working by the power within him, and consequently cannot ground a Profopopeia, by which the virtue or power of God the Father shall be said to do it. To speak and hear are personal actions, and both together attributed to the Spirit, in such a manner as they cannot be ascribed to God the Father. *When he,* saith Christ, *the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth; for he shall not speak of himself: but whatsoever he shall hear, that he shall speak.* Now to speak and not of himself cannot be attributed to God the Father, who doth all things of himself; to speak what he heareth, and that of the Son; to deliver what he receiveth from another, and to glorifie him from whom he receiveth by receiving from him, as Christ speaketh of the Holy Ghost, *He shall glorifie me, for he shall receive of mine, and shew it to you,* is by no means applicable to the Father; and consequently it cannot be true that the Holy Ghost is therefore said to do these personal actions, because that person whose Spirit the Holy Ghost is, doth those actions, by and according to his own power, which is the Holy Ghost. It remaineth therefore that the Answer given by the Adversaries of this truth is apparently insufficient, and consequently that our Argument, drawn from the personal actions attributed in the Scriptures to the Spirit, is sound and valid.

I thought this discourse had fully destroyed the Socinian Profopopeia; and indeed as they ordinarily propound their Answer, it is abundantly refuted. But I find the subtilty of *Socinus* prepared * another explication of the Profopopeia to supply the room where he foresaw the former would not serve. Which double Figure he groundeth upon this distinction. The Spirit, that is, the power of God, saith he, may be considered either as a propriety and power in God, or as the things on which it worketh are affected with it. If it be considered in the first notion, then if any Personal attribute be given to the Spirit, the Spirit is there taken for God, and by the Spirit God is signified: if it be considered in the second notion, then if any Personal attribute be given to the Spirit, the Spirit is taken for that man in which it worketh, and that man, affected with it, is called the Spirit of God.

* Credo me fieri officabile, Spiritum S. non esse personam, non magis quam aere vel proprietates, vel effectus Dei sine personis, cum nihil in aliis quam peccatis virtus & efficacia Dei: quia si ut ipius Dei

proprietatis, & vis per quam agit consideratur & accipitur, figura metonymice aut profopopeice accommodatissimus est locus: & metonymia quidem, si Spiritus S. nomine ipse Deus, cujus est Spiritus, quique per eum agit significatur; profopopeia vero, ut quando Deus per Spiritum S. agit, ipsi Spiritui S. Dei actio tribuatur: sed autem hæc virtus & efficacia

efficacia Dei consideratur & accipitur, ut res in quibus agit, ab ipsa afficiuntur, utrique isti figura similiter aptissimus est locus quandoquidem commodissimè per metonymiam is qui à Spiritu S. aliquo modo affectus quidpiam agit, quatenus id agit, Spiritus S. seu Spiritus Dei meronymicè dici potest: ut factum est apud Paulum, cum ait (1 Cor. 2. 10.) Spiritum (sub. Dei) omnia scrutari etiam profunda Dei: ubi Spiritus Dei nomine sine dubio intellexit hominem Spiritu Dei præditum, quatenus viz. ab isto Spiritu afficitur. Jam per prosopopœiam ipsi Spiritui S. actionem tribui, quæ ipsius Spiritus ope ab homine fiat adeo est proclive ut nihil magis; F. Socin. in Resp. ad Wickl. cap. 10.

So that now we must not only shew that such things which are attributed to the Holy Ghost cannot be spoken of the Father, but we must also prove that they cannot be attributed unto man, in whom the Spirit worketh from the Father. And this also will be very easily and evidently proved. The Holy Ghost is said to come unto the Apostles as sent by the Father and the Son, and to come as so sent is a personal action, which we have already shewed cannot be the action of the Father, who sent the Spirit; and it is as certain that it cannot be the action of an Apostle who was affected with the Spirit which was sent, except we can say that the Father and the Son did send S. Peter an Advocate to S. Peter: and S. Peter, being sent by the Father and the Son, did come unto S. Peter. Again, Our Saviour, speaking of the Holy Ghost, saith, *He shall receive of mine*: therefore the Holy Ghost in that place is not taken for the Father; and shew it unto you, therefore he is not taken for an Apostle: in that he receiveth the first Socinian Prosopopœia is improper; in that he sheweth to the Apostle the second is absurd. The Holy Ghost then is described as a person distinct from the Person of the Father, whose power he is, and distinct from the Person of the Apostle in whom he worketh, and consequently neither of the Socinian Figures can evacuate or enervate the Doctrine of his proper and peculiar Personality.

Secondly, For those Attributes or expressions used of the Holy Ghost in the sacred Scriptures, and pretended to be repugnant to the nature of a Person, either they are not so repugnant, or if they be, they belong unto the Spirit, as it signifieth not the Person but the gifts or effects of the Spirit. † They tell us that the Spirit is given, and that sometimes in measure, sometimes without measure, that the Spirit is poured out, and that men do drink of it, and are filled with it, that it is doubled and distributed, and something is taken from it, and that sometimes it is extinguished; and from hence they gather, that the Holy Ghost is not a Person, because these expressions are inconsistent with Personality. But a satisfactory Answer is easily returned to this Objection. 'Tis true, that God is said to have *given the Holy Ghost to them that obey him*, but it is as true that a Person may be given; so we read in the Prophet *Isaiah*, *unto us a Son is given*, and we are assured that *God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son*, and certainly the Son of God is a Person. And if all the rest of the expressions be such as they pretend, that is, not proper to a Person, yet do they no way prejudice the truth of our Assertion, because we acknowledge the effects and operations of the Spirit to have in the Scriptures the name of the Spirit, who is the cause of those operations. And being to that Spirit, as the cause, we have already shewn those Attributes to be given which can agree to nothing but a Person; we therefore conclude against the Socinians and the * Jews, That the Holy Ghost is not a Quality, but a Person; which is our first Assertion.

in partes distribuatur, tollatur ipse, & ex ipso tollatur; & similia in Scripturis extant. Catech. Ruvor. c. 6. Quæst. 12. ^a *Act. 5. 32.* ^b *Isa. 9. 5.* * *The Opinion of the Jews was, That the Holy Ghost was nothing else but the art and energy of God, and that those they which denied the substantiality of the Spirit were looked upon as symbolizing with the Jews in this particular.* Lactantius in libris suis, & maxime in Epistolis ad Demetrianum Spiritus S. omnino negat substantiam; & errore Judaico dicit eum vel ad Patrem referri, vel ad Filium, & sanctificationem utriusque Personæ sub ejus nomine demonstrari, S. ier. Ep. 55. *Moses Maimonides sufficiently declarerth the Opinion of the Jews, who delivering the several significations of פרוח, makerth the first and last to be these.* Quinto significat influentiam illam intellectualem divinam à Deo Prophetis instillatam, cujus virtute Prophetant. Sexto significant Propositum, & Voluntatem. *And then concludes, Vox hæc פרוח quando Deo attribuitur, ubiq; sumitur partem in quibus, partim in sexta significatione, quatenus voluntatem significat, Mose Necebum, p. 1. c. 40.*

† Spiritum S. non esse Deitatis Personam hinc discere potes, primum quod ea quæ Spiritui S. in Scripturis attribuantur, nulla prorsus ratione Personæ conveniant, ut sunt quod detur, quod ex eo detur, idq; aut secundum mensuram, aut absque omni mensura quod effundatur ipse & ex ipso effundatur, & quod copotentur homines, quod augetur, quod ut duplo detur,

Our second Assertion is, That the *Holy Ghost*, in whose name we are baptized, and in whom we profess to believe, is not a created, but a divine and uncreated, Person. And for the proof of this Assertion, we shall first make use of that Argument which our Adversaries have put into our hands. The Spirit of God which is in God is not a created Person: But the Holy Ghost is the Spirit of God which is in God, and therefore not a created Person. This Argument is raised from those words of the Apostle, *For who knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God.* That this Spirit of God is the *Holy Ghost* I find denied by none. That the same Spirit is in God, appeareth by the Apostles discourse, and is granted by the * *Socinians*: that it is so the Spirit of God, and so by nature in God that it cannot be a creature, is granted by the same. It followeth therefore undeniably that the *Holy Ghost* is no created Person; inasmuch as that cannot be a created person which hath not a created nature, and that can neither have nor be a created nature, which by nature is in God. Wherefore although it be replied by others, that it is not said in the Text that the Spirit is in God, yet our Adversaries reason over-weighs their negative observation; and it availeth little to say that it is not expressed, which must be acknowledged to be understood. The *Holy Ghost* then is a Person, (as I have proved) and is not of a nature distinguished from that which is in God, (as is confessed, and only denied to be in God, because it is not said so when it is implied,) therefore he is no created Person.

1 Cor. 2. 11.

* The Socinians endeavouring to prove from this place, That the Holy Ghost is not a Person, lay the foundation of their Argument in this, That he is the Spirit of God, and by nature in God, so that those things which are proper to the Divine Nature are attributed and

belong to him, and because there is another Person in the Divine Essence, and, as they say, there can be but one, therefore the Holy Ghost is not a Person. Deinde idem (sc. Sp. S. non esse Personam) ex eo patet, quod non fit extra Deum natura sed in ipso Deo. Nisi enim natura Deo inesset, non potuisset Paulus Spiritum Dei cum spiritu hominis qui homini inest natura conferre, idque eo in loco, 1 Cor. 2. 11. ubi ait, *Quis hominum novit quae sunt hominis nisi spiritus hominis qui inest homine? Ita quae sunt Dei nemo novit nisi Spiritus Dei.* Quoniam vero Spiritus S. in Deo est, nec tamen in Spiritu S. recipere dici potest esse Deum, hinc apparet Sp. S. non esse Personam. Praeterea cum superius demonstratum sit unam tantum esse in Deitate personam, & Spiritus S. sit Dei virtus, ut verba Christi ad Apostolos indicant, *Luc. 24. 49. efficitur Spiritum S. non esse personam divinam.* Denique si Spiritus S. esset persona, essentiam quoque divinam cum habere oporteret. Nam ea attribuuntur illi quae propria sunt essentiae divinae: ac superius docuimus substantiam divinam unam esse numero, nec tribus personis esse posse communem. Quamobrem Sp. non esse Deitatis personam planum est, *Catech. Racovian. c. 6.* To the same purpose doth Socinus argue against Wickus, *That the Nature of the Spirit is the Nature of God, and that the Spirit cannot therefore be a Person, because there can be but one Person in the Nature of God. Whereas therefore independently from this place we have proved, That the Holy Spirit is a Person, and from this place have inferred with them, That the same Spirit is in God and of the Divine Nature, it followeth, That he is no created Spirit, inasmuch as nothing in the Divine Nature can be created.*

* *Matt. 12. 31, 32.* Quomodo audent inter omnia numerare Spiritum S. quando ipse Dominus dixerit, *Qui blasphemaverit in Filium hominis remittetur ei, qui autem blasphemaverit in Spiritum S. nec hic nec in futurum remittetur ei.* Quomodo

igitur inter creaturas audent quisquam Spiritum computare? Aut quis sic se obligat, ut si creaturae derogaverit, non putet nisi hoc aliqua venia relaxandum? *S. Ambrosii de Spiritu S. l. 1. c. 3.*

Secondly, The *Holy Ghost* is such a one, as against whom a sin may be committed, and when it is so, cannot be remitted. But if he were no Person, we could not commit that sin against him; and if he were a created Person, the sin committed against him could not be irremissible. Therefore he is a Person, and that uncreated. The Argument is grounded upon the words of our Saviour, * *All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh a word against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.* By which words it appeareth there is a sin or blasphemy against the Holy Ghost distinct from all other sins and blasphemies committed against God the Father or the Son of God; that this sin hath an aggravation added unto it, beyond other sins and blasphemies: but if the Holy Spirit were no Person, the sin could not be distinct from those sins which are committed against him whose Spirit he is; and if he were a Person created, the sin could receive no such aggravation beyond other sins and blasphemies.

To this they answer, That the sin against the *Holy Ghost* is not therefore unpardonable, because he is God, which is not to our purpose; but they do not, cannot shew that it can be unpardonable if he were not God. It is not therefore simply, and for no other reason unpardonable, because that person is God against whom it is committed; for if so, then any sin committed against any person which is God, would be unpardonable; which is false. But that sin, which is particularly called blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, is a sin against God, and in such a manner aggravated, as makes it irremissible; of which aggravation it were incapable, if the Spirit were not God.

Thirdly, Every created person was made by the Son of God as God, and is now put under the feet of the Son of God as man. But the Spirit of God was not made by the Son of God, nor is He now put under the feet of the Son of man. Therefore the Spirit of God can be no created Person. *All things were made by the Word, and without him was not any thing made that was made;* therefore every created person was made by the Word. *God hath put all things under the feet of Christ, and when he saith all things are put under him; it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him:* and being none is excepted beside God, every created person must be under the feet of the Son of man. But the Spirit of God *in the beginning* was not made, yea, rather in the beginning made the world, as * *Job* speaks of God, *By his Spirit he hath garnished the heavens;* nor is he under the feet of *Christ*, now set down at the right hand of God, who with supreme authority together with the Father sent the Prophets, as *Isaiab* testifieth, saying, *Now the Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me,* and with the same authority, since the exaltation of our Saviour, sent forth such as were separated to himself, as appeareth in the case of *Barnabas* and *Saul*, and † with the same authority giveth all Spiritual Gifts, *a dividing to every man severally as he will;* so that in this Kingdom of *Christ* all things are done *b by the power of the Spirit of God.*

John 1. 3.

1 Cor. 15. 27.

* Job 26. 13.
Those which anciently did believe the Spirit of God to be a created Person, did also teach that he was made by the Son, as Epiphanius testifieth of the Arians, Παντὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἐστὶν ὅτι ὁμολοῦν

γῆσ τοῦ ἀσέβους ἡδὲ τῷ ὑπὸ γεγονέναι, καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῷ Πνεύματι βλασφημῶσι καὶ τολμῶσι λέγειν κεκρίσθαι ἡδὲ τῷ ὑπὸ. *Haer.* 69. §. 52. Ariani ab Ario, in eorum nouissimi errore quo Patrem & Filium, & Spiritum S. nolunt esse unius ejusdemque naturae, sed esse Filium creaturam, Sp. vero S. creaturam creaturæ, hoc est, ab ipso Filio creatum volunt, S. Aug. *Haer.* 49. At Eusebius, Τὸ ὃ παρὰ κληθὲν Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ὅτε εἶδος, ὅτε ὕψος, ἐπιπέσει ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ὁμοίως τῷ ὑπὸ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἐκλήθη, ἐν δὲ τῷ τῷ δὲ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἐκλήθη, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ ἐκλήθημεν ἡδὲ ἐν. De Eccl. Theol. l. 3. c. 6. Ὅθεν ὕδης μὲν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ πνεύματι ποιητικῶς ἐν εἶναι καὶ δημιουργητικῶς τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀόρατων, καὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῷ παρὰ κληθὲν Πνεύματι ὑπὸ ἀσέβειας. πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτῶν ἐκλήθη, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ ἐκλήθημεν ἡδὲ ἐν, Ib. Where it is worth our observation, that Eusebius citing the place of S. John, to prove that the Holy Ghost was made by the Son, leaves out those words twice together by which the Catholicks used to refute that Heresie of the Arians, viz. ὃ γὰρ γεννῶν. All things which were made were made by the Son, but the Holy Ghost was not amongst them ὃ γὰρ γεννῶν, which were made, and therefore was not made by the Son. Τὸ Ἅγιον γὰρ Πνεῦμα κτίσμα πάλιν κτίσματος εἶναι ἐπὶ, διὰ τὸ, διὰ τῷ ὑπὸ τὰ πάντα γεννηθῆναι, ὡς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ἀσπίδας τινὰ διαρπαζούσας, ἢ καθὼς ἐρεῖται τὸ ῥητὸν ἔχοιτες, ἀλλὰ κακῶς ὑπονοοῦντες, καὶ ὑπὸ ῥητῶν τῶν καλῶν ἐρημῶν καὶ τῶν καλῶν αὐτῶν ὑπονοοῦν μεθερμηνεύοντες. ἢ γὰρ τὸ θεῖον εὐαγγέλιον περὶ τῷ Πνεύματι ἐρεῖ, ἀλλὰ περὶ πάντων ἁγίων κεικρίσθαι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ κτίσειν διὰ τῷ λόγῳ γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ἡδὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὰ γὰρ πάντα δι' αὐτῶν ἐκλήθη, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ ἐκλήθημεν ἡδὲ ἐν, παρεκλεινομένης ἀγαγνώσεως ἐχθρῶν, ὃ γὰρ γεννῶν, ἵνα ἕτο γνοῦσιν, ὅτι πάντα δι' αὐτῶν ἐκλήθη, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ ἐκλήθημεν ἡδὲ ἐν, Epiph. *Haer.* 69. §. 56. † S. Chryl. *Tom.* 5. p. 10. Ταῦτα πάντα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα, διαρεῖν, ἴδια ἐκάστω καθὼς βέβηται. Καθὼς βέβηται εἴηται. καθὼς προστάξεται. Διαρεῖν, ἢ διαρρέμειν. αὐθεντῶν, ἐκ αὐθεντίας ὑποκείμεθων. τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕξουσιν ἵνα ἐκλήθηται τῷ Πατρὶ ταῦτῳ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ἀνκρίθηται ὁ Παῦλος. καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐπὶ τῷ Πατρὶ εἴηται. Ὅ ὃ Θεὸς ὅταν ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν παντί, ἕτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. ταῦτα ὃ πάντα, εἴηται, ἐνεργῶν τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, διαρεῖν, ἴδια ἐκάστω καθὼς βέβηται. εἴδεις ἀπρησιωμένῳ ἕξουσιν; ὡν γὰρ ἡ ἐστὶν μία, εἴηται καὶ ὅτι ἡ αὐθεντία μία. καὶ ὡν ἰσότης ἡ ἀξία, τῶν καὶ ἡ δυνάμις καὶ ἡ ἕξις μία. ^a 1 Cor. 12. 1. ^b Rom. 15. 19.

Fourthly, He, by whose operation *Christ* was conceived in the womb of the Virgin, was no created Person: for by virtue of that conception he was called the Son of God; whereas if a Creature had been the cause of his Conception, he had been in that respect the Son of a Creature, nay, according to the Adversaries Principles, he had taken upon him the Nature of Angels. But the Holy Ghost it was by whose operation *Christ* was conceived in the womb of the Virgin. For it was an Angel that said to *Mary*, (not that an Angel, but that,) *the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the*

Luke 1. 35.

power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.

Therefore the Spirit of God is no created Person; which is our second Assertion against the ancient, but newly revived Heresy of the † Arians and Macedonians.

† This expres- sion of the Spirit of God,

that he was a person, as a ministering Spirit, and created, was acknowledged the Doctrine of the Arians, as may appear out of the former testimonies, and is evident by those which followed his Opinions. Which being of two kinds, the Anomeans, or pure Arians (such as were Aetius, Eunomius, and Eudoxius) and the Homoiousians, or Semi-Arians (such as Eusebius and Macedonius) they both alike denied the Divinity, and asserted the creation of the Holy Ghost. The Opinion of the Anomeans is clear out of the words of Eunomius, who very subtilly delivered it, as if it had been the Opinion of the Ancients. Τὴν ἴδιον ἐν ἁΐται ἐυλασώσας διδασκαλίαν, παρ' ὧν τεύτερον αὐτὸ ἀνώματον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μαθόντες, τρίτον ἰδὲ καὶ τῆ φύσει πεπιστεύκαμεν. The confession of the Ancients was, That the Holy Ghost was the third Person in the Trinity in Order and Dignity, and Eunomius pretending to follow them, added, That he was also third in Nature, which the Ancients never taught. And what this third in Nature was, he thus declared, Τεῖτον τάξει καὶ φύσει πεπιστάμεθα ἢ τῷ Πατρὶ, ἐπιρρησὶ δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ ἡρώδων· τρίτον χάρα τιμώμενον, ὡς πρῶτον καὶ μεῖζον ἀπάντων, καὶ μόνον τοῦτον τῷ μονοθεῶδες ποίημα, θεότης καὶ δημιουργικῆς δυνάμεως ἀπολαύων. And again, Εἰ μὴ κτίσμα ὄντι, ἔκων ἡρώδων ἢ ἀφῆσθον· εἰς δὲ ἀναρχῶ· Θεός καὶ ἀφῆσθον· ὅτε μὲν ἡρώδων, λήσεται ἐν κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα αὐτὸ ὀνομαζέσθαι, apud S. Basil. advers. Eunom. l. 3. So Gregory Nyssen repeats the words of the same Eunomius, Πιστεύωμεν εἰς τὸ Πατρὶ κληθῆναι, ἡρώδων τῶν τῶ μόνου Θεοῦ διὰ τῶ μονοθεῶδες, and declares that their ordinary language was, αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγίου Πνεύμα· κτίσμα κτίσμα· καὶ ἔργον ἔργου ὀνομαζέσθαι, Orat. 1. cont. Eunom. Beside these, the Semi-Arians and some of those which were Orthodox as to the Divinity of the son, were of the same Heresy as to the nature of the Holy Ghost, and therefore were called Πνευμαζομάχοι (as Epiphanius derives them in the description of that Heresy, ἀπὸ ἡμαρτανῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ὀρθοδόξων) and afterward Macedoniani. Macedoniani sunt à Macedonio Constantinopolitana Ecclesia Episcopo, quos & Πνευμαζομάχους Graeci dicunt, eo quod de Spiritu S. litigant. Nam de Patre & Filio rectè sentiunt, quod unus sint ejusdemq; substantiæ vel essentiæ, sed de Spiritu S. hoc nolunt credere, creaturam cum esse dicentes, S. Aug. Heres. 52. This Heresy was first condemned by the Council of Alexandria, ἡνθα τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα θεολογισαῖς τῆ ὁμοίᾳ τελείᾳ (Σωανελαμβάνοντο), Socrat. l. 3. c. 7. Afterward by the Council held in Illyricum. Ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ εἰ Σωδοδὲι, ὅν ἢ τε καὶ Ῥώμῳ καὶ ἢ καὶ Γαλίᾳ, μίαν ἴδὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν εἶσαν, τῶ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῶ Ἰῶ, καὶ τῶ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι· ἐν τριῶ πρώτοις, τεύτερον ἐν τριῶ τελείας ὡσεύσας, apud Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 8. The Synod held at Rome with the Gallican Bishops under Damatus. Ὡσεύ τῷ Πατρί καὶ τῷ Ἰῶν μὲν αὐτοῖς, μίαν θεότης, μίαν ἀρετής, μίαν δυνάμεως, καὶ ἐνὸς χαρακτῆρος· πιστεύωμεν καὶ ἢ τῆ αὐτῆς ὡσεύσας καὶ ὡσεύ, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγίον, apud Theodoret. l. 2. c. 22. Another Synod held under the same Damatus at Rome, Εἰ τις εἶποι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγίον ποίημα, ἢ διὰ τῶ ἡῶ, καὶ ἡρώδων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω, apud Theodor. l. 5. c. 10. After and upon these particular Synods this Heresy was fully condemned in the second general Council held at Constantinople, in which these words were added to the Nicene Creed, Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγίον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὶς ἐκπορεύμενον, καὶ σὺν Πατρί καὶ ἡῶ συμπροσκυνώμενον, καὶ συναρξάζόμενον, τὸ καλῆσθαι διὰ ἡῶ Πετρουῦ, And in the first Canon mentioning the Heresies condemned expressly by the Council; they name ἰδικῶς τὴν ἡῶ Ἐυνομιανῶν, εἶπεν Ἀνομοίαν, καὶ τὴν ἡῶ Ἀρειανῶν, εἶπεν Ἐυθεζιανῶν, καὶ τὴν ἡῶ Ἠμαρτανῶν, ἡγυν Πνευμαζομάχων. And thus the Heresy of Macedonius, who made the Holy Ghost a created Person, was condemned by the second general Council, ὅπως ἢ ἐν ὀρθοδόξῳ χαραξ Μακεδονίῳ τινα τῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θεῶν ἀρπαγμα πάλαι ποιησάμενον, ὅτι τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ζωαρχικὸν ἐδουσεύμεν Πνεῦμα, ἐυθωῖς ἐδικαῖς δέσται· ὡς γὰρ Ἀρη· καὶ τῶ Ἰῶ, εἶτω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πανάγις πνευμαζομάχῶν Πνεύματι, εἰς δόλους καὶ ὑπερήτας τὴν ἀσσοτικῶν καὶ ὑπερηρήτων αὐτῶ σωετατῆς κυριότης, Photius, Epist. 1.

Our third Assertion is that which necessarily followeth from the former two, that the Spirit of God, in whose name we are baptized, and in whom we profess to believe, is properly and truly God. For if he be a Person, as we have proved in the Declaration of our first Assertion, if he be a person not created, as we have demonstrated in the corroboration of the second Assertion, then must he of necessity be acknowledged to be God, because there is no uncreated essence beside the essence of the one eternal God. And there is this great felicity in the laying of this third Assertion, that it is not proved only by the two precedent Assertions, but also by the Adversaries of them both. He which denies the first, that is the Socinian, affirms that the Spirit of God is in God, and is the eternal and omnipotent power of God; he which denies the second, that is the Macedonian, asserts that he is a Person of an intellectual nature subsisting; but whatsoever is a Person subsisting of eternal and omnipotent power, must be acknowledged to be God. Whether therefore we look upon the truth of our Assertions, or whether we consider the happiness of their Negations, the Conclusion is, That the Holy Ghost is God.

But were there nothing, which is already said, demonstrated, there is enough written in the Word of God to assure us of the Deity of the Holy Ghost, to make us undoubtingly believe that the Spirit of God is God. It is written by Moses, That when he went in before the Lord to speak with him, he took the vail off, until he came out. And that Lord with whom Moses spake was the one Jehovah, the God of heaven and earth. But we are assured that the

Ex d. 34. 34.

the Spirit was and is that Lord to which *Moses* spake; for the Apostle hath taught us so much by his own interpretation, saying, *Even unto this day when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is that Spirit. The Spirit is here so plainly said to be the Lord, that is, Jehovah, the one Eternal God, that the Adversaries of this truth must either deny that the Lord is here to be taken for God, or, that the Spirit is to be taken for the Spirit of God: either of which denials must seem very strange to any person which considereth the force and plainness of the Apostles discourse.*

But indeed they are so ready to deny any thing, that they will by no means acknowledge either the one or the other: but *the Lord* must be something which is not God, and *the Spirit* must be something which is not the Spirit of God: and then they conclude the Argument is of no force, and may as well conclude the Apostles Interpretation hath no sense. *The Lord*, they say, is *Christ*, and not God: for *Christ*, they say, is not God: *the Spirit* they say, is the mystery of the Law, or the hidden sense of it, and that every one knows, is not the Spirit of God. But we are assured that the Apostle did mean by the *Spirit* the Spirit of God, not the sense of the Law; for he addeth immediately, *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty*, and the sense of the Law is never called the Spirit of the Lord. Nay, were it not that the coherence of the discourse did satisfy us; yet the objection ought not at all to move us; for the name of *Spirit* in those places mentioned by them to signify *the sense of the law* hath no affinity with this, according to their own way of argumentation: for it is † never so taken with the emphasis of an Article, and put in the place either of an intire subject or a predicate in a proposition except by way of opposition; and one of those it must of necessity be, in those words of the Apostle, *Now the Lord is the Spirit*, and that without the least intimation of any opposition.

† The places al-
leged by them
are these, Ηε-
ρησμη καρδιας
εν πνευματι
& γενοματις
Rom. 2. 29.
* Ωσε δολωθην

ειρος εν καινοτητι πνευματι, & εν παλαιωτητι γενοματις, Rom. 7. 6. ητις καληται πνευματικως Σιδμα & Αιγυ-
πτις, Rom. 11. 8. One of these places speaks only adverbially; the other two have Πνευμα in obliquo; and one of those two have it cum adjuncto, both of them cum opposito, none of them cum articulo, none of them are in loco subjecti or predicati; and therefore how any of these can shew, that τδ Πνευμα in this place by us urged, invested with an Article, standing in the place either of a complete Subject, or a complete Predicate, with nothing adjoined, nothing opposed unto it, must be taken in the same sense with them, I cannot imagine. In the sixth verse of this Chapter indeed it is the subject of a Proposition, and invested with an Article; but that is an Article of Opposition. τδ γδ γενομα ζωοποιει, τδ δε πνευμα ζωοποιει, and this not. Howsoever, in that sense objected, it neither agrees with the words before it, nor with those which follow it.

Again, We are assured that by *the Lord* the Apostle did understand the eternal God; for he speaketh of the same Lord which he mentioned in the verse before, and that is the Lord God spoken of in the Book of *Exodus*; of which except the Apostle speaks, his Argument hath neither inference nor coherence. In vain therefore is this pretended for an answer, that the Apostle by *the Lord* doth always, unless he cite some place out of the old Covenant, understand *Christ*; for in this particular he * citeth a certain place out of the Book of *Exodus*, and useth the name of the *Lord* in the same notion in which there 'tis used, framing an Argument and urging it from thence; and if he did not, † that rule is not so universal and infallible, but that *the Lord* in the Language of the same Apostle may not signify the second, but the first or third Person of the Trinity. If then *the Lord* be the eternal God, as the Apostle without any question understood him in *Moses*, if the *Spirit* be the Spirit of the Lord, as the Apostle expounds himself in the words immediately following, then the Spirit of the Lord is the eternal God, and so termed in the Scriptures.

* The words in
Exodus were
these, 34. 34.
'Ηνικα ε αν
εισπορευετο
Μουσης εναν-
τι Κυριε λα-
λα, αυτω, σπει-
ρητο το κα-
λυμμα: which
are thus made
use of by the
Apostle, ηνικα
ε αν εστρε-
φη προς Κυ-

ριον σπειρηται το καλυμμα. Κυριε then is here used by S. Paul citing some place out of the old Covenant, and the words which follow, 'Ο ε Κυριε signify the same Κυριε, as appears by the Connjction ε: and if so, then according to the Doctrine

of our Ancestors, it cannot signify Christ. For that Lord of whom Moses spake, was then when Moses wrote; but that Christ of whom we interpret it, was not then, as they teach, therefore that Lord cannot be Christ, in their interpretation without a contradiction. † For though Christ be most frequently called our Lord, yet being God the Father of Christ is our Lord, being ὁ Κύριος is often by S. Paul without any restriction or intimation of appropriating that all unto the Son, which is attributed to the Lord by him, the rate cannot be certain and universal. For I desire to know by what means they can be assured that the Apostle doth by the title ὁ Κύριος intend Christ, and not the most High God the Father, in these following places, 1 Cor. 3. 5. 4. 19. 7. 10. 12. 16. 7. 1 Thess. 4. 6. 5. 27. 2 Thess. 3. 1. 5. 16. 2 Tim. 1. 16. 18. 2 7. And beside, I ask how the pretence of this general rule can be properly objected, if they who knew that they to whom they do object this Rule, have contended that this title is elsewhere attributed to the Holy Ghost. As S. Basil upon that place, 2 Thess. 3. 5. Ὁ ὅς Κύριος καθύψωται ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην ἢ Θεὸς, ἢ εἰς τὴν ἰσομοιῶν ἢ Χεῖρ, thus disputes, Τίς ὁ καθύψων Κύριος εἰς τὴν τὸ Θεῷ ἀγάπην, ἢ εἰς τὴν ἰσομοιῶν ἢ Χεῖρ; ἀποκρινάσθωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ τὸ Πνεῦμα καθυψώσασθαι. Εἴτε γὰρ πάλιν Πάτρις ὁ λόγος, πάλιν ἂν ἔρητο, ὁ ὅς Κύριος ὑμῶν καθύψωται εἰς τὴν ἰσομοιῶν ἀγάπην· ἢ τὸ πάλιν τὸ Θεῷ, προσέκμητο ἂν, εἰς τὴν ἰσομοιῶν ἰσομοιῶν· ζητήσωσαν ἂν τι ἕτερον ἄλλο πρῶτον ὃ τὴν προσομίαν τὸ Κύριος τιμᾶσθαι ἄξιον. And upon the like place, 1 Thess. 3. 12, 13. Ποῖον Κύριον ὄχεται ὑπερεἶν τὸ Θεῷ ἢ Πάτρις ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τὸ Κύριος ὑμῶν, ἀμέμπτες τὰς καρδίας ἐπειγμένως ἐν ἀγαπῶν ἢ ὡς Θεοσλοβίαν τῶν σφαιρῶν, ἀποκρινάσθωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ μὴ ἢ λητουργικῶν πνεύματων ἢ πρὸς διακονίαν ἀποσταλασθέντων (the newly revived Opinion clearly) τὸ Πνεῦμα τιθῆναι· ἀλλ' ἂν ἔχουσι, De Spiritu Sancto, cap. 21.

Again, The same Scriptures do clearly manifest the same Spirit to be God, and term him plainly and expressly so. For when Peter said, *Ananias, Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost?* he repeateth the same question in reference to the same offence, *Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.* To lie unto the Holy Ghost, is to lie unto God: to lie unto the Holy Ghost, is not to lie unto men, because the Holy Ghost is not man, and consequently not to lie unto any Angel, because the Holy Ghost is not an Angel, not to lie unto any Creature, because the Holy Ghost is no Creature, but to lie unto God, because the Holy Ghost is God.

To this plain and evident Argument there are so many Answers, that the very multitude discovers the weakness of them all; for if any one of them were sufficient to bear down the force of our reason, the rest would be superfluous. First, They answer that it cannot be collected from hence that the Spirit is God, because the *Holy Ghost* in the Original is † put in one case, and *God* in another, and the Apostle speaking in one manner of the Spirit, and in another of God, cannot shew that the Spirit is God. To which is easily answered, that the case or manner of the Apostles speech can make no difference, if the sense and substance be the same, as here it is; for to deceive the Holy Ghost is nothing else but to lie unto him, or by a lie to endeavour to deceive him. The act objected to *Ananias* was but one, which act of his the Apostles looked upon as injurious not to themselves but to the Holy Ghost; and therefore S. Peter shewed the sin to be not against men, but against God; as certainly then as the Apostles were men, so certainly was the Holy Ghost, in the esteem of S. Peter, God.

As for that sense which they put upon the words, different from that of lying to God, as if *Ananias* were accused for counterfeiting the *Holy Ghost*, it is most certain that the words can in this place bear no such sense; for the sin of *Ananias* is again expressed in the case of his Wife *Sapphira*, to whom S. Peter said, *How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?* but to tempt the Spirit, and to counterfeit the Spirit are two several things: And it is evident that in this place the tempting of the Spirit, was nothing else but lying to him. For S. Peter said to *Sapphira*, *Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much; And she said Yea, for so much.* In which answer she lied. Then Peter said unto her, *How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?* viz. in saying that ye sold the land for so much. Here is no colour then for that new pretence, that *Ananias* did bear the Apostles in hand that what was done he did by the motion of the Holy Spirit, and so did pretend, counterfeit and bely the Holy Ghost. This is not to expound S. Peter, but to bely *Ananias*, and make him guilty of that sin which he was never yet accused of. It is most certain that he lied, it is also certain that he to whom

† Ex his facile apparet haudquam ex eo loco concludi posse Spiritum S. esse Deum, cum alio modo de Spiritu S. loquatur Petrus, alio de Deo. Illic dicit mentiri seu fallere, ac Indicare Spiritum S. hic mentiri Deo, Crellius de uno Deo Patre, l. 1. § 3. Argum. 1.

he lied was the Holy Ghost, and therefore it might be well † translated, that *he lied to the Holy Ghost.*

† Our Transla-
tion is here ac-
cused without

reason. For though the Original be *ἠδύπαθξ τὸ πνδμα τὸ ἄγιον*, yet some Copies have it *εἰς τὸ πνδμα*, and the Syriac did so read and interpret it, *נר נר ברוחא דק רשא* the Vulgar Latin to the same purpose, *mentiri te Spiritui S.* And the Author of the *Translate de temp. Barcarico*, under the name of S. Austin, *mentiri te apud Spiritum S. c. 3.* Now *ἠδύπαθξ εἰς τὸ πνδμα* is the same with *τὸ πνδμα*, as *Μὴ ἠδύπαθξ εἰς ἀλλήλους*, Lye not one to another. If we read it *εἰς πνδμα*, then it is rightly translated. Again, If we read it *τὸ πνδμα*, it has in this case the sense of *τὸ πνδμα*. As Psal. 66. 2. *יבחרך קך איביך* LXX. *ἠδύπαθξ* *εἰς οἱ ἐχθροῖς* *εἰς*, of the same sense with that Psal. 18. 61. *יבשבו יחיה יכחשי רך* LXX. *Οἱ ἐχθροὶ* *Κυεῖς ἐἠδύπαθξ* *αὐτῶν*. So Deut. 33. 26. *קך יבחרך איבויך* LXX. *καὶ ἠδύπαθξ* *εἰς οἱ ἐχθροὶ* *εἰς* And Isa. 57. 11. *כי תכובר* *εἰς ἠδύπαθξ* *με*. 2 Kings 4. 10. *אל תכונ בשפחתך* *μὴ διαἠδύπαθξ* *τὴν δαδὴν* *εἰς*. If therefore we read it *ἠδύπαθξ* *τὸ πνδμα*, it is rightly translated to lye unto the Holy Ghost; and so agreeth with that which followeth to tempt the Holy Ghost, as Psal. 78. 36. *τὴν γλώσσῃ αὐτῶν ἐἠδύπαθξ* *αὐτῶν*, and verse 41. *ἐτίσεσαν* *εἰς* *πέθεσαν* *τὸ* *εἶδον*. Therefore what ever shifts are laid upon the phrase, or difference of expression, are either false or frivolous.

Next, Because they may very well be conscious that this verbal or phra- seological answer may not seem sufficient, they tell us though both the phra- ses were synonymous, yet they did no way prove that the Spirit is God: and the reason which they render to justify this negation, is, because there are se- veral places of the Scripture, in which the Messengers of God, who are ac- knowledged not to be God, are mentioned in the same relation unto God, as here the Spirit is. To which the answer is most plain and clear, that there is no creature ever mentioned in the same manner as the Holy Ghost is here. As when they alledge those words of the Apostle, *He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man but God, who hath also given us his Holy Spirit*: I cannot see what similitude can be made unto the Scripture now in question: for if the Spirit be not understood in the first words, *he therefore that despiseth*, it hath no relation to the present question; and if it be, it were so far from being a confutation, that it would be another confirmation. As for the other, *He that heareth you, heareth me, he that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me*; it is so far from justifying their in- terpretation, that it hath nothing in it like that which founds our reason, that is, no opposition. For there are three particulars in that Scripture which we produce for our Assertion; first, that they lied to the Holy Ghost; se- condly, that in doing so, they lied not unto men; and thirdly, that by the same act they lied unto God. In which the opposition is our foundation. For if the Spirit of God were not God, as we are sure it is not man; it might as well have been said, you lied not unto the Holy Ghost, but unto God. And indeed if the Apostles would have aggravated the sin of *Ananias* with the full propriety and iniquity, in their sense, he must have said, thou hast not lied un- to men, nor unto the Spirit of God, but unto God. But being he first told him plainly his sin, *lying to the Holy Ghost*, and then let him know the sinful- ness of it, *thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God*: it is evident that the Holy Ghost to whom he lied is God.

1 Theff. 4. 8.

Mat. 10. 40
Luke 10. 16.

Thirdly, That Person whose inhabitation maketh a Temple, is God; for if the notion of a Temple be nothing else but to be the house of God, if to be the house of any creature is not to be a Temple, as it is not, then no inhabita- tion of any created person can make a Temple. But the inhabitation of the Holy Ghost maketh a Temple, as we are informed by the Apostle, *What, know ye not that our body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?* Therefore the Holy Ghost is God.

1 Cor. 6. 19.

To this is replied indifferently according to the diversity of our Adversaries; as it is not probable that the deniers of so great a truth should agree. The first tell us, that if we would inforce by this reason, that the Holy Ghost is God, we must † prove that he is a person, and that he doth possess our bodies by a

† Si quis ex eo
quod corpus
nostrum Spiri-
tus S. templum

fit, concludere velit eum esse Deum, illi demonstrandum est ita corpus nostrum Sp. S. templum dici, ut intelligatur eum esse personam cujus honori corpus nostrum fit dedicatum, a qua corpus nostrum eo jure quod divini numinis proprium est, pos- sideatur, & principaliter incolatur, *Cressl. de uno Deo Patre*, l. 1. §. 3.

divine

1 Cor. 3. 16.

divine right. But we have already proved that he is a Person, and certainly there can be no other right but that which belongs to God, by which the Holy Ghost inhabiteth and possesseth us. Nor have they any pretence to evince the contrary, but that which more confirmeth our Assertion; for they urge only those words of the Apostle, *Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you.* We do certainly know that we are the Temple of God; and we also know that the Spirit of God therefore dwelleth in us; and we therefore know that we are the Temple of God, because we know that the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, and we know no other reason why we are the Temple of God, when the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, but only because we know the Spirit of God is God; for if the Spirit were any other Person not divine, or any thing but a Person though divine, we could not by any means be assured that he did properly inhabit in us, or if he did, that by his inhabitation he could make a Temple of us. The second hath very little to say, but only this, that being the Holy Ghost who possesseth us, is a Person, we must shew that our bodies are his by the highest interest, and primarily dedicated to his honour: which he therefore conceives we cannot shew, because he thinks our body is not at all his by interest, or dedicated to his honour. But it were very strange, if we should be baptized in the name of the Holy Ghost, and that the Holy Ghost should have no interest in us, but that he should be ours by interest, and not we his; that the Spirit of God should call for men to be separated to himself, and that they which are so separated should be no way dedicated to his honor. If the Holy Ghost had no interest in us, because he is given unto us, then Christ can have no interest in us, for he is also given unto us. Indeed if the Apostle had said, as our Adversary doth, that *we ought with our body to glorifie, not the Spirit but God,* I should have concluded that the Spirit is not God; but being that blessed Spirit which dwelleth in us, and spake by the Apostles, never taught us not to glorifie him, I shall rather take leave to suspect that of blasphemy, than the Assertion of his Deity to be false Divinity. And whereas it is said, that *the Apostle hath hinted in what respect our body is the temple of the Holy Spirit, to wit, by inhabitation;* that is so far from breeding in me the least thought of diminution, that by this only notion I am fully confirmed in the belief of my Assertion. For I know no other way by which God peculiarly inhabiteth in us but by the inhabitation of the Spirit: and I understand no other way by which we can be the Temple of God but by the inhabitation of God, as it is written, *Ye are the temple of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people:* And therefore I conclude that the Holy Ghost who by his inhabitation maketh our bodies Temples, is that God which dwelleth in us.

2 Cor. 5. 16.

Fourthly, He, to whom the divine attributes do belong as certainly as they belong unto God the Father, is truly and properly God; because those are divine attributes which are proprieties of the divine nature, and consequently none can be indued with them to whom the nature of God belongeth not. But the divine attributes, such as are Omniscience, Omnipotency, Omnipresence, and the like, do belong as certainly unto the Holy Ghost as they do unto God the Father. Therefore we are as much assured that the Holy Ghost is God. The Scriptures to prove these attributes are so well known, that I shall not need to mention them, and they are so many that to manage them against the exceptions of the Adversaries would take up too much room in this discourse: especially considering they question some of them in the Father as well as in the Spirit, and so I should be forced to a double proof.

Fifthly.

Fifthly, He, to whom are attributed those works which are proper unto God, by and for which God doth require of us to acknowledge and worship him as God, is properly and truly God : because the operations of all things flow from that essence by which they are, and therefore if the operations be truly divine, that is, such as can be produced by no other but God, then must the essence of that Person which produceth them be truly such. But such works as are proper unto God, by and for which God hath required us to acknowledge him and worship him as God, are attributed often in the Scriptures to the Spirit of God, as the acts of Creation and Conservation of all things, the miracles wrought upon and by our blessed Saviour, the works of grace and power wrought in the hearts of true Believers, and the like. Therefore without any further disputation, which cannot be both long and proper for an Exposition, I conclude my third Assertion, That the Holy Ghost, or Spirit of God, is a Person truly and properly Divine, the true and living God.

Now being we do firmly believe, That the true and living God can be but one, that the Infinity of the Divine Essence is incapable of multiplicity ; being we have already shewn, That the Father is originally that one God, which is denied by none, and have also proved, That the onely Son is the same God, receiving by an eternal generation the same Divine Nature from the Father ; it will also be necessary for the understanding of the nature of the Spirit of God, to shew how that blessed Spirit is God : to which purpose, that I may proceed methodically, my fourth Assertion is, That the Spirit of God, which is the true and living God, is neither God the Father, nor the Son of God.

First, Though the Father be undoubtedly God, though the Holy Ghost be also God, and (because there cannot be two Gods,) the same God ; yet the Holy Ghost is not the Father. For the Scriptures do as certainly distinguish them in their persons, as they do unite them in their nature. He which proceedeth from the Father is not the Father, because it is impossible any person should proceed from himself ; but the Holy Ghost *proceedeth from the Father* ; therefore he is not the Father. He which is sent by the Father, and from the Father, is not the Father, by whom and from whom he is sent ; for no person can be sent by himself, and by another from himself. But the Holy Ghost is sent by God the Father, and by the Son *from the Father* ; therefore he is not the Father.

John 15. 26.

Secondly, Though we have formerly proved, That the Son of God is properly and truly God, though we now have formerly proved, That the Spirit of God is God, and in reference to both we understand the same God ; yet the Holy Ghost is not the Son. For he which receiveth of that which is the Son's, and by receiving of it glorifieth the Son, cannot be the Son, because no person can be said to receive from himself that which is his own, and to glorify himself by so receiving. But the Comforter, *who is the Holy Ghost*, received of that which is the Son's, and by receiving of it glorified the Son ; for so our Saviour expressly said, *He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine*. Therefore the Holy Ghost is not the Son. Again, He whose coming depended upon the Son's departing, and his sending after his departure, cannot be the Son who therefore departed that he might send him. But the coming of the Holy Ghost depended upon the Son's departing, and his sending after his departure ; as he told the Apostles before he departed, *I tell you the truth, it is expedient for you that I go away ; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart I will send him unto you* ; therefore the Holy Ghost is not the Son.

John 16. 7.

Thirdly, Though the Father be God, and the Son be God, and the Holy

Ghost be also the same God; yet we are assured that the Holy Ghost is neither the Father nor the Son; because the Scriptures frequently represent him as distinguished both from the Father and the Son. As, when *the Spirit of God descended like a dove, and loe, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,* he was manifestly distinguished from the Person of the Son, upon whom he lighted, and from the Person of the Father, who spake from heaven of his Son. The Apostle teacheth us, That *through the Son we have an access by one Spirit unto the Father,* and consequently assur-eth us that the Spirit, *by whom,* is not the Father, *to whom,* nor the Son, *through whom,* we have that access. So *God sent forth his Son, that we might receive the adoption of sons: and because we are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son, into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.* Where the Son is distinguished from the Father as first sent by him, and the Spirit of the Son is distinguished both from the Father and the Son, as sent by the Father after he had sent the Son. And this our Saviour hath taught us several times in a word, as, *The Comforter whom the Father will send in my name; the Comforter whom I will send unto you from the Father,* and when that Comforter is come, *Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* I conclude therefore against the old † Sabellian Heresie, That the Holy Ghost, although he be truly and properly God, is neither God the Father, nor God the Son; which is my fourth Assertion.

† This Heresie was very ancient, even before Sabellius, who

thye which held it were afterwards all so denominatd from Sabellius. For we find it was the opinion of Praxeus, against whom Tertullian wrote. Who being urged with that place where the three Persons were distinguished, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, Therefore that which is born of thee shall be called the Son of God, answered thus, *Vilius Dei Deus est, & virtus altissimi altissimus est.* After Praxeus followed Noetus, *μονοθεως & αυτη Παλιερα, & υιου, & αγιον Πνευμα η γνοσιν αυτη, Epiph. Her. 57.* Noetiani à quodam Noeto, qui docebat Christum eundem ipsum esse Patrem & Spiritum S. *S. Aug. Her. 35.* Suddenly after Noetus arose Sabellius. *Δογμασι δ' εστιν οτι οι αυτοι Σαβελλιανοι, & αυτην εδ Παλιερα, & αυτην υιου & αυτην αγιον Πνευμα, ως εδ εν μια καρδια τρις ονομασια, Epiph. Her. 62.* From him afterwards were all which held the same opinion called Sabellians. Sabelliani ab illo Noeto quem supra memoravimus deluxisse dicuntur. Nam & discipulum ejus quidam perhibent fuisse Sabellium. Sed qua causa duas haereses Epiphanius computet nescio, cum fieri potuisse videamus, ut fuerit Sabellius iste famosior, & ideo ex illo celebrius hac haereticis nomen accepit. Noetiani enim difficillime ab aliquo sciuntur, Sabelliani autem sunt in ore multorum, *S. Aug. Her. 41.*

Our fifth Assertion is, That the *Holy Ghost* is the third Person in the blessed Trinity. For being he is a Person, by our first Assertion; a Person not created, by the second; but a Divine Person, properly and truly God, by the third; being though he is thus truly God, he is neither the Father nor the Son, by the fourth Assertion it followeth that he is one of the three; and of the three is the third. For as there is a number in the Trinity, by which the Persons are neither more nor less than three, so there is also an order, by which, of these Persons, the Father is the first, the Son the second, and the Holy Ghost the third. Nor is this order arbitrary or external, but internal and necessary, by virtue of a subordination of the second unto the first, and of the third unto the first and second. The Godhead was communicated from the Father to the Son, not from the Son unto the Father; though therefore this were done from all eternity, and so there can be no priority of time, yet there must be acknowledged a priority of Order, by which the Father not the Son is first, and the Son not the Father second. Again, The same Godhead was communicated by the Father and the Son unto the Holy Ghost, not by the Holy Ghost to the Father or the Son: though therefore this was also done from all eternity, and therefore can admit of no priority in reference to time; yet that of Order must be here observed; so that the Spirit receiving the Godhead from the Father who is the first Person, cannot be the first, receiving the same from the Son who is the second, cannot be the second, but being from the first and second must be of the three the third. And thus both the number and the order of the

the Persons are signified together by the Apostle, saying, *There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.* And though they are not expressly said to be three, yet the same number is sufficiently declared, and the same order is expressly mentioned, in the baptismal Institution made *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* As therefore we have formerly proved the Son to be truly the second Person, and at the same time the Father to be the first, so doth this which we have, but briefly, spoken, prove that the Holy Ghost is the third; which is our fifth Assertion.

John 5. 7.
 † Vide p. 53.
 So Epiphanius
 several times
 calls the Holy
 Spirit τειτον
 το οννοματις.

Our sixth and last Assertion, (sufficient to manifest the nature of the Holy Ghost, as he is the Spirit of God,) teacheth that Spirit to be a Person proceeding from the Father and the Son. From whence at last we have a clear description of the blessed Spirit, that he is the most high and eternal God, of the same Nature, Attributes, and Operations with the Father, and the Son, as receiving the same Essence from the Father and the Son, by proceeding from them both. Now this procession of the Spirit, in reference to the Father, is delivered expressly, in relation to the Son, is contained virtually in the Scriptures. First, It is expressly said, That the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father, as our Saviour testifieth, *When the Comforter is come whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me.* And this is also evident from what hath been already asserted: for being the Father and the Spirit are the same God, and being so the same in the unity of the nature of God, are yet distinct in their Personality, one of them must have the same nature from the other, and because the Father hath been already shewn to have it from none, it followeth that the Spirit hath it from him.

John 15. 26.

Secondly, Though it be not expressly spoken in the Scripture, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Son, yet the substance of the same truth is virtually contained there; because those very expressions which are spoken of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Father, for that reason because he proceedeth from the Father, are also spoken of the same Spirit in relation to the Son; and therefore there must be the same reason presupposed in reference to the Son, which is expressed in reference to the Father. Because the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, therefore it is called the Spirit of God and the Spirit of the Father. *It is not ye that speak, but the spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.* For by the language of the Apostle the Spirit of God is the Spirit which is of God, saying, *The things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God.* And we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God. Now the same Spirit is also called the Spirit of the Son, for because we are sons, *God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts: the Spirit of Christ, Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his; even the Spirit of Christ which was in the Prophets; the Spirit of Jesus Christ, as the Apostle speaks, I know that this shall turn to my salvation through my prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ.* If then the Holy Ghost be called the Spirit of God and the Father, because he proceeded from the Father, it followeth, that, being called also the Spirit of the Son, he proceedeth also from the Son.

Mat. 10. 20.
1 Cor. 11. 12.
Gal. 4. 6.
Rom. 8. 9.
1 Pet. 1. 11.
Phil. 1. 19.

Again, Because the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father, he is therefore sent by the Father, as from him who hath by the original communication a right of mission; as, *the Comforter which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send: But the same Spirit which is sent by the Father is also sent by the Son, as he saith, when the Comforter is come whom I will send unto you.* Therefore the Son hath the same right of mission with the Father, and conse-

John 14. 26.

quently must be acknowledged to have communicated the same essence. The Father is never sent by the Son, because he received not the Godhead from him, but the Father sendeth the Son, because he communicated the Godhead to him: in the same manner neither the Father nor the Son is ever sent by the Holy Spirit, because neither of them received the Divine Nature from the Spirit: but both the Father and the Son sendeth the Holy Ghost, because the Divine Nature common to both the Father and the Son was communicated by them both to the Holy Ghost. As therefore the Scriptures declare expressly, That the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, so do they also virtually teach, That he proceedeth from the Son.

† This is not the late but ancient Opinion of the Latine Church, as will appear by these testimonies, Loqui de eo (Sp.S.) non necesse est, quia de Patre & Filio auctoribus confitendis est, S. Hil. de Trin. l. 2. Spiritus quoque Sanctus cum procedit à Patre & Filio, non separatur à Patre, non separatur à Filio, S. Amb. de Sp. Sanct. c. 10. Spiritus autem Sanctus vere procedens est

From whence it came to pass in the Primitive times, that the † Latine Fathers taught expressly the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, because by good consequence they did collect so much from those passages of the Scripture which we have used to prove that truth. And the Greek Fathers, though they stuck more closely to the phrase and language of the Scripture, saying, that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, and * not saying, that he proceedeth from the Son; yet they acknowledged under another Scripture-expression the same thing which the Latines understand by procession, viz. That the Spirit is of or from the Son, as he is of and from the Father, and therefore usually when they said, he *proceedeth from the Father*, they || also added, he *received of the Son*. The interpretation of which words according to the Latines inferred a ** procession, and that which the Greeks did understand thereby, was the same which the Latines meant by the procession from the Son, that is, the receiving of his Essence from him. That as the Son is God of God by being of the Father, so the Holy Ghost is God of God by being of the Father †† and the Son, as receiving that infinite and eternal Essence from them both.

procedens quidem à Patre & Filio: sed non est ipse Filius, quia non generatur, neque Pater, quia procedit ab utroque; Id. de Symb. c. 3. Et in fervos ecclesiæ dona profudit. Spiritum ab Unigena Sanctum & Patre procedentem, Paulinus in Nat. c. 3. S. Felicit. Non possum dicere quod Spiritus S. & à Filio non procedat, neque enim frustra Spiritus & Patris & Filii Spiritus dicitur. S. Aug. de Trin. l. 4. Firmissime tene & nullatenus dubites, eundem Spiritum S. qui Patris & Filii unus est Spiritus, de Patre & Filio procedere, Fulg. de Fide ad Petrum. Qui noster Dominus, qui tuus unicus spirat de Patrio corde Paraclitum. Prud. Hymn. 5. Cathem. Tanquam idem Deus nunc Pater, nunc Filius, nunc Spiritus S. nominetur, nec alius est qui genuit, alius qui genitus est, alius qui de utroque processit. Leo speaking of the Sabellian Heresy, Epist. 93. c. 1. Audi manifestius propriam Patris esse genuisse, & propriam Filii natum fuisse: proprium vero Sp. S. procedere de Patre Filioque; Vigil. cont. Eut. l. 1. By which testimonies, and the like, of the Latine Fathers we may well guess in which Church the Creed commonly attributed to Athanasius first was framed; for as it is confessed to be written first in Latine, so it is most probable that it was composed by some member of the Latine Church, by that expression in it. Spiritus S. à Patre & Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens. * The ancient Greek Fathers speaking of this procession, mention the Father only, and never, I think, express the Son, as sticking constantly in this to the language of the Scriptures. Thus Gregory Nazianzen distinguisheth the three Persons, Ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ὄρον ἑσάμωροι, τὸ ἀρρητήσιον εἰσαγαγῶν, καὶ τὸ ἁγνῆσιν, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύσασθαι. Orat. de Filio. And the three properties attributed to the three Persons, are these, ἀρρητήσιον to the Father, ἁγνῆσις to the Son, and ἐκπορεύσασθαι to the Holy Ghost. But this word ἐκπορεύσασθαι, or the very ἐκπορεύσασθαι, was not used by the Greeks in reference to the Son, but only, as the Scriptures speak, in relation to the Father. || As Epiphanius, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος βλαστήσας, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγει ἐκπορεύσασθαι, ὡς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ὄντος ἀκρίστου, ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύσασθαι, καὶ τὸ ἁγνῆσιν λαμβάνον, Hag. 62. §. 52. τὸ ἀγνῆσιν Πνεύματος, Πνεύματος ἁγίου, Πνεύματος Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ ὄντος Πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, ἐκ ἀλλήλων Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄντος, ἀπὸ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύσασθαι, καὶ τὸ ἁγνῆσιν λαμβάνον, idem Ancor. c. 6. Ἀπὸ τῶν Πνεύματος σωτῆρι καὶ υἱοῦ, ἐκπορεύσασθαι Πατρὸς, ἐκ ἁγνῆσιν, καὶ ἀκρίστου υἱοῦ, ἐκ ἁγνῆσιν Πατρὸς, ἐκ Πατρὸς ἢ πορεύσασθαι, καὶ τὸ ἁγνῆσιν λαμβάνον, Id. Hag. 62. §. 4. ** A Filio accipit, qui & ab eo mittitur, & à Patre procedit: & interrogo utrum id ipsum sit à Filio accipere quod à Patre procedere. Quod si nihil differre credetur inter accipere à Filio, & à Patre procedere, certe id ipsum atque unum esse existimabitur, à Filio accipere, quod sit accipere à Patre. Iple enim Dominus ait, Quoniam de me accipiet, & annuntiabit vobis, S. Hil. l. 3. de Trin. 32. S. Cyril, Ἐπειδὴ (τὸ Πνεῦμα) ὁμοούσιον τὸ ὄντος τῶν υἱοῦ, καὶ προέστηκε θεοτεπέως ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκπορεύσασθαι τελεσιτέλει ἔχον ἐνεργεῖν τε καὶ δυνάμειν διὰ τὸ τὸ ζῆσιον, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀληθείας, Com. in Joan. l. 11. De Filio ergo accipit, & omnia quæ habet Pater Filii sunt, quæ Spiritus S. accipit; quia non de solo Filio, sed simul de utroque procedit, Fulg. l. 7. cont. Fab. apud Theodulph. de Sp. S. †† That this was the sense of the Greek Fathers anciently, who used those two Scriptures of the Holy Ghost, appeareth by Epiphanius, who frequently declares so much: As in Ancorato, Πνεῦμα ὃ Θεὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα Πατρὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα υἱοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, τεῖτον τῆ ὀνομασία, cap. 8. And speaking of Ananias who lied unto the Spirit, Ἄρα Θεὸς ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὃ ἐφάσατο οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμήματος νοσησιαῖνοι, cap. 9. Οὐκ ἀλλήλων Πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῆς οὐσίας, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῆς θεότητος, ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, σωτῆρι καὶ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύσασθαι αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα ἁγίου, Id. Hag. 62. In these words is plainly contained this truth, That the Spirit is God of the Father, and of God of the Son. And that they did conclude this truth from those two Scriptures, he proceedeth from the Father, and receiveth of the Son, is also evident by these and the like passages, Εἰ ἢ Χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς πορεύσασθαι Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ παρὰ ἀμαρτῆσαν, ὡς ζῆσιον ὁ Χριστὸς, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύσασθαι, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀληθείας, Epiphani. Ancor. 5. 57. Εἰ τούτων

τοίνωι παρὰ τῆ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ ἐκ τῶ ἐμῶ, ἡσὶν ὁ Κύριος, λήφεται. Ὁν γὰρ βίτον ἐξ εἰς ἔγνω τὸ Πατρὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ
 Ἰῶδς, ἐδὲ τὸ Ἰῶδν εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατὴρ, ἔτω το μῶ λέγων, ὅτι ἐδὲ τὸ πνεῦμα εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ Ἰῶδς, παρὰ τὸ ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ
 παρὰ τὸ λαμβάνει, καὶ ἐδὲ τὸ Ἰῶδν καὶ τὸ Πατὴρ, εἰ μὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄριον, ὁ παρὰ τῆ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τῆ Ἰῶδς, ἰδὲ
 Non loquitur à semetipso, hoc est non sine me, & Patris arbitrio, qui inseparabilis à meo & Patris est voluntate: quia non ex
 se sed ex Patre & me est, hoc enim ipsum quod subsistit & loquitur à Patre & me illi est, *Didymus de Sp. S. l. 2.* Quia non ex
 se, *Ille me clarificabit*, id est Paracletus, quia de meo accipiet. Rursum hoc accipere ut divinæ naturæ conveniat intelligendum.
 Spiritum S. à Filio accipere id quod iuxta naturæ fuerat cognoscendum est. Neque enim quid aliud est Filius exceptis his quæ
 ei dantur à Patre, neque alia substantia est Spiritus S. præter id quod datur ei à Filio.

This being thus the general Doctrine of the Eastern and the Western Church, differing only in the manner of expression, and that without any opposition ; * *Theodoret* gave the first occasion of a difference, making use of the Greeks expression against the Doctrine both of Greeks and Latins; denying that the Holy Ghost receiveth his essence from the Son, because the Scripture saith, he proceedeth from the Father, and is the Spirit which is of God. But *S. Cyril* against whom he wrote, taking small notice of this Objection; and the writings of *Theodoret* in which this was contained being condemned; there was no sensible difference in the Church, for many years, concerning this particular. Afterwards divers of the Greeks expressly denied the procession from the Son, and several disputations did arise in the Western Church, till at last the Latins put it into the † *Constantinopolitan Creed*, and being admonished by the Greeks of that, as of an unlawful addition, and refusing to raise it out of the Creed again, it became an occasion of the vast Schism between the Eastern and the Western Churches.

* S. Cyril be-
 ving set forth
 Anathematizms
 against the Here-
 sie of Nestorius,
 in the ninth Ana-
 thematizms con-
 demned all who
 did not speak of
 the Holy Ghost
 as ἴδιον τῆ Χει-
 ρὸς τοῦ πνεύμα.
 To which Theo-
 doret returned
 this answer, Ἰ-
 διον ἢ τὸ πνεύ-
 μα τῆ Ἰῶδς εἰ
 μὴ ὡς ἑμοῦ ἐξ
 καὶ ἐκ Πατρὸς

ἐκπορεύομαι ἔρη, σιωμολογίῃσιν καὶ ὡς ἐυσεβῆ δειξέμεθα τὸ φωνῶν. εἰ δὲ ὡς ἐξ ἡσὶν ἢ δὲ τὸ ὑπαρξῶν ἔρη, ὡς βλάστη-
 μον ἔστο καὶ ὡς διασέδες ἀπορίῃσιν. Πιστεύομεν γὰρ τὸν Κύριον λέγοντι, τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ ἐκ τῆ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον
 τῶ Παύλῳ ὁμοίως εἰσκαλοῖ. ἡμῶς ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ κόσμῳ ἐλάττωται, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ ἐκ τῆ Θεοῦ. *S. Cyril* in his re-
 sponsum, viz. that the Spirit is ἴδιον τῆ Ἰῶδς πνεύμα, but in this Answer makes use of that Scripture by which he and others used to prove
 that the Spirit had his essence from the Son. Ἐκπορεύεται γὰρ ὡς ἐκ τῆ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄριον. καὶ τὸ σωτῆρ
 φωνῶν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ ἀλλοτεῖον ἔρη τῆ Ἰῶδς. πάντα γὰρ ἔχει ἐκ τῆ Πατρὸς καὶ τὸ αὐτὸς ἐδιδούξεν εἰσὶν αὐτῶν αὐτῶν Πνεύμα-
 τῶ. πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ ἐμαῦ ἔρη. διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πονυρῶν ὅτι ἐκ τῆ ἐμῶ λήφεται, καὶ ἀναγγελλέμεν. Although therefore
S. Cyril doth not go to maintain that which *Theodoret* denied, and *S. Cyril* elsewhere teacheth, viz. that the Holy Ghost is from the
 Son, yet he justified his own position by that Scripture which by himself and the rest of the Fathers is thought to teach as much. † *The*
second General Council held at Constantinople, finding it necessary to make an addition to the Nicene Creed in the Article concerning the
 Holy Ghost, of which that Council had said no more than this, I believe in the Holy Ghost, framed this accession against *Macedo-*
nius, εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄριον, τὸ Κύριον, τὸ ἑσσοῦτον, τὸ ἐκ τῆ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύομαι. in which they speak most warily, using
 the words of the Scripture, and the Language of the Church, which was so known and publick, that it is recorded even by *Lucian* in
 his Dialogue called *Philoparris*, κε. καὶ τίνα ἐπομόσομαί γε τει. τῶ μισθῶν Θεὸν μίαν, ἀμῶστον, ἐξ ἑνὸς ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπον
 πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύομαι, ἐν ἐκ τειῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τει. Ταῦτα νόμιζε Ζηῶνα, τὸν δὲ ἦγε Θεοῦ. This Creed being
 received by the whole Church of God, and it being added also by the next General Council at Ephesus, that it should not be lawful
 to make any addition to it. Notwithstanding the Question being agitated in the West, *Utrum Sp. S. sicut procedit à Patre, ita & procedat*
à Filio, and it being concluded in the affirmative they did not only declare the doctrine to be true, but also added the same
to the Constantinopolitan Creed, and sang it publickly in their Liturgy. Credimus & in Spiritum S. Dominum & vivificantem,
ex Patre Filioque procedentem. This being first done in the Spanish and French Churches, and the matter being referred to Leo the
third Bishop of Rome, he absolutely concluded that no such addition ought to be tolerated. For in the Acts of the Synod held at Aquil-
granum, we find it so determined by the Pope upon the conference with the Legates, Ergo, ut video, illud à vestra Paternitate decer-
nitur, ut primo illud de quo questio agitur, de super facto Symbolo tollatur, & tunc demum à quolibet licite ac libere five
cantando, five tradendo discatur & doceat. So one of the Legates: to which Leo answered thus, Ita proculdubio à nostra parte
decernitur: ita quoque ut à vestra assentiat, à nobis omnibus modis suadetur. Beside, lest the Roman Church might be accused
to joyne with the Spanish and French Churches in this addition, the same Pope caused the Creed publickly to be set forth in the Church
graven in silver Plates, one in Latin, and another in Greek, in the same words in which the Council of Constantinople had first penned
it. Hic pro amore & cautela orthodoxæ Fidei fecit in B. Petri Basilica scuta argentea duo scripta utraque Symbolo, unum
quidem literis Græcis, & alium Latinis, sedentia dextra lavague super ingressum Corporis. Anastasius in vita Leonis III.
Leo tertius (Symboli) transcriptum in tabula argentea, post altare B. Pauli posita, posteris reliquit, pro amore, ut ipse ait,
& cautela Fidei Orthodoxæ. In quo quidem Symbolo in processione Spiritus S. solus commemoratur Pater his verbis, Ec
in Spiritum S. Dominum vivificantem, ex Patre procedentem, cum Patre & Filio adorandum, & glorificandum, P.
Lambardus. These were taken out of the Archives at Rome, saith Morinus, and so placed by Leo, that they might be acknowledged
and perpetuated as the true Copies of that Creed not to be altered. Ὁ Θεοπύσιος Δεῶν καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς Θεσσαλονικαίοις τὸ κορυ-
φαίων Πέτρο καὶ Παύλου ἐκ ταλαιότατων χρόνων ἀποβηθαισιν ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς ἱεροῖς κεμηλίοις δύο ἀσπίδας, ἀ γράμμασι καὶ ῥή-
μασιν ἑλληνικοῖς ἔλεγον τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἱερὸν πίστεως ἔχουσιν, ταῦτα, κατανυκτικῶς κατενόστον τὸ ῥωμαϊκῶν πληθῶν καὶ εἰ-
σὶν ἄνδρα τῶν ἰσθμῶν ἑθναίων τὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶ Θεσσαλονικῶν τρωικῶν καὶ ἀναγνωκῶν ἔτι πρὸ βίου παρὰ αὐτῶν, Photius apud
Nicetan. Theol. Orthod. Fid. l. 2. ut exsuperit Archiep. Anathanasius. Οὗ τῶ ἰσθμῶν καὶ τῶ Θεσσαλονικῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν τῶ Ἀποστολικῶν Ἐκ-
κλησιαστικῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀνοίξει ἀσπίδας δύο τοῖς ἱεροῖς κεμηλίοις ἀποβηθαισιν ἰσχυρῶς ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ γράμμασι καὶ ῥή-
μασιν ἑχούσιν πῶ ἐυσεβῆ τὸ πίστεως ἔχουσιν, Idem apud Euthymium, Pan pl. Dom. tit. 12. ab eodem Archiep. celebratum. This
was the great and prudent care of Leo the third, that there should be no addition made to the ancient Creed authorized by a General
Council, and received by the whole Church; and by this means he quieted all distempers for his time. But not long after, the following
Popes, more in love with their own authority, than desirous of the Peace and Unity of the Church, neglected the Tables of Leo, and ad-

mitted

mitted the addition Filioque. *This was done first in the time and by the power of Pope Nicolaus the first, who by the allicity of Phocius was condemned for it.* Tunc inter alias accusationes hoc principaliter posuit Phocius ipsum (Nicolaum) fore excommunicatum quod apposuerat ad Symbolum Spiritum S. à Filio procedere. Similiter & depositum, quod ipse Nicolaus supra incidit in Concilio tertio Concilii, Antioch. Part. 3. ut. 22. c. 13. *This was it which Phocius complained of so highly in his Epistole Epist. 1. to the Archbishop of Seas of the Eastern Church.* Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς παρενοχλήσεσιν ἐξελίχθησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπί τῆς κοινῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ταῖς ἀντιθέσεσιν, πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ἀποπέσει καὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ ἄγιον σύμβολον ὁ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοιωμένοις καὶ οὐκ ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ἐπισημασίου ἀμαχον ἐχέει ἴσχυον, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λογισμοῖς καὶ περιηγήσεσιν λόγους καὶ φράσεις ὑπερβαλὺς κινδυνεύουσιν ἐπισημασίου (ὡς εἴη τὸ ποινητὸν μηχαινατάρον) τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἐκ ἐκ τῶ Πατρὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶ Υἱοῦ ἐκπερεύεσθαι κινελοῦσαντες, Phoc. Epist. 2. §. 8. *Hugo Ethevianus legit κινελοῦσαντες, dom centit, ut supra pronunciat.* Thus far Phocius against Nicolaus before he was deposed. *After he was restored again, in the time of Pope John the eighth, in the eighth General Council, or the Greeks call it, it was declared that the addition of Filioque made in the Creed should be taken away.* Ἐξαπέστη ἡ ἑκκλησία αὐτῆ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῷ Συμβόλῳ, καὶ ἔκειν ἄγιον ἱερόν ἐξαρθεῖν παντελῶς, says Marcus Bishop of Ephesus in the Council of Florence. *After this the same complaint was continued by Michael Cepararius, and Theophylact, in as high a manner as by Phocius,* Ἐσιν δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ἐκείνο σφάλμα, καὶ τὸτο ἡ τὸ τὸ Σολομῶντι ἑστὸν πεταρεῖς τοῖσιν ὁμοιωμένοις, ἢ ἐν τῷ τῷ πείρασμο κινετοῦσα, ὡς ἐποίησαν οἱ ἀνακηρύττοντες τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τῶ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τῶ Υἱοῦ ἐκπερεύεσθαι. Theoph. ad Joan. c. 3. *Kaὶ τοῖς Δυτικαῖς τοῖσιν ἑστὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δόγμα διαμρτάνεται τὴν πατερικὴν πίστιν σαλεύον, ὡς εἴη τὸ ἐν τῷ Συμβόλῳ περὶ τῶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος παρρησιάζον, ἐνθα ὁ κίνεωσθαι μέγιστον, τὸτο μὲν διορθώσεως ἀξιοῦσθαι ὁ ἐκπερεύεσθαι ἀσφαλτέον, Ibid.* Thus did the Oriental Church accuse the Occidental for adding Filioque to the Creed, contrary to a General Council, which had prohibited all additions, and that without the least pretence of the Authority of another Council; and so the Schism between the Latin and the Greek Church began and was continued, never to be ended until these words καὶ ἐκ τῶ Υἱοῦ, or Filioque are taken out of the Creed. *The one relying upon the truth of the doctrine contained in these words, and the Authority of the Pope to alter anything; the other either denying or suspecting the truth of the doctrine, and being very zealous for the Authority of the ancient Councils.* *This therefore is much to be lamented, that the Greeks should not acknowledge the truth which was acknowledged by their Ancestors, in the substance of it; and that the Latins should force the Greeks to make an addition to the Creed, without as great an Authority as hath prohibited it, and to use that Language in the expression of this doctrine which never was used by any of the Greek Fathers.*

Now although the addition of words to the formal Creed without the consent, and against the Protestation of the Oriental Church be not justifiable; yet that which was added is nevertheless a certain truth, and may be so used in that Creed by them who believe the same to be a truth; so long as they pretend it not to be a Definition of that Council, but an addition or explication inserted, and condemn not those who, out of a greater respect to such Synodical determinations, will admit of no such insertions, nor speak any other Language than the Scriptures and their Fathers spake.

Howsoever we have sufficiently in our Assertions declared the nature of the Holy Ghost, distinguishing him from all qualities, energies or operations, in that he is truly and properly a Person; differencing him from all creatures and finite things, as he is not a created Person; shewing him to be of an infinite and eternal essence, as he is truly and properly God; distinguishing him from the Father and the Son, as being not the Father, though the same God with the Father, nor the Son, though the same God with him; demonstrating his order in the blessed Trinity, as being not the first or second, but the third Person, and therefore the third, because as the Son receiveth his essence communicated to him by the Father, and is therefore second to the Father, so the Holy Ghost receiveth the same essence communicated to him by the Father and the Son, and so proceedeth from them both, and is truly and properly the Spirit of the Father, and as truly and properly the Spirit of the Son.

Thus far have we declared the Nature of the Holy Ghost, what he is in himself, as the Spirit of God; it remaineth that we declare what is the Office of the same, what he is unto us, as the Holy Spirit. For although the Spirit of God be of infinite essential and original holiness, as God, and so may be called Holy in himself; though other Spirits which were created, be either actually now unholy, or of defectible sanctity at the first, and so having the name of Spirit common unto them, he may be termed Holy, that he may be distinguished from them: yet I conceive he is rather called the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of Holiness, because, of the three Persons in the blessed Trinity, it is his particular Office to sanctify, or make us holy.

Now when I speak of the Office of the Holy Ghost, I do not understand any Ministerial office or function, such as that of the created Angels is, who are all ministering Spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of sal-

Rom. 1. 4.

Heb. 1. 14.

vation; for I have already proved this Spirit to be a Person properly divine, and consequently above all ministrations. But I intend thereby whatsoever is attributed unto him peculiarly in the salvation of man, as the work wrought by him, for which he is sent by the Father and the Son. For all the Persons in the Godhead are represented unto us as concurring unto our salvation: *God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, and through that Son we have an access by one Spirit unto the Father.* As therefore what our Saviour did and suffered for us belonged to that Office of a Redeemer which he took upon him: so whatsoever the Holy Ghost worketh in order to the same salvation, we look upon as belonging to his Office. And because without holiness it is impossible to please God, because we all are impure, and unholy, and the purity and holiness which is required in us to appear in the presence of God whose eyes are pure, must be wrought in us by the Spirit of God, who is called Holy because he is the cause of this holiness in us, therefore we acknowledge the Office of the Spirit of God to consist in the sanctifying of the servants of God, and the declaration of this Office, added to the description of his nature, to be a sufficient explication of the object of Faith contained in this Article, *I believe in the Holy Ghost.*

John 3. 16.
Ephes. 2. 18

Now this sanctification being opposed to our impurity and corruption, and answering fully to the latitude of it, whatsoever is wanting in our nature of that holiness and perfection, must be supplied by the Spirit of God. Wherefore being by nature we are totally void of all saving truth, and under an impossibility of knowing the will of God; being as *no man knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of man which is in him, even so none knoweth the things of God but the Spirit of God*; this Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God, and revealeth them unto the sons of men; so that thereby the darkness of their understanding is expelled, and they are enlightened with the knowledge of their God. This work of the Spirit is double, either external and general, or internal and particular. The external and general work of the Spirit, as to the whole Church of God, is the Revelation of the Will of God, by which so much in all Ages hath been propounded as was sufficient to instruct men unto eternal life. For there have been *holy Prophets ever since the world began*; and *prophecy came not at any time by the will of man, but Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* When it pleased God in the last days to speak unto us by his Son, even that Son sent his Spirit into the Apostles, *the Spirit of truth*, that he might guide them into all truth, teaching them all things, and bringing all things to their remembrance whatsoever Christ had said unto them. By this means it came to pass that *all Scripture was given by inspiration of God*, that is, by the motion and operation of the Spirit of God; and so whatsoever is necessary for us to know and believe, was delivered by Revelation. Again, The same Spirit which revealeth the Object of Faith generally to the Universal Church of God, which object is propounded externally by the Church to every particular Believer, doth also illuminate the understanding of such as believe that they may receive the truth. For Faith is the gift of God not only in the object but also in the act; *Christ is not only given unto us, in whom we believe, but it is also given us in the behalf of Christ to believe on him*; and this gift is a gift of the Holy Ghost working within us an assent unto that which by the word is propounded to us: by this *the Lord opened the heart of Lydia, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul*; by this *the word preached profiteth being mixed with faith in them that hear it.* Thus by grace are we saved through faith, and that not of our selves, it is the gift of God. As the increase and perfection, so

1 Cor. 2. 10, 11.

Luke 1. 75.
2 Pet. 1. 21.

Heb. 1. 2.
John 16. 13.

Phil. 1. 29

Acts 16. 14.

Heb. 4. 2.
Ephes. 2. 8.

the

† This is the ancient determination of the second African Council, Si quis sicut augmentum, ita etiam initium Fidei, ipsaque credulitatis affe-

etum quo in eum credimus qui justificat impium, & ad regenerationem baptismatis pervenimus, non per gratiæ donum, id est, per inspirationem Sp. S. corrigentis voluntatem nostram ab infidelitate ad fidem, ab impietate ad pietatem, & naturaliter nobis inesse dicit, Apostolicis dogmatibus adversarius approbatur, beato Paulo dicente, *Confidimus quia qui cepit in vobis bonum opus perficiet usque in diem Domini nostri Jesu Christi; & illud, Vobis datum est pro Christo non solum ut in eum credatis, sed etiam ut pro illo patiamini. Et, Gratia salti salti estis per fidem, non ex vobis, Dei enim donum est, Can. 5. Concil. Arans. & Gennad. Eccl. Dogm. c. 42.* * It was the known opinion of the Pelagians that it is in the power of man to believe the Gospel without any internal operation of the grace of God, and S. Austin was once of that Opinion, Neque enim fidem putabam, says he, Dei gratia præveniri, ut per illam nobis daretur quod posceremus utiliter, nisi quia credere non possemus, si non præcederet præconium veritatis. Ut autem predicato nobis Evangelio consentiremus nostrum esse proprium, & nobis ex nobis esse arbitrabar. Quem meum errorem nonnulla Opuscula mea satis indicant ante Episcopatum meum scripta, *De Prædest. Sancti. l. 1. c. 3.* But whatever he had so written before he was made a Bishop, he recalled and reversed in his Retraction, l. 1. c. 23, and disputed earnestly against it as a part of the Pelagian Heresie. This, as the rest of Pelagianism is renewed by the Socinians, who in the Racovian Catechism deliver it in this manner, Nonne ad credendum Evangelio Spiritus Sancti interiore dono opus est? Nullo modo: neque enim in Scripturis legimus cuiquam id conferri donum, nisi credenti Evangelio.

Tit. 3. 5.

1 Cor. 5. 11.

The second part of the Office of the Holy Ghost in the sanctification of man, is the regeneration and renovation of him. For our natural corruption consisting in an averfation of our wills, and a depravation of our affections, an inclination of them to the will of God is wrought within us by the Spirit of God. For according to his mercy he saveth us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost. So that except a man be born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. We are all at first defiled by the corruption of our nature and the pollution of our sins; but we are washed, but we are sanctified, but we are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. The second part then of the Office of the Holy Ghost is the renewing of man in all the parts and faculties of his Soul.

Gal. 5. 25.

Gal. 5. 16.

Rom. 8. 14.

Zach. 12. 10.

1 J. hn 5. 14.

Rom. 8. 26, 27.

J. hn 14. 16.

1 J. hn 2. 1.

Rom. 8. 34.

The third part of this Office is to lead, direct and govern us in our actions and conversations, that we may actually do and perform those things which are acceptable and well-pleasing in the sight of God. If we live in the Spirit, quickned by his Renovation, we must also walk in the Spirit following his direction, led by his manuduction. And if we walk in the Spirit, we shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh; for we are not only directed but animated and acted in those operations by the Spirit of God, who giveth both to will and to do, and as many as are thus led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. Moreover that this direction may prove more effectual, we are also guided in our prayers, and acted in our devotions by the same Spirit, according to the promise, I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and of supplication. Whereas then this is the confidence that we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will he heareth us; and whereas we know not what we should pray for as we ought, the Spirit it self maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered, and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the Saints according to the will of God. From which intercession especially I conceive he hath the name of the Paraclete given him by Christ, who said, I will pray unto the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete. For if any man sin we have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, saith S. John: who also maketh intercession for us, saith S. Paul, and

Fifthly, It is the Office of the Holy Ghost to assure us of the adoption of Sons, to create in us a sense of the paternal love of God towards us, to give us an earnest of our everlasting inheritance. *The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. And because we are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father. For we have not received the Spirit of bondage again to fear; but we have received the Spirit of adoption whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit it self bearing witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.* As therefore we are born again by the Spirit, and receive from him our Regeneration, so we are also assured by the same Spirit of our Adoption; and because being sons we are also heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ, by the same Spirit we have the pledge, or rather the earnest of our inheritance. *For he which establisheth us in Christ and hath anointed us is God, who hath also sealed us, and hath given the earnest of his Spirit in our hearts; so that we are sealed with that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession.* The Spirit of God as given unto us in this life, though it have not the proper nature of a pledge; as in the gifts received here being no way equivalent to the promised reward, nor given in the stead of any thing already due; yet is to be looked upon as an * earnest, being part of that reward which is promised, and, upon the condition of performance of the Covenant which God hath made with us, certainly to be received.

Rom. 5. 5.
Rom. 14.
Gal. 4. 5.
Rom. 8. 15, 16.

Rom. 8. 17.
2 Cor. 1. 22.
Ephes. 1. 14.

* The word ἀρραβών which the apostle only useth in this particular, is of an

Hebrew extraction, אַרְבֻּנִין from אָרַב a word of promise and engagement in commerce, bargains, and agreements; and being but in one particular affair used in the old Testament, is taken for a pledge, Gen. 38. 17, 18, 20. and translated ἀρραβών by the LXX, as well as אַרְבֻּנִין by the Chaldee; yet the Greek word otherwise, consonantly enough to the origination, signifieth rather an earnest than a pledge, as the Greeky and Latines generally agree. Hesyeh. Ἀρραβών, πείραγμα, Etyim. Ἀρραβών, ἢ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα πνεύματος τὸ ἀνευθύνον διδουμένη πειραχολογία ἕως ἀπολαύσεως. Which words are also extant in Suidas, but corruptly. To this purpose is cited that of Menander, Μικρὰ μὲ ἀρραβὼν ἀ μ' ἐπεισεν εὐθὺς καταβλάσθην. So Aristotle speaking of Thales, ἐκοιμήσατο χρεμμάτων ὀλίγων ἀρραβῶνας διαδύνασθαι ἐλευθερίων. Polit. l. c. 11. So the Latines, Arrabo sic dicta ut reliquum reddatur. Hoc verbum à Græco ἀρραβών. Reliquum ex eo quod debitum reliquit, Vatro de L.L. lib. 4. In terrenis negotiis arrhæ quantitas, contractus illius pro quo intercesserit quadam portio est; pignoris vero ratio meritum rei pro qua poni videtur excedit. Paschas. Dico. l. 1. de sp. S. Pignus Latinus Interpres pro arrabone posuit. Non idipsum autem arrabo quod pignus sonat. Arrabo enim futuræ emptioni quasi quoddam testimonium & obligamentum datur. Pignus vero, hoc est, ἐνέχυρον, pro motua pecunia opponitur, ut cum illa reddita fuerit reddenti debitum pignus à creditore reddatur, S. Hier. ad Ephes. 1. 14. There is such another observation in A. Gellius, upon these words of Q. Claudius, Cum tantus arrhabo penes Samnites Populi Romani esset. Arrabonem dixit sexcentos obfides, & id maluit quam pignus dicere, quoniam vis hujus vocabuli in ea sententia gravior acriorq; est, Noll. Ant. l. 17. c. 2. The sense and use of this word is evident in Plautus, Eas quanti deflinat? Talentis magnis toridem quot ego & tu sumus. Sed arrhaboni has dedit quadraginta minas, Mystellaria. The sum was 120l. of which he gave 40l. in part of payment, and this was the arrhabo. So the Greek Fathers interpret S. Paul, Διὰ ἡμῶν ἀρραβῶν ἡμεῖς ἀποδοῦναι τὸ μέγιστον, ὃ γὰρ ἀρραβῶν μικρόν τι μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς πλείουστον. Theod. 2 Cor. 1. 22. & 1 Cor. 15. 44. Διὰ τὸτο γὰρ ἡ ἀρραβὼν τὸ πῶθ' ἔθεν ὀνομαζέσθαι ἄς πολλὰ πασῶν ἐστὶν ὀδθησώμενης τὴ χρεῖα. Οὐδὲ Πνεῦμα ἔσπεν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἀρραβῶνα ἀνέμασεν, ἵνα ἴστω τότε ἡ σελὶ τῶ ταυτὸς θαλάσσης, S. Chryl. In this manner speaks Eusebius, Τὰ πρῶτα βλάστησας ἐσταθλον ἐνθέν δε πρῶτα βλαστῶν ἵστασαι, De vita Constant l. 1. c. 3. Theodor. in Cl. Alex. 802. Οὐτε γὰρ πᾶν κεκοιμισμένα ἔτε παντὸς ὑστερέων; ἀλλ' ἐστὶ ἀρραβῶνα τὴ ἀνυιαν ἀγαθῶν ἢ τῶ πρῶτος πλῆτος πρῶτα βλαστῶν. So Tertullian. Hic interrogator Dei atq; hominum appellatus ex utriusq; partis deposito commisso sibi carnis quoq; depositum servat in semetipso, arrabonem summæ totius. Quemadmodum enim nobis arrhabonem Spiritus reliquit, ita & à nobis arrhabonem carnis accepit, & vexit in cælum pignus totius summæ illuc quoadq; redigendæ. De Resur. Carn. c. 51. Planè accepit & hic Spiritum caro: sed arrhabonem, animæ autem non arrhabonem sed plenitudinem, c. 53. So though the Translator of Irenæus render ἀρραβῶν pignus, yet it is evident that Irenæus did understand by ἀρραβῶν an earnest. Quod & pignus, dixit Apostolus, hoc est parte ejus honoris qui à Deo nobis promissus est, in Epistola quæ ad Ephesios est, l. 5. c. 8. and a little after, Si enim pignus completens hominem in semetipsum jam facit dicere Abba Pater, quid faciet univerla Spiritus gratia quæ hominibus dabitur à Deo, cum similis nos ei efficiet, & perficiet voluntate Patris?

Sixthly, For the effecting of all these and the like particulars, it is the Office of the same Spirit to sanctifie and set apart Persons for the duty of the Ministry, ordaining them to intercede between God and his People, to send up prayers to God for them, to bless them in the name of God, to teach the doctrine of the Gospel, to administer the Sacraments instituted by Christ, to perform all things necessary for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ. The same Spirit which illuminated the Apostles, and endued them with power from above to perform personally

Ephes. 4. 12.

the excellency of his graces, and the abundance of his gifts. What the Apostle wished to the *Corinthians*, ought to be the earnest petition of every Christian, That *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with us all.* For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his; if he have not that which maketh the union, he cannot be united to him: if he acknowledgeth him not to be his Lord, he cannot be his servant; and *no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.* That which is born of the Spirit is spirit; such is their felicity which have it; that which is born of the flesh is flesh; such is their infelicity which want it. What then is to be desired in comparison of *the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ*; especially considering the encouragement we receive from Christ; who said, *If ye being evil know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?*

Thirdly, It is necessary to profess Faith in the Holy Ghost, that *the will of God* may be effectual in us, *even our sanctification.* For if *God hath from the beginning chosen us to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit*; if we be elected according to the fore-knowledge of God the Father through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience, if the office of the Spirit doth consist in this, and he be therefore called Holy, because he is to sanctifie us, how should we follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord? how should we endeavour to cleanse our selves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God? The temple of God is holy, which temple we are, if the Spirit of God dwelleth in us; for the inhabitation of God is a consecration; and that place must be a Temple where his Honour dwelleth. Now if we know that our body is the temple of the Holy Ghost within us which we have of God, if we know that we are not our own, for that we are bought with a price; we must also know that we ought therefore to glorifie God in our body, and in our spirit, which are God's: thus it is necessary to believe in the Spirit of Sanctification, that our hearts may be established unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his Saints.

Fourthly, It is necessary to believe in the Holy Ghost, that in all our weaknesses we may be strengthened, in all our infirmities we may be supported, in all our discouragements we may be comforted, in the midst of miseries we may be filled with peace and inward joy. For the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. We read of the Disciples at first, that they were filled with joy and with the Holy Ghost; and those which afterwards became followers of them and of the Lord, received the word in much affliction, but with joy of the Holy Ghost. These are the rivers of living water flowing out of his belly that believeth; this is the oyl of gladness wherewith the Son of God was anointed above his fellows, but yet with the same oyl his fellows are anointed also: for we have an unction from the Holy One, and the anointing which we receive of him abideth in us.

Lastly, The belief of the Holy Ghost is necessary for the continuation of a successive Ministry, and a Christian submission to the acts of their function, unto the end of the world. For as God the Father sent the Son, and the Spirit of the Lord was upon him, because he had anointed him to preach the Gospel, so the Son sent the Apostles, saying, *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you; and when he had said this he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive the Holy Ghost:* and as the Son sent the Apostles, so did they send others by the virtue of the same Spirit, as S. Paul sent Timothy and Titus, and gave them power to send others, saying to Timothy, *Lay hands suddenly on no man,* and to Titus, *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things*

that

that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee. Thus by virtue of an Apostolical Ordination there is for ever to be continued a Ministerial succession. Those which are thus separated by Ordination to the work of the Lord, are to *feed the flock of God which is among them, taking the oversight thereof*; and those which are committed to their care, are to *remember and obey them that have the rule over them, and submit themselves, for that they watch for their souls as they that must give account.* 1 Pet. 5. 2. Heb. 13. 7, 17.

Having thus at large asserted the verity contained in this Article, and declared the necessity of believing it, we may easily give a brief exposition, by which every Christian may know what he ought to profess, and how he is to be understood, when he saith, *I believe in the Holy Ghost.* For thereby he is conceived to declare thus much, I freely and resolvedly assent unto this as unto a certain and infallible truth, that beside all other whatsoever, to whom the name of Spirit is or may be given, there is one particular and peculiar Spirit, who is truly and properly a person, of a true, real and personal subsistence, not a created but uncreated Person, and so the true and one eternal God; that though he be that God, yet is he not the Father nor the Son, but the Spirit of the Father and the Son, the third Person in the blessed Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son: I believe this infinite and eternal Spirit to be not only of perfect and indefectible holiness in himself, but also to be the immediate cause of all holiness in us, revealing the pure and undefiled will of God, inspiring the blessed Apostles, and enabling them to lay the foundation, and by a perpetual succession to continue the edification of the Church, illuminating the understandings of particular persons, rectifying their wills and affections, renovating their natures, uniting their persons unto Christ, assuring them of the adoption of sons, leading them in their actions, directing them in their devotions, by all ways and means purifying and sanctifying their souls and bodies, to a full and eternal acceptation in the sight of God. This is the eternal Spirit of God: In this manner is that Spirit Holy; and thus *I believe in the Holy Ghost.*

ARTICLE

ARTICLE IX.

The Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints.

** Although generally the Article of the Holy Church did immediately follow the Article of the Holy Ghost, as Tertullian well observeth, Cum sub tribus &*

IN this ninth Article we meet with some variety of position, and with much addition, for whereas it is here the ninth, in some Creeds we find it the * last, and whereas it consisteth of two distinct parts, the latter is wholly added, and the former partly augmented; the most Ancient professing no more than to believe † *the Holy Church*, and the Greeks having added by way of explication or determination, the word *Catholick*, it was at last received into the Latin Creed.

testario fidei & sponso salutis pignorentur, necessario adicitur Ecclesie mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater & Filius & Spiritus Sanctus ibi Ecclesia quae trium corpus est, *De Baptif. c. 6. and S. Aug. in Enchir. c. 56.* Spiritus S. si creatura non Creator esset, profecto creatura rationalis esset. Ipse enim esset summa creatura; & ideo in Regula fidei non poneretur ante Ecclesiam, quia & ipse ad Ecclesiam pertinere. *And the Author of this first Book de Symb. ad Catech. Sequitur post S. Trinitatis commendationem S. Ecclesia, and S. Hier. cited in the next note. Yet notwithstanding this order was not always observed, but sometimes this Article was reserved to the end of the Creed. As first appeareth in that remarkable place of S. Cyprian. Quod si aliquis illud opponit ut dicat eandem Novatianum legem tenere quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem Symbolo quo & nō baptizare, eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum S. ac propter hoc u. urpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in Interrogatione baptismi à nobis non discrepare; sciat quisquis & hoc opponendum putat, primum non esse unam nobis & Schismaticis Symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt, *Credis remissionem Peccatorum & vitam æternam per sanctam Ecclesiam?* uenturum in interrogatione, cum non habeant Ecclesiam. Tunc deinde voce sua ipsi confitentur remissionem peccatorum non dari nisi per Sanctam Ecclesiam, *Epist. Magn. Thus Arius and Euzoius, in the words hereafter cited, place the Church in the conclusion of their Creed. And the Author of the second Book de Sym. ad Catech. placeth the Remission of sins after the Holy Ghost. Noli injuriam tacere ei qui te fecit, ut consequaris ab illo quod in isto S. Symbolo sequitur, Remissionem omnium peccatorum: and after he hath spoken of the Resurrection and life everlasting, proceedeth thus to speak of the Church, Sancta Ecclesia, in qua omnis Sacramenti terminatur autoritas. &c. The Author of the third, Ideo Sacramenti hujus conclusio per Eccl. terminatur quia ipsa est mater secunda. And the Author of the fourth, Per sanctam Ecclesiam. Propterea hujus conclusio Sacramenti per S. Ecclesiam terminatur, quoniam si quis absq; ea inventus fuerit, alienus erit à numero filiorum; nec habebit Deum Patrem qui Ecclesiam noluerit habere matrem. Thus therefore they disposed the last part of the Creed, Credo in Spiritum S. peccatorum remissionem, carnis resurrectionem & vitam æternam per S. Ecclesiam. And the design of this transposition was to signify that remission of sins and resurrection to eternal life, are to be obtained in and by the Church. As the Creed in the first Homily under the name of S. Chrysostom, Credo in Sp. s. Iste Spiritus perducit ad S. Ecclesiam, ipsa est quae dimittit peccata, promittit carnis resurrectionem, promittit vitam æternam. † Tertull. Quae est mater nostra, in quam repromissimus Sanctam Ecclesiam, a Iv. Marcon, l. 5 c. 4. So Rufinus, Sanctam Ecclesiam. For Catholick is added by Pamelius. So S. Hier. contra Lucif. Præterea cum solenne sit in lavacro post Trinitatis Confessionem interrogare, Credis sanctam Ecclesiam? Credis remissionem peccatorum? Quam Ecclesiam credidisse eum dices? Arianorum? sed non habent: nostram? sed extra hanc baptizatus non potuit eam credere quam nescivit; and S. Aug. De Fide & Symb. Credimus & Sanctam Ecclesiam, with this declaration, utiq; Catholickam. So Maximus Taurin. Chrysol. and Venantius Fortunatus. The Author of the first Book de Symb. ad Catech. Sequitur post Sanctæ Trinitatis commendationem S. Ecclesia. The Author of the other three who placeth this Article last of all, Sancta Ecclesia, in qua omnis hujus sacramenti terminatur autoritas, l. 2. and l. 4. expressly Per Sanctam Ecclesiam, as the words of the Creed with the explication before mentioned. As also the Interrogation of the Novatians ending with per Sanctam Ecclesiam, cited before out of S. Cyprian. Solikewise of these Homilies in the Creed which are falsely attributed to S. Chrysost. the first hath Sanctam Ecclesiam after the Belief in the Holy Ghost, the second concludeth the Creed with per Sanctam Ecclesiam. In carnis resurrectione fides, in vita æterna spes, in Sancta Ecclesia charitas. Thus the ancient Saxon Creed set forth by Froberus, Tha halgan gelathing, i. e. the Holy Church, the Greek Creed in Saxon Letters in Sir Robert Cotton's Library, and the old Latin Creed in the Oxford Library. Deus qui in coelis habitat, & condescendit ex nihilo ea quae sunt, & multiplicavit propter Sanctam Ecclesiam suam, irascitur tibi, *Herm. l. 1. l. 1. Virtute sua potenti condidit Sanctam Ecclesiam suam, ib. Regabam Dominum ut Revelationes ejus quas ministrabat per Sanctam Ecclesiam suam confirmaret, Vif. 4. But though it were not in the Roman or Occidental Creeds, yet it was in the ancient Oriental, particularly in that of Hierusalem, and that of Alexandria. In the Creed at Jerusalem it was expressed in this manner, *ἵνα καὶ ἐκδοθῆται ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.* And in the old Saxon Creed it was as ancient. For Alexander Archbishop of that place inserts it in his Confession, in his Epistle at Alexandrum, *ὡς καὶ ἐκδοθῆται ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.* Theodor. Hist. l. 2. c. 4. And Arius and Euzoius in their Confession *ἵνα καὶ ἐκδοθῆται ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Θεοῦ, τὴν ἀπὸ πρῶτον εἰς πρῶτον, ὡς καὶ ἐκδοθῆται ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.* *Epiphanius* is also expressed in both the Creeds, the lesser and the greater, delivered by Epiphanius in Ancorato; and as we observe in the next Chapter.***

To begin then with the first part of the Article, I shall endeavour so to expound it, as to shew what is the meaning of the *Church*, which Christ hath propounded to us, how that Church is *holy*, as the Apostle hath assured us, how that holy Church is *Catholick*, as the Fathers have taught us. For when I say

say, *I believe in the Holy Catholick Church*, I mean that * there is a Church which is holy, and which is Catholick, and I understand that Church alone which is both Catholick and holy : and being this holiness and Catholickism are but affections of this Church which I believe, I must first declare what is the nature and notion of the Church, how I am assured of the existence of that Church, and then how it is the subject of those two affections.

* Credo sanctam Ecclesiam, *I believe there is an holy Church, or Credo in sanctam Ecclesiam, is the same: nor does the particl^e in added or sub-*

strated make any difference. For although some of the Latin and Greek Fathers press the force of that Proposition as is before observed, though Rufinus urge it far in this particular. Ut autem una eademque in Trinitate divinitus doceatur, sicut dictum est in Deo Patre credi adjecta propositione, ita & in Christo filio eius, ita & in Spiritu S. memoratur. Sed ut manifestius fiat quod dicimus, ex consequentibus approbabitur. Sequitur namque post hunc sermonem, Sanctam Ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, hujus carnis resurrectionem. Non dixit, in sanctam Ecclesiam, nec in remissionem peccatorum, nec in carnis resurrectionem, si enim addidisset in propositionem, una eademque vis fuisset cum superioribus. Ne autem (s. Nunc autem) in illis quidem vocabulis, ubi divinitate fides ordinatur, in Deo Patre dicitur, & Jesu Christo filio eius, & in Spiritu S. in ceteris vero ubi non de divinitate sed de creaturis ac mysteriis sermo est, in propositione non additur ut dicatur in sanctam Ecclesiam, sed Sanctam Ecclesiam credendam esse, non ut in Deum sed ut Ecclesiam Deo congregatam; & remissionem peccatorum credendam esse, non in remissionem peccatorum, & resurrectionem carnis, non in resurrectionem carnis. Hac itaque propositionis syllaba creator à creaturis seceratur & divina separatur ab humanis, *Ruff. in Symb. Though I say, this expression be thus pressed; yet we are sure that the Fathers did use eis, and in for the rest of the Creed as well as for the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. We have already produced the Authorities of S. Cyril, Arius and Euzoius, p. 18, 19. and that of Epiphanius in Ancorato. Thus also the Latins, and S. Cyprian, In æternam vitam sero credent, qui in vitam æternam credere noluerunt, Ad Demetrianum. So Interpres Irenæi, Quotquot autem timent Deum, & credunt in adventum Filii eius, &c. So Chrysol. In Sanctam Ecclesiam. Quia Ecclesia in Christo, & in Ecclesia Christus est, qui ergo Ecclesiam facitur, in Ecclesiam se confessus est credidisse, Serm. 52. And in the ancient edition of S. Jerome in the place before cited it was read, Credis in Sanctam Ecclesiam, and the word in was left out by Victorius.*

For the understanding of the true notion of the Church, first we must observe that the nominal definition or derivation of the word is not sufficient to describe the nature of it. If we look upon the old English word now in use, ∴ Church or Kirk, it is derived from the Greek, and first signified the House of the Lord, that is, of Christ, and from thence was taken to signify the People of God, meeting in the House of God. The Greek word used by the Apostles to express the Church, signifieth * a calling forth, if we look upon the origination; a congregation of men, or a company assembled, if we consider the use of it. But neither of these doth fully express the nature of the Church, what it is in it self, and as it is propounded in our Belief.

* Kōēō the Lord, and that properly Christ; from whence κλησὶς belonging to the Lord Christ, οὐκ κλησὶς, from thence Kyrine, Kirk, and Church.

† The word used by the Apostle is Ἐκκλησία from ἐκκαλεῖν vocare. From ἐκκέκλησι, ἐκκλησαν; from ἐκκλησις, ἐκκλησίαι, of the same notation with the Hebrew קהל Ecclesia quippe ex vocatione appellata est, S. Aug. Exp. ad Rom. And though they ordinarily take it primarily to signify convocatio, as S. Aug. Inter congregationem, unde synagoga, & convocacionem, unde Ecclesia nomen habet, distat aliquid, Enar. in Psal. 177. yet the Origination speaks only of evocation, without any intimation of congregation or meeting together, as there is in (Κλησι)σ. From whence arose that definition of Methodius, "Ὅτι Ἐκκλησίαν πρὸς τὸ ἐκκεκλησέναι τὰς ἰδιότητας λέγαμεθα κλησιν, Photius Biblioth. Whereas ἐκκαλεῖν is here no more than κλησίν, ἐκκλησις no more than κλησὶς; as κλητὸν and ἐκκλητὸν with the Atticks were the same; From whence it came to pass that the same preposition hath been twice added in the composition of the same word; from ἐκκαλεῖν ἐκκλησία, from thence ἐκκλησιάζειν, and because the preposition had no signification in the use of that word, from thence ἐκκεκλησιάζειν, to convocate, or call together. But yet ἐκκλησίαι is not the same with ἐκκλησις, not the evocation or the action of calling, but the κλητοὶ or the company called, and that (according to the use) gathered together; from whence ἐκκλησιάζειν is to gather together, or to be gathered. Hence S. Cyril, Ἐκκλησία ἢ κλητὰι φερωνύμως, διὰ τὸ πάσης ἐκκαλεῖσθαι καὶ ἐμὲ (Κλησίν), Catech. 18. So Ammonius, Ἐκκλησίαν ἔλεγον οἱ Ἀδελφαὶ ἢ συναδου ἢ κλητὸν πόλιν. To this purpose do the LXX use ἐκκλησιάζειν actively, to convocate or call together an Assembly, as ἐκκλησιάζειν λαόν, and ἐκκλησιάζειν (Κλησιν) ἑαυτοὺς, and ἐκκλησιάζειν παθητικῶς, as ἐκκλησιάζειν πᾶσι ἢ (Κλησιν) ἑαυτοῖς, which the Attick Writers would have expressed by ἐκκλησιάζειν as Aristophanes, Ἐδοξέ μοι πᾶσι τῶν ὄντων ὕπνον ἐν τῷ πόλει Ἐκκλησιάζειν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς συγκαθήμενα, Vesps. Where though the Scholiast hath remitted it Ἐκκλησιάζειν, εἰς ἐκκλησίαν (Κλησίν), whereby the Lexicographers have been deceived, yet the word is even there taken as a neuter, in the passive sense, as generally the Atticks use it. Howsoever from the notation of the word we cannot conclude that it signifies a number of men called together into one assembly out of the mass or generality of mankind; first because the preposition ἐκ hath no such force in the use of the word; secondly, because the collection or coming together is not specified in the origination.

Our second observation is, that the Church hath been taken for the whole complex of Men and Angels worshipping the same God; and again, the Angels being not considered, it hath been taken as comprehending all the sons of men believing in God ever since the foundation of the World. But being Christ took not upon him the nature of Angels, and consequently did not properly purchase them with his blood, or call them by his Word; being they

† Transitus in Paradisum in hunc de mandato in Ecclesia. Tertull. l. 2. adv. Marcian.

are not in the Scriptures mentioned as parts or members of the Church, nor can be imagined to be built upon the Prophets or Apostles; being we are at this time to speak of the proper notion of the Church, therefore I shall not look upon it as comprehending any more than the sons of men. Again, being though Christ was the Lamb slain before the foundation of the World, and whosoever from the beginning pleased God were saved by his blood; yet because there was a vast difference between the several dispensations of the Law and Gospel, because our Saviour spake expressly of building himself a Church when the Jewish Synagogue was about to fail, because Catholicism, which is here attributed unto the Church, must be understood in opposition to the legal singularity of the Jewish Nation, because the ancient Fathers were generally wont to distinguish between the Synagogue and the Church, therefore I think it necessary to restrain this notion to Christianity.

† In quem tingueret... in Ecclesiam? quod dandum Apostoli firuerant. Tert. de Bapt. c. 16.
 * Act. 15. 12.
 † Act. 2. 41.
 † Act. 1. 15.
 † Qualis es convertens atque cōmutans mactatam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem. Supra 13. inquit. edificabo Ecclesiam meam, & dabo tibi claves, non Ecclesia. Sic enim & exitus docet: in ipso Ecclesia exstructa est, id est, per ipsum, ipse clavem inibuit, vides quam. Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico: Jesum Nazarenum virum à Deo vobis denominatum, & reliqua Tertull. de Pudicitia, c. 21. So S. Basil. Εὐθὺς ᾗδε καὶ τῶν ἑσθλῶν τῶν τοῦ Πέτρον... ἢ διὰ τὸ σέβειν τὸ ἑαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδάσκον, Adv. Eunom. l. 2. S. Peter took upon himself the building of the Church, that is, to build the Church, which he then performed, when he preached the Gospel by which the Church was first gathered. * Acts 2. 47. ∴ Tertullian mentioning the Acts of the Apostles, addeth these words, Quam scripturam qui non recipiunt, nec Spiritus Sancti esse possunt, qui necdum Spiritum possint agnoscere dicentibus n. l. m. i. sed nec Ecclesiam defendere qui quando & quibus inenabulis institutum est hoc corpus, probare non habent. De Trin. Hoet. c. 22.

† *ἡ ἐκκλησία* is plainly taken for the multitude of Christians who were converted to the Faith by the Apostles, and those who were afterwards joined to them in the profession of the same Faith. Sacrificia in populo, sacrificia & in Ecclesia, Iren. l. 4. c. 34. Disseminaverunt sermonem de Christo Patriarchæ & Prophetæ, demissa est autem Ecclesia, hoc est, fructum percepit. Id. l. 4. c. 34. Quid Judaicus populus circa beneficia divina perfidus & ingratus? nonne quod à Deo primum recessit impatientiæ crimen fuit. S. Impatientia etiam in Ecclesia hereticos facit, S. Cyr. de Bono Patient. Quis non agnoscat Christum reliquidæ matrem Synagogam Judæorum veteri Testamento carnaliter adhaerentem, & adhaesisse uxori suæ, S. Ecclesiæ, S. Aug. contra Faust. l. 12. c. 8. Mater Sponsi Domini nostri Jesu Christi Synagoga est; proinde nurus ejus Ecclesia..... Id. m. Enas. in Psal. 44.

Thirdly, therefore I observe that the only way to attain unto the knowledge of the true notion of the Church, is to search into the New Testament, and from the places there which mention it, to conclude what is the nature of it. To which purpose it will be necessary to take notice that our Saviour first spake of it, mentioneth it as that which † then was not, but afterwards was to be; as when he spake unto the great Apostle, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*; but when he ascended into heaven, and the Holy Ghost came down, when Peter had converted *three thousand souls* which were added to the *hundred and twenty* Disciples, then was there a Church, (and that built upon † Peter, according to our Saviour's promise,) for after that we read, *The Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved.* A Church then our Saviour promised should be built, and by a promise made before his death; after his Ascension, and upon the preaching of S. Peter, we find a Church built or constituted, and that of a nature capable of a daily increase. We cannot then take a better occasion to search into the true notion of the Church of Christ, than by looking into the origination and increase thereof; without which it is ∴ impossible to have a right conception of it.

† In quem tingueret... in Ecclesiam? quod dandum Apostoli firuerant. Tert. de Bapt. c. 16.
 * Act. 15. 12.
 † Act. 2. 41.
 † Act. 1. 15.
 † Qualis es convertens atque cōmutans mactatam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem. Supra 13. inquit. edificabo Ecclesiam meam, & dabo tibi claves, non Ecclesia. Sic enim & exitus docet: in ipso Ecclesia exstructa est, id est, per ipsum, ipse clavem inibuit, vides quam. Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico: Jesum Nazarenum virum à Deo vobis denominatum, & reliqua Tertull. de Pudicitia, c. 21. So S. Basil. Εὐθὺς ᾗδε καὶ τῶν ἑσθλῶν τῶν τοῦ Πέτρον... ἢ διὰ τὸ σέβειν τὸ ἑαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδάσκον, Adv. Eunom. l. 2. S. Peter took upon himself the building of the Church, that is, to build the Church, which he then performed, when he preached the Gospel by which the Church was first gathered. * Acts 2. 47. ∴ Tertullian mentioning the Acts of the Apostles, addeth these words, Quam scripturam qui non recipiunt, nec Spiritus Sancti esse possunt, qui necdum Spiritum possint agnoscere dicentibus n. l. m. i. sed nec Ecclesiam defendere qui quando & quibus inenabulis institutum est hoc corpus, probare non habent. De Trin. Hoet. c. 22.

Now what we are infallibly assured of the first actual existence of a Church of Christ is only this. There were twelve Apostles with the Disciples before the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the *number of the names together were an hundred and twenty.* When the Holy Ghost came after a powerful and miraculous manner upon the blessed Apostles, and S. Peter preached unto the Jews, that they should *repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins*; they

Act. 1. 15.
 Act. 2. 38. 42.

they that gladly received his word were baptized, and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. These being thus added to the rest, continued steadfastly in the Apostles doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers: and all these persons so continuing are called the Church. What this Church was is easily determined, for it was a certain number of men, of which some were Apostles, some the former Disciples, others were persons which repented, and believed, and were baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and continued hearing the Word preached, receiving the Sacraments administered, joyning in the publick Prayers presented unto God. This was then the Church, which was daily increased by the addition of other persons received into it upon the same conditions, making up ^a the multitude of them that believed, who were of one heart and one soul, ^b believers added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women.

∴ Cum remissionem omnium Sacerdotes Petrum & Joannem, & reverentiam essent ad reliquos coapostolos & Discipulos Domini, id est in Ecclesiam, S. Irenaeus, l. 3. c. 2. ^a Act. 4. 32. ^b Act. 5. 14.

But though the Church was thus begun, and represented unto us as one in the beginning, though that Church which we profess to believe in the Creed be also propounded unto us as one; and so the notion of the Church in the Acts of the Apostles might seem sufficient to express the nature of that Church which we believe; yet because that Church was one by way of † origination, and was afterwards divided into many, the actual members of that one becoming the members of several Churches; and that Church which we believe, is otherwise one by way of complexion, receiving the members of all Churches into it; it will be necessary to consider, how at the first those several Churches were constituted, that we may understand how in this one Church they were all united. To which purpose it will be farther fit to examine the several acceptations of this word as it is diversly used by the Holy Ghost in the New Testament; that, if it be possible, nothing may escape our search, but that all things may be weighed, before we collect and conclude the full notion of the Church from thence.

† Haec voces Ecclesiae, ex qua habuit omnis Ecclesia individuum. S. Irenaeus. *ibid.*

First then that word which signifies the Church in the Original Greek, is sometimes used in the vulgar sense according as the Native Greeks did use the same to express their Conventions, without any relation to the Worship of God or Christ, and therefore is translated by the word Assembly, of as great a latitude. Secondly, It is sometimes used in the same notion in which the Greek Translators of the Old Testament made use of it, for the Assembly of the people of God under the Law, and therefore might be most fitly translated the Congregation, as it is in the Old Testament. Thirdly, It hath been conceived that even in the Scriptures it is sometimes taken for the place in which the members of the Church did meet to perform their solemn and publick services unto God; and some † passages there are which seem to speak no less, but yet are not so certainly to be understood of the place, but that they may as well be spoken of the people congregated in a certain place. Beside these few different acceptations, the Church in the Language of the New Testament doth always signify a company of persons professing the Christian Faith, but not always in the same latitude. Sometimes it admitteth of distinction and plurality; sometimes it reduceth all into conjunction and unity. Sometimes the Churches of God are diversified as many; sometimes, as many as they are, they are all comprehended in one.

Act. 19. 32, 33, 40.

Act. 8. 32. Heb. 2. 12.

† Act. 11. 26. 1 Cor. 11. 18, 22. From these places, S. Augustine did collect that Εκκλησία was taken in the Scriptures for the place of meeting, or the house of God, and came so to be frequently used in the Language

of the Christians in his time. Sicut Ecclesia dicitur locus, quo Ecclesia congregatur. Nam Ecclesia homines dicitur, Ut exhiberet sibi gloriosam Ecclesiam. Hanc tamen vocari etiam ipsam domum orationum, idem Apostolus testis est, ubi ait, Numquid domus non habetis ad manducandum & bibendum, Ecclesiam Dei contemnitis? Et hoc quorundam sequendi usus obtinuit, ut, ad Ecclesiam prodire, aut ad Ecclesiam confugere, non dicitur, nisi quod ad locum ipsam parietesque prodierit, vel confugerit, quibus Ecclesiae congregatio continetur, Quae. super Levit. l. 3. c. 57. By these words it is certain that in S. Augustin's time they used the word Ecclesia, as we do now the Church, for a place set apart for the Worship of God, and it is also certain that those of the Greek Church did use Εκκλησία in the same sense as Eusebius speaking of the Jews saying times of the Council, before the persecution under Dioclesian, says the Christians μεθεμῶς ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ἀρκέματι διακείας εἰς

πλάτῃ ἀλλὰ πάσαι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίαι, *Hist. l. 8. c. 1. and S. Chryf. Eὶ γὰρ Ἐκκλησίαν καλεστέον καὶ ἁγίον, πολλὰ μᾶλλον ναὸν πνευματικόν, καὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων Ἐκκλησίαι περιότρουν, Hom. 26. ad Rom.* But it is not so certain that the Apostle used Ἐκκλησία in that sense, nor is it certain that there were any houses set apart for the worship of God in the Apostle's times; which then could be called by that name. For Isidorus Peleusiota expressly denies it, and distinguishes between Ἐκκλησία and Ἐκκλησιαστικόν, after this manner, "Ἄλλο ὄντιν Ἐκκλησία, καὶ ἄλλο Ἐκκλησιαστικόν, ἢ μὲν ἐκ τῶν αἰμάτων ψυχῶν (σωθήσκει, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ λίθων καὶ ὑλικῶν οἰκοδομεῖται. And thus he proveth this distinction, "Ὅπερ γὰρ ἄλλο ἐστὶν Ἐκκλησιαστικόν καὶ ἄλλο θυσία, καὶ ἄλλο θυιατικόν καὶ ἄλλο θυιαμα, καὶ ἄλλο βελδτικόν καὶ ἄλλο βελή. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ποτε ἐστὶν (σωθεῖσθαι) μιλῶν, ἢ ἢ ποτε βυλδομένους ἀνθρώπων, οἷς καὶ κίνδυνος καὶ ἡ σὴνεια ἀνέκει, ἔτω καὶ ὅτι τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν. Then he concludes that in the Apostle's times there were no Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὅτε ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἐκείνη μὲν χαρισματικῶν μαρτύρων, ἔστυν ἡ τοιότης λαμπρῶν, ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐκ τῶν, *Epist. 246. l. 2.*

1. *Act. 16. 5.* For first in general there are often mentioned *∴ the Churches* by way of plurality, *the Churches of God, the Churches of the Gentiles, the Churches of the Saints.* In particular we find a few Believers gathered together in the house of one single person, called a *Church, as the Church in the house of *Priscilla* and *Aquila*, the Church in the house of *Nymphas*, the Church in the house of *Philemon*; which Churches were nothing else but the believing and baptized persons of each Family, with such as they admitted and received into their house to joy in the worship of the same God.

This Origen's the most part speaks of the Church in the plural number ἐκ ἐκκλησιῶν. * *Rom. 16. 5. 1 Cor. 16. 19. Col. 4. 15. Philem. 2.* S. Chryf. observeth of *Priscilla* and *Aquila*. Οὗτω γὰρ ἵσαν ἐσθλῶν ὡς καὶ τῶν οἰκίαν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιῆσαι, διὰ τε τῶν πιδίτων ποιῆσαι πιστῶν, καὶ διὰ τῶν τοῖς ξένοις αὐτῶν ἀνοῖξαι πᾶσιν, *Coryfili. Homil. 30. in Epist. ad Romanos.*

Again, when the Scripture speaketh of any Country where the Gospel had been preached, it nameth always by way of plurality the * Churches of that Country, as the Churches of *Judea*, of *Samaria* and *Galilee*, the Churches of *Syria* and of *Cilicia*, the Churches of *Galatia*, the Churches of *Asia*, the Churches of *Macedonia*. But notwithstanding there were several such Churches or Congregations of Believers in great and populous Cities, yet the Scriptures always speak of such Congregations in the notion of one Church. As when *S. Paul* wrote to the *Corinthians*, *Let your women keep silence in the Churches*, yet the Dedication of his Epistle is, *Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth*. So we read not of the Churches, but the † Church at *Jerusalem*, the Church at *Antioch*, the Church at *Cæsarea*, the Church at *Ephesus*, the Church of the *Thessalonians*, the Church of *Laodicea*, the Church of *Smyrna*, the Church of *Pergamus*, the Church of *Thyatira*, the Church of *Sardis*, the Church of *Philadelphia*. From whence it appeareth that a collection of several Congregations, every one of which is in some sense a Church, and may be called so, is properly one Church by virtue of the subordination of them all in one Government under one Ruler. For thus in those great and populous Cities where Christians were very numerous, not only all the several Churches within the Cities, but those also in the adjacent parts were united under the care and inspection of one Bishop, and therefore was accounted one Church; the number of the Churches following the number of the Angels, that is, the Rulers of them, as is evident in the Revelation.

† *Act. 8. 1, 21, 22.* *Rev. 3. 14, 2. 8. 12. 18. 3. 1, 7.* And thus after they grew yet far more numerous in the time of *Clemens Bishop of Rome*. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία π. Θεῶν, ἢ πατρ. οὐδὲν Ρώμῃ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν παρὲν οὐδὲν Ἰβερῶν, *Ep. 1.* So after him *Ignatius*, Τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν τῶν ἔσθ' ἐν Ἐπίστω τῶν Ἀσίου, Ἀντ. Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἔσθ' ἐν Τρόδω. And so the rest.

Now as several Churches are reduced to the denomination of one Church, in relation to the single Governour of those many Churches, so all the Churches of all Cities and all Nations in the World may be reduced to the same single denomination in relation to one supreme Governour of them all, and that one Governour is *Christ* the Bishop of our souls. Wherefore the Apostle speaking of that in which all Churches do agree, comprehendeth them all under the same appellation of one Church; and therefore often by the name

name

name of * Church are understood all Christians whatsoever belonging to any of the Churches dispersed through the distant and divided parts of the World. For the single persons professing Faith in Christ are members of the particular Churches in which they live, and all those particular Churches are members of the General and Universal Church which is one by unity of aggregation; and this is the Church in the Creed which we believe, and which is in other Creeds expressly termed † *One, I believe in one Holy Catholick Church.*

Christians, παρ τῷ μεγάλῃς ἐκκλησίᾳ, apud Orig. l. 5. † So the Creeds of Epiphanius in Ancorati, πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. So the Jerusalem Creed in S. Cyril. Thus the Nicene with the Council of Constantinople, μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Thus also the Alexandrian, those already quoted of Alexander, Arius and Euzoius.

* Matt. 16. 18
1 Cor. 12. 28.
15. 9. Gal. 1. 12.
Ephes. 1. 22. 3.
10. 21. 5. 23.
25. 27. 29. 32.
Phil. 3. 6. Col.
1. 18. 24. Heb.
12. 23. Of this
as of one Church
Celsus calls the

It will therefore be farther necessary for the understanding of the nature of the Church which is thus one, to consider in what that Unity doth consist. And being it is an aggregation not only of many persons, but also of many congregations, the unity thereof must consist in some agreement of them all, and adhesion to something which is one. If then we reflect upon the first Church again, which we found constituted in the Acts, and to which all other since have been in a manner added and conjoined, we may collect from their union and agreement how all other Churches are united and agree. Now they were described to be believing and baptized persons, converted to the Faith by S. Peter, continuing stedfastly in the Apostles doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and prayers. These then were all built upon the same Rock, all professed the same Faith, all received the same Sacraments, all performed the same Devotions, and thereby were all reputed members of the same Church. To this Church were added daily such as should be saved, who became members of the same Church by being built upon the same foundation, by adhering to the same doctrine, by receiving the same Sacraments, by performing the same Devotions.

Acts 2. 41. 42.
44. 47.

From whence it appeareth that the first unity of the Church considered in it self, beside that of the head, which is one Christ, and the life communicated from that head, which is one Spirit, relieth upon the original of it, which is one; even as an house built upon one foundation, though consisting of many rooms, and every room of many stones, is not yet many, but one house. Now there is but one foundation upon which the Church is built, and that is Christ: for other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. And though the Apostles and the Prophets be also termed the foundation, yet even then the unity is preserved, because as they are stones in the foundation, so are they united by one Corner-stone; whereby it comes to pass that such persons as are of the Church, being fellow-citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God, are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy Temple in the Lord. This stone was laid in Zion for a foundation, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation; there was the first Church built, and whosoever have been, or ever shall be converted to the true Christian Faith, are and shall be added to that Church, and laid upon the same foundation, which is the Unity of * Origination. Our Saviour gave the same Power to all the Apostles, which was to found the Church; but he gave that Power to Peter, to shew the unity of the same Church.

1 Cor. 3. 11.

Ephes. 2. 19, 20.
21.

Lk. 22. 16.

* Tertullian
speaking of the
Apostles, Ec-
clesias apud
unamquamque
civitatem con-
diderunt, a qui-

bus traducem fidei & seipsam doctrinam ceteris exinde Ecclesie munita sunt, & quotidie mutantur ut Ecclesie fiant: ac per hoc & ipse Apostolica, ut tobales Apostolicarum Ecclesiarum. Omne genus ad Originem suam censetur necesse est. Itaque tot & tanta Ecclesie una est illa ab Apostolis prima ex qua omnes. Sic omnes prima & Apostolica, dum una omnes probant unitatem: dum est illis communicatio pacis, & appellatio fraternitatis, & consecratio hospitali-

and all Churches congregated in the name of Christ, washed in the same laver of Regeneration, eating of the same bread, and drinking of the same cup, are united in the same cognizance, and so known to be the same Church. And this is the Unity of the Sacraments.

Fourthly, Whosoever belongeth to any Church is some way called, and all which are so, are called in one hope of their calling: the same reward of eternal life is promised unto every person, and we all through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. They therefore which depend upon the same God, and worship him all for the same end, the hope of eternal life, which God that cannot lie, promised before the world began, having all the same expectation, may well be reputed the same Church. And this is the Unity of Hope.

Ephes. 4. 3.

Gal. 5. 5.

Fifthly, They which are all of one mind, whatsoever the number of their persons be, they are in reference to that mind but one; as all the members howsoever different, yet being animated by one soul, become one body. Charity is of a fastning and uniting nature, nor can we call those many, who endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. By this, said our Saviour, shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. And this is the Unity of Charity.

Ephes. 4. 3.

John 13. 35.

Lastly, All the Churches of God are united into one by the unity of Discipline and Government, by vertue whereof the same Christ ruleth in them all. For they have all the same pastoral guides appointed, authorized, sanctified and set apart by the appointment of God, by the direction of the Spirit, to direct and lead the people of God in the same way of eternal salvation: as therefore there is * no Church where there is no order, no Ministry; so where the same Order and Ministry is, there is the same Church. And this is the Unity of Regiment and Discipline.

† Unus Deus enim & Christus unus, Ecclesia eius una, fides una & plebs in solidam corporis unitatem concordia glutine copulata, S. Cyp. de Unitate Ecclesie.

* Ecclesia non est quæ non

habet Sacerdotes, S. Hier. adv. Lucifer. Πάντες ἀντὶ πέδωσαν τὸν Διακόνου ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον ὡς Πατέρα, καὶ ἡ Πρεσβυτέρα ὡς Ἐκκλησίαν Θεοῦ καὶ ὡς Ἐκκλησίαν Ἀποστόλων: γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἑκκλησιῶν ἐκκλησία ἐκκλησία, Igni. ad Gall. Τὸ γὰρ ἡ ἑκκλησία ὄνομα τὴν ἡμῶν ὡς Χριστὸν πῖς ἀσπίαν ὑραίνῃ πληθῶν, ἰεραργῶς τε καὶ καὶ ποικίλως καὶ διδασκαλίας καὶ τὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς κατεζωγίδια, S. Cyril ad cap. 45. ubi interpret ὑραίνῃ, male transtulit declarat, quod est ὑποταγή; euni reddere oportuerit, concessit, aut contextit. ∴ Episcopatus unus est, cuius à singulis in solidum pars tenetur; Ecclesia una est quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur, S. Cyp. ibidem. So he says these two together, Cum in a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordia numerofitate diffusus. Ep. ad Antonianum.

By these means and ** for these reasons, millions of persons, and multitudes of Congregations are united into one body, and become one Church. And thus under the name of Church expressed in this Article, I understand a body, or collection of humane persons professing faith in Christ, gathered together in several places of the World for the worship of the same God, and united into the same corporation by the means aforesaid. And this I conceive sufficient to declare the true notion of the Church as such, which is here the object of our Faith; it remaineth therefore that we next consider the existence of the Church; which is acknowledged in the act of Faith applied to this object. For when I profess and say, I believe a Church, it is not only an acknowledgment of a Church which hath been, or of a Church which shall be, but also of that which is. When I say, I believe in Christ dead, I acknowledge that death which once was, and now is not: for Christ once died, but now is not dead. When I say, I believe the resurrection of the body, I acknowledge that which never yet was, and is not now, but shall hereafter be. Thus the act of Faith is applicated to the object according to the nature of it; to what is already past, as past; to what is to come, as still to come; to that which is present, as it is still present. Now that which was then past, when the Creed was made, must necessarily be always past, and so believed for ever; that

** These are all expressed by Tertullian.

Una nobis & illis fides, unus Deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramenta; semel dixerim, una Ecclesia sumus, de Virg. veland. cap. 2. Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis, & disciplina unitate, & spei tenere, Apolog. cap. 33.

which

which shall never come to pass until the end of the World, when this publick profession of Faith shall cease, that must for ever be believed as still to come. But that which was when the Creed began, and was to continue till that Creed shall end, is proposed to our belief in every Age as being; and thus ever since the first Church was constituted, the Church it self, as being, was the object of the Faith of the Church believing.

The existence therefore of the Church of *Christ* (as that Church before is understood by us,) is the continuation of it in an actual being, from the first collection in the Apostles times unto the consummation of all things. And therefore to make good this explication of the Article, it will be necessary to prove that the Church which our Saviour founded and the Apostles gathered was to receive a constant and perpetual accession, and by a successive augmentation be uninterruptedly continued in an actual existence of believing Persons and Congregations in all Ages unto the end of the World.

Now this indeed is a proper object of Faith, because it is grounded only upon the promise of God; there can be no other assurance of the perpetuity of this Church, but what we have from him that built it. The Church is not of such a nature as would necessarily, once begun, preserve it self for ever. Many thousand persons have fallen totally and finally from the Faith professed, and so apostatized from the Church. Many particular Churches have been wholly lost, many Candlesticks have been removed; neither is there any particular Church which hath any power to continue it self more or longer than others; and consequently, if all particulars be defectible, the Universal Church must also be subject of it self unto the same defectibility.

But though the providence of God doth suffer many particular Churches to cease, yet the promise of the same God will never permit that all of them at once shall perish. When *Christ* spake first particularly to *S. Peter*, he sealed his speech with a powerful promise of perpetuity, saying, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* When he spake generally to all the rest of the Apostles to the same purpose, *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; he added a promise to the same effect, and loe I am with you always, even to the end of the world.* The first of these promises assureth us of the continuance of the Church, because it is built upon a Rock; for our Saviour had expressed this before, *Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doth them, I will liken him unto a wise man which built his house upon a rock, and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock.* The Church of *Christ* is the house of *Christ*, for he hath builded the house, and is as a *Son over his own house, whose house are we*; and as a *wise man*, he hath built his house upon a rock, and what is so built shall not fall. The latter of these promises giveth not only an assurance of the continuance of the Church, but also the cause of that continuance, which is the presence of *Christ*. *Where two or three are gathered together in the name of Christ*, there he is in the midst of them, and thereby they become a Church, for they are as a builded house, and the *Son* within that house. Wherefore being *Christ* doth promise his presence unto the Church, even unto the end of the World, he doth thereby assure us of the existence of the Church, until that time, of which his presence is the cause. Indeed, this is *the City of the Lord of hosts, the City of our God, God will establish it for ever*, as the great Prophet of the Church hath said.

† Non deserit Ecclesiam suam Divina protectio, dicente Domino, Ecce ego vobiscum omnibus diebus. &c. *Lev. Epist.* 31. *S. August.* ut in these words of the *Psal.* 131. *Exiguam dico meorum annuntia*

mihî, macther the Church to speak these words. Quid est quod nescio qui recedentes à me murmurant contra me? Quid est quod perditî me peritisse contendunt? Certe enim hoc dicunt, Quia sui & non sum. Annuntia mihî exiguitatem dierum meorum.

meorum. Non à te quæro illos dies æternos; illi sine fine sunt, ubi ero, non ipsos quæro; te temporales quæro, temporales dies mihi annuacia. *Exiguitatem dierum meorum non æternitatem dierum meorum annuacia mihi.* Quamliu ero in isto sæculo, annuacia mihi, propter illos qui dicunt, Fuit & jam non est: propter illos qui dicunt, Impleta sunt scripturæ, crediderunt omnes gentes, sed apostatavit & periit Ecclesia de omnibus gentibus: Quid est hoc, *Exiguitatem dierum meorum annuacia mihi?* Et annuaciavit, nec vacua fuit vox ista. Quis annuaciavit mihi nisi ipsa via? Quomodo annuaciavit? *Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem sæculi.* Concione secunda in *Psal.* 101. *Psal.* 48. S. Forte ita Civitas, que mundum renuit, aliquando evertetur. Absit *Deus fundavit eam in æternum.* Si ergo Deus fundavit eam in æternum, quid times ne cadat firmamentum? *S. Aug. ad locum.*

Upon the certainty of this truth, the existence of the Church hath been propounded as an object of our Faith in every Age of Christianity; and so it shall be still unto the end of the world. For those which are Believers are the Church, and therefore if they do believe, they must believe there is a Church. And thus having shewed in what the nature of a Church consisteth, and proved that a Church of that nature is of a perpetual and indefectible existence, by virtue of the promises of Christ, I have done all which can be necessary for the explication of this part of the Article, *I believe the Church.*

After the consideration of that which is the subject in this Article, followeth the explication of the affections thereof; which are two, Sanctity and Universality; the one attributed unto it by the Apostles, the other by the Fathers of the Church: by the first the Church is denominated *Holy*, by the second *Catholick*. Now the Church which we have described, may be called holy in several respects, and for several reasons; First, In reference to the Vocation by which all the members thereof are called and separated from the rest of the World to God; which separation in the Language of the Scriptures is a sanctification: and so the calling being holy, (for *God hath called us with an holy calling*) the body which is separated and congregated thereby, may well be termed *holy*. Secondly, In relation to the Offices appointed, and the powers exercised in the Church, which by their institution and operation are holy; that Church for which they were appointed, and in which they are exercised, may be called *holy*. Thirdly, Because whosoever is called to profess faith in Christ, is thereby engaged to holiness of life, according to the words of the Apostle, *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ, depart from iniquity*: for those namers of the name, or named by the name of Christ, are such as called on his name, and that was the description of the Church; as when *Saul* did persecute the Church, it is said he had *authority from the chief Priests to bind all that called upon the name of Christ*, and when he preached *Christ* in the Synagogues, *all that heard him said, Is not this he who destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem?* Being then all within the Church are by their profession obliged to such holiness of life, in respect of this obligation, the whole Church may be termed *holy*. Fourthly, In regard the end of constituting a Church in God, was for the purchasing an holy and a precious people; and the great design thereof was for the begetting and increasing holiness, that as God is originally holy in himself, so he might communicate his sanctity to the sons of men, whom he intended to bring unto the fruition of himself, unto which without a previous sanctification they can never approach, because *without holiness no man shall ever see God*.

For these four reasons the whole *Church of God*, as it containeth in it all the persons which were called to the profession of the Faith of *Christ*, or were baptized in his name, may well be termed and believed *holy*. But the Apostle hath delivered another kind of holiness which cannot belong unto the Church taken in so great a latitude. For, saith he, *Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctifie and cleanse it by the washing of water by the Word, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.*

2 Tim. 1. 9.

2 Tim. 2. 19.

Acts 9. 14, 21.
vide 1 Cor. 1. 2.
Ὅτι ὃς τὸ ἅ-
θροισμα τοῦ
ἀγίου τοῦ θεοῦ
ἡ πίστις καὶ ἡ
πολιτεία αἰ-
εὶς συνέ-
κροτησάντων
ἐκκλησία ὅτι
δύλον ὄντι τοῖς
συνταγμα-
μένοις. *Ibid* Fe-
leus. Epist. 245.
l. 2.

Eph. 5. 25, 26.

27.

Now

Now though it may be conceived that *Christ* did love the whole Church as it did any way contain all such as ever called upon his name, and did give himself for all of them: yet we cannot imagine that the whole body of all men could ever be so holy, as to be without spot, wrinkle, blemish, or any such thing. It will be therefore necessary, within the great complex body of the Universal Church, to find that Church to which this absolute holiness doth belong: and to this purpose it will be fit to consider both the difference of the persons contained in the Church, as it hath been hitherto described, while they continue in this life, and their different conditions after death; whereby we shall at last discover in what persons this holiness is inherent really, in what condition it is inherent perfectly, and consequently in what other sense it may be truly and properly affirmed that the Church is *holy*.

Where first we must observe that the Church, as it embraceth all the professors of the true Faith of *Christ*, containeth in it not only such as do truly believe and are obedient to the Word, but those also which are hypocrites, and prophane. Many profess the Faith, which have no true belief: many have some kind of Faith, which live with no correspondence to the Gospel preached. Within therefore the notion of the Church are comprehended good and bad, being both externally called, and both professing the same Faith. For the *Kingdom of heaven is like unto a field in which wheat and tares grow together unto the harvest; like unto a net that was cast into the Sea, and gathered of every kind; like unto a floor in which is laid up wheat and chaff; like unto a marriage-feast, in which some have on the wedding garment, and some not.* This is that Ark of *Noah* in which were preserved beasts clean, and unclean. This is that *great house* in which there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood, and of earth, and some to honour and some to dishonour. There are many called, of all which the Church consisteth, but there are few chosen, of those which are called, and thereby within the Church. I conclude therefore, as the ancient Catholicks did against the † Donatists, that within the Church, in the publick profession and external communion thereof, are contained persons truly good and sanctified, and hereafter saved; and together with them other persons void of all saving grace, and hereafter to be damned: and that Church containing these of both kinds may well be called *holy*, as *S. Matthew* called *Jerusalem the Holy City*, even at that time when our Saviour did but begin to preach, when we know there was in that City a general Corruption in Manners and Worship.

*Mat. 13. 24.
35. 47.*

Mat. 2. 12.

Firmissime tene & nullatenus dubites aream Dei esse Ecclesiam Catholicam, & intra eam utq; in finem saculi frumento mixtas paleas contineri, hoc est, bonis malos sacramentorum communione misceri, Fulgent. ad Petrum, c. 43.

Mat. 22. 10.

2 Tim. 2. 20.

S. Jerom joins

these two together, Arca Noë Ecclesiæ typus: ut in illa omnium animalium genera, ita & in hac universarum & gentium & morum homines sunt, ut ubi pardus & hœdi, lupus & agni, ita & hic iusti & peccatores, id est, vasa aurea & argentea cum ligneis & fictilibus commorantur, Dial. contra Luciferianos. † The opinion of the Donatists confuted by the Catholicks is to be seen in S. Augustin's Book, entituled, Ereviculum Collationum. Upon which reflecting in his Book Post Collationem, he observes how they were forced by the testimony of those Scriptures which we have produced, to acknowledge that there were mingled with the good such as were occultly bad, Ecce etiam ipsi veritate Evangelica non aliud coacti sunt confiteri quam malos occultos nunc ei permixtos esse, as the good and bad fish are taken in the same net, because it could not discern the bad from the good. And from thence he enforceeth from their acknowledgement, that those which are apparently evil, are contained in the same Church. Si enim propterea retibus bonos & malos congregantibus Ecclesiam comparavit, quia malos in Ecclesia non manifestos sed latentes intelligi voluit, quos ita nesciunt sacerdotes, quemadmodum sub fluctibus quid acceperint retia nesciunt Piscatores. Propterea ergo & arca comparata est, ut etiam manifeste mali cum bonis in ea prænantiantur futuri. Neque enim palea quæ in arca est permixta frumentis, etiam ipsa sub fluctibus latet, quæ sic omnium oculis est conspicua, ut potius occulta sine in ea trumenta, cum sit ipsa manifesta, Lib. post Collat. cap. 9, 10.

Of these promiscuously contained in the Church, such as are void of all saving grace while they live, and communicate with the rest of the Church, and when they pass out of this life, die in their sins, and remain under the eternal wrath of God; as they were not in their persons holy while they lived, so are they no way of the Church after their death, neither as members of it, nor as contained in it. Through their own demerit they fall short of the glory
unto

unto which they were called, and being by death separated from the external Communion of the Church, and having no true internal communion with the members and the head thereof, are totally and finally cut off from the Church of *Christ*. On the contrary, such as are efficaciously called, justified, and sanctified, while they live are truly holy, and when they die are perfectly holy; nor are they by their death separated from the Church, but remain united still by virtue of that internal union by which they were before conjoined both to the members and the head. As therefore the Church is truly holy, not only by an holiness of institution, but also by a personal sanctity in reference to these Saints while they live, so is it also perfectly holy, in relation to the same Saints glorified in heaven. And at the end of the world, when all the wicked shall be turned into hell, and consequently all cut off from the communion of the Church; when the members of the Church remaining being perfectly sanctified, shall be eternally glorified, then shall the whole Church be truly and perfectly *holy*.

Then shall that be completely fulfilled, that *Christ* shall present unto himself a glorious Church, which shall be holy and without blemish. Not that there are two Churches of *Christ*, one, in which good and bad are mingled together, another, in which there are good alone; one, in which the Saints are imperfectly holy, another, in which they are perfectly such; but one and the same Church in relation to † different times, admitteth or not admitteth the permixtion of the wicked, or the imperfection of the godly. To conclude, the Church of God is universally holy in respect of all, by institutions and administrations of sanctity; the same Church is really holy in this World, in relation to all godly persons contained in it, by a real infused sanctity; the same is farther yet at the same time perfectly holy in reference to the Saints departed and admitted to the presence of God; and the same Church shall hereafter be most completely holy in the world to come, when all the members actually belonging to it, shall be at once perfected in holiness and compleated in happiness. And thus I conceive the affection of sanctity sufficiently explicated.

Ephes. 2. 27.

† This was it which the Catholics answered to the Donatists, objecting that they made two distinct Churches. De duabus etiam ecclesiis calumniam eorum Catholici refutarunt identidem expressus ostendentes quid dixerint, id est, non eam Ecclesiam quæ nunc habet permixtos malos alienam se dixisse à regno Dei, ubi non erunt mali commixti, sed eandem ipsam unam & sanctam Ecclesiam nunc esse aliter, tunc autem aliter futuram, nunc habere malos mixtos, tunc non habituram, sicut nunc mortalem quod ex mortalibus constaret hominibus, tunc autem immortalem, quod in ea nullus esset vel corpore moriturus, sicut non ideo duo Christi, quia prior mortuus postea non moriturus, S. August. Collat. 3. diu.

rint, id est, non eam Ecclesiam quæ nunc habet permixtos malos alienam se dixisse à regno Dei, ubi non erunt mali commixti, sed eandem ipsam unam & sanctam Ecclesiam nunc esse aliter, tunc autem aliter futuram, nunc habere malos mixtos, tunc non habituram, sicut nunc mortalem quod ex mortalibus constaret hominibus, tunc autem immortalem, quod in ea nullus esset vel corpore moriturus, sicut non ideo duo Christi, quia prior mortuus postea non moriturus, S. August. Collat. 3. diu.

The next affection of the Church is that of Universality, *I believe the holy CATHOLICK Church*. Now the word *Catholic*, as it is not read in the Scriptures, so was it not anciently in the Creed, (as we have already shewn) but being inserted by the Church, must necessarily be interpreted by the sense which the most ancient Fathers had of it, and that sense must be confirmed, so far as it is consentient with the Scriptures. To grant then that the word was not used by the * Apostles, we must also acknowledge that it was most anciently in use among the Primitive Fathers, and that as to several intents. For, first, they called the Epistles of S. James, S. Peter, S. John, S. Jude, the † *Catholic* Epistles, because when the Epistles written by S. Paul were directed to particular Churches congregated in particular Cities, these were either sent to the Churches dispersed through a great part of the World, or directed to the whole Church of God upon the face of the whole earth. Again, We observe the Fathers to use the word *Catholic* for nothing

* It was the ordinary Objection of the Schismatical Novatians, that the very name of Catholic was never used by the Apostles, and the answer to it by the Catholics was by

way of concession. Sed sub Apostolis, inquit, nemo Catholicus vocabatur; Esto, sic fuerit, vel illud indulge, &c. Pictorius ad Synopsum, Epist. 1. † S. S. Jerome of S. James. Unam tantam scripsit Epistolam que de septem Catholicis est: Of S. Peter, Scripsit duas Epistolas que Catholice nominantur: Of S. Jude, Judas trater Jacobi

Again, When the Church is taken for the persons making profession of the Christian Faith, the *Catholick* is often added in opposition to Hereticks and Schismatics, expressing a * particular Church continuing in the true Faith with the rest of the Church of God, as the *Catholick Church in Smyrna*, the *Catholick Church in Alexandria*.

* As the Smyrneans speak in Eusebius of Polycarpus. Τριβυλιανῶς ἐπίσκοπος

τῶ ἐν Σμύρῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, lib. 4. cap. 15. So καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, in Epiphanius. This Gregory Nazianzen begins his own last Will. Γρηγόριος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινῇ πύλαι, τῇ ἐν ἧ ἡμετέραν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς ἐν Ναζιανζῶ, and subscribes it after the same manner in words in which he began it, and so the rest of the Bishops which subscribed, as witnesses, Ἀμυρίλῳ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἰουλίῳ. Ὁπίλιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Θεόδωτος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἰδῆ. Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς καὶ Ἀπαμειῶν. Θεμιστοῦχος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς καὶ Ἀδριανούπολιν. In the same manner speak the Latines, Eodem itaque tempore in Ecclesia Hipponensi Catholica Valerius Sanctus Episcoporum gerebat. Pissidius de Vita Aug. c. 4. This any particular true Church is called the *Catholick Church* of the place in which it is, and all Churches which retain the *Catholick Faith*, are called *Catholick Churches*. At when the Synod of Antioch concluded their sentence against the Samaritanians thus, καὶ τὰς αἰ καθολικὰς ἐκκλησίας συμφρονῶσιν ἡμῶν. According to which notion we read in Leo the Great, Ad venerationem Pentecostes unanimiter incitemur exultantes in honorem S. Spiritus, per quem omnis Ecclesia Catholica sanctificatur, omnis anima rationalis imbuitur, Serm. 1. de Pentec. Whence where we read in the Synod of Ariminum, eis τὸ αὐτὸ πάγιος ἐπίσκοποι συνήλθον, ἵνα καὶ ἡ πίστις τῆ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας γνωριεθῆ, καὶ οἱ πάντας ἐρευνῶντες ἐκκλησίαι ᾤοντο, although in Athanasius, Theodoret and Socrates, it be constantly written, τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας; yet S. Hilary did certainly read it, τῆ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, for it is thus translated in his Fragments, Ut fides clarificeret omnibus Ecclesiis Catholicis, & hæretici noscerentur. From whence it came to pass that in the same City Hereticks and Catholics having their several Congregations, each of which was called the Church, the Congregation of the Catholics was by way of distinction called the *Catholick Church*. Of which this was the old advice of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, Ἀν πάσι ἐπιδρυμῶς ἐν πόλεσι, καὶ ἀπλῶς ὀρεῖται, πῶς τὸ Κυριακὸν δεῖ καὶ τὸ αἰ λοιπὰ τῶ ἀσεβῶν αἰρέσεις Κυριακὰ τὰ ἐαυτῶν σὺν λαῷ καλῶν ὀπιχειρῶσι. μηδὲ πῶ ὄν ἀπλῶς ἐκκλησία, ἀλλὰ πῶ ὄν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία; Catech. 18. Ego forte ingressus populotum urbem hodie cum Marcionitis, cum Apollinaricos, Cataphrygos, Novatianos, & ceteros ejusmodi comperissem, qui se Christianos vocarent, quo cognomine congregationem meam plebis agnoscerem nisi Catholica diceretur? Pacian, ad Symp. Ep. 1. Tenet postremo ipsum Catholica nomen, quod non sine causa ista Ecclesia sola obtinuit, ut cum omnes hæretici se Catholicos dici velint, quærenti tamen peregrino alicui, ubi ad Catholicam conveniatur, nullus hæreticorum, vel Basilicam suam vel domum audeat ostendere, S. Aug. cont. Epist. Fundamenti, cap. 4.

Now being these particular Churches could not be named *Catholick* as they were particular, in reference to this or that City, in which they were congregated, it followeth that they were called *Catholick* by their coherence and conjunction with that Church which was * properly and originally called so; which is the Church taken in that acception which we have already delivered. That Church which was built upon the Apostles as upon the foundation, congregated by their preaching and by their baptizing, receiving continued accession, and disseminated in several parts of the earth, containing within it numerous congregations, all which were truly called Churches, as members of the same Church; that Church, I say, was after some time called the *Catholick Church*, that is to say, the name *Catholick* was used by the Greeks to signify the whole. For being every particular congregation professing the name of *Christ*, was from the beginning called a Church; being likewise all such Congregations considered together were originally comprehended under the name of the Church; being these two notions of the word were different, it came to pass that for distinction sake at first they called the Church, taken in the large and comprehensive sense, by as large and comprehensive a name, the † *Catholick Church*.

* Nonne appellatio propria decuit caput principale signari? Pacianus ibid.

† I conceive at first there was no other meaning

ing in the word καθολικὴ than what the Greek language did signify thereby, that is, tota or universa, as S. Austin, Cum distuleret desuper contexta, addidit per totum. Quod si referamus ad id quod significat, nemo ejus est expertus qui pertinere invenitur ad totum: ἀ quo toto sic ut Græca indicat lingua, Catholica vocatur Ecclesia. Hist. in Johan. 118. The most ancient Author which I find it in, (except Ignatius, Ὁ πρῶτος ἀντιόχειος ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκ τῶ ἀπλῶς ὄντος, ὡς ὁ πρῶτος ἀντὶ ἡ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκ τῆ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ep. ad Smyrnecos) is Clemens Alexandrinus, μόνον ἐν αἰσ ἡμετέροις τῶ ἀρχαίων καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, Strom. 1. 7. But the Passion of Polycarpus written in the name of the Church of Smyrna, may be more ancient, in which the original notion seemeth most clear, Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆ Θεῆ ἡ παρρησια Σμύρῃν τῆ παρρησια ἐν Φιλαδέλφειᾳ, καὶ πάσαις καὶ πάσαις τῶσον τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παρεκκλήσεις, i. e. omnibus totius Ecclesie paræcclesiis. Hist. Eccl. 1. 4. c. 15. It was otherwise called in the same notion ἡ καθολικὴ. As Apollinarius Bishop of Hierapolis, Τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ πάσαν ἡμετέραν ἐκκλησίαν βλασφημῶν διδάσκοντες τὴ ἀποστολικὴν διδασκίαν, apud Euseb. 1. 5. c. 10. And Eusebius, Περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ πάσαις καὶ πάσαις τῶσον τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας λαμπρῶς, Hist. 1. 4. c. 7. καθολικὴ then and ἡ καθολικὴ is the same, the whole, general, or universal.

Although this seem the first intention of those which gave the name *Catholick* to the Church, to signifie thereby nothing else but the whole or universal Church, yet those which followed did signifie by the same that affection of the Church which floweth from the nature of it, and may be expressed by that word. At first they called the whole Church *Catholick*, meaning no more than the universal Church; but having used that term some space of time, they considered how the nature of the Church was to be universal, and in what that universaliry did consist.

As far then as the ancient Fathers have expressed themselves, and as far as their expressions are agreeable with the descriptions of the Church delivered in the Scriptures, so far, I conceive, we may safely conclude that the Church of *Christ* is truly *Catholick*, and that the truly *Catholick* Church is the true Church of *Christ*, which must necessarily be sufficient for the explication of this affection, which we acknowledge when we say, we believe the *Catholick Church*.

The most obvious and most general notion of this Catholicism consisteth in the diffusiveness of the Church, grounded upon the commission given to the builders of it, *Go, teach all Nations*, whereby they and their successors were authorized and impowered to gather congregations of Believers, and so to extend the borders of the Church unto the utmost parts of the earth. The Synagogue of the *Jews* especially consisted of one Nation, and the publick worship of God was confined to one Country, *In Judah was God known, and his name was great in Israel; in Salem was his Tabernacle, and his dwelling place in Zion. He shewed his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel; he hath not dealt so with any nation.* The temple was the only place in which the Sacrifices could be offered, in which the Priests could perform their office of Ministracion; and so under the Law there was an inclosure divided from all the World besides. But God said unto his Son, *I will give the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.* And *Christ* commanded the Apostles, saying, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature: that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.* Thus the Church of *Christ*, in its primary institution, was made to be of a diffusive nature, to spread and extend it self, from the City of *Jerusalem*, where it first began, to all the parts and corners of the earth. From whence we find them in the *Revelation*, crying to the Lamb, *Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.* This reason did the ancient Fathers render why the Church was called * *Catholick*, and the nature of the Church is so described in the Scriptures.

Ret. c. 9.

* We have before observed of Arius and Euzoius, that naming the *Catholick Church* in

their Creed, they gave withal the interpretation of it. *Εἰς μίαν Καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῷ Θεῷ, ἧ δὲ πρῶτον ἕως πρῶτον.* S. Cyril of Jerusalem gives this as the first importance of the word. *Καθολικὴ μὲν ἔν καλεῖται διὰ τὸ χρῖ πάντων τῶν οἰκουμένης δὲ πρῶτον γῆς ἕως πρῶτον.* Catech. 18. Ubi ergo erit proprietates Catholicæ nominis. cum inde dicta sit Catholica, quod sit rationalis & ubique diffusa? *Origenes*, l. 2. Ipsa est enim Ecclesia Catholica: unde *Καθολικὴ* Græcè appellatur, quod per totum orbem diffunditur, S. *Aug. Epist.* 170. Ecclesia illa est quam modo dixi unicam suam, hæc est unica Catholica quæ toto orbe copiose diffunditur, quæ uique ad ultimas gentes crescendo porrigitur, *Idem Epist.* 30. Si autem dubitas quod Ecclesiam quæ per omnes gentes numerositate copiosa dilatur, S. Scriptura commendat, multis & manifestissimis testimoniis ex eadem autoritate prolatis onerabo, *Idem contra Crescon.* l. 1. c. 33. Sancta Ecclesia ideo dicitur Catholica, pro eo quod universaliter per omnem mundum sit diffusa, *Isidorus de Summo Bono*, Lib. 1. Cap. 9.

Secondly, They called the Church of *Christ* the *Catholick* Church, because it teacheth all things which are necessary for a Christian to know, whether they be things in Heaven or things in Earth, whether they concern the condition of man in this life, or in the life to come. As the Holy Ghost did lead the Apostles *into all truth*, so did the Apostles leave all truth unto the Church,

Church, which teaching all the same, may well be called † *Catholick*, from the Universality of necessary and saving truths retained in it.

by S. Cyril. Καὶ διὰ τὸ διδάσκων καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνελλιπτῶς ἀπαγγεῖλαι εἰς γρῶσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθὲν ὀρθολογία δὲ μαλακὰ πρὸς τὸ δοκῆσαι καὶ ἀσφάλτου πρᾶγμα τῶν ἐσπεράτων τε καὶ ὀπρῶτων. *Catech.* 18. *Ecclesia* Græcum nomen est, quod in Latinum vertitur *Catholicus*, propterea quod ad se omnes vocet. *Catholica* (id est, *Universalis*) ideo dicitur quia per universum mundum est constituta, vel quoniam *Catholica*, hoc est, generalis in eadem doctrina est ad instructionem, *In Decret.* *Ivo.* lib. 2.

† This is the second interpretation doctored

Thirdly, The Church hath been thought fit to be called *Catholick* in reference to the universal obedience which it prescribeth; both in respect of the persons, obliging men of * all conditions, and in relation to the precepts, requiring the performance of all † the Evangelical commands.

* This is the third interpretation of S. Cyril, Καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶν ὅσον ἀνθρώπων ἐπιευθεῖαν ὑποτάσσει ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχαίων, λογῶν τε καὶ ἰσθῶν. *ibid.* *Cat.* 18.

Fourthly, ∴ the Church hath been yet further called or reputed *Catholick*, by reason of all graces given in it, whereby all diseases of the soul are healed, and spiritual virtues are disseminated, all the works, and words, and thoughts of men are regulated, till we become perfect men in *Christ Jesus*.

† Si reddenda *Catholici* vocabuli ratio est, & exprimens de Græco interpretatione Latina, *Catholicus* ubique unum, vel

In all these four exceptions did some of the ancient Fathers understand the Church of *Christ* to be *Catholick*, and every one of them doth certainly belong unto it. Wherefore I conclude that this *Catholicism*, or second affection of the Church, consisteth generally in *Universality*, as embracing all sorts of persons, as to be disseminated through all Nations, as comprehending all ages, as containing all necessary and saving truths, as obliging all conditions of men to all kind of obedience, as curing all diseases, and planting all graces, in the souls of men.

(ut doctiores putant) obedientia omnium nuncupatur, mandatorum scilicet Dei. Unde Apostolus, Si in omnibus obedientes estis, & iterum, Sicut enim per inobedientiam unius peccatores constituti sunt multi, sic per dis-obedientiam unius iusti constituentur multi, Ergo qui *Catholicus*, idem iusti obediens, *Pacianus* Epist. 1. ad *Symphon.* Acutum aliquid videris dicere cum *Catholicæ* nomen non ex orbis totius communione interpretaris, sed ex observatione præceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium Sacramentorum: quasi nos etiam, si forte hinc sit appellata *Catholica*, quod totum veraciter teneat, cujus veritatis nonnullæ particulæ etiam in diversis inveniuntur hæresibus, huius nominis testimonio utamur ad demonstrandum *Ecclesiam* in omnibus gentibus, & non promissis Dei & tam multis tamque manifestis orationibus ipsius veritatis. Sed nempe hoc est totum, quod nobis persuadere conaris, solos remanisse *Rogantiss*, qui *Catholici* recte appellandi sunt ex observatione præceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium Sacramentorum, *S. Aug. Vincentio*, Epist. 48. *Indeed this Notion of the Catholic Church was urged by the Donatists as the only notion of it in opposition to the Universality of place and communion. For when the Catholics answered for themselves, Quia Ecclesia toto orbe diffusa, cui testimonium perhibet Scriptura divina, ipsi, non Donatistæ communicant, unde Catholicis merito & iure & vocantur: Donatistæ autem responderunt; Non Catholicum nomen ex universitate gentium, sed ex plenitudine Sacramentorum institutum, Item Collat. 3. diei c. 2. ∴ this is the fourth and last explication given by S. Cyril. Διὰ τὸ καθολικῶς ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀσφαλτῶς ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ἅπαν τὰ ἅρ' ἀλλήτοις ἐπιεικῶς καὶ διὰ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ὀπρῶτων, κεκτῆσθαι τε ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶσαν ἰσαν ὀνομαζομένης ἀρετῆς ἐν ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις καὶ πνευματικῶς παντοίως χρείσματα, *Catech.* 18.*

The necessity of believing *the Holy Catholick Church*, appeareth first in this, that *Christ* hath appointed it as the only way unto eternal life. We read at the first, that *the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved*; and what was then daily done, hath been done since continually. *Christ* never appointed two ways to heaven; nor did he build a Church to save some, and make another institution for other mens salvation. *There is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved, but the name of Jesus*; and that name is no otherwise given under heaven than in the Church. As none were saved from the deluge but such as were within the Ark of *Noah*, framed for their reception by the command of God; as none of the first-born of *Egypt* lived, but such as were within those habitations whole door-posts were sprinkled with Blood by the appointment of God for their preservation; as none of the inhabitants of *Jericho* could escape the fire or sword, but such as were within the house of *Rahab*, for whose protection a Covenant was made:

Acts 2. 47.

Acts 4. 12. Καθὼς ἐν θαλάσσοις οἱ εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν ἐπιηptaί καὶ εὐδιδίκαρτοφῶροι ἕχματα ὄρους καὶ λιμναίων πρὸς τὴν πύλαν τοῦ χειμαζομένου ἕρποντος ἐσπῶντος κατὰ τὰς ἑσπῶντας ἕρποντος ἕρποντος ὁ Θεός

τὸ πᾶν ὡς κομμουνία καὶ χεμαζομένη ὑπὸ ἁπλῶς ἀλλήλων τὰς συντηγὰς λαοφύλας Ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ᾗ καθάσθλιαν ἐν εὐφροίσι ἐν νῆσσι αἱ διδασκαλῆαι τ' ἀληθῆς ἐστὶν, πρὸς αἱ ναυσιδραστῶν οἱ θέλοντες σωθῆσαι. *S. Theophyl.* *Antych.* lib. 1. c. 2. Μιᾶ δὲ τὸ σῆκον ἐκκλησία, ἥ πῶς τὴν ταύτην ὀρθῶς καὶ μεθῶκα τ' Ἐκκλησίας ἐξέθεν ἐκκλησίας καὶ τίς τὰς μετῆκην χεμαζομένην μηδὲ σωθῆσαι. *S. Cyril.* in *Psalm.* lib. 1.

so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God, which belong not to the Church of God. This is the Congregation of those persons here on earth which shall hereafter meet in heaven. These are the Vessels of the Tabernacle carried up and down, at last to be translated into, and fixed in the Temple.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe the Church of *Christ* which is but one, that being in it we may take care never to cast our selves, or be ejected out of it. There is a power within the Church to cast those out which do belong to it; for if any neglect to hear the Church, saith our Saviour, *let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a Publican.* By great and scandalous offences, by incorrigible misdemeanours, we may incur the censure of the Church of God, and while we are shut out by them, we stand excluded out of heaven. For our Saviour said to his Apostles, upon whom he built his Church, *Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained.* Again, a man may not only passively and involuntarily be rejected, but also may by an act of his own, cast out or reject himself, not only by plain and complete Apostasy, but by a defection from the unity of truth, falling into some damnable Heresie, or by an active separation, deserting all which are in communion with the Catholick Church, and falling into an irrecoverable Schism.

Thirdly, It is necessary to believe the Church of *Christ* to be holy, lest we should presume to obtain any happiness by being of it, without that holiness which is required in it. It is not enough that the end, institution and administration of the Church are holy: but, that there may be some real and permanent advantage received by it, it is necessary that the persons abiding in the communion of it should be really and effectually sanctified. Without which holiness the priviledges of the Church prove the greatest disadvantages, and the means of salvation neglected, tend to a punishment with aggravation. It is not only vain but pernicious to attend at the marriage-feast without a wedding garment, and it is our Saviour's description of folly to cry, *Lord, Lord, open unto us,* while we are without Oyl in our Lamps. We must acknowledge a necessity of holiness, when we confess that Church alone which is holy can make us happy.

Fourthly, There is a necessity of believing the Catholick Church, because except a man be of that he can be of none. For being the Church which is truly Catholick containeth within it all which are truly Churches, whosoever is not of the Catholick Church, cannot be of the true Church. That Church alone which first began at *Jerusalem* on earth, will bring us to the *Jerusalem* in heaven; and that alone began there which always embraceth the *faith once delivered to the Saints.* Whatsoever Church pretendeth to a new beginning, pretendeth at the same time to a new Churchdom, and whatsoever is so new is none. So necessary it is to believe the *holy Catholick Church.*

Having thus far explicated the first part of this Article, I conceive every person sufficiently furnished with means of instruction, what they ought to intend, when they profess to believe *the holy Catholick Church.* For thereby every one is understood to declare thus much; I am fully persuaded, and make a free confession of this, as of a necessary and infallible truth, that *Christ* by the preaching of the Apostles, did gather unto himself a Church consisting of thousands of believing persons, and numerous Congregations, to which he daily added such as should be saved, and will successively and daily add unto the same unto the end of the World: so that by the virtue of his all-sufficient promise, I am assured that there was, hath been hitherto, and

Sola Catholica Ecclesia est quæ verum cultum retinet. Hic est fons veritatis, hoc est domicilium fidei, hoc templum Dei: quo si quis non intraverit, vel à quo si quis exierit, à spe vitæ ac salutis æternæ alienus est. *Lactant.* l. 4. c. 30.

now is, and hereafter shall be so long as the Sun and Moon endure, a Church of *Christ* one and the same. This Church I believe in general holy in respect of the Author, end, institution and administration of it; particularly in the members, here I acknowledge it really, and in the same hereafter perfectly, holy. I look upon this Church not like that of the *Jews* limited to one people, confined to one Nation, but by the appointment and command of *Christ*, and by the efficacy of his assisting power, to be disseminated through all Nations, to be extended to all places, to be propagated to all Ages, to contain in it all truths necessary to be known, to exact absolute obedience from all men to the commands of *Christ*, and to furnish us with all graces necessary to make our persons acceptable, and our actions well-pleasing in the sight of God. And thus I believe the holy *Catholick Church*.

The Communion of Saints.

THis part of the Article beareth something a † later date than any of the rest, but yet is no way inferiour to the other in relation to the certainty of the truth thereof. And the late admission of it into the Creed will be thus far advantagious, that thereby we may be the better assured of the true intent of it, as it is placed in the Creed. For it will be no way fit to give any other explication of these words as the sense of the Creed, than what was then understood by the Church of God, when they were first inserted.

Oriental or the Roman Creed. They were not in the African Creed expounded by S. Austin *De Fide & Symbolo*; not delivered by Maximus Turonensis; not in any of the Sermons of Chrysológus; not in any of the four Books de Symbolo ad Catechuménos attributed to S. Austin; not in the 119 Sermon under his name *De Tempore, Cum dixerimus Sanctam Ecclesiam, adjungamus Remissionem peccatorum.* They are not in the Greek Creed in Sir Robert Cotton's Library, not in the old Latin Creed in the Oxford Library, not in that produced by Elipandus. We find them not in the old Greek Creeds, not in that of Eusebius given in the Council of Nice, not in that of Marcellus delivered to the Bishop of Rome, not in that of Arius and Euzoius presented to Constantine, not in either of the Creeds preserved in the Anconarus of Epiphanius, not in the Jerusalem Creed expounded by S. Cyril, not in that of the Council of Constantinople, not in that of Charitius given into the Ephesine Council, not in either of the Expositions under the name of S. Chrysolóm. It was therefore of a later date, and is found in the Latin and Greek Copy in Bennet Colledge Library, and is expressed and expounded in the 115. and 181 Sermon. *De Tempore, attributed to S. Austin, v. P. ischafii Symbolum.*

† These words *Communio-nem Sancto-rum, were not in the Aquilei-an Creed ex-pounded by Ru-tinus; they were not mentioned by him, as being either in the*

If we look upon the first institution of the Church, and the original condition of those persons which received the Gospel, how they were all together, and had all things common; how they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need, how S. Paul urged an equality, that the abundance of some might supply the want of others, as it was written, He that had gathered much had nothing over, and he that had gathered little had no lack: we might well conceive that the communion, (which word might be taken for communication) of the Saints, may signify the great * charity, bounty and community, among the people of God.

Acts 2. 44, 45.
2 Cor 8. 14, 15.

But being that community precisely taken, was not of eternal obligation, nor actually long continued in the Church; being I conceive this Article doth not wholly look upon that which is already past; and especially, being I think neither that custom, nor that notion was then generally received in the Church, when this communion of Saints was first inserted, I shall therefore endeavour to shew that communion which is attributed to the Saints both according to the Fathers who have delivered it, and according to the Scriptures from whence they derived it.

* Grotius upon that place of the Corinthians observes, *Spectar & huc ea quam in Symbolo profitetur sanctorum communionem*

Now all communion being between such as are some way different and distinct, the communion of the Saints may either be conceived between them and others, or between themselves; between them and others as differing from them either in their nature or their sanctity, between themselves, as dis-

distinct

finēt in person only, or condition also. Wherefore if we can first understand who, or what kind of persons these are which are called *Saints*, with whom beside themselves, and how among themselves, in this relation as they are the *Saints*, they have communion, and lastly in what the nature of that *Communion* in each respect consisteth; I know not what can be thought wanting to the perfect explication of *the Communion of Saints*.

That we may understand what *Communion* the *Saints* have with others, it would be necessary first to consider what it is to be a *Saint*, in what the true nature of *Saint-ship* doth consist, by what the *Saints* are distinguished from others. Again, that we may understand what *Communion* the *Saints* have with or among themselves, it will be farther necessary to consider who are those persons to which that title doth belong, what are the various conditions of them, that we may be able to comprehend all such as are true *Saints*, and thence conclude the *communion* between them all.

I take it first for granted, that though the Greek word which we translate *Saints*, be in it self as applicable to † things, as persons; yet in this Article it signifieth not holy things, but *holy ones*, that is persons holy. Secondly, I take it also for granted that the singular Holy one, the Holy one of *Israel*, the Fountain of all sanctity, the sanctifier of all *Saints*, is not comprehended in the Article, though the communion of the Holy ones with that singular, eminent, and transcendent * Holy one, be contained in it. Thirdly, I take it farther for granted that the word in this Article, which we translate *Saints* is not taken in the Original of the Creed, as it is often taken in the Translation of the Old Testament, for the † *Sanctuary*, as if the communion were nothing else but a right of communicating or participating of the holy things of God. Lastly, I take it also for granted that although the blessed and holy Angels are sometimes called in the Scriptures by the name of * *Saints*, yet they are not those *Saints* who are here said to have the communion, though the *Saints* have communion with them.

† Κοινωνία ἁγίων may be as well understood in the Neuter as the Masculine, as Exod. 28. 38. Ἐξαρῶν τὰ ἁγία τμήματα τῆς ἀλαστίας τῆς ἀνομιᾶς τῆς ἁγίων. that Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things. So Levit. 5. 15. καὶ ἀμάρτημα ἁγίων ἀποδοῦναι τῷ ἁγίῳ. 1 Chron. 24. 5. ἀρχόντες τῶν ἁγίων the Governours of the Sanctuary, of which notion afterwards. * This is one of the common names of God in the Old Testament, יְהוָה קָדוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֵינוּ Ἰσραὴλ, which is also sometimes translated plurally by the LXX. as Esay 41. 16. יְהוָה קָדוֹשׁ בְּקִרְוֹת בְּרָאָה ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις Ἰσραὴλ, Jer. 51. 5. יְהוָה קָדוֹשׁ מִקְדָּוֶשׁ אֱלֹהֵינוּ Ἰσραὴל. and if it were so taken, then κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων, would be the communion of God, as τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. † Τα ἅγια frequently used in the Scriptures for the Sanctuary; and then κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων might be taken for the communion in all those things which belonged to the worship of God as, ἀκοινωνῆσαι was a man excluded from all such communion. * The Angels are not only called holy in the Scriptures by way of addition or Epithete, as πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι, Mat. 25. 31. μὲν τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἁγίων, Mark 8. 38. Luke 9. 26. ἐξουσιασμένοι ἐσὶν ἄγγελοι ἅγιοι, Acts 10. 22. ἐνώπιον τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων Rev. 14. 10. But also the ἅγιοι holy ones, or *Saints* taken substantively or singly signifie sometimes the Angels, as Deut. 32. 2. ואתה סדננת קדש ואתה סדננת ריבון מלאתים קדשין, and with him ten thousands of holy Angels; and Jonathan, ואתה סדננת ריבון מלאתים קדשין, and with him myriads of myriads of holy Angels. And although the LXX. keep the Hebrew קָדוֹשׁ, yet they understand the Angels in that place (ὡς μυριάς ἁγίων, [Heb. ἁγίων ἀγγέλων] ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτῶν ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτῶν. So Job 5. 1. To which of the *Saints* wilt thou turn? εἰ τινα ἀγγέλων ἁγίων ὀψή, LXX. Thus in the vision of Daniel, he heard one *Saint* speaking, and another *Saint* said unto that certain *Saint* which spake, Dan. 8. 13. So Zach. 14. 5. And the Lord my God shall come, and all the *Saints* with thee. And thus it may very well be understood in the New Testament, 1 Thess. 3. 13. ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτῶν, in correspondence to that 2 Thess. 1. 17. ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ μετ' ἀγγέλων δαίμονων αὐτῶν. These are the μυριάδες ἁγίων in S. Jude קָדוֹשׁ רַבְרַבִּים the myriads of Angels; and thus κοινωνία ἁγίων should be the communion of the Angels.

For this part of the Article hath a manifest relation to the former, in which we profess to believe the *Holy Church*; which Church is therefore holy, because those persons are such, or ought to be, which are within it, the Church it self being nothing but a Collection of such persons. To that Confession is added this *Communion*; but because though the Church be holy, yet every person contained in it is not truly so, therefore is added this part of the Article which concerneth those who are truly such. There is therefore no doubt but the *Saints* mentioned here, are members of the Church of Christ, as we have described it, built upon the Apostles, laid upon the foundation of their doctrine,

doctrine, who do not only profess the Gospel, but are sanctified thereby.

The only question then remaining is, in what their Sanctity or Saintship doth consist, and (because though they which are Believers since our Saviour's death, be truly and more highly sanctified, yet such as lived before and under the Law, the Patriarchs, the Prophets and the Servants of God were so called, and were truly named the Saints of God) who were the persons which are capable of that denomination?

Now being God himself hath given a rule unto his people, which is both in the nature of a precept and of a pattern: (*Be ye holy as I the Lord your God am holy: be ye holy*, there's the command, as *the Lord your God is holy*, there's the rule :) being it is impossible that we should have the same Sanctity which is in God, it will be necessary to declare what is this holiness which maketh men to be accounted holy ones, and to be called *Saints*.

The true notion of *Saints* is expressed by *Moses* both as to the subject, and the affection or qualification of it; for they are called by him *men of holiness*; such are the persons understood in this Article, which is the communion of men of holiness. Now holiness in the first acception of it signifieth Separation, and that with the relation of a double term, of one from which the separation is made, of the other to which that which is separated is applied. Those things which were counted holy under the Law were separated from common use, and applied to the service of God, and their sanctity was nothing else but that separation from and to those terms, from an use and exercise profane and common, to an use and exercise peculiar and divine. Thus all such persons as are called from the vulgar and common condition of the world unto any peculiar service or relation unto God, are thereby denominated holy, and in some sense receive the name of *Saints*. The Pen-men of the Old Testament do often speak of the people of *Israel* as of an holy Nation, and God doth speak unto them as to people holy unto himself; because he had chosen them out of all the Nations of the world and appropriated them to himself. Although therefore most of that Nation were rebellious to him which called them, and void of all true inherent and actual sanctity, yet because they were all in that manner separated, they were all, as to the separation, called holy. In the like manner those of the New Testament writing to such as were called, and had received, and were baptized in, the faith, give unto them all the name of *Saints*, as being in some manner such, by being called and baptized. For being Baptism is a washing away of sin, and the purification from sin is a proper sanctification; being every one who is so called and baptized is thereby separated from the rest of the World which are not so, and all such separation is some kind of sanctification; being, though the work of grace be not perfectly wrought, yet when the means are used, without something appearing to the contrary, we ought to presume of the good effect, therefore all such as have been received into the Church, may be in some sense called holy.

But because there is more than an outward vocation, and a charitable presumption, necessary to make a man holy; therefore we must find some other qualification which must make him really and truly such, not only by an extrinsecal Denomination, but by a real and internal Affection. What this Sanctity is; and who are capable of this Title properly, we must learn out of the Gospel of *Christ*, by which alone, ever since the Church of *Christ* was founded, any man can become a Saint. Now by the tenure of the Gospel we shall find that those are truly and properly Saints which are *sanctified in Christ Jesus*; first, in respect of their holy faith, by which they are regenerated; for *whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God*; by which they are purged, God himself *purifying their hearts by*

Exod. 22. 31.
אנשי קדש

1 Cor. 1. 2.
1 John 5. 1.
Acts 15. 9.

1 Cor. 5. 11.
Eph. 1. 13.
2 Pet. 1. 15.
2 Pet. 1. 2.

faith, whereby they are washed, sanctified, and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, in whom also after that they believe, they are sealed with the holy Spirit of promise: secondly, in respect of their conversation: For as he which hath called them is holy, so are they holy in all manner of conversation; adding to their faith vertue, and to vertue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity, that they may neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. Such persons then as are called by a holy calling, and not disobedient unto it, such as are endued with a holy faith, and purified thereby, such as are sanctified by the holy Spirit of God, and by vertue thereof do lead a holy life, perfecting holiness in the fear of God, such persons, I say, are really and truly Saints, and being of the Church of Christ, (as all such now must of necessity be) are the proper subject of this part of the Article, the communion of Saints, as it is added to the former, the holy Catholick Church.

1 Cor. 14. 33.
Psal. 89. 5. 7.
149. 1. קדושים
קדושים
LXX εν εν-
καταστασει αγιων.

Now as these are the Saints of the Church of Christ, from whence they were called the Churches of the Saints: so there was never any Church of God but there were such persons in it as were Saints; we read in the Psalms of the congregation and the assembly of the Saints; and Moses assured the people of Israel, that all the Saints of God were in his hand; we read in the Prophets of the Saints of the most high, and at our Saviour's death the bodies of such Saints which slept arose. Where again we may observe that they were Saints while their bodies were in the grave; as Aaron in the time of David kept the name of Saint of the Lord. Such as are holy in their lives do not lose their sanctity but improve it at their deaths, nor can they lose the honour of that appellation, while that which gives it doth acquire perfection.

בכבוד קדושים
εν εαληθινω αγιω.
Vulg. Latin. in
Ecclesia & in
consilio san-
ctorum. Deut.
32. 3. Dan. 7.
18, 21, 22, 25.
Matth. 27. 52.
Quis ignorat
sub altera dis-
pensatione
Dei omnes re-
tro sanctos e-
juidem fuisse
meriti cuius
tunc Christiani-
nisme? S. Hier.
a. 7. Jo. 1. 16.
Psal. 105. 15.
Psal. 115. 23.
1 Cor. 6. 2.

Hence grows that necessary distinction of the Saints on earth, and the Saints in Heaven; the first belonging to the militant, the second to the triumphant Church. Of the first the Prophet David speaketh expressly, Thou art my Lord, my goodness extendeth not to thee, but to the Saints that are in the earth: of these do we read in the Acts of the Apostles, to these did S. Paul direct his Epistles. Of the second doth the Apostle make that question, Do ye not know that the Saints shall judge the world? And all those which were spoken of as Saints then in the earth, if truly such, and departed so, are now, and shall for ever continue, Saints in Heaven.

1 Pet. 1. 13.
1 Pet. 1. 12. 105
1 Pet. 1. 13.

Having thus declared what is the sanctity required to make a Saint, that is, a man of holiness; having also distinguished the Saints before and under the Gospel, (which difference is only observable as to this Exposition of the Creed,) and again distinguishing the same Saints while they live here with men on earth, and when after death they live with God in Heaven; having also shewed that of all these, those Saints are here particularly understood who in all ages lived in the Church of Christ; we may now properly descend to the next consideration, which is, Who are those persons with whom those Saints have this communion, and in what the communion which they have consists.

First then, the Saints of God living in the Church of Christ, have communion with God the Father; for the Apostles did therefore write that they to whom they wrote might have communion with them, (that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us, saith S. John,) and did at the same time declare that their Communion was with the Father. Wherefore being all the Saints of God under the Gospel receiving the Doctrine of the Apostles have communion with them; being the communion of the Apostles was the communion with the Father, it followeth that all the Saints of God under the Gospel have a communion with God the Father. As we are the branches of the Vine, so the Father is the husbandman; and thus the Saints partake

partake of his care and inspection. As *Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness, and he was called the friend of God*, so all which are heirs of the faith of *Abraham* are made partakers of the same relation. Nor are we only friends, but also sons; for *behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God*. Thus must we acknowledge, that the Saints of God have communion with the Father, because by the *great and precious promises* given unto them, they become partakers of the divine nature.

Jan. 2. 23.

1 John 3. 1.

2 Pet. 1. 4.

Θείας κοινωνίας
σύσσωτος.

1 John 1. 3.

2 John 9.

John 17. 20,

21, 23.

John 1. 16.

Phil. 3. 10.

1 Cor. 1. 9.

κοινωνία ἡμῶν

τῆς

Phil. 2. 1.

κοινωνία

πνευματικῆς.

2 Cor. 13. 14.

Gal. 4. 6, 7.

Gen. 18. 1, 2.

John 14. 23.

Rom. 8. 9.

1 Cor. 3. 15.

Secondly, The Saints of God living in the Church of God have communion with the Son of God: for, as the Apostle said, *our communion is with the Father and the Son*; and this connexion is infallible, because *he that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son*; and our Saviour prayed for all such as should believe on him through the word of the Apostles, that they might be one, as the Father is one in him and he in the Father, that they also may be one in both. *I in them, saith Christ, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one*. This communion of the Saints with the Son of God, is, as most evident, so most remarkable. He hath taken unto him our nature and infirmities; he hath taken upon him our sins, and the curse due unto them; while we all have received of his fulness grace for grace; and are all called to the fellowship of his sufferings that we may be conformable to his death. What is the fellowship of brethren and coheirs of the Bridegroom and the Spouse: what is the communion of members with the head, of branches with the vine, that is the communion of Saints with Christ. For *God hath called us unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord*.

Thirdly, The Saints of God in the Church of Christ have communion with the Holy Ghost; and the Apostle hath two ways assured us of the truth thereof, one rhetorically, by a seeming doubt, *if there be any fellowship of the Spirit*; the other devoutly, praying for it, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all*. The Saints are therefore such, because they partake of the Holy Ghost, for they are therefore holy because they are sanctified, and it is the Spirit alone which sanctifieth. Beside, the communion with the Father and the Son is wrought by the communication of the Spirit; for hereby do we become the Sons of God, in that we have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, *Abba, Father*; and thereby do we become co-heirs with Christ, in that, *because we are sons God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father*; so that we are no more servants, but sons; and if sons, then heirs of God through Christ. This is the communion which the Saints enjoy with the three Persons of the blessed Trinity: this is the heavenly Fellowship represented unto entertaining Abraham, when the Lord appeared unto him, and three men stood by him; for our Saviour hath made us this most precious promise, *If any man love me he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him*. Here is the soul of man made the habitation of God the Father and of God the Son; and the presence of the Spirit cannot be wanting where those two are inhabiting: for *if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his*. The Spirit therefore with the Father and the Son inhabiteth in the Saints; for *know ye not, saith the Apostle, that ye are the Temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?*

Fourthly, The Saints of God in the Church of Christ have communion with the holy Angels. They who did fore-tell the birth of John the fore-runner of Christ, they who did annunciate unto the blessed Virgin the conception of the Saviour of the World, they who sung a glorious hymn at the Nativity of the Son of God, they who carried the soul of Lazarus into Abraham's bosom,

they who appeared unto *Christ* from Heaven in his agony to strengthen him, they who opened the prison doors and brought the Apostles forth, they who at the end of the world shall sever the wicked from among the just, and gather together the elect of God, certainly they have a constant and perpetual relation to the children of God. Nay, *Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?* They have a particular sense of our condition, for *Christ* hath assured us that *there is joy in the presence of the Angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.* And upon this relation the Angels, who are all the Angels, that is, the Messengers of God, are yet called the Angels of men, according to the admonition of *Christ*, *Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you, That in heaven their Angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.*

Heb. 1. 14.

Luke 15. 10.

Math. 13. 10.

Thus far have we considered the *Communion of Saints* with such as are distinguished from them by nature as they are men; the fellowship which they have in Heaven with God, and his holy Angels, while they are on earth. Our next consideration will be, what is the communion which they have with those who are of the same nature, but not partakers of the same holiness with them.

Fifthly therefore, the Saints of God, while they are of the Church of *Christ* on earth, have some kind of communion with those men which are truly Saints. There were not hypocrites among the *Jews* alone, but in the Church of *Christ* many cry, Lord, Lord, whom he knoweth not. The tares have the privilege of the field, as well as the wheat, and the bad fish of the net, as well as the good. The Saints have communion with hypocrites in all things with which the distinction of a Saint and Hypocrite can consist. They communicate in the same water, both externally baptized alike; they communicate in the same Creed, both make the same open profession of Faith, both agree in the acknowledgment of the same principles of Religion; they communicate in the same word, both hear the same doctrine preached; they communicate at the same table, both eat the same bread, and drink the wine, which *Christ* hath appointed to be received: but the Hypocrite doth not communicate with the Saint in the same saving grace, in the same true faith working by love, and in the same renovation of mind and spirit, for then he were not an hypocrite but a Saint: a Saint doth not communicate with the hypocrite in the same sins, in the same lurking infidelity, in the same unfruitfulness under the means of grace, in the same false pretence and empty form of godliness, for then he were not a Saint but an hypocrite. Thus the saints may communicate with the wicked, so they communicate not with their wickedness, and may have fellowship with sinners, so they have no fellowship with that which makes them such, that is, their sins. The Apostles command runneth thus, *Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness;* and again, *Be not partakers of other mens sins;* and a voice from Heaven spake concerning *Babylon;* *Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins.* To communicate with sin is sin, but to communicate with a sinner in that which is not sin, can be no sin; because the one defileth, and the other cannot, and that which defileth not is no sin.

Ephes. 5. 11.

Μὴ κοινω-

σάτε τοῖς ἔ-

ργοῖς.

1 Tim. 5. 22.

Μὴ κοινω-

σάτε ἁμα-

ρτίας.

Rev. 18. 4.

Ἔξω μὴ κοινω-

σάτε τὰς ἁμα-

ρτίας.

κοινωσάτε τὰς ἁμα-

ρτίας.

κοινωσάτε τὰς ἁμα-

ρτίας.

κοινωσάτε τὰς ἁμα-

ρτίας.

κοινωσάτε τὰς ἁμα-

ρτίας.

κοινωσάτε τὰς ἁμα-

ρτίας.

Duobus modis non te maculat malus, si ei non consentias, & si redarguas. Communicatur enim quando facti eius consortium voluntatis vel approbationis adiungitur. Hoc ergo admonens Apostolus ait, *Nolite communi-*

cate operibus infructuosos tenebrarum, magis autem et redarguite. S. Aug. de Verbis Dom. Sermon. 18.

Having thus considered those who differ from the Saints of God; first, in respect of their humanity, as they are men; secondly, in reference to their sanctity, as they are men of holiness: we are now to consider such as differ either only in person, as the Saints alive, or in present condition also, as the Saints departed.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, therefore, the Saints of God living in the Church of *Christ*, have communion with all the Saints living in the same Church. *If we walk in the light, we have fellowship one with another*: we all have benefit of the same ordinances, all partake of the same promises, we are all endued with the graces of the same mutual love and affection, keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, all engrafted into the same stock, and for receiving life from the same root, all *holding the same head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God*. For in the Philosophy of the Apostle the nerves are not only the instruments of motion and sensation, but of nutrition also; so that every member receiveth nourishment by their intervention from the head: and being the head of the body is *Christ*, and all the Saints are members of that body, they all partake of the same nourishment, and so have all communion among themselves.

Lastly, The Saints of God living in the Church of *Christ*, are in communion with all the Saints † departed out of this life and admitted to the presence of God. *Jerusalem* sometime is taken for the Church on earth, sometimes for that part of the Church which is in heaven, to shew that as both are represented by one, so both are but one City of God. Wherefore thus doth the Apostle speak to such as are called to the Christian Faith, *Ye are come unto mount Zion, and unto the City of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and an innumerable company of Angels, to the general Assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant*. Indeed, the Communion of Saints in the Church of *Christ* with those which are departed is demonstrated by their Communion with the Saints alive. For if I have communion with a Saint of God, as such, while he liveth here, I must still have communion with him when he is departed hence; because the foundation of that communion cannot be removed by death. The mystical union between *Christ* and his Church, the spiritual conjunction of the members to the head, is the true foundation of that communion which one member hath with another; all the members living and increasing by the same influence which they receive from him. But death, which is nothing else but the separation of the soul from the body, maketh no separation in the mystical union, no breach of the spiritual conjunction, and consequently, there must continue the same communion, because there remaineth the same foundation. Indeed, the Saint departed, before his death had some communion with the hypocrite, as hearing the Word, professing the Faith, receiving the Sacraments together; which being in things only external, as they were common to them both, and all such external actions ceasing in the person dead, the hypocrite remaining loseth all communion with the Saint departing, and the Saints surviving cease to have further fellowship with the hypocrite dying. But the true and unfeigned holiness of man wrought by the powerful influence of the Spirit of God not only remaineth, but also is improved after death; being the correspondence of the internal holiness was the communion between their persons in their life, they cannot be said to be divided by death, which had no power over that sanctity by which they were first conjoined.

This Communion of the Saints in heaven and earth, upon the mystical union of *Christ* their head, being fundamental and internal, what acts or external operations it produceth is not so certain. That we communicate with them in hope of that happiness which they actually enjoy is evident; that we have the Spirit of God given us as an earnest, and so a part of their felicity is certain.

1 J. in 1. 7.
Kor. 12. usi
2 Tim. 2. 20.

Coloss. 2. 19.

† This is that part of the Communion of Saints which these of the Ancients especially insisted upon who first took notice of it in the Greek, Sanctoꝝ Communionem, i. e. cum illis Sanctis qui in hac quam susceperimus fide defuncti sunt societate & spci cōmunionem tenentur, Serm. 181. de Tempore. Et qui nunc cognoscitis per auditum communionem habetis cum Sanctis Martyribus, & per illos cum Domino Jesu Christo. Prof. P. 55. S. Perpetus.

2 Heb. 12. 22, 23.

certain. But what they do in heaven in relation to us on earth particularly considered, or what we ought to perform in reference to them in heaven, beside a reverential respect, and study of imitation, is not revealed unto us in the Scriptures, nor can be concluded by necessary deduction from any principles of Christianity. They which first found this part of the Article in the Creed, and delivered their exposition unto us, have made no greater enlargement of this Communion, as to the Saints of heaven, and the society * of hope, esteem and imitation on our side, of desires and supplications on their side: and what is now taught by the Church of Rome, is, as unwarrantable, so a novitious interpretation.

* We have already produced the words of the 181 Sermon de Tempore, concerning hope. In the same we find also that of imi-

itation, Si igitur cum Sanctis in æterna vita communionem habere volumus, de imitatione eorum cogitemus. Debent enim in nobis aliquid recognoscere de suis virtutibus, ut pro nobis dignentur Domino supplicare, *ib.* Hæc sunt vestigia quæ nobis Sancti quoque revertentes in patriam nobis reliquerant, ut illorum semitis inhærentes sequeremur ad gaudia, *ib.* Beside this imitation, he addeth their desires and care for us below. Cur non properamus & curramus & curramus ut patriam nostram videre possimus? Magnus illic charorum numerus expectat, parentum, fratrum, filiorum, frequens nos & copiosa turba desiderat jam de sua incolumitate secura, adhuc de nostra salute sollicita, *ib.* Of the venerable esteem we ought to have of them, speaks Eusebius Gallicanus, Credamus & Sanctorum communionem, sed Sanctos non tam pro Dei parte, quam pro Dei honore veneremur. And again, Digne nobis venerandi sunt dum Dei cultum, & futura vitæ desiderium conceipit moris insinuant. Tous s'en anciently they which expounded this Article: but the late Exposition of the Church of Rome runneth thus, Non solum Ecclesia quæ est in terris communicat bona sua cum omnibus membris sibi conjunctis, sed etiam communicat iustitia Ecclesie quæ est in Purgatorio, & Ecclesia quæ est in cælis communicat orationes, & merita sua cum Ecclesia quæ est in terris, Bellar. in Symb. Where the communication of the Suffrages of the Saints alive to the Church in Purgatory, and the communication of the merits of the Saints in heaven to the Saints on earth, are novel expositions of this Article, not so much as acknowledged by Thomas Aquinas in his explication of the Creed, much less to be found in any of the ancienter Expositors of it.

The necessity of the belief of this Communion of Saints appeareth, first, •
 1 John 1. 6, 7. in that it is proper to excite and encourage us to holiness of life. *If we walk
 2 Cor. 6. 14, 15. in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another. But if
 we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not
 the truth. For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and
 what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with
 Acts 26. 18. Belial? When Christ sent S. Paul to the Gentiles, it was to open their eyes, and
 to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that
 they might receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are san-
 ctified by faith that is in Christ. Except we be turned from darkness, except
 we be taken out of the power of Satan, which is the dominion of sin, we
 cannot receive the inheritance among them who are sanctified, we cannot be
 Col. 1. 12. thought meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the Saints in light. Indeed
 there can be no communion where there is no similitude, no fellowship with
 God without some sanctity; because his nature is infinitely holy, and his
 actions are not subject to the least iniquity.*

Secondly, The belief of the Communion of Saints is necessary to stir us up to
 a proportionate gratitude unto God, and an humble and chearful acknow-
 2 Pet. 1. 4. ledgment of so great a benefit. We cannot but acknowledge that they are ex-
 1 Sam. 18. 12. ceeding great and precious promises, by which we become partakers of the di-
 vine nature. *What am I?* said David, and what is my life that I should be son
 in law to the King? What are the sons of men, what are they which are
 John 14. 9. called to be saints, that they should have fellowship with God the Father?
 S. Philip the Apostle said unto our Saviour, *Lord, shew us the Father and it suf-
 ficeth;* whereas he hath not only shewn us, but come unto us with the Fa-
 ther, and dwelt within us by his holy Spirit; he hath called us to the fellow-
 ship of the Angels and Archangels, of the Cherubins and Seraphins, to the
 glorious company of the Apostles, to the goodly fellowship of the Prophets,
 to the noble Army of Martyrs, to the holy Church militant in earth, and
 triumphant in heaven.

Thirdly, The belief of the Communion of Saints is necessary to inflame our
 hearts with an ardent affection towards those which live, and a reverent re-
 spect

spect towards those which are departed and are now with God. Nearness of relation requireth affection, and that man is unnatural who loveth not those persons which nature hath more immediately conjoined to him. Now no conjunction natural can be compared with that which is spiritual, no temporal relation with that which is eternal. If similitude of shape and feature will create a kindness, if congruity of manners and disposition will conjoin affections, what should be the mutual love of those who have the image of the same God renewed within them, of those who are endued with the gracious influences of the same Spirit? And if all the Saints of God living in communion of the Church deserve the best of our affections here on earth: certainly when they are dissolved and with *Christ*, when they have been blessed with a sight of God, and rewarded with a Crown of Glory, they may challenge some respect from us who are here to wait upon the will of God expecting when such a happy change shall come.

Fourthly, This tendeth to the directing and enlarging our acts of charity. We are obliged to be charitable unto all men, because the love of our Brother is the foundation of our duty towards man, and in the Language of the Scriptures whosoever is another is our Brother; but we are particularly directed to them that are of the household of Faith. And as there is a general reason calling for our mercy, and kindness unto all men, so there is a more special reason urging those who are truly sanctified by the Spirit of God to do good unto such as appear to be led by the same Spirit: for if they communicate with them in the everlasting mercies of God, it is fit they should partake of the bowels of mans compassion; * if they communicate with them in things spiritual and eternal, can it be much that they should partake with them of such things as are temporal and carnal?

To conclude, Every one may learn from hence what he is to understand by this part of the Article, in which he professeth to believe *the Communion of Saints*; for thereby he is conceived to express thus much, I am fully persuaded of this as of a necessary and infallible truth, that such persons as are truly sanctified in the Church of *Christ*, while they live among the crooked generations of men, and struggle with all the miseries of this world, have fellowship with God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, as dwelling with them, and taking up their habitations in them: that they partake of the care and kindness of the blessed Angels, who take delight in the ministrations for their benefit: that beside the external fellowship which they have in the Word and Sacraments with all the members of the Church, they have an intimate union and conjunction with all the Saints on earth as the living members of *Christ*; nor is this union separated by the death of any, but as *Christ* in whom they live, is the Lamb slain from the foundation of the World, so have they fellowship with all the Saints which from the death of *Abel* have ever departed in the true faith and fear of God, and now enjoy the presence of the Father, and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. And thus I believe *the Communion of Saints*.

* Κοινωνήσεως
ἐν πάσι πρὸς
ἁλλήλους ὡς ἐκ
ἐκείνης ἰδέα· ἢ
ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀ-
εθάρτοις κοι-
νωνείσει, πῶσω
μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς
εθάρτοις;
Barnabe Epist.
part. 2. cap. 1.

ARTICLE X.

The Forgiveness of Sins.

* Therefore Carolus Magnus in his Capitula. l. 3. c. 6. answered against Basilius the Bishop of Ancyra, because in his Confession of Faith which he delivered in the second Council of Nice (Act. 1.) he omitted the Remission of sins,

This Article hath * always been expressly contained and acknowledged in the Creed, as being a most necessary part of our Christian profession: and for some Ages it immediately followed the Belief of the † Holy Church, and was therefore added immediately after it, to shew that the remission of sins was to be obtained in the .: Church of Christ. For being the Creed at first was made to be used as a confession of such as were to be baptized, declaring their Faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in whose baptism they were to be admitted, and the forgiveness of sins, which by the same baptism was to be obtained; and therefore in some Creeds it was particularly expressed, ** *I believe one baptism for the forgiveness of sins.*

which the Apostles in so short a Compendium as the Creed would not omit, Hanc Apostoli in collatione fidei, quam ab invicem discessuri quasi quendam credulitatis & pradicationis normam statuerunt, post confessionem Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti potuisse perhibentur; & in tanti verbi brevitare, de quo per Prophetam dictum est, Verbum abbreviatum faciet Dominus super terram, hanc ponere minime distulerunt, quia sine hac fidei sinceritatem integram esse minime perpererunt. Nec cohibuit eos ab ejus professione illius Symboli brevitare, quam expo cebat sacra: fidei integritas, tantiq; doni veneranda sublimitas. † Concordant autem Angeli nobiscum etiam tunc cum remittantur nostra peccata. Ideo post commemorationem S. Ecclesie in ordine Confessionis ponitur Remissio peccatorum: per hanc enim fiat Ecclesia qua in terris est, per hanc non perit, quod perierat & inventum est, S. Aug. Enchir. c. 64. And to this purpose it is that in his Book De Agone Christiano, passing from one Article to another with his general transition; after that of the Church, he proceedeth with these words, Nec eos audiamus qui negant Ecclesiam Dei omnia peccata posse dimittere, cap. 31. So it followeth also in Venantius Forrunatus, and in such other Creeds as want that part of the former Article of the Communion of Saints. .: Orig. Hom. 2. in Genesim. Sanctam Ecclesiam teneat...in qua & remissio peccatorum & carnis resurrectio pradicabatur, Ruffin. in symb. Sed neque de ipsis criminibus quamlibet magnis remittendis in S. Ecclesia desperanda est misericordia, S. Aug. Enchir. c. 65. In remissionem peccatorum. Hæc in Ecclesia si non esset, nulla spes esset. Remissio peccatorum in Ecclesia non esset, nulla futura vitæ & liberationis aeternæ spes esset. Gratiar agimus Deo qui Ecclesie sue dedit hoc donum, Author Homil. 119. de Tempore. Quia singuli quique exus Hæreticorum se potissimum Christianos, & suam esse Catholicam Ecclesiam purant; sciendum est illam esse veram, in qua est religio, confessio, & pœnitentia, qua peccata & vulnera, quibus est subjecta imbecillitas carnis salubriter curat. Lactant. l. 4. c. 30. ** These are the words of the Constantinopolitan Creed, 'Ὁμολογῶ ἐν βάπτισμα ἐῖς ἀρεσὴν ἀμάρτιων. Before which Epiphanius in his lesser Creed, 'Ὁμολογῶ ἐν βάπτισμα ἐῖς ἀρεσὴν ἀμάρτιων in the larger, Πιστεύω ἐν μίῳ καθολικῷ καὶ ἀποστολικῷ Ἐκκλησίῳ, καὶ ἐῖς βάπτισμα μετάνοιᾶς, in Anconato. S. Cyril both these together, ἐῖς ἐν βάπτισμα μετάνοιᾶς ἐῖς ἀρεσὴν ἀμάρτιων. Pelegrinus Laureac. Episc. Credo unum Baptismum in remissionem omnium peccatorum. Symbolum Æthiopicum. Credimus unum Baptisma in remissionem omnium peccatorum in secula seculorum.

Looking thus upon this Article, with this relation, we find the sense of it must be this, that we believe *forgiveness of sins* is to be obtained in the Church of Christ. For the explication whereof it will be necessary; first to declare what is the nature of remission of sins, in what that action doth consist: secondly, to shew how so great a privilege is propounded in the Church, and how it may be procured by the members of the Church. That we may understand the notion of *forgiveness of sins*, three considerations are required; first, what is the nature of sin, which is to be forgiven: secondly, what is the guilt or obligation of sin, which wanteth forgiveness; thirdly, what is the remission it self, or the loosing of that obligation.

As the power of Sin is revealed only in the Scriptures, so the nature of it is best understood from thence. And though the writings of the Apostles give us few definitions, yet we may find even in them a proper definition of Sin. *Whosoever committeth sin transgresseth also the law*, saith S. John; and then rendreth this reason of that universal assertion, *for sin is the transgression of the law*. Which is an argument drawn from the Definition of sin; for he saith not, *Every sin is the transgression of the law*, which had been necessary, if he had spoken by way of proposition only, to have proved the Universality of his Assertion, but produceth it indefinitely, *Sin is the transgression of the Law*, which

which is sufficient, speaking it by way of † definition. And it is elsewhere most evident that every sin is something prohibited by some Law, and deviating from the same. For the Apostle affirming, that ^a *the law worketh wrath*, that is, a punishment from God, giveth this as a reason or proof of his affirmation, *for where no law is, there is no transgression*. The Law of God is the rule of the actions of men, and any aberration from that rule is * *sin*: the Law of God is pure, and whatsoever is contrary to that Law is impure. Whatsoever therefore is done by man, or is in man, having any contrariety or opposition to the Law of God, is sin. Every action, every word, every thought against the Law is a sin of commission, as it is terminated to an object dissonant from, and contrary to the prohibition of the Law, or a negative Precept. Every omission of a duty required of us, is a sin, as being contrary to the commanding part of the Law, or an affirmative Precept. Every evil habit contracted in the soul of man by the actions committed against the Law of God, is a sin constituting a man truly a sinner, even then when he actually sinneth not. Any corruption and inclination in the soul, to do that which God forbiddeth, and to omit that which God commandeth, howsoever such corruption and evil inclination came into that soul, whether by an act of his own will, or by an act of the will of another, is a sin, as being something dissonant and repugnant to the Law of God. And this I conceive sufficient to declare the nature of Sin.

† The manner of the Apostles speech is also to be observed, having an Article prefixed both to the subject and the predicate; as if thereby he would make the proposition convertible, as all definitions ought to be, *ἡ δὲ νόμος ἡ ἀνομία*.

^a Rom. 4. 15.

* Quid est peccatum nisi pravariatio legis divinæ, & cœlestium inobediencia peccatorum? S. Ambrosii de Paradiso. c. 8. Peccatum est factum vel dictum vel concupitum ali-

quid contra æternam legem, S. August. contra Faustum, l. 22. c. 27. Quid verum est nisi & Dominum dare præcepta, & animas liberæ esse voluntariis, & malum naturam non esse, sed esse aversionem à Dei præceptis? Idem de Fide contra Manich. cap. 10. Neque negandum est hoc Deum jubere, ita nos in facienda justitia esse debere perfectos ut nullum habeamus omnino peccatum: nam neque peccatum erit, si quid erit, si non divinitus jubeatur ut non sit, Idem de Pec. Meritis, & Rem. lib. 2. cap. 16.

The second particular to be considered is the obligation of sin, which must be presupposed to the solution or remission of it. Now every sin doth cause a guilt, and every sinner, by being so, becomes a guilty person: which guilt consisteth in a debt or obligation to suffer a punishment proportionable to the iniquity of the sin. It is the nature of Laws in general to be attended with these two punishments, and rewards; the one propounded for the observation of them, the other threatened upon the deviation from them. And although there were no threats or penal denunciations accompanying the Laws of God, yet the transgression of them would nevertheless make the person transgressing worthy of, and liable unto, whatsoever punishment can in justice be inflicted for that sin committed. Sins of commission pass away in the acting or performing of them, so that he which acteth against a negative Precept, after the act is passed, cannot properly be said to sin. Sins of omission, when the time is passed in which the affirmative Precept did oblige unto performance, pass away: so that he which did then omit his duty when it was required, and in omitting sinned, after that time cannot be truly said to sin. But though the sin it self do pass away together with the time in which it was committed, yet the guilt thereof doth never pass which by committing was contracted. He which but once committeth adultery, at that one time sinneth, and at no time after can be said to commit that sin; but the guilt of that sin remaineth on him still, and he may be for ever said to be guilty of adultery, because he is for ever subject to the wrath of God, and † obliged to suffer the punishment due unto adultery.

† This Obligation unto punishment, remaining after the act of sin, is that Peccati Reatus

of which the Schools, and before them the Fathers speak. The nature of this Reatus is excellently declared by S. Austin, delivering the distinction between actual and original Sin. In eis qui regenerantur in Christo cum remissionem accipiunt proflus omnium peccatorum; utique necesse est ut reatus etiam hujus licet adhuc manentis Concupiscentiæ remittatur, ut in peccatum non imputeretur. Nam sicut peccatorum quæ manere non possunt, quoniam cum fuerint prætereunt, reatus tamen manet, & nisi remittatur, in æternum manebit; sic illius Concupiscentiæ, quando remittitur, reatus aufertur. Hoc est

enim non habere peccatum, reum non esse peccati. Nam si quisquam virg. fecerit adulterium etiam nunquam deinceps faciat reus est adulterii, donec reatus ipsius indulgentia remittatur. Habet ergo peccatum, quamvis illud quod admisit jam non sit, quia cum tempore quo factum est praterit. Nam si a peccando desistere hoc esset non habere peccatum sufficeret ut hoc nos moneret Scriptura. *Fili peccasti, non adjicias iterum*: Non autem sufficit, sed addidit, & de pristinis deprecare, ut tibi remittantur. Manent ergo nisi remittantur. Sed quomodo manent si praterita sunt, nisi quia praterierunt actu, manent reatu, S. Aug. de Nupt. & Concup. l. 1. c. 26. Ego de Concupiscentia dixi quae est in membris repugnans legi mentis, quamvis Reatus ejus in omnium peccatorum remissione transferit, sicut è contrario sacrificium idolis factum, si deinceps non fiat, praterit actum, sed manet reatu, nisi per indulgentiam remittatur. Quiddam enim tale est sacrificare idolis ut opus ipsum cum sit praterit, eodemq; praterito Reatus ejus maneat ventu resolvendus, *Item cont. Julian. l. 6. c. 8.*

This debt or obligation to punishment is not only necessarily resulting from the nature of sin, as it is a breach of the Law, nor only generally delivered in the Scriptures revealing the wrath of God unto all unrighteousness, but it is yet more particularly represented in the Word, which teacheth us, if we do ill, how *sin lieth at the door*. Our blessed Saviour thus taught his Disciples, ^a *Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be liable (obnoxious, or bound over) to the Judgement; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Racha, shall be liable (obnoxious, or bound over) to the Council; but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be liable (obnoxious, or bound over) to hell fire*. So saith our Saviour again, ^b *All sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewithsoever they shall blaspheme. But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, hath never forgiveness, but is liable (obnoxious, or bound over) to eternal damnation*. Whence appeareth clearly the guilt of Sin and obligation to eternal punishment, if there be no remission or forgiveness of it, and the taking off that liableness, obnoxiousness, or obligation unto death, if there be any such remission or forgiveness: all which is evident by the opposition, much to be observed in our Saviour's expression, *He hath never forgiveness, but is liable to eternal death*.

^a Matt. 5. 22.
 Ἐνοχῶν ἔσται
 is the word used
 here, which is
 translated, shall
 be in danger,
 but is fuller
 and more pres-
 sive sense, as one
 which is a deb-
 tor, sabbell, and
 obliged to endure
 it, Helych. Ἐ-
 νοχῶν, ἡρεῶ-
 σις καὶ θένος,
 ἢ ἐρέμῳ.
 S. Ἐνοχῶν,
 ἑσπῆτι.
 Where by the
 way is to be ob-
 served a great
 mistake in the Lexicon of Favorinus, whose words are these; Ἐνοχῶν, ἑσπῆτι, ἡρεῶσις. Ἐνοχῶν, ἑσπῆτι, Τίμαι.
 The first taken out of Helychius, the last out of Suidas, corruptly and absurdly, corruptly Ἐνοχῶν for Ἐνοχῶν, absurdly Τίμαι is
 added either as an interpretation of Ἐνοχῶν, or as an Author which used it, whereas Τίμαι in Suidas is only the first word of
 the sentence, preceded by Suidas for the use of Ἐνοχῶν in the signification of ἑσπῆτι. Agreeable unto Helychius is that in the
 Lexicon of S. Cyril. Ἐνοχῶν, Obnoxius, reus, obligatus. And so in the place of S. Matthew the old Latine Translation, Reus erit
 iudicio. As in Virgil, Constituum ante aras voti reus, Servius, voti reus, Debitor. Unde vota solventes dicimus absolutos.
 Inde est, Damnabis tu quoq; voti, quasi reos facies. So the Syriack, נוןן הן הןבן from הןבן obligatum, debitorem,
 reum esse. For indeed the word Ἐνοχῶν among the Greeks, as to this matter, hath a double signification, one in respect of the sin,
 another in respect of the punishment due unto the sin. In respect of a sin, as that in Antiphon, μὴ ὄντα φοβία μηδὲ ἔνοχον πῶ
 ἔργῳ, and that in Aristotle, Oecon. 2. ἔνοχον ἔχεισιν ἰεροσυλίας ἔσθῃ, and that in Suidas taken out of Polybius. Τίμαι ἡ
 σα ἔξῃρα πεποιθῆσαι κατὰ δουρῶν αὐτῶν ὡν ὄντι δούσι ἀμαρτήμασιν ἔνοχῶν· πῶ μὲν, ὅτι πικρῶς καθηγορεῖ ἢ πάλαι ὄντι
 ταῖσι οἷς αὐτῶν ἔνοχός ἐστιν. In respect of the punishment of a sin, he is ἔνοχῶν ἀρεῖ, who is obnoxious to the curse, and ἔνοχῶν
 ἐπιμήριος, obnoxius to the punishment. Ἐμαρτήματα, ἐμαρτήματα, τότεσιν, ἔνοχῶν τοῖν, ὅτι ἐσ' οἷς ἡμαρτήματα δὲς τιμωρία,
 with Suidas. Thus ἔνοχῶν θανάτου ὄντι, Matt. 26. 66. Νονן הן הןבן is not in the intention of the Jews, he is in danger of
 death, but he deserveth death, and he ought to die, he is κατὰ δίκην, by their sentence, as far as in them lay, condemned to die.
 S. Chr. Iosiem. Τί ἐν ἐκείνοις ἔνοχός ἐστι θανάτου· ἵν' ὡς καταδικῶν λαβόντες, ἔτω ἢ Πιλάτον λοιπὸν ἀποφύλαξεν παρ-
 ασκευάσασιν· ἔδδ κακῶσι ὡμιθεύτες εἶσιν. Ἐνοχῶν θανάτου ὄντι, αὐτοὶ καθηγορεῖντες, αὐτοὶ διαζώντες, αὐτοὶ φηρι-
 ζόμενοι, πᾶν ἂν αὐτοὶ γινώσκον τότε. ^b Matt. 2. 28, 29.

God who hath the Sovereign power and absolute dominion over all men, hath made a Law to be a perpetual and universal rule of humane actions; which Law whosoever doth violate, or transgress, and thereby sin, (for by sin we understand nothing else but the transgression of the Law) is thereby obliged in all equity to suffer the punishment due to that obliquity. And after the act of sin is committed and passed over, this guilt resulting from that act, remaineth; that is, the person who committed it, continueth still a debtor to the vindictive Justice of God, and is obliged to endure the punishment due unto it: which was the second particular to be considered.

The third Consideration now followeth, what is *the Forgiveness of Sin*, or in what *Remission* doth consist. Which at first appeareth to be an act of God toward a sinner, because the sin was committed against the Law of God, and therefore the punishment must be due from him, because the injury was done unto him. But what is the true notion and nature of this act, or how God doth

doth forgive a sinner, is not easie to determine : nor can it be concluded out of the words themselves which do express it, the niceties of whose † origi-

† The word used in the Creed is ἀρεσις ἀμάρτηων, and that generally likewise

in use in the New Testament. But from thence we cannot be assured of the nature of this act of God, because ἀριέναι and ἀρεσις are capable of several interpretations. For sometimes ἀριέναι is emittere, and ἀρεσις emissio. As Gen. 25. 18. Ἐξέβη δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀριέναι αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα, not cum dimitteret eam anima, as it is translated, but cum emitteret ea animam, i. e. efflaret : as ἀριέει τὸ πνεῦμα, emitit spiritum. Mat. 25. 50. So Gen. 45. 2. Καὶ ἀριέει φωνῶν μετὰ κλαυθμῶν, not dimisit, but emitit vocem cum fletu, as ἀριέει φωνῶν μετὰ κλάου, emissit voce magna, Mark. 15. 37. In the like manner ἀρεσις θαλάσσης are emissiones maris, 2 Sam. 22. 16. as ἀρεσις ὑδάτων, Joel 1. 20. in which sense may be referred that of Helych. "Αρεσις, ὑσπλησις. And this interpretation of ἀρεσις can have no relation to the remission of sins. Secondly, ἀριέναι is often taken for permittere, as Gen. 2. 6. ἐν ἀριέναι αὐτῶν αὐτῆς. Mat. 2. 15. ἀρεσις ἀρεσις τὸ τότε ἀριέναι αὐτὸν, which the Vulgar translated well, Sine modo, and then ill, Tunc dimisit eum, Mat. 7. 4. ἀρεσις ἐκβάλλω, sine eiciam ; So Helych. ἀρεσις, συσχερῆσις. And this hath as little relation to the present subject. Thirdly, ἀριέναι, is sometimes relinquere and desererere. as Gen. 43. 33. ἀδελφὸν ἕνα ἀριέει ὡς μετ' ἐμοῦ, Mat. 5. 24. ἀρεσις ἐκβῆν τὸ δῶρον σου, 7. 4. καὶ ἀριέει αὐτῶν ὁ πουργῆσις, 19. 27. Ἴδὲ, ἡμῶν ἀριέει πάντας, 26. 56. τότε οἱ μαθηταὶ πάντες ἀριέει αὐτὸν ἔευρον. And in this acceptation it cannot explicate unto us what is the true notion of ἀριέναι ἀμάρτηα. Fourthly, it is taken for omittere, as Mat. 23. 23. καὶ ἀριέει τὰ βραχύτερα τῶ νόμου, and Luke 11. 42. ταῦτα εἰς ποῖσται ἀμάρτηα μὴ ἀριέναι, and yet we have nothing to our present purpose. But fifthly, it is often taken for remittere, and that particularly in relation to a debt, as Mat. 18. 27. τὸ δάνειον ἀριέει σου τῷ ἄλλῳ and v. 32. τῶσαν τὸ δανειῶν ἐκάνει ἀριέει σου. Which acceptation is most remarkable in the year of release, Deut. 15. 1, 2. Δι' ἐπιπέρας ποιήσεις ἀρεσις. Καὶ ἔτω τὸ πρῶτον ἀρεσις ἀρεσις πάντων χρεῶν ἰδίων ὁ δανειῶν σου ὁ ἀλλῶν, καὶ ἀδελφόν σου ἐκ ἀτανήσεις, ὅτι ἐλέησεν ὁ ἀρεσις κρεῖν τὸ θεῶν σου. Now this remission or release of debts hath a great affinity with remission of sins ; for Christ himself hath combined these two together, and called our sins by the name of debts, and promised remission of sins to us by God, upon our remission of debts to man. And therefore he hath taught us thus to pray, "Αρεσις ἡμῶν τῶ δανειῶν σου ὡς καὶ ἡμῶν ἀριέει τοῖς ἀδελφῶν σου ἡμῶν", Mat. 6. 12. Besides he hath not only made use of the notion of debt, but any injury done unto a man, he calls a sin against man, and exhorteth to forgive these sins committed against us, that God may forgive the sins committed by us, which are injuries done to him, Luke 17. Ἐάν τις ἀμαρτηῆς σε ὡς ὁ ἀδελφός σου, ἐπιτίμησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐάν μετανόησεν, ἀρεσις αὐτῷ.

For although the word signifying Remission have one sense among many other which may seem proper for this particular concernment, yet because the same word hath been often used to signify the same action of God in forgiving sins, where it could have no such particular notion, but several times hath * another signification tending to the same effect, and as proper to the remission of sins, therefore I conceive the nature of forgiveness of sins is rather to be understood by the consideration of all such ways and means which were used by God in the working and performing of it, than in this, or any other word which is made use of in expressing it.

* We must not only look upon the propriety of the words used in the New Testament, but we must also reflect

upon their use in the Old, especially in such subjects as did belong unto the Old Testament as well as the New. Now ἀριέναι ἀμάρτηα, is there used for the Verb רָצַח, as Isa. 22. 14. : כַּכֶּר הָעֵץ לְכַסּוֹת אֶת הָאֵרֶץ וְאֵת אֶתְרֵי הָאֵרֶץ לְכַסּוֹת אֶת הָאֵרֶץ וְאֵת Αὐτῶν ἀμαρτηῶν, Remissio peccatorum, or, as the ancient Fathers, Remissa peccatorum. So Tertullian, Diximus de remissa peccatorum, adv. Marc. lib. 4. cap. 18. S. Cyprian Epist. 14. Qui blasphemaverit in Spiritum Sanctum non habet remissionem, sed reus est aeterni peccati. Idem de Boni Patien. Dominus baptizatur a servo, & remissionem peccatorum daturus, ipse non indignatur lavacro regenerationis corpus ablucere. Idem lib. 3. Epist. 8. of an infant, Qui ad remissionem peccatorum recipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria sed aliena peccata. Add the Interpreter of Irenaeus concerning Christ, Remissionem peccatorum existentem his qui credunt in eum.

Now that we may understand what was done toward the remission of sins, that from thence we may conclude what is done in it: it is first to be observed, that * almost all things by the law were purged by blood, and without shedding of blood there is no remission. And what was then legally done, was but a type of that which was to be performed by Christ; and therefore the blood of Christ must necessarily be involved in the remission of sins; for he † once in the end of the world hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. It must then be acknowledged, and can be denied by none, that Christ did suffer a painful and a shameful death, as we have formerly described it; that the death which he endured, he did then suffer for sin; for this man, saith the

* Heb. 9. 22. Χωρίς αίματος ἑκχυνοῦς ἐπίθειται ἀρεσις. † Heb. 9. 26. It is not only ἀρεσις, but ἀθήτησις ἀμαρτηῶν.

Heb. 10. 12. Apostle, offered one sacrifice for sins; that the sins for which he suffered were not his own, for *Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust*, he was *holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners*, and therefore had no sin to suffer for; that the sins for which he suffered, were ours, for *he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; He was delivered for our offences, he gave himself for our sins, he died for our sins according to the Scriptures*; that the dying for our sins was suffering death as a punishment taken upon himself, to free us from the punishment due unto our sins: for *God laid on him the iniquity of us all, and made him to be sin for us who knew no sin: he hath born our griefs and carried our sorrows, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes are we healed*; that by the suffering of this punishment to free us from the punishment due unto our sins it cometh to pass that our sins are forgiven, for, *This is my blood, saith our Saviour, of the New Testament, (or Covenant) which is shed for many for the remission of sins. In Christ we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of his grace.*

In which deduction or series of truths we may easily perceive that *the forgiveness of sins*, which is promised unto us, which we upon that promise do believe, containeth in it a Reconciliation of an offended God, and a Satisfaction unto a just God; it containeth a Reconciliation, as without which God cannot be conceived to remit; it comprehendeth a Satisfaction, as without which God was resolved not to be reconciled.

For the first of these, We may be assured of forgiveness of sins, because *Christ* by his death hath reconciled God unto us, who was offended by our sins; and that he hath done so, we are assured; because he which before was angry with us, upon the consideration of *Christ's* death, becomes propitious unto us, and did ordain *Christ's* death to be a propitiation for us. For we are *justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood. We have an advocate with the Father, and he is the propitiation for our sins.* For *God loved us and sent his Son to be a propitiation for our sins.* It is evident therefore that *Christ* did render God propitious unto us by his blood, (that is, his sufferings unto death) who before was offended with us for our sins. And this propitiation amounted to a reconciliation, that is, a kindness after wrath. We must conceive that God was angry with mankind before he determined to give our Saviour; we cannot imagine that God who is essentially just, should not abominate iniquity. The first affection we can conceive in him upon the lapse of man, is wrath and indignation. God therefore was most certainly offended before he gave a Redeemer, and though it be most true, that *he so loved the world that he gave his onely begotten Son*; yet there is no incongruity in this, that a Father should be offended with that Son which he loveth, and at that time offended with him when he loveth him. Notwithstanding therefore that God loved men whom he created, yet he was offended with them when they sinned, and gave his Son to suffer for them, that through that Son's obedience he might be reconciled to them.

2 Cor. 5. 18. This Reconciliation is clearly delivered in the Scriptures as wrought by *Christ*; For *all are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ*; and that by virtue of his death, for *when we were enemies we were reconciled unto God by the death of his Son, making peace through the blood of his cross, and by him reconciling all things unto himself.* In vain it is objected that the Scripture saith our Saviour reconciled men to God, but no where teacheth that he reconciled God to man; for in the language of the Scripture to reconcile a man to God, is in our vulgar language to reconcile God to man, that is to

cause

cause him who before was angry and offended with him to be gracious and propitious to him. As the Princes of the *Philistines* spake of *David*, *Wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his Master? should it not be with the heads of these men?* wherewith shall he reconcile *Saul* who is so highly offended with him, wherewith shall he render him gracious and favourable but by betraying these men unto him; As our Saviour adviseth, *If thou bring thy gift before the Altar, and there remembrest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the Altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother*, that is, reconcile thy Brother to thy self, whom thou hast injured, render him by thy submission favourable unto thee, who hath something against thee, and is offended with thee. As the Apostle adviseth the wife that *departeth from her husband, to remain unmarried, or to be reconciled to her husband*, that is, to appease and get the favour of her husband. In the like manner we are said to be reconciled unto God, when God is reconciled, appeased and become gracious and favourable unto us, and Christ is said to reconcile us unto God, when he hath moved, and obtained of God to be reconciled unto us, when he hath appeased him and restored us unto his favour. Thus *when we were enemies we were reconciled to God*, that is, notwithstanding he was offended with us for our sins, we were restored unto his favour, *by the death of his Son*.

1 Sam. 29. 4.
 Ἐν τίνι διαλλάξήσεται ἐστὶν πρὸς κείνην αὐτῶν; ἢ χεῖρ ἐν κεφαλῇς ὄψιν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων; ΠΣ Π
 acceptum se reddet, ita se geret ut Saul eum in gratiam recipere velit.
 2 Mat. 5. 23, 24.
 Πρῶτον διαλλάξῃ τὸ ἀδελφῷ σου.
 1 Cor. 7. 11.

Rom. 5. 10.

Whence appeareth the weakness of the *Socinian* exception, that in the Scriptures † we are said to be reconciled unto God: but God is never said to be reconciled unto us. For by that very expression, it is understood, that he which is reconciled in the Language of the Scriptures, is restored unto the favour of him who was formerly offended with that person which is now said to be reconciled. As when *David* was to be reconciled unto *Saul*, it was not that *David* should lay down his enmity against *Saul*, but that *Saul* should become propitious and favourable unto *David*: and therefore where the Language is that *David* should be reconciled unto *Saul*, the sense is, that *Saul*, who was exasperated and angry, should be appeased and so reconciled unto *David*.

† Ad hac verò quod nos Deo reconciliari quid affert? Primum, nusquam Scripturam asserere, Deum nobis à Christo reconciliatum, verum id tantum quod nos per Christum aut mortem ejus simus reconciliati,

vel Deo reconciliati; ut ex omnibus locis quæ de reconciliatione agunt videre est, *Cat. Rac. c. 8.* To this may be added the observation of Socinus. Ita communem ferre loquendi consuetudinem, ut scilicet is reconciliatus fuisse dicatur, per quem stabat ne amicitia aut denuo existeret, aut conservaretur: de Christo Servatore, p. 1. c. 8. Which observation is most false, as appeareth in the case of *Saul and David*, and in the person mentioned in the Gospel, who is commanded to be reconciled unto him whom he had offended, and who had something against him.

Nor is it any wonder God should be thus reconciled to sinners by the death of Christ, who *while we were yet sinners died for us*, because the punishment which Christ, who was our Surety, endured, was a full satisfaction to the will and justice of God. *The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.* Now a ransom is a price given to redeem such as are any way in captivity; any thing laid down by way of compensation, to take off a bond or obligation, whereby he which before was bound becometh free. All sinners were obliged to undergo such punishments as are proportionate to their sins, and were by that obligation captivated and in bonds, and *Christ* did give his life a ransom for them, and that a proper ransom, if that his life were of any price, and given as such. For a ransom is properly nothing else but something of * price given by way of redemption, to buy or purchase that which is detained, or given for the releasing of that which is enthralled. But it is most evident that the life of Christ was laid down as a price, neither is it more certain that he died, than that

* Mat. 20. 28.
 Δόναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν. What is the true notion of λύτρον will easily appear, because both the origination and use of the word is sufficiently known. The Origination is from λύω solvere to loose, λύτρον quasi

λυτήριον. Etym. Θείπλεα τὰ θρεπτήρια, ὡσαύτ' λύτρα τὰ λυτήρια Εὐσταθ. Δίγει δ' Θείπλεα (ita leg.) τὰ τετραεὶς ἐκ τῶν θρεπτήριων καὶ Συγκοπῶν ὡς λυτήρια λύτρα, σωτήρια ὡσεύρα, *Iliad. δ.* Λύτρον igitur quicquid datur ut quis solvatur.

folvatur. Ἐπιαιχμαλάτων ἐξωνίπιασ οἰκόν τὸ λυεῖσθ' ὅθεν κ' λυεῖται τὰ δῶρα λέγονται τὰ πρὸς τὸ διδόναι, Eufia-
 thius upon that of Homer Iliad. α. Ἀνταδρῆς τε δούρασε. It is properly spoken of such things as are given to redeem a captive, or
 recover a man into a free condition. Heysch. πάντα τὰ διδωρα εἰς ἀναλήπην ἀνθρώπων. (ὅ I read it, not ἀνάληπην.) So that
 whatsoever is given for such a purpose is λύσον, and whatsoever is not given for such an end deserbeth not the name in Greek. As the
 City Antandrus was so called because it was given in exchange for a man who was a captive. "Ὅτι Ἀτκάντι ἐαιχμαλάτῳ
 ἐλύετο ὑπὸ Πειλασθῶν κ' αὐτ' αὐτὴ πρὸς τὸν δέδωκε λύσον, κ' ἀπελευθ. Eym. So that there can be nothing more proper in
 the Greek Language than the words of our Saviour, δέδοκα ἢ ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λύσον ἀντὶ πολλῶν. δέδοκα λύσον, ἢ γὰρ λύσον ἢ τὸ
 διδόνον, and ἀντὶ πολλῶν, for it is given, ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπων, as that City was called, Ἀνταδρῆς ὅτι ἦγον ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς δεδούρη.
 And therefore 1 Tim. 2. 6. it is said, ὁ δὲ δὲς ἐμὲ ἀντὶ λύσον ὑμῶν πάντων. * Heysch. Λύσον, τίμημα.

1 Cor. 6. 20.
 7. 23.
 2 Pet. 2. 1.
 * 1 Pet. 1. 18,
 19. This is suf-
 ficiently expres-
 sed by two words
 each of them ful-
 ly significative
 of a price: the
 first simple
 which is ἀγορά-
 ζειν, the second
 in composition,
 which is ἐξαγο-
 ράζειν. That the
 word ἀγοράζειν
 in the New Tes-
 tament, signi-
 fiesh properly to
 buy, appeareth

he bought us; *We are bought with a price*, saith the Apostle, and it is the Lord
 who bought us, and the price which he paid was his blood, for * *We are not re-
 deemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of
 Christ*. Now as it was the blood of Christ, so was it a price given by way of
 compensation; and as that blood was precious, so was it a full and perfect
 satisfaction. For as the gravity of the offence and iniquity of the sin is augmen-
 ted, and increaseth, according to the dignity of the person offended and injur-
 ed by it, so the value, price and dignity of that which is given by way of com-
 pensation, is raised according to the dignity of the person making the satisfac-
 tion. God is of infinite Majesty, against whom we have sinned, and Christ is
 of the same divinity who gave his life a rancome for sinners; for God hath *pur-
 chased his Church with his own blood*. Although therefore God be said to remit
 our sins by which we were captivated, yet he is never said to † remit the price
 without which we had never been redeemed: neither can he be said to have
 remitted it, because he did require it and receive it.

generally in the Evangelists, and particularly, in that place of the Revelations 13. 17. ἵνα μὴ τις δώνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλήσῃαι.
 In the same signification it is attributed undoubtedly unto Christ in respect of us whom he is often said to have bought, as 2 Pet. 2. 1.
 ἢ ἀγοράσθησιν ἀπὸς ἀποστόλου ἀνθρώπων, and this buying is expressed to be by a price, 1 Cor. 6. 20. ἐκ ἔσε ἐμῆς, ἠγοράσθητε
 γὰρ τιμῆς. Vulg. Non estis vestri, empti enim estis pretio magno, & 1 Cor. 6. 23. Τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε, μὴ γίνεσθε δούλοι ἀν-
 θρώπων. What this price was is also evident, for the τιμὴ was the τιμὴν αἵματι, the precious blood of Christ, or the blood given by
 way of price, Rev. 5. 9. ὅτι ἐσθάρησιν κ' ἠγοράσθησιν πρὸ Θεοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἵματός σου. Which will appear more fully by the compound
 word ἐξαγοράζειν. Gal. 3. 13. Χεῖρς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου, ἡρώμων ὑπὸ τῆς ἡρώς κατάρας, and
 Gal. 4. 4. 5. ἡρώμων ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα πρὸς ὑμῶν νόμον, ἐξαγοράσῃ. Now this ἐξαγοράζειν is proper redemption, or λύτρωσις,
 upon a proper price, though not silver or gold, yet as proper as silver and gold, and for beyond them both, ἢ θαρτοῖς ἀργυρίῳ ἢ
 χρυσίῳ ἐλυθῆντε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατέρων ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ τιμῆν αἵματι ὅς ἀμνὸς ἀμώμης κ' ἀσίλου. Χεῖρς ἡ
 1 Pet. 1. 18, 19. † As λύσον is a certain price given or promised for liberty, so ἀγοράζειν is to remit the price set upon the
 head of any man or promised for him. As we read in the Testament of Lycon the Philosopher, Δημητρίῳ μὲν ἐλδοθῆναι πάλαι ὄντι
 ἀγοράζειν τὰ λύσον. Demetrius had been his servant, and he had set him free upon a certain price which he had engaged himself to pay for
 that Liberty, the sum which Demetrius was thus bound to pay, Lycon at his death remits; as also to Citron. Κεῖται δὲ Καρχη-
 δῆτος, κ' τέτα, τὰ λύσον ἀγοράζειν. Diog. Laert.

If then we consider together, on our side the nature and obligation of sin,
 in Christ the satisfaction made, and reconciliation wrought, we shall easily per-
 ceive how God forgiveth sins, and in what Remission of them consisteth. Man
 being in all conditions under some Law of God, who hath Sovereign power
 and dominion over him, and therefore owing absolute obedience to that Law,
 whensoever any way he transgresseth that Law, or deviateth from that Rule,
 he becomes thereby a sinner, and contracteth a guilt which is an obligation
 to endure a punishment proportionable to his offence; and God who is the
 Lawgiver and Sovereign, becoming now the party wronged and offended,
 hath a most just right to punish man as an offender. But *Christ* taking upon
 him the nature of man, and offering himself a sacrifice for sin, giveth that un-
 to God for and instead of the eternal death of man, which is more valuable
 and acceptable to God than that death could be, and so maketh a sufficient
 compensation and full satisfaction for the sins of man; which God accepting,
 becometh reconciled unto us, and for the punishment which Christ endured,
 taketh off our obligation to eternal punishment.

Thus man who violated by sinning the Law of God, and by that violation
 offended God, and was thereby obliged to undergo the punishment due unto
 the sin, and to be inflicted by the wrath of God, is, by the price of the most pre-
 cious

precious

cious blood of Christ, given and accepted in full compensation and satisfaction for the punishment which was due, restored unto the favour of God, who being thus satisfied, and upon such satisfaction reconciled, is faithful and just to take off all obligation unto punishment from the sinner; and in this act of God consisteth *the forgiveness of sins*. Which is sufficient for the first part of the explication of this Article, as being designed for nothing else but to declare what is the true notion of *Remission of sins*, in what that action doth consist.

The second part of the Explication, taking notice not only of the substance, but also of the Order of the Article, observing the immediate connexion of it with the *Holy Church*, and the relation, which in the opinion of the Ancients it hath unto it, will endeavour to instruct us how this great priviledge of *forgiveness of sins* is propounded in the Church, how it may be procured and obtained by the members of the Church.

At the same time when our Saviour sent the Apostles to gather a Church unto him, he foretold that *repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem*; and when the Church was first constituted, they thus exhorted those whom they desired to come into it, *Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, and, Be it known unto you that through this man is preached unto you forgiveness of sins*. From whence it appeareth that the *Jews and Gentiles* were invited to the Church of Christ, that they might therein receive remission of sins; that the doctrine of remission of all sins propounded and preached to all men, was proper and peculiar to the Gospel, which teacheth us *that by Christ all that believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses*. Therefore *John the Baptist, who went before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways, gave knowledge of salvation unto his people by the remission of their sins*.

This, as it was preached by the Apostles at the first gathering of the Church of Christ, I call proper and peculiar to the Gospel, because the same doctrine was not so propounded by the Law. For if we consider the Law it self strictly and under the bare notion of a Law, it promised life only upon perfect, absolute, and uninterrupted obedience; the voice thereof was only this, *Do this and live*. Some of the greater sins nominated and specified in the Law, had annexed unto them the sentence of death, and that sentence irreversible; nor was there any other way or means left in the law of *Moses* by which that punishment might be taken off. As for other less and more ordinary sins, there were sacrifices appointed for them, and when those sacrifices were offered and accepted, God was appeased, and the offences were released. Whatsoever else we read of sins forgiven under the Law, was of some special divine indulgence, more than was promised by *Moses*, though not more than was promulgated unto the people, in the name and of the nature of God, so far as something of the Gospel was mingled with the Law.

Now as to the atonement made by the Sacrifices, it clearly had relation to the death of the *Messias*, and whatsoever virtue was in them did operate through his death alone. As he was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, so all atonements which were ever made, were only effectual by his blood. But though no sin was ever forgiven but by virtue of that satisfaction, though God was never reconciled unto any sinner but by intuition of that propitiation; yet the general doctrine of remission of sins was * never clearly revealed, and publickly preached to all Nations, till the coming of the Saviour of the World, whose name was therefore called *Jesus*, because he was to save his people from their sins.

Being therefore we are assured that the preaching Remission of sins belongeth

* Lex peccatorum nescit remissionem; lex mysterium non habet quo occulta purgantur: & ideo quod in legem minus est committitur in Evangelio.
S. Ambr. in Lucam, l. 6. c. 7.

longerth not only certainly, but in some sense peculiarly, to the Church of Christ, it will be next considerable how this Remission is conferred upon any person in the Church.

For a full satisfaction in this particular two things are very observable, one relating to the Initiation, the other concerning the Continuation of a Christian. For the first of these, it is the most general and irrefragable Assertion of all, to whom we have reason to give credit, that all sins whatsoever any person is guilty of, are remitted in the Baptism of the same person. For the second, it is as certain that all sins committed by any person after Baptism are remissible, and the person committing those sins, shall receive forgiveness upon true Repentance, at any time, according to the Gospel.

First, It is certain that *Forgiveness of Sins* was promised to all who were baptized in the name of Christ; and it cannot be doubted but all persons who did perform all things necessary to the receiving the ordinance of Baptism, did also receive the benefit of that Ordinance, which is *remission of sins*. *John did baptize in the wilderness, and preach the Baptism of Repentance for the remission of Sins*. And *S. Peter* made this the exhortation of his first Sermon, *Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins*. In vain doth doubting and fluctuating * *Socinus* endeavour to evacuate the evidence of this Scripture: attributing the Remission either to Repentance without consideration of Baptism, or else to the publick Profession of Faith made in Baptism; or if any thing must be attributed to Baptism it self, it must be nothing but a declaration of such remission. For how will these shifts agree with that which *Ananias* said unto *Saul*, without any mention either of Repentance or Confession, *Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins*, and that which *S. Paul*, who was so baptized, hath taught us concerning the Church, that Christ doth *sanctifie and cleanse it with the washing of water*. It is therefore sufficiently certain that Baptism as it was instituted by Christ after the preadministration of *S. John*, wheresoever it was received with all qualifications necessary in the person accepting, and conferred with all things necessary to be performed by the person administering, was most infallibly efficacious, as to this particular, that is, to the remission of all sins committed before the administration of this Sacrament.

Mark 1. 1.

Acts 2. 38.

* Vel Baptismo illi hoc est, ablutioni peccatorum Remissionem, nequaquam tribuit Petrus, sed penitentia; vel si Baptismi quoque rationem ea in re habuit, aut quatenus publicam nominis Jesu Christi professionem contulerit eam tantum consideravit; aut si ipse etiam externam ablutionis certummodo rationem habere voluit, quod ad ipsam attinet remissionis peccatorum nomine non ipsam remissionem verè sed remissionis declarationem, & obligationem quandam intellexit, Soc. de Baptismo. ^a Acts 22 15. ^b Ephes. 5. 26.

+ *S. Chrysostom speaking of the power of the Priest's. οὐδὲ τὰν ἡμῶν ἀνεψύχων ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς συγγενείας, καὶ ἑστέων ἀδελφότητων. De sacerdot. 2.* Excepto baptismatis mutare, quod contra originale peccatum donatum est. (ut quod generatione attractum est regeneratione detrahatur, & tamen activa quoque peccata quaecumque corde, ore, opere commissa invenit tollit) hac ergo excepta magna indulgentia (unde incipit hominis renovatio) in qua solvitur omnis reatus & ingeneratus & additus, ipsa etiam vita cetera nam ratione utentis atatis, quantalibet præpollat fecunditate justitia, sine remissione peccatorum non agitur; quonia nisi diu Equamdiu mortaliter vivunt cum morte contingunt: & quamvis de illis sit veraciter dictum, *Quoties Spiritu Dei agatur, hi filii sunt Dei*: sic tamen Spiritu Dei excitantur, & tanquam filii Dei proficiunt ad Deum, ut etiam ipiricu suo (maxime aggravante corruptibili corpore) tanquam filii hominum quibusdam moribus humanis deficiant ad seipfos & peccent, *S. Hier. Enchir. c. 44. Οὐτὼ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐκκαθάρσει ἀδελφότημα μετὰ πολλὰ καὶ κολάσια. Πᾶσαν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεῖαν παύσει, ὡς αἰτὰ ἑστέων ἐν τῷ θέν, καὶ ἀρχικῶς καὶ ἡ κολασταὶ ἀπολαύσει τὸ ἐμὲ, καὶ ὁδὸν μυστα ἀδελφότητος ἀνεψύχων ἡμῶν, δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμῶν ἀφαιρήσει. S. Chrys. Hom. in Pentecost. 1.* Quod autem ser prum, & sanguis Jesu filii ejus mundat nos ob omni peccato tam in Confessione Baptismatis, quam in clementia poenitentia accipiendam est, *S. Hieron. adv. Pelag. l. 2.*

As those which are received into the Church by the Sacrament of Baptism receive the Remission of their sins of which they were guilty before they were baptized: so † after they are thus made members of the Church, they receive remission of their future sins by their repentance. Christ who hath left us a pattern of prayer, hath thereby taught us for ever to implore and beg the forgiveness of our sins; that as we through the frailty of our nature are always subject unto sin, so we should always exercise the acts of repentance,

and

and for ever seek the favour of God. This then is the comfort of the Gospel, that as it discovereth sin within us, so it propoundeth a remedy unto us. While we are in this life encompassed with flesh, while the allurements of the world, while the stratagems of Satan, while the infirmities and corruptions of our nature betray us to the transgression of the Law of God; we are always subject to offend, (from whence whosoever saith *that he hath no sin is a liar*, contradicting himself, and contracting iniquity by pretending innocency) and so long as we can offend, so long we may apply our selves unto God by repentance, and be renewed by his Grace, and pardoned by his Mercy.

And therefore the Church of God, in which *Remission of sin* is preached, doth not only promise it at first by the Laver of Regeneration, but afterwards also upon the Virtue of Repentance; and to deny the Church this power of Absolution is the * Heresie of *Novatian*.

* I call this the Heresie of Novatian

rather than of Novatus, because though they loth joined it, yet it is rather sprung from Novatianus the Roman Prebyter, than from Novatus the African Bishop. And he is thus expressed by Epiphanius, λέγων μὴ τῷ βαπτισμῷ, ἀλλὰ μίαν μετανοίαν· ἢ τὸ λυγρὸν, μηκέτι δουλοῦς ἐλεῖσθαι παρεσιωχότα· that is, he acknowledged but one Repentance which was available in Baptism; after which if any man sinned, there was no mercy remaining for him. To which Epiphanius gives this reply, Ἡ μὲν τελεῖα μετανοία ἐν τῷ λυγρῷ τυγχάνει· εἰ δέ τις παρῆπτεσεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τῶτον ἢ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας, διδως γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνομιῶν, καὶ μὴ τῷ μετανοίαν τῷ μετῆμελεον· and again, λέγειται ἐν ὁ ἀριθμῶν λόγῳ καὶ ἡ ἀγία Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησία πάντοτε τῷ μετανοίαν· and yet more generally, Τὰ πάντα σαροῦς τέλειαι μὴ τῷ ἐνέσθαι ἐνδουμιαν, ἔτι τῶ ὄσθον ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι πάντων, καὶ μὴ πῶσιν ἔτι ἀνάσσει· ἔτι ἐλπίς, ἔτι θεοφιλία, ἔτι ὁμολογία· καὶ ἐν μὴ τελεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ τῷ αἰγῶν ἐκ ἀπὸρησάσαι ἡ σωτηρία. Har. 59.

The necessity of the belief of this Article appeareth, first, because there can be no Christian consolation without this perswasion. For we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God, nay, God himself hath concluded all under sin, we must also acknowledge that every sinner is a guilty person, and that guilt consisteth in an obligation to endure eternal punishment from the wrath of God provoked by our sins; from whence nothing else can arise but a fearful expectation of everlasting misery. So long as guilt remaineth on the soul of man, so long is he in the condition of the Devils, *delivered into chains and reserved unto judgement.* For we all fell as well as they, but with this difference, remission of sins is promised unto us, but to them it is not.

Secondly, It is necessary to believe *the forgiveness of sins*, that thereby we may sufficiently esteem God's goodness and our happiness. When man was fallen into sin, there was no possibility left to him to work out his recovery; that soul which had sinned must of necessity die, the wrath of God abiding upon him for ever. There can be nothing imaginable in that man which should move God not to shew a demonstration of his justice upon him; there can be nothing without him which could pretend to rescue him from the sentence of an offended and Almighty God. Glorious therefore must the goodness of our God appear, who dispenseth with his law, who taketh off the guilt, who looseth the obligation, who impureth not the sin. This is God's goodness, this is man's happiness. For *blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered; blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth no iniquity.* The year of release, the year of Jubilee, was a time of publick joy; and there is no voice like that, *thy sins are forgiven thee.* By this a man is rescued from infernal pains, secured from the everlasting flames; by this he is made capable of Heaven, by this he is assured of eternal happiness.

Thirdly, It is necessary to believe *the forgiveness of sins*, that by the sense thereof we may be inflamed with the love of God. For that love doth naturally follow from such a sense, appeareth by the Parable in the Gospel, *There was a certain creditor which had two debtors, the one owed him five hundred pence, the other fifty. And when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them*

both. Upon which case our Saviour made this question, *Which of them will love him most?* He supposeth both the debtors will love him, because the creditor forgave them both; and he collecteth the degrees of love will answer proportionably to the quantity of the debt forgiven. We are the debtors, and our debts are sins, and the creditor is God: the remission of our sins is the frank forgiving of our debts, and for that we are obliged to return our love.

Fourthly, The true notion of *forgiveness of sins* is necessary to teach us what we owe to *Christ*, to whom, and how far we are indebted for this forgiveness. *Acts 13. 38.* *Through this man is preached unto us the forgiveness of sins, and without a surety we had no release.* He rendered God propitious unto our persons, because he gave himself as a satisfaction for our sins. While thus he took off our obligation to punishment, he laid upon us a new obligation of obedience. We *are not our own* who are *bought with a price*: we must *glorifie God in our bodies* *1 Cor. 15. 20.* *and in our spirits, which are God's.* We must be no longer *the servants of men, we are the servants of Christ, who are bought with a price.* *1 Cor. 7. 22, 23.*

Fifthly, It is necessary to believe *remission of sins* as wrought by the blood of *Christ*, by which the Covenant was ratified and confirmed; which mindeth us of a condition required. It is the nature of a Covenant to expect performances on both parts: and therefore if we look for forgiveness promised, we must perform repentance commanded. These two were always preached together, and those which God hath joined ought no man to put asunder. *Acts 5. 31.* *Christ did truly appear a Prince and a Saviour, and it was to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins;* He joined these two in the Apostles commission, saying, that *Repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name throughout all nations.* *Luke 24. 47.*

From hence every one may learn what he is explicitly to believe and confess in this Article of *forgiveness of sins*; for thereby he is conceived to intend thus much, I do freely and fully acknowledge, and with unspeakable comfort embrace this as a most necessary and infallible Truth, That whereas every sin is a transgression of the Law of God, upon every transgression there remaineth a guilt upon the person of the transgressor, and that guilt is an obligation to endure eternal punishment, so that all men being concluded under sin, they were all obliged to suffer the miseries of eternal death, it pleased God to give his Son, and his Son to give himself to be a surety for this debt, and to release us from these bonds; and because without shedding of blood there is no remission, he gave his life a sacrifice for sin, he laid it down as a ransome, even his precious blood as a price by way of compensation and satisfaction to the Will and Justice of God, by which propitiation God, who was by our sins offended, became reconciled, and being so, took off our obligation to eternal punishment, which is the guilt of our sins, and appointed in the Church of *Christ* the Sacrament of Baptism for the first remission, and Repentance for the constant forgiveness of all following trespasses; and thus *I believe the forgiveness of sins.*

ARTICLE XI.

The Resurrection of the Body.

THis Article was anciently delivered and acknowledged † by all Churches, only with this difference, that whereas in other places it was expressed in general terms, *the Resurrection of the flesh*, they of the Church of *Aquileia* by the addition of a Pronoun propounded it to every single Believer in a more particular way of expression, *the Resurrection of this flesh*. And though we have translated it in our *English Creed*, *the Resurrection of the body*; yet neither the *Greek* nor *Latine* ever delivered this Article in those terms, but in these, *the * Resurrection of the flesh*; because there may be ambiguity in the one, in relation to the celestial and Spiritual bodies, but there can be no collusion in the other. Only it will be necessary, for shewing our agreement with the ancient Creeds, to declare that as by *flesh* they understood the body of man, and not any other flesh, so we, when we translate it *body*, understand no other *body*, but such a body of flesh, of the same nature which it had before it was by death separated from the Soul. And this we may very well and properly do, because our Church hath already taken care therein, and given us a fit occasion so to declare our selves. For though in the Creed it self, used at Morning and Evening Prayer, the Article be thus delivered, [*the Resurrection of the body*] yet in the Form of Publick Baptism, where it is propounded by way of question to the God-fathers in the name of the Child to be baptized, it runneth thus [*Dost thou believe----the Resurrection of the flesh?*] We see by daily experience, that all men are mortal, that the body left by the soul; the salt and life thereof, putrieth and consumeth, and according to the sentence of old, returneth unto dust; but these bodies, as frail and mortal as they are, consisting of this corruptible flesh, are the subject of this Article, in which we profess to believe *the Resurrection of the body*.

*hujus carnis resurrectionem, Id. in Symb. Sive ergo corpus resurrecturum dicimus, secundum Apostolum dicimus, (hoc enim nomine utitur) sive carnem dicimus, secundum traditionem Symboli confitemur. Idem Prol. in Apolog. Pamphili. * The Greeks always ἀνάστασιν, the Latins Carnis Resurrectionem. And this was to be observed, because, being we read of spiritual bodies, some would acknowledge the Resurrection of the body, who would deny the Resurrection of the flesh. Of this S. Jerome gives an account, and withal of the words of the Creed. Exempli causa pauca subijciam, Credimus, inquit, resurrectionem futuram corporum. Hoc si bene dicatur, pura confessio est; sed quia corpora sunt caelestia, & terrena, & aer iste & aura tenuis juxta naturam suam corpora nominantur, corpus ponunt, non carnem, ut Orthodoxus corpus audiens carnem putet, Hæreticus spiritum recognoscat. Hæc enim eorum est prima decipula; quæ si deprehensa fuerit, instruant alios dolos, & innocentiam simulant, & maliciosos nos vocant, & quasi simpliciter credentes aiunt, Credimus resurrectionem carnis. Hoc vero cum dixerint, vulgus indoctum putat, sibi sufficere, maxime quia idipsum & in Symbolo creditur. Ep. 55. ad Pam. & Ocean.*

† Cum omnes Ecclesie ita sacramentum Symboli tradant, ut postquam dixerant peccatorum remissionem, addant carnis resurrectionem: sancta Aquileiensis Ecclesia, ubi tradit carnis resurrectionem, addit unius pronominis syllabam: & pro eo quod ceteri dicunt, carnis resurrectionem, nos dicimus hujus carnis resurrectionem, Rufin. Apol. ad Iher. Satis cauta & provida adjunctione fides Symboli Ecclesia non tradit, quæ in eo quod à ceteris traditur, carnis resurrectionem, uno addito pronomine tradit,

When we treated concerning the Resurrection of *Christ*, we † delivered the proper notion and nature of the Resurrection in general, that from thence we might conclude that our Saviour did truly rise from the dead. Being now to explain the Resurrection to come, we shall not need to repeat what we then delivered, or make any addition as to that particular, but referring the Reader to that which is there explained, it will be necessary for us only to consider what is the Resurrection to come, who they are which shall be raised, how we are assured they shall rise, and in what manner all shall be performed. And this Resurrection hath some peculiar difficulties different from those which might seem to obstruct the belief of *Christ's* Resurrection. For the body of the Son of God did never see corruption; all the parts thereof

continued in the same condition in which they were after his most precious Soul had left them, they were only deposited in the Sepulchre, otherwise the Grave had no power over them. But other mortal Bodies, after the Soul hath deserted them, are left to all the sad effects of their mortality; we may

7-b 17, 14, 16. /ay to corruption, thou art my Father, to the worm, thou art my Mother and my Sister; our corps go down to the bars of the pit, and rest together in the dust. Our death is not a simple dissolution, not a bare separation of Soul and Body as Christ's was, but our whole Tabernacle is fully dissolved, and every part thereof crumbled into dust and ashes, scattered, mingled and confounded with the dust of the Earth. There is a description of a kind of Resurrection in the Prophet Ezekiel, in which there is supposed, a valley full of bones, and there

Ezek. 37. 1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone, the sinews and the flesh came upon them, and the skin covered them above, and their breath came into them, and they lived and stood upon their feet. But in the Resurrection to come we cannot suppose the bones in the Valley, for they are dissolved into dust as well as the other parts.

We must therefore undertake to shew that the bodies of men howsoever corrupted, wheresoever in their parts dispersed, how long soever dead, shall hereafter be recollected in themselves, and united to their own Souls. And for the more facil and familiar proceeding in this so highly concerning truth, I shall make use of this method: First, To prove that such a Resurrection is not in it self impossible. Secondly, To shew that it is upon general considerations highly probable. Thirdly, To demonstrate that it is upon Christian principles infallibly certain. It is not in it self impossible, therefore no man can absolutely deny it; it is upon natural and moral grounds highly probable, therefore all men may rationally expect it; it is upon Evangelical principles infallibly certain, therefore all Christians must firmly believe it.

** Uliny reckon-
ing up these
things which he
thought not to be
in the power of
God, mentions these two, mortales aternitate donare, aut revocare defunctos, l. 2. c. 7. And Aeschylus, though a Pythagorean, yet absolutely denies it to be in the power of God, for so he makes Apollo speak to the Eumenides.*

First, I confess * Philosophers of old did look upon the Resurrection of the body as impossible, and though some of them thought the Souls of the dead did live again, yet they never conceived that they were united to the same

Πέδας μὲν ἂν λύσσειν, ἔσσι τῷδ' ἄκθῃ
 Καὶ κίβητα πολλὴν μηχανῇ λύσειεσθ.
 Ἄνδρες δ' ἐπειδὴν αἰμ' ἀρασσαίον κόνιτι
 Ἄσπασθ' θανόντες, ἔστιν ἔσ' ἀνάστασις.
 Τύττον ἐπὶ πῶς αἰεὶ ἐκ ἐπιόισιν πατῆρ
 Οὐμὸς, τὰς ἄλλα πάντα ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω
 Σβέρον τίθησιν, εἰδὲν ἀδμυζίων μένει.

Aeschyl. Eumenid.

Uti anima interire dicatur, ab Epicurcis observatur: Ut carnis restitutio negetur, de una omnium Philosophorum schola tenetur. Tertull.

bodies, and that their flesh should rise out of the dust that it might be conjoined to the Spirit of a man. We read of certain Philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoicks, who encountered S. Paul, and when they heard of the resurrection they mocked him, some saying, that he seemed to be a setter forth of strange Gods, because he preached unto them Jesus and the Resurrection. But as the ancient Philosophers thought a Creation impossible, because they looked only upon the constant works of nature, among which they never find any thing produced out of nothing, and yet we have already proved a Creation not only possible, but performed; so did they think a Resurrection of corrupted, dissolved and dissipated bodies to be as impossible, because they could never observe any action or operation in nature, which did or could produce any such effect; and yet we being not tied to the consideration of nature only, but estimating things possible and impossible by the power of God,

Acts 17. 18.

God, will easily demonstrate that there is no impossibility that the dead should rise.

For, if the Resurrection of the dead be impossible, it must be so in one of these respects: either in reference to the Agent, or in relation to the Patient; either because it is a work of so much difficulty that there neither is nor can be any Agent of wisdom, power, and activity sufficient to effect it; or else because the soul of man is so far separated by death from the body, and the parts of the body so much dissolved from themselves and altered from their nature, that they are absolutely incapable by any power to be united as they were. Either both, or one of these two must be the reason of the impossibility, if the Resurrection be impossible; for if the body be capable of being raised, and there be any Agent of sufficient ability to raise it, the resurrection of it must be possible.

Now if the Resurrection were impossible in respect of the Agent which should effect it, the impossibility must arise * either from an insufficiency of knowledge or of power; for if either the Agent know not what is to be done, or if he know it, but hath no power to do it, either he will not attempt it, or if he do, must fail in the attempt; but that, of which he hath perfect knowledge, and full power to effect, cannot be impossible in relation to the Agent endued with such knowledge, armed with such power.

* Τὸ ἀδυνατεῖν
τινι γινώσκει
ται καὶ ἀλη-
θεῖαν τοῖς τε-
ν ἢ ἐκ τῶ μὴ γι-
γνώσκων τὸ
ζήησι μὲρον, ἢ
ἐκ τῶ δυνάμιν
ἀρκῶσαν μὴ
ἔχεν πρὸς τὶ

ποιῆσαι καλῶς τὸ ἐγνωσμένον. Ὁ γὰρ ἀγνοῶν τι ἢ ἢ ἄνευ δυνάτων ἐκ ἀνῆτ' ἐγχειρήσει ἢ τε ποιῆσαι τὸ πρῶτον δυν-
θῆν δ' ἄνευ ἀγνοεῖ ὅτε γινώσκων καλῶς τὸ ποιηθησόμενον καὶ πῶθεν ἴδῃται' ἀν καὶ πῶς, δυνάμιν ἢ ἢ μὴ δ' ὅπως ἔχον πρὸς τὸ
ποιῆσαι τὸ ζήησι μὲρον ἢ μὴ ἀρκῶσαν ἔχον ἐκ ἀν ἐγχειρήσει * ἀρκῶν, ἐκ ἀνεπίστων καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ὀπίσκει ψῆσαι δυνάμιν ἐγ-
χειρήσει ἢ ἀπεισκέπῳς ἐκ ἀν ὄπιτελέσει τὸ δέξαν, Athenagoras de Resurrectione.

Now when we say the Resurrection is possible, we say not it is so to men or Angels or any creature of a limited knowledge or finite power, but we attribute it to God, *with whom nothing is impossible*; his understanding is infinite, he knoweth all the men which ever lived since the foundation, or shall live unto the dissolution of the world, *he knoweth whereof all things are made*, from what *dust* we came, into what *dust* we shall return. *Our substance was not hid from thee, O Lord, when we were made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth; thine eyes did see our substance, yet being imperfect, and in thy book were all our members written, which in continuance were fashioned when as yet there was none of them.* Thus every particle of our bodies, every dust and atome which belongeth to us, is known to him that made us. The Generation of our flesh is clearly seen by the *Father of spirits*, the augmentation of the same is known to him *in whom we live, move, and have our being*; the dissolution of our tabernacles is perceived by that God, by whom the *very hairs of our head are all numbred*, and *without whom one sparrow shall not fall to the ground*. He which numbreth the sands of the Sea, knoweth all the scattered bones, seeth into all the Graves and Tombs, searcheth all the Repositories and Dormitories in the Earth, knoweth what dust belongeth to each body, what body to each soul. Again, As his all-seeing eye observeth every particle of dissolved and corrupted man, so doth he also see and know all ways and means by which these scattered parts should be united, by which this ruined fabrick should be recompensed, he knoweth how every bone should be brought to its old neighbour bone, how every sinew may be reimbroided on it; he understandeth what are the proper parts to be conjoynd, what is the proper *gluten* by which they may become united. The Resurrection therefore cannot be impossible in relation to the Agent upon any deficiency of knowledge how to effect it.

Psal. 139. 17,
16.

Mat. 10. 29, 30.

And as the Wisdom is infinite, so the power of this Agent is illimited; for
God

God is as much Omnipotent as Omniscient. There can be no opposition made against him, because all power is his; nor can he receive a check against whom there is no resistance: All creatures must not only suffer, but do what he will have them; they are not only passively, but actively obedient. There is no atome of the dust or ashes but must be where it pleaseth God, and be applied and make up what and how it seemeth good to him. The Resurrection therefore cannot be impossible in relation unto God upon any disability to effect it, and consequently there is no impossibility in reference to the Agent, or him who is to raise us.

Secondly, The Resurrection is not impossible in relation to the Patient, because where we look upon the power of God, nothing can be impossible but that which involveth a contradiction, as we before have proved; and there can be no contradiction in this, that he which was, and now is not, should hereafter be what before he was. It is so far from a repugnancy, that it rather containeth a rational and apparent possibility, that man who was once dust, becoming dust, should become man again. Whatsoever we lose in death, is not lost to God: as no creature could be made out of nothing but by him, so can it not be reduced into nothing but by the same: though therefore the parts of the body of man be dissolved, yet they perish not; they lose not their own entity when they part with their relation to humanity; they are laid up in the secret places, and lodged in the Chambers of nature, and it is no more a contradiction that they should become the parts of the same body of man to which they did belong, than that after his death they should become the parts of any other body, as we see they do. Howsoever they are scattered, or wheresoever lodged, they are within the knowledge and power of God, and can have no repugnancy by their separation to be reunited when and how he pleaseth. The first dust of which man was made, was as far from being flesh as any ashes now or dust can be; it was only an Omnipotent power which could mould that into an humane body, and breath into the nostrils of it the breath of life. The same power therefore, which must always be, can still make of the dust returning from the bodies of men unto the earth, humane bones and flesh, as well as of the dust which first came from the earth: for if it be not easier, it is most certainly as easie: to make that to be again which once hath been, as to make that to be which before was not. When there was no man, God made him of the earth, and therefore when he returns to earth, the same God can make him man again. The Resurrection therefore cannot be impossible, which is our first conclusion.

Non sola anima reserponitur, habet se carnes, sinus interium, in aquis, in alitibus, in ignibus, in bestis; cum in hoc dissolvi videtur, vel in vasa transfunditur, Tertul. de Resurrectione carnis c. 52.

Tu perire Deo credis si quid cecidit nostris heberibus subtrahitur? Corpus omne five acule in pulvere, five in humorem solutum, vel in mare, vel in ignem, conprobratur, vel destruitur.

tu autem subducitur nobis, sed Deo elementorum custodi reservatur, Minutius Felix in Octavo. Omnia que discernuntur, sunt avilia, quaedam puretunt, integra Deo sunt, in illa enim elementa mundi sunt unde primo venerunt, S. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. 22. cap. 25. † Ablic autem ut ad resuscitanda corpora vitæque reddenda non possit Omnipotentia Creator omnia reverti que vel bestia vel ignis assumpsit; vel in pulverem cineremque collapsam, vel in humorem solutam, vel in aëris est exhalatum. Ablic ut sinus ullus, secretumque natura ita recipiat aliquid substractum sensibus nostris, ut animam Creatori aut lateat cognitionem, aut est agiat potestatem, S. Aug. de Civitate Dei, lib. 22. cap. 25. Recepta postquam antequam esses, utique nihil. Meminisses enim si quid fuisses. Qui ergo nihil fueras priusquam esses, si postquam tu esse desieris, cur non possis esse rursum de nihilo, ejusdem Authoris voluntate, qui te voluit esse de nihilo? quomodo tu fieri eveniet? Qui non eras, tacitus es, cum iterum non eris, fies. Redde, si potes, rationem qua factus es, si ante te quod non fuisses. Et tamen facilius utique fies quod fuisti aliquando, quia æque non difficile factus es quod nunquam fuisti, Tertul. Ap. 1. c. 43. Utique idoneus est reficere qui fecit. Quanto plus est fecisse quam refecisse, minus est reparare quam reddidisse; ita restitutionem carnis faciliorem credas institutione, Item de Resur. carnis c. 11. Difficilius est reparare, quam id quod fuisset iterare, Minutius Felix in Octavo. Utique plus est facere quod nunquam fuisset, quam reparare quod fuit. Quomodo ergo impossibile esse dicis, ut Deus qui hominem formavit ex nihilo reparare? Quomodo nos suscitare non potest conversos in pulverem, qui etiam in nihilum rediremus, tacere poterat ut crederet? Tertul. Ap. 1. c. 43. cum antea, nunquam fuidemus? S. Aug. de verbis Apost. Sermon. 19. To the same purpose the Jews

Secondly, The Resurrection is not only in it self possible, so that no man with any reason can absolutely deny it; but it is also upon many general considerations highly probable, so that all men may very rationally expect it.

If we consider the principles of humanity, the parts of which we all consist, we cannot conceive this present life to be proportionable to our composition. The souls of men as they are immaterial, so they are immortal, and being once created by the Father of Spirits they receive a subsistence for eternity; the body is framed by the same God to be a companion for his spirit, and a man born into the World consisteth of these two. Now the life of the most aged person is but short, and many far ignobler creatures of a longer duration. Some of the Fowls of the Air, several of the Fishes of the Sea, many of the Beasts of the Field, divers of the Plants of the earth are of a more durable constitution, and out-live the sons of men. And can we think that such material and mortal, that such inunderstanding souls should by God and Nature be furnished with bodies of so long permanion, and that our spirits should be joyned unto flesh so subject to corruption, so suddenly dissolvable, were it not that they lived but once, and so enjoyed that life for a longer season, and then went soul and body to the same destruction, never to be restored to the same subsistence; but when the soul of man which is immortal is forced from its body in a shorter time, nor can by any means continue with it half the years which many other creatures live, it is because this is not the only life belonging to the sons of men, and so the soul may at a shorter warning leave the body which it shall resume again.

Again, If we look upon our selves as men, we are free agents, and therefore capable of doing good or evil, and consequently ordinable unto reward or punishment. The Angels who are above us, and did sin, received their punishment without a death, because being only spirits they were subject to no other dissolution than annihilation, which cannot consist with longer suffering punishment; those who continued in their station were rewarded and confirmed for all eternity, and thus all the Angels are incapable of a Resurrection. The creatures which are below us, and for want of freedom cannot sin, or act any thing morally either good or evil, they cannot deserve after this life either to be punished or rewarded, and therefore when they die, they continue in the state of death for ever. Thus those who are above us shall not rise from the dead, because they are punished or rewarded without dying; and where no death is, there can be no resurrection from the dead. Those which are below us, are neither capable of reward or punishment for any thing acted in this life, and therefore though they die, yet shall they never rise, because there is no reason for their resurrection. But man by the nobleness of his better part being free to do what is good or evil while he liveth, and by the frailty of his body being subject to death, and yet after that, being capable in another world to receive a reward for what he hath done well, and a punishment for what he hath done ill in the flesh, it is necessary that he should rise from the dead to enjoy the one, or suffer the other. For there is not only no just Retribution rendred in this life to man, but, considering the ordinary condition of things, it cannot be. For it is possible, and often cometh to pass, * that one man may commit such sins as all the punishments in this world can no way equalize them. It is just, that he who sheddeth man's blood, by man his blood should be shed; but what death can sufficiently retaliate the many murders committed by one notorious Pirate, who may cast many thousands over-board; or the rapines and assassinations of one Rebel or Tyrant, who may destroy whole Nations? It is fit that he who blasphemeth God should die; but what equivalent punishment can he receive in this life, who shall constantly blaspheme the name of God, destroy his Priests and Temples, abolish his Worship, and extirpate his Servants? What is then more proper, considering the providence of a most just God, than to believe

* Πασιμι γαρ λέγεται, ότι ου- ζουμένης τ' ευ- στας εσθ' ο υν ισωρ' εθ' η θνήτη ευσε- δέγκων οιδ τα την συμμι- τρον διελυ- πλάνων η βα- ρυτήραν σεσ- ωδων πλημ- μελημάτων. Αθηναγορας.

believe that man shall suffer in another life such torments as will be proportionable to his demerits? Nor can we with reason think that the soul alone shall undergo those sufferings, because the Laws which were given to us are not made in respect of that alone, but have most frequent reflection on the body, † without which in this life the soul can neither do nor suffer any thing. It is therefore highly probable from the general consideration of humane actions and divine retributions, that there shall be a **Resurrection of the flesh, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done whether it be good or bad.*

- Quod congruet iudicari sine corpore etiam retiaciant, Tertulian. de Resur. Carn. cap. 13. N' gent operam Societa-

tem, ut merito possint mercedem negare. Non sit particeps in sententia caro si non fuerit & in causa. Sola anima revoceatur, si sola decedit. At enim non magis sola decedit, quam sola decucurrit illud unde decedit, vitam hanc dico, *Ibid. c. 15.* Cum omnis vite nostræ usus in corporis animæque consortio sit, resurrectio autem aut boni actus pramium habeat aut poenam improbi, necesse est corpus resurgere ejus actus expenditur. Quomodo enim in iudicium vocabitur sine corpore, cum de tuo & corporis contubernio ratio præstanda sit? *S. Ambr. de Fide ref. * 2 Cor. 5. 10.*

Furthermore, Beside the principles of which we consist, and the actions which flow from us, the consideration of the things without us, and the natural course of variations in the creature, will render the Resurrection yet more highly probable. Every space of twenty four hours teacheth thus much, in which there is always a revolution amounting to a Resurrection. The * day dies into a night, and is buried in silence and in darkness; in the next morning it appeareth again and reviveth, opening the grave of darkness, rising from the dead of night; this is a diurnal Resurrection. As the day dies into night, so doth the Summer into Winter: the Sap is said to descend into the root, and there it lies buried in the ground; the Earth is covered with Snow, or crufted with Frost, and becomes a general sepulchre; when the Spring appeareth, all begin to rise, the Planets and Flowers peep out of their graves, revive and grow and flourish; this is the annual Resurrection. The Corn by which we live, and for want of which we perish with famine, is notwithstanding cast upon the earth and buried in the ground, with a design that it may corrupt, and being corrupted may revive and multiply; our bodies are fed with this constant experiment, and we continue this present life by succession of Resurrections. Thus all things are repaired by corrupting, are preserved by perishing, and revive by dying; and can we † think that man, the Lord of all these things, which thus die and revive for him, should be detained in death as never to live again? Is it imaginable that God should thus restore all things to man, and not restore man to himself? If there were no other consideration, but of the principles of humane nature, of the liberty and remunerability of humane actions, and of the natural revolutions and resurrections of other creatures, it were abundantly sufficient to render the Resurrection of our bodies highly probable.

* Καταβόσκον
† ἢ κεραῶν ἢ
ἡμερῶν ἢ νυκτῶν
† τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
πύξης ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς
τρυφῆς ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς
ἀνισοστασίας. *S. Iren.*
Antioch. ad Autol. l. 1. Dies moritur in noctem & tenebris usque quaque sepelitur. Funestatur mundi honor, omnis substantia denigratur. Sordent, silent, stupent cuncta; ubiq; justitium est, quies rerum: ita lux amissa luceatur. Et tamen rursus cum suo cultu, cum dore, cum sole, eadem & integra & tota universio orbis reviviscit, intericiens mortem suam noctem, recidens sepulchrum suum tenebras, hæres sibimet existens, donec & nox reviviscat, cum suo & illa suggestu. Reducuntur enim & stellarum radii, quos matutina successio extinxerat. Reducuntur & siderum absentia, quas temporalis distinctio exemerat. Redornatur & specula Lunæ quæ mensuibus numerus adriverat, *Tertul. de Resur. carn. c. 12.* Lux quotidie interfecta respundet, & tenebræ pari vice decedendo succedunt, sidera defuncta vivefcunt, tempora ubi moritur incipiunt, fructus consummantur & redeunt, *Idem Apol. c. 48.* Δουλει ἢ ἡμερῶν ἢ νυκτῶν ἀνιψίμῳ τὸν βόσκον καὶ μιστῶν ἐπιφωσθῆναι, ἀνατίλλῃ ἢ ἡμέρῃ ἡμῶν διὸ τῆς πύξης ἢ ἀναστάσεως ἡμετέρας τὸ σαμῆρον, *Ephran. in Anchorat.* † Omnia periendo terrantur, omnia de interitu reformantur. Tu homo, tantum nomen, si intelligas te vel de titulo Pythiæ discens, dominus omnium morientium & resurgentium, ad hoc morieris ut peceas? *Tertul. Apolog. c. 48.* Revolvuntur hyemes & viles, & verna aut autumnum cum suis viribus, moribus, fructibus. Quippe etiam terræ de celo disciplina est arbores vestire post ipsolia, flores denuo colorare, herbas rursus imponere, exhibere eadem quæ absumpta sunt semina, nec prius exhibere quam absumpta: Mira ratio de fraudatrice servatrix, ut reddat intercipit, ut custodiat perdit, ut integret viciat, ut etiam ampliet prius decoquit. Siquidem uberiora & cultiora restituit quam exterminavit: revera sanore interitus, & injuria usura & lucro damno: semel dixerim, universa conditio recidiva est. Quodeunque conveneris fuit, quodeunque auferis, nihil non interum est: omnia in statum redeunt cum abscesserint; omnia incipiunt cum desierint: ideo finiuntur ut fiant, nihil deperit nisi in salutem. Totus igitur hic ordo revolubilis rerum testatio est resurrectionis mortuorum. Operibus eam præscripsit Deus antequam literis, viribus prædicavit antequam vocibus. Præmisit tibi Naturam Magistram, submissurus & Prophetiam, quo facilius credas prophetiæ discipulis nature; quo statim ad-

mittas cum audieris, quod ubique jam videris, nec dubites Deum carnis etiam resuscitorem, quem omnium noris restitorem. Et utique omnia homini resurgunt cui procurata sunt: porro non homini nisi & carni, quale est ut ipsa deperent in totum propter quam & cui nihil deperit. *Idem de Resur. carn. cap. 12.*

We must not rest in this School of Nature, nor settle our persuasions upon likelihoods; but as we passed from an apparent possibility, unto a high presumption and probability, so must we pass from thence unto a full assurance of an infallible certainty. And of this indeed we cannot be assured but by the Revelation of the will of God; upon his power we must conclude that we may, from his will that we shall, rise from the dead. Now the power of God is known unto all men, and therefore all men may infer from thence a possibility; but the will of God is not revealed unto all men, and therefore all have not an infallible certainty of the Resurrection. For the grounding of which assurance, I shall shew that God hath revealed the determination of his will to raise the dead, and that he hath not only delivered that intention in his Word, but hath also several ways confirmed the same.

Many of the places produced out of the Old Testament to this purpose will scarce amount to a Revelation of this Truth. The Jews insist upon such * weak inferences out of the Law, as shew that the Resurrection was not clearly delivered by *Moses*; and in the Book of *Job*, where it is most evidently expressed they acknowledge it not, because they will not understand the true notion of a Redeemer properly belonging to *Christ*. The words of *Job* are very express, ^a *I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth, and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God.* Against the evidence of this truth there are two Interpretations; one very new of some late Opinionists, who understand this of a sudden restitution to his former temporal condition; the other more ancient of the *Jews*, who make him speak of the happiness of another life, without any reference to a Resurrection. But that *Job* spake not concerning any sudden restitution, or any alteration of his temporal condition, is apparent out of the remarkable preface ushering in this expression, *O that my words were now written, O that they were printed in a Book! that they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in the rock for ever!* He desires that his words may continue as his expectation, that they may remain in the rock, together with his hope so long as the rock shall endure, even to the day of his Resurrection. The same appeareth from the objection of his friends, who urged against him that he was a sinner, and concluded from thence that he should never rise again; for his sins he pleadeth a Redeemer, and † for his Resurrection he sheweth expectation and assurance through the same Redeemer. It is further confirmed by the expressions themselves, which are no way proper for his temporal restitution: the first words *I also know*, denote a certainty and community, whereas the blessings of this life are under no such certainty, nor did *Job* pretend to it, and the particular condition of *Job* admitted no community, there being none partaker with him of the same calamity; *I know* certainly and infallibly, whatsoever shall become of my body at this time, which I know not, but this I know that I shall rise; this is the hope of all which believe in God, and therefore this || *I also know*. The title which he gives to him on whom he depends, the Redeemer, sheweth that he understands it of

* They produce several places out of *Moses*, which when the Resurrection is believed may in some kind serve to illustrate it, but can in no degree be thought to be of great use as a mystery. As because in the formation of man *Moses* useth the word ^{וְיָצַק} with two jods, and in the formation of beasts ^{וְיָצַק} with but one, therefore the beasts are made but once, but man twice; once in his Generation, and again in his Resurrection. They strangely apprehend a promise of the Resurrection, even in the malediction. Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return; ^{וְאֵפֶר תָּשׁוּב} ^{וְאֵפֶר תָּשׁוּב} it is not thou shalt go to the dust, but thou

shalt return. As if he had said, thou art now dust while thou livest, and after death thou shalt return unto this dust, that is, thou shalt live again, as now thou dost. So from those words, *Exod. 15. 1.* ^{וְיָצַק מִשַׁח וְיָצַק מִשַׁח} they conclude the Resurrection upon this ground, ^{וְיָצַק מִשַׁח וְיָצַק מִשַׁח} it is not said, he sang, but he shall sing, viz. after the Resurrection in the life to come. With these and the like Arguments did the Rabbins satisfy themselves; which was the reason that they gave so small satisfaction to the Sadducees; while they omitted that pregnant place in *Job*. ^a *J b 19. 25, 26.* † This place is urged by *S. Clemens Romanus*, the immediate successor of the Apostles, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, p. 35. where instead of these words of the LXX, ^{ἀναστήσει τὸ σῶμα μου τὸ ἀνατλήσει ταῦτα, he reads, καὶ ἀναστήσει τὸ σῶμα μου ταῦτα τὸ ἀνατλήσει ταῦτα} ^{וְאֵפֶר יִדְעָתִי}

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Christ; the time expressed denotes the futurition at *the latter day*; the description of that Redeemer, *standing on the earth*, representeth the Judge of the quick and the dead; and, seeing God with his eyes, declares his belief in the Incarnation. The Jewish exposition of future happiness to be conferred by God, fails only in this, that they will not see in this place the promised *Messias*; from whence this future happy condition which they allow, would clearly involve a Resurrection. Howsoever they acknowledge the words of *Daniel* to declare as much, *and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting confusion.*

Dan. 12. 2.
The Jews collect from hence the Resurrection, as Rabina in Sanhedrin, and in

the Midrash Tillim, Psal. 93. 3. אר רחמן ישבו עפר הם המתים שב ורבים משנן אדמת עפר יקונו
: *Rabbi Rachmon* said, that the sleepers in the dust are the dead, as it is written, *Dan. 12. 2.* Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake. &c. *And this is only denied by the Gentiles*; for *Porphyrus* referreth it only and wholly to the times of *Antiochus*, whose words are thus left unto us translated by *S. Hierom*, *Tunc hi qui quasi in terra pulvere dormiebant, & aperti erant malorum pondere, & quasi in sepulchris miseriarum reconditi, ad insperatam victoriam de terra pulvere resurrexerunt, & de limbo elevarunt caput, custodes legis resurgentes in vitam aeternam, & pravificatores in opprobrium sempiternum: where it is to be observed that he gives a probable Gloss of the former part of the verse, but none at all of the latter, because it is no way consistent with his exposition of the former: for they which did rise from the burden of the pressires under Antiochus, did neither rise from thence to an eternal life, nor to an everlasting contempt. Thus, I say, only the Gentiles did interpret it, but now the Socinians are joined to them.* So *Volkelius* urges, quod in precedencibus de Antiochi tempore agatur, & resurrectio illa ad tempora quae jam praecesserunt spectet.

If these and other places of the Old Testament shew that God had then revealed his will to raise the dead, we are sure those of the New fully declare the same. *Christ* who called himself *the resurrection and the life*, refuted the Sadduces, and confirmed the doctrine of the Pharisees as to that opinion. He produced a place out of the Law of *Moses*, and made it an Argument to prove as much, *As touching the Resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead but of the living.* With the force of which Argument the multitude was astonished, and the Sadduces silenced. For under the name of God was understood a great benefactor, a God of promise, and to be their God was to bless them and to reward them; as in them to be his servants and his people was to believe in him, and to obey him. Now *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob* had not received the promises which they expected, and therefore God after their death desiring still to be called their God, he thereby acknowledgeth that he had a blessing and a reward for them still, and consequently that he will raise them to another life in which they may receive it. So that the Argument of our Saviour is the same which the Jews have drawn from another place of *Moses*, *I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob by the name of God Almighty, but by my name Jehovah was I not known unto them. Nevertheless I have established my Covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their Pilgrimage wherein they were strangers. It is not said, to give their sons, but, to give them the land of Canaan*; and therefore, because while they lived here they enjoyed it not, they must live again that they may receive the promise.

Exod. 3. 4.
לאת רנן
לאת נאמר
אלהי לוח
מנא
לאת רנן
המתים
מן התורה

It is not said to give you, but to give them, whereby the Resurrection of the dead appeareth out of the Law, *R. Simai*, in *Perek Helek*. *And therefore the Jews hold the Resurrection for one of the foundations of the Law of Moses*, וחתומת המתים קאערה מן קיאער שריעה
Moses Maun. Expl. c. 10. Tract. Sanhedrin.

2 Cor. 11. 6.

And as our blessed Saviour did refute the Sadduces out of the Law of *Moses*, so did *S. Paul* join himself unto the Pharisees in this particular, for being called before the Council, and perceiving that the one part were Sadduces and the other Pharisees, one denying, the other asserting the Resurrection, he cried unto the Council, *Men and Brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee, of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question*; and answering before *Felix*, that

force in it to command belief of a future general Resurrection. For God hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given an assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead. All men then are assured that they shall rise, because Christ is risen. And since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

A. 9. 17. 31.

1 Cor. 15. 21, 22.

This consequence of a future Resurrection of the dead from that of Christ already past, either hath a general or particular consideration. In a general reference it concerneth all; in a more peculiar way it belongeth to the Elect alone. First, It belongeth generally unto all men in respect of that Dominion of which Christ at his Resurrection did obtain the full possession and execution. For to this end Christ both died and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living. Now as God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, so Christ is not the Lord of the dead, as dead, but as by his power he can revive them and rule them when and in what they live. By virtue of this dominion entered upon at his Resurrection he must reign till he hath put all his enemies under his feet, and the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death, and there is no destruction of death but by a general Resurrection. By virtue of this did he declare himself after this manner to S. John, I am he that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore, Amen, and have the keys of hell and of death. Thus are we assured of a general Resurrection, in that Christ is risen to become the Lord of the dead, and to destroy death.

Rom. 14. 9.

1 Cor. 15. 25, 26.

Rev. 1. 18.

Secondly, Christ rising from the dead assureth us of a general Resurrection in respect of the Judgment which is to follow. For as it is appointed for all men once to die, so after death cometh judgment; and as Christ was raised that he might be Judge, so shall the dead be raised that they may be judged. As therefore God gave an assurance to all men that he would judge the World by that man, in that he raised him from the dead, so by the same act did he also give an assurance of the Resurrection of the World to judgment.

Eph. 1. 18.

1 Cor. 15. 23.

Rom. 8. 11.

Now as the general Resurrection is evidenced by the rising of Christ, so in a more special and peculiar manner the Resurrection of the chosen Saints and Servants of God is demonstrated thereby. For he is risen not only as their Lord and Judge, but as their Head, to which they are united as members of his body (for He is the Head of the Body of the Church, who is the beginning of the first-born from the dead;) as the first-fruits, by which all the lump is sanctified and accepted, for now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept. The Saints of God are endued with the Spirit of Christ, and thereby their bodies become the temples of the Holy Ghost; now as the promise of the Spirit was upon the Resurrection of Christ, so the gift and possession of the Spirit is an assurance of the Resurrection of a Christian. For if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in us, he that raised Christ from the dead shall also quicken our mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in us.

Thus God hath determined, and revealed that determination, to raise the dead, and confirmed that revelation by the actual raising of several persons as examples, and of Christ as the highest assurance which could be given unto man, that the doctrine of the Resurrection might be established beyond all possibility of contradiction. Wherefore I conclude that the Resurrection of the body, is in it self considered possible, upon general considerations highly probable, upon Christian principles infallibly certain.

But as it is necessary to a Resurrection that the flesh should rise, neither will the life of the soul alone continuing amount to the reviviscence of the whole man,

man,

man, so it is also necessary that the same flesh should be raised again; for if either the same body should be joynd to another soul, or the same soul united to another body, it would not be the Resurrection of the same man. Now the soul is so eminent a part of man, and by our Saviour's testimony not subject to mortality, that it never entered into the thoughts of any man to conceive that men should rise again with other souls; If the spirits of men departed live, as certainly they do, and when the Resurrection should be performed, the bodies should be informed with other souls; neither they who lived before then should revive, and those who live after the Resurrection should have never been before. Wherefore being at the latter day we expect not a new Creation but a Restitution, not a propagation but a renovation, not a production of new souls, but a reunion of such as before were separated, there is no question but the same souls should live the second life which have lived the first. Nor is this only true of our souls, but must be also made good of our bodies, those houses of clay, those habitations of flesh: as our bodies while we live are really distinguished from all other Creatures, as the body of every particular man is different from the bodies of all other men, as no other substance whatsoever is vitally united to the soul of that man whose body it is while he liveth, so no substance of any other Creature, no body of any other man shall be vitally re-united unto the soul at the Resurrection.

That the same body, not any other, shall be raised to life, which died, that the same flesh which was separated from the soul at the day of death shall be united to the soul at the last day, that the same tabernacle which was dissolved shall be reared up again, that the same temple which was destroyed shall be re-built, is most apparent out of the same Word, most evident upon the same grounds upon which we believe there shall be any Resurrection. † *Though after my skin worms destroy my body, saith Job, yet in my flesh, (in flesh, shewing the reality, in my flesh, shewing the propriety and identity) shall I see God, whom I shall see for my self, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another, or a stranger, eye.* ^a *He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken our mortal bodies; after the Resurrection our glorified bodies shall become spiritual and incorruptible, but in the Resurrection of our mortal bodies, those bodies, by reason of whose mortality, we died, shall be revived.* ^b *For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.* But this corruptible and this mortal is the same body which dieth, because mortal, and is corrupted because corruptible; the soul then, at the Resurrection of that man which is made immortal, must put on that body which putteth on incorruption and immortality.

† Job 19. 26, 27. Quid hac prophetia manifestius? Nullus tam aperte post Christum, quam iste ante Christum de resurrectione loquitur, S. Hier. Ep. 61. ^a Rom. 8. 11. ^b 1 Cor. 15. 55. "ἵνα μὴ ἀλλοίωσας τις ὅτι σὰρξ ἢ αἷμα βλαπτεῖαν θεῷ ἢ κληρονομήσῃ, νομίσῃ τὰ σώματα μὴ ἀνίστασθαι, ἐπιγάρῃ, ὅτι δέ τὸ θνατὸν τῷ

το ἐνδύσασθαι ἀναστάν, καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τῷ ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανάσιον, θνατὸν δὲ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ θνητὸν τὸ σῶμα. ὡς τὸ μὴ σῶμα μένει, αὐτὸ γὰρ ὅτι τὸ ἐνδύσασθαι ἢ δὲ θνητότης καὶ ἢ θνατὸς ἀφανίζεσθαι, ἀθανάσιον καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ἐπίσης αὐτῷ, S. Chrysost. ad loc. Ὁμοίως τὴν ἀλλοίωσαν, τὸ θνητὸν τῷ ἐσειε δεικτικῶς, ἵνα μὴ ἄλλως νομίσῃς σαρκὸς ἀνάσταν, Theodoretus ibid. Oportet enim corruptivum istud induere corruptionem, & mortale istud induere immortalitatem. Quid mortale nisi caro? quid corruptivum nisi sanguis? Ac ne putes aliquid aliud sentire Apostolum providentem tibi, & ut de carne dictum intelligas laborantem, cum dicit istud corruptivum & istud mortale eutem ipsam tenens dicit. Certe istud nisi de subjecto, nisi de component pronuntiasse non potuit: demonstrationis corporalis est verbum, Tertull. de Re v. carn. c. 51. Sed & Apostolus cum dicit, Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, & mortale hoc induere immortalitatem: numquid non corpus suum quodammodo contingens & digito palpatis est vox? Hoc ergo quod nunc corruptibile corpus est, resurrectionis gratia incorruptibile est, & nunc quod mortale est immortalitatis virtutibus induetur, Russ. in symb. Quod dicit Apostolus Corruptibile hoc & mortale; hoc ipsum corpus, id est, carnem, quae tunc videbatur ostendit. Quod autem copulat, Induere incorruptionem & immortalitatem; illud indumentum, id est, vestimentum, non dicit corpus abolere quod erant in gloria, sed quod ante gloriam fuit efficere gloriosum, S. Hier. Epist. 51. ad Pammachium.

The identity of the body raised from death is so necessary, that the very name of the Resurrection doth include or suppose it; so that when I say there shall be a Resurrection of the dead, I must intend thus much, that the bodies of men which lived and are dead shall revive and rise again. For at the death

the nature of a * just retribution, that he which sinned in one body should be punished in another, he which pleased God in his own flesh should see God with other eyes. As for the wicked, God shall ^a *destroy both their soul and body in hell*: but they which ^b *glorifie God in their body and their spirit, which are God's*, shall be glorified by God in their body and their spirit, for they are both *bought with the same price*, even the blood of *Christ*. The bodies of the Saints are the ^c *members of Christ*, and no members of his shall remain in death: they are the *temples of the Holy Ghost*, and therefore if they be destroyed they shall be raised again. For if the *Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in us*, as he doth, and by so dwelling maketh our bodies temples, ^d *he which raised up Christ from the dead should also quicken our mortal bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in us.*

* Quam absurdum quam vero & iniquum, utrumque autem quam Deo indignum, aliam substantiam operari, aliam mercede dispensari, ut hac quidem caro per martyria lanietur, alia vero coronetur: item e contrario hac quidem caro

in spurcitiis volutetur, alia vero damnetur? Nonne præstat omnem semel fidem à spe Resurrectionis abducere, quam de gravitate atque justitia Dei ludere, Marcionem pro Valentino resuscitari? *Tertull. de Resur. Carnis, c. 56.* And speaking to the soul of man, Affirmamus te manere post vitæ disjunctionem, & expectare diem judicii, proque meritis aut cruciati destinari aut refrigerio, utroque sempiterno. Quibus sustinendis necessario tibi substantiam pristinam ejusdemque hominis materiam & memoriam reversuram, quod & nihil mali & boni sentire possis sine carnis passionis facultate, & nulla ratio sit judicii sine ipsius exhibitione, qui meruit judicii passionem, *Id de Testim. Animæ cap. 4.* ^a *Mat. 10. 28.* ^b *1 Cor. 6. 20.* ^c *1 Cor. 6. 15, 19.* ^d *Rom. 8. 11.*

Further, The identity of the dying and rising body will appear by those bodies which shall never rise because they shall never die. This may be considered not only in the ∴ Translations of *Enoch* and *Elias*, but also in those whom *Christ* shall find alive at his coming, whom he shall not kill but change; ^a *the dead in Christ shall rise first, then they which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall ever be with the Lord.* If those which are alive shall be caught up as they are alive with the same bodies, only changed into glorified and spiritual bodies, that is, with the same bodies spiritualized and glorified; certainly those which were dead shall rise out of their Graves to life in the same bodies in which they lived, that they may both appear alike before the *Judge of the quick and the dead*. Otherwise the Saints which shall be with God and with the Lamb for evermore would be checker'd with a strange disparity, one part of them appearing and continuing with the same bodies in which they lived, another part with others.

* Enoch translatus est in carne, Elias carneus raptus est in cælum, necdum mortui, & paradisi jam coloni habent quoque membra quibus rapiti sunt acque translati, s. *Hier. Epist. 61.* ^a *1 Theff. 4. 16;* ^b *17.*

Lastly, Those examples which God hath been pleased to give us to confirm our Faith in the Resurrection, do at the same time persuade us that the same body which died shall rise again. For whether we look upon the three Examples of the Old Testament, or those of the † New, they all rose in the same body before it was dissolved: if we look upon those which rose upon our Saviour's death; it is written that ^a *the graves were opened, and many bodies of Saints which slept arose, and came out of their graves*, certainly the same bodies which were laid in. If then they were to us * examples of the Resurrection to come, as certainly they were, then must they resemble in their substance after they lived again the substance in which all the rest shall rise. And being *Christ* himself did raise his own body, according to his prediction, ^b *Destroy the Temple, and in three days I will raise it up*, and declared it to be his own body, saying, ^c *Behold my hands and my feet that it is I my self*, being ^d *he shall change our vile bodies that they may be fashioned like unto his glorious body*; it followeth that we shall rise in the same bodies as our Saviour did, that every particular person at the Resurrection may speak the words which *Christ* then spake, *Behold it is I my self.*

† *Iren. l. 5, c. 13.*

^a *Mat. 27. 52,* ^b *53.*

* Post dicta Domini facta etiam ejus quid sapere credamus de capulis, de sepulchris mortuos resuscitantis? cui rei istud? si ad simplicem ostentationem poteratis, aut ad præsentem gratiam reclama-

tionis, non adeo magnum illi denuo mortuos suscitare. Enimvero si ad fidem potius sequestrandum tunc resur-

rectionis, ergo & illa corporalis præscribitur de documenti sui forma, *Tertull. de Resur. carn. c. 38.* At ego Deum malo decipere

cipere non posse, de fallacia solummodo infirmum; ne aliter documenta præmississe quam rem disposuisse videatur, imo ne si exemplum resurrectionis sine carne non voluit inducere, multo magis plenitudinem exempli in eadem substantia exhibere non possit. Nullum vero exemplum majus est eo cuius exemplum est. Majus est autem si anima cum corpore resuscitantur in documentum sine corpore resurgendi, ut tota hominis salus dimidia patrocinaretur; quando exemplorum conditio istud potius expectet quod minus haberetur, anime dico solius resurrectionem, velut gustum carnis resurrectionis suo in tempore, *Ibid.* ^o *John* 2. 12. ^o *Luke* 24. 39. ^o *Phil* 3. 21. ∴ Expectamus in hujus morte & sanguine emundatos remissionem peccatorum consecuturos; resuscitandos nos ab eo in his corporibus, & in eadem carne qua nunc sumus, sicut & ipse in eadem carne qua natus & passus & mortuus est resurrexit. *So we read in the Creed which by some is attributed to Athanasius, by others to Gregory Nazianzen.* Si ad exemplum Christi resurgamus qui resurrexit in carne, jam non ad exemplum Christi resurgemus si non in carne & ipsi resurgemus.

We can therefore no otherwise expound this Article, teaching the *Resurrection of the body*, than by asserting that the bodies which have lived and died shall live again after death, and that the same flesh which is corrupted shall be restored; whatsoever ∴ alteration shall be made shall not be of their nature, but of their condition; not of their substance but of their qualities. Which explication is most agreeable to the Language of the Scriptures, to the Principles of Religion, to the constant Profession of the Church, against the *Origenists* of old, and the *Soci-nians* of late.

∴ Hæc est vera resurrectionis confessio quæ sic gloriantur carni tribuit ut non auferat veritatem, *S. Thom.*

Epist. 61. Cum ergo ita evidens, & ut ita dicam palpabile, & manu atrectandum nobis Christus dederit suæ Resurrectionis exemplum, ita aliquis infans, ut aliter se resurrectionem putet, quam resurrexit ille qui primus Resurrectionis aditum peterecitur? *Ruff. Inveſtita.* Nostri autem illud quoque recogitent, corpora eadem recepturas in Resurrectione animas in quibus decesserunt, *Tertull. de Animâ, cap. 56.*

Having hitherto proved the certainty of this Article, that there shall be a *Resurrection*, and declared the Verity and Propriety of it, that it shall be a *Resurrection* of the same *body* which was dead; we may now proceed farther to enquire into the Latitude of the same, to whom the Resurrection doth belong. And here we find a great difference between the Revelation of his truth under the Law, and under the Gospel; *Christ* proved out of the Law that there should be a Resurrection, but by such an argument as reacheth no farther than unto the People of God, because it is grounded upon those words, *I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.* *Job* speaketh most expressly of the Resurrection, but mentioneth no other than his Redeemer and himself. The place of *Daniel*, which was always accounted the most evident and uncontradicted testimony, though it deliver two different sorts of persons rising, yet it seems to be with some limitation, *Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake.* From whence the Jews most generally have believed that some men shall live again, and some should not; because it is written, *Many shall awake, but it is not written, All shall awake.* Nay, some of them have gone so far by way of restriction, that they have maintained a Resurrection of the Just alone, according to that ancient saying accepted amongst them, that the ∴ *Sending the Rain is of the Just and Unjust, but the Resurrection of the dead is of the Just alone.* Against which two Restrictions by the light delivered in the Gospel we shall deliver the latitude of this Article in these two Propositions. First, the Resurrection of the dead belongeth not to the Just alone, but to the Unjust also. Secondly, The Resurrection of the dead belongeth not only to some of the Just, but to all the Just; not to some of the Unjust only, but to all the Unjust, even unto all the dead.

∴ This is recorded in the Bereſhit Rabba. *Vide Maimonides* *Expl. 10. c. 1.* *Treat. Sancti.*

For the First, It is most evident, not only out of the New, but also out of the Old Testament, The words of *Daniel* prove it sufficiently; for of those *many* which *shall awake, some shall rise to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* But it is most certain that the Just shall never rise to *shame and everlasting contempt*; therefore it is most evident

dent that some shall awake and rise beside the Just. The Jews themselves did understand and believe thus much, as appeareth by S. Paul's Apology to Felix, *But this I confess unto thee, that I have hope towards God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a Resurrection of the dead both of the just and unjust.* The just shall rise to receive their reward, the unjust to receive their punishment; the first unto a Resurrection called, in reference unto them, *the resurrection of life*; the second unto a Resurrection, named in relation unto them, *the resurrection of damnation.* For as there is † a Resurrection of the Just, so there must also be a Resurrection of the Unjust: that as Christ said unto the charitable person, *Thou shalt be blessed, for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the Just*; so it may be said to the wicked and uncharitable, *Thou shalt be accursed, for thou shalt be recompensed at the Resurrection of the Unjust.* For there shall be a Resurrection that there may be a Judgment, and at the Judgment there shall appear Sheep on the right hand of the Son of Man, and Goats on the left, therefore they both shall rise; those, that they may receive that blessing, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world*: these, that they may receive that sentence, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* At that Resurrection then which we believe, there shall rise both Just and Unjust.

Acts 24. 15.

John 5. 29.
Ἀνάστασις ζω-
νῆς, and Ἀνάστα-
σις κείσεως.
The first is cal-
led ἀνάστασις
ζωῆς, and
therefore the se-
cond may as
well be called
ἀνάστασις ἀδ-
κῶν.

† Luke 14. 14.

‡ Matt. 25. 34.
41.

Secondly, As no kind of men, so no person shall be excluded: who- ever dieth is numbred with the Just or Unjust. Adam the first of men shall rise, and all which come from him. *For as in Adam all died, so in Christ shall all be made alive.* Christ is the Lord of the dead, and so hath a right by that Dominion to raise them all to Life: it is called *the Resurrection of the dead* indefinitely, and comprehendeth them universally. *By man came death, by man came the Resurrection of the dead,* and so the Resurrection adequately answereth unto Death. *Christ shall destroy death,* but if any one should be left still dead, Death were not destroyed. The Words of our Saviour are exprefs and full, *The hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good, unto the Resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, unto the Resurrection of damnation.* In the description of the Judgment which followeth upon the Resurrection, *when the Son of man shall sit upon the Throne of his glory,* it is said that, *before him shall be gathered all nations. We shall all stand before the Judgement-seat of Christ,* and if so, the dead, must all rise, for they are all fallen. *We must all appear before the Judgement-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil*; and before we all appear, the dead must rise that they may appear. This is the Latitude of the Resurrection; the Resurrection of the dead is the Resurrection of all the dead, or of † all Mankind.

1 Cor. 15. 22.

21.

John 5. 28.

Math. 25. 32.

Rom. 14. 10.

2 Cor. 5. 10.

† Irenæus in
his Rule of
faith, Ἐπί τῷ
καθολικῷ ἀνά-

ἀναγεταλωσάμενος τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσιν σάρκα πάντος ἀνθρωπότητος. and Theophilus calls it, καθολικῶ ἀνάστασιν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων. Ad. Autol. l. 1.

Now this Resurrection, as an object of our Faith, is yet to come; and we are obliged to believe the futurition of it. There were Hereticks in the Apostles days who acknowledged a Resurrection, but yet destroyed this Article, by denying the relation of it to the time, as *Hymeneus*

2 Tim 2 18. and *Philetus* who erred concerning the truth, saying, That the Resurrection is past already, and so overthrow the faith of some. To believe it already past, is to deny it, because it cannot be believed past, but by such an Interpretation as must destroy it. As they which interpret this Resurrection of the likeness of *Christ's* Resurrection; that as he died and rose again, so we should die unto Sin and live again unto Righteousness, attributing all to the Renovation of the mind, must deny the Resurrection of the body.

Nonnulli attendentes verba que assidue dicit Apostolus, *Quia & mortui sumus cum Christo, & resurreximus cum eo; nec intelligentes quatenus dicatur,* arbitratu sunt jam factam esse resurrectionem, nec ullam ulterius in fine temporum esse sperandam. *Ex quibus est, inquit, Homenaus & Philetus, qui circa veritatem aberraverunt, dicentes resurrectionem jam factam esse. Idem Apostolus eos arguens detestatur, qui tamen dicit nos resurrexisse cum Christo, S. Aug. Epist. 119. ad Januarium. This was the Heresie of the Seleuciani or Herimiani, as the same S. Augustine testifies, Hæres. 59. Resurrectionem non putant futuram, sed quotidie fieri in generatione filiorum. Thus Tertullian relates of some Hereticks in his time, who made the Resurrection wholly Allegorical, and yet pretended to believe a Resurrection in the flesh, but understood it in this life at the Baptismal renovation, and so past when they professed to believe. Exinde ergo Resurrectionem fide consequutos cum Domino esse, cum eum in Baptismate induerint. Hoc denique ingenio etiam in colloquiis sæpe nostros decipere consueverunt, quasi & ipsi resurrectionem carnis admittant. Væ, inquit, qui non in hac carne resurrexit, ne statim illos percutiant, si resurrectionem statim abnuerint: tacite autem secundum conscientiam suam hoc sentiunt. Væ, qui non, dum in hac carne est, cognoverit arcana hæretica, hoc enim apud illos resurrectio, Tertull. de Resurrect. Carnis, cap. 19.*

Now as we know the doctrine of the Resurrection was first delivered to be believed as to come; so we are assured that it is not yet come since the doctrine of it was first delivered, and is to be believed as to come to the end of the World; because, as *Martha* called it, it is the Resurrection at the last day. *Job* who knew that his Redeemer lived, did not expect that he should stand upon the earth till the latter day; *Christ* hath no otherwise declared his Father's will, than that of all which he hath given him, he should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day. The Corn is sown and laid in the ground, and the Harvest is the end of the World. We must not expect to rise from the dead till the last trump. The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of an Archangel and with the trump of God before; all that are in the graves shall hear his voice. God shall judge the World, and therefore shall raise the World: but he will not raise them to that judgment till the end of the World.

John 11. 24.

John 6. 39.

Mat. 13. 39.

1 Cor. 15. 52.

1 Theff. 4. 16.

Acts 17. 31.

John 5. 28.

Thus having demonstrated that the will of God hath been revealed that there should be a Resurrection; that the Resurrection which was revealed is the Resurrection of the body; that the bodies which are to be raised are the same which are already dead or shall hereafter die; that this Resurrection is not past, but that we which live shall hereafter attain unto it; I conceive I have declared all which is necessary by way of explication and confirmation of the Truth of this Article.

The Value of this Truth, the Necessity of this Doctrine will appear; First, In the Illustration of the Glory of God, by the most lively demonstration of his Wisdom, Power, Justice, and Mercy. God first created all things for himself, and the Resurrection is as it were a new Creation. The Wisdom and Power of God are manifested in this acknowledgment, in as much as without infinite Knowledge he could not have an exact and distinct comprehension of all the particles and individual duits of all the bodies of all men; and without an infinite Power he could not conjoin, cement, conglutinate and incorporate them again into the same flesh. The Mercy and Justice of God are declared by the same profession; the Mercy, in promising life after that death which we had so justly deserved; the Justice, in performing that promise unto all true Believers, and in punish-

ing the disobedient with everlasting flames. *When ye see this, saith the Prophet, your hearts shall rejoice, and your bones shall flourish like an herb; and the hand of the Lord shall be known towards his servants, and his indignation towards his enemies.* Jsa. 66. 14.

Secondly, It is necessary to profess the belief of *the Resurrection of the body*, that we may thereby acknowledge the great and powerful Work of our Redemption; confessing that Death could not be conquered but by Death, and that we could never have obtained another Life, had not the Saviour of the World *abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel.* 2 Tim. 1. 10. If Christ were not the Life, the dead could never live: if he were not the Resurrection they could never rise. Were it not for him *that liveth and was dead and is alive for evermore*, had not he *the keys of hell and of death*, we could never break through the bars of Death, or pass the gates of Hell. But he hath undertaken to vanquish our enemies, and our *last enemy to be destroyed is death*: that the Prophecy Hos. 13. 14. may be fulfilled, *Death is swallowed up in victory*, and we may cry out with the Apostle, *Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.* 1 Cor. 15. 54. 57.

Thirdly, The Belief of this Article is necessary to strengthen us against the fear of our own Death, and immoderate sorrow for the Death of others. The sentence of Death passed upon us for our sins, cannot affright and amaze us, except we look upon the suspension, relaxation, or revocation of it in the Resurrection; but when we are assured of a Life after Death, and such a Life as no Death shall follow it, we may lay down our fears arising from corrupted Nature, upon the comforts proceeding from our Faith. The departure of our Friends might overwhelm us with grief, if they were lost for ever; but the Apostle will *not have us ignorant concerning those which are asleep, that we sorrow not even as others which have no hope.* 1 Thess. 4. 13.

Fourthly, The Belief of the Resurrection hath a necessary reflection upon this Life, by way of preparation for the next: as deterring from sin, as encouraging to holiness, as comforting in afflictions. How can any man commit a deliberate sin while he thinks that he must rise and stand before the Judgment-Seat, and give an account, and suffer for ever the punishment due unto it? What pleasure can entice him, what inclination can betray him for a momentary satisfaction to incur an eternal rejection? How can we defile that body which shall never be raised to Glory hereafter, except it here become the Temple of the Holy Ghost? Saint Paul who had delivered the Doctrine, hath taught us by his own example what work is expected to be wrought upon our Souls by it. *I have hope, saith he, towards God that there shall be a Resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust. And herein do I exercise my self to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man.* 1 Cor. 15. 52. This is the proper work of a true belief, and a full persuasion of a Resurrection; and he which is really possessed with this hope, cannot chuse but purifie himself; *always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as he knoweth that his labour is not in vain in the Lord.* 1 Cor. 15. 58. This encourageth all drooping spirits, this sustaineth all fainting hearts, this sweeteneth all present miseries, this lighteneth all heavy burdens, this encourageth in all dangers, this supporteth in all calamities.

Having thus discovered the Truth of this Article, we may easily perceive what every man is obliged to believe, and understood to profess,

ARTICLE XI.

when he confesseth a belief of *the Resurrection of the body*; for thereby he is conceived to declare thus much, I am fully perswaded of this as of a most necessary and infallible truth, that as it is appointed for all men once to die, so it is also determined that all men shall rise from death, that the souls separated from our bodies are in the hand of God and live, that the bodies dissolved into dust, or scattered into ashes, shall be recollected in themselves, and re-united to their souls, that the same flesh which lived before shall be revived, that the same numerical bodies which did fall shall rise, that this resurrection shall be universal, no man excepted, no flesh left in the grave, that all the Just shall be raised to a resurrection of life, and all the Unjust to a resurrection of damnation, that this shall be performed at the last day when the Trump shall sound; and thus *I believe the Resurrection of the body.*

ARTICLE

flation, **ἡ ἐξανάστασις** of it self, was taken for no more than **ἀνάστασις** by any of the Translators. And S. Chrysostom did so understand it, as appeareth by these words upon the place, **Εἶπας κατανύσσω, οὐσίην, εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν** (which is the reading of the Alexandrian Ms.) **τί λέγετε; καὶ μὴ πάντες αὐτῆς τυγχάνουσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνάστασις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀβυσσοῦ πάντες, εἰ γὰρ εἰς τιμὴν, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐξόδιον κολάσεως. Εἰ τοίνυν πάντες ἢ ἀνάστασις τυγχάνουσι, καὶ ἢ ἀνάστασις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀβυσσοῦ, πῶς ὡς μέλλαν ἐξουρῆτε τινὸς τυγχάνειν ἕλεος, εἴπας κατανύσσω;** By which it appeareth that S. Chrysostom took no notice of the word **ἐξανάστασις**, or of the phrase **ἡ ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν**, but as the interpretation of the Apostles intention addeth, **ποῖαν ὑπερβαῖ ἀνάστασιν οὐσί; τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄγουν ἢ Χριστῶν.** So also Theodoret's paraphrase, **ἵνα μεταχῶ καὶ τῆς ἀνάστασις.** Πιῖ therefore I conceive a Notion peculiar to Theophylact among the Greeks, **Πάντες ἀνίστανται, ἢ μὲντοι πάντες ἐξανίστανται.**

attain unto, who believed the Resurrection of the Just and Unjust, and therefore if he had spoken of the Resurrection in general, as it belongeth unto all, he needed not that expression, *If by any means*, not that which went before, *the fellowship of Christ's sufferings*, for without them he should certainly rise from the dead; but he meant that Resurrection which followeth upon the being *made conformable unto his death*, which is a Resurrection in conformity to the Resurrection of Christ. As, I say, the *Resurrection of the dead* is taken in the Scripture for everlasting happiness, and yet the same Language is and may be used for the general Resurrection of all men, even of such as shall be everlastingly unhappy; † for *the life everlasting*, though used for a Reward given only unto the Elect, may yet be taken as comprehending the condition of the Reprobate also, understood barely for the duration of persons living.

† Sed sciendū enim quia omnes boni & mali resurgere habent ad vitam, sed non omnes resurgent ad gloriam. Rom. 2. ad Phil. 1.

All those then who shall rise from the dead shall rise to life, and after the Resurrection live by a true vital union of their souls unto their bodies: and because that union shall never cease, because the parts united shall never be dissolved, because it is *appointed for men once to die*, and after their reviviscency never to die again, it followeth that the life which they shall live, must be an *everlasting life*.

To begin then with the Resurrection to condemnation; the Truth included in this Article in reference unto that, is to this effect, that those who die in their sins, and shall be raised to life, that they may appear before the Judgment-Seat of *Christ*, and shall there receive the sentence of condemnation, shall be continued in that life for ever to undergo the punishment due unto their sins; in which two particulars are contained, the duration of their persons, and of their pains. For two ways this Eternity may be denied; one, by a destruction or annihilation of their persons, with which the torments must likewise cease; the other, by a suspension or relaxation of the punishment, and a preservation of the persons, never to suffer the same pains again. Both of which are repugnant to the clear revelations of the Justice of God against the disobedience of man.

Our first Assertion therefore is, that the Wicked after the day of Judgment shall not be consumed or annihilated, but shall remain alive in soul and body to endure the torments to be inflicted upon them by the justice of God, for all the sins committed by them while they were in the body. They who of late oppose the eternal subsistence and misery of the wicked, strangely maintain their Opinion not as a position to be proved by reason, as some of the * Heathens did, but as a truth delivered in the Scriptures; as if the word it self taught nothing but an annihilation of the enemies of God, and no lasting torment; as if all the threats and menaces of the justice and wrath of God were nothing else but what the scoffing Atheist expects, that is, after death never to be again; or if they be, as it were in a moment to lose that being for ever. Because the Scripture

* Μάγεται καὶ ἀθάνατοι οὐσίς αλλήλοισι καὶ βασίλοις, ἢ πῶς τὰ τὸ ἀλλοῦν δ. πτόν ἐστ. S. Emilianus ad. Mat. them. p. 321.

speaks

speaks of them as of such as shall be destroyed, and perish, and die; therefore they will give that comfort to them here, that though their life in which they sin be short, yet the time in which they are to be tormented for their sins shall be shorter far. They tell us where the Scripture mentioneth destruction in Hell, it speaks of perdition, but no torment there. In this sense will they understand those words of Christ, (so full of terror in the true, so full of comfort to the wicked, in their exposition,) * *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.* If this place speak, as those men would have it, of perdition only, not of cruciation, then will it follow that God is not able to cruciate and torment a man in hell; for there can be no other reason why it must be spoken of perdition only excluding cruciation, but because he is able to annihilate, not to cruciate. No, certainly a man may be said to be destroyed, and perish, to be lost and dead, who is rejected, separated and disjoyned from God the better and the nobler life of man; and that person so denominated may still subsist, and be what in his own nature he was before, and live the life which doth consist in the vital union of his soul and body, and so subsisting undergo the wrath of God for ever. Nor shall any Language, Phrases or Expressions give any comfort to the wicked, or strength to this Opinion, if the same Scriptures, which say the wicked shall be destroyed, and perish, and die, say also that they shall be tormented with never dying pains, as they plainly and frequently do.

Depart from me ye cursed, shall the Judge eternal say to all the Reprobate, into everlasting fire; and lest any should imagine that the fire shall be eternal, but the torments not; it followeth, and these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal. Now, if the fire be everlasting by which God punisheth the Reprobates, if the punishment inflicted be also everlasting, then must the Reprobates everlastingly subsist to endure that punishment, otherwise there would be a punishment inflicted and none endured, which is a contradiction. Now the *life eternal* may as well be affirmed to have an end, as *the everlasting punishment*, because they are both delivered in the † same expression.

† Καὶ ἀπελθόντων ἔτοις οἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον, εἰ δὲ δίκαιοι οἰς ζωῆς αἰώνιον. *Matth. 24. 46.* Antiquus ille Perfuasor in membris suis, id est, in mentibus iniquorum futuras pœnas quasi certo sine determinat, ut eorum correptiones extendat, & eo magis hic peccata non finiant, qui istuc affirmant peccatorum supplicia finienda. Sunt enim nunc etiam qui idcirco peccatis suis ponere finem negligunt, quia habere quandoque finem futura super se judicia suspicantur. Quibus breviter respondemus, si quandoque finienda sunt supplicia reprobatorum, quandoque finienda sunt & gaudia beatorum: per semetipsam enim Veritas dicit, *Ibunt hi in supplicium æternum, justii autem in vitam æternam.* Si igitur hoc verum non est quod minatus est, neque est illud verum quod promissit. *S. Gregor. Moral. lib. 34. cap. 11.* Affirmamus te (Anima) manare post vitæ disjunctionem, & expectare diem Judicii, proque meritis, aut cruciatibus destinari, aut refrigerio utroque sempiterno. *Tertull. de Testim. Anima.* Deus itaque judicabit plenius, quia extremius, per sententiam æternam tantum supplicii quam refrigerii. *Tertull. de Anima, cap. 33.* Qui producto avo isto judicaturus sit suos cultores in vitæ æternæ retributionem; profanos in ignem æquè perpetem & jugem, suscitatis omnibus ab initio defunctis ad utriusque meriti disjunctionem. *Apolo. c. 18.*

Indeed the eternity of that fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels is a sufficient demonstration of the eternity of such as suffer in it, and the question only can be what that eternity doth signifie. For, because some things are called in the Scriptures eternal which have but a limited or determined duration, therefore some may imagine the fire of Hell to be in that sense eternal, as lasting to the time appointed by God for the duration of it. But as the fire is termed eternal, so that eternity is described as absolute, excluding all limits, prescinding from all determinations. The end of the burning of fire is by extinguishing, and that which cannot be extinguished

* *Matth. 10. 28.* Locus *Matthæi 10. 28.* perditionem tantum animæ in gehenna, non cruciatum, *Smalcus contra Misericordiam.* Igni æterni illi Christi hostes, qui quidem sunt Diabolus & Angeli ejus (vel saltem quorum nomine isti quoque continentur) cum impiis cruciantur, & ita debentur: *Croll. Com. in 1 Cor. c. 15.* *Mat. 25. 41-46.* *Iren. l. 4. c. 47.* Quibuscunque enim dixerit Dominus, *Discedite à me maledicti in ignem perpetuum, isti erunt semper damnati: & quibuscunque dixerit, Venite benedicti Patris mei, hi semper percipient regnum, & in eo proficiunt semper.*

Mat. 3. 12.
Luke 3. 17.
Mat. 18. 2.

guished can never end ; but such is the fire which shall torment the Reprobate ; for he, whose fan is in his hand, shall burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire ; and hath taught us before, that it is better to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire, to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched ; and hath farther yet explained himself by that unquestionable addition, and undeniable description of the place of torments, *Where the worm dieth not, * and the fire is not quenched.* And that we may be yet farther assured that this fire shall be never extinguished, we read that the ^a *smoak of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever* †, and that those which are ^b *cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever* ; which expression of *day and night* is the same with that which declareth the eternal happiness in the heavens, where ^c *They rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy: where they are before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his Temple.* If then the fire in which the Reprobates are to be tormented, be everlasting, if so absolutely everlasting that it shall never be quenched, if so certainly never to be quenched that the smoke thereof shall ascend for ever and ever, if those which are cast into it shall be tormented for ever and ever (all which the Scriptures expressly teach) then shall the wicked never be so consumed as to be annihilated, but shall subsist for ever, and be coeternal to the tormenting flames. And so this Language of the Scriptures proves not only an effect eternal, as annihilation may be conceived, but an eternal efficient never ceasing to produce the same effect, which cannot be annihilation, but cruciation only. And therefore the fire which consumed *Sodom and Gomorrha*, bears no proportion with the flames of Hell : because all men know that fire is extinguished, nor doth the smoke thereof ascend for ever and ever.

* Tertull. de Penitentiis, c. 12. Quid illum thesaurum ignis aeterni estimamus, quumariola quaedam ejus tales flammaram ietus suscitent, ac proximam urbem aut jam nulla extant aut idem sibi de die sperent? dissiliunt superbissimi montes ignis intrinsecus factu, & quod nobis iudicii perpetuitatem probat, cum dissiliant, cum devorentur, nunquam tamen finiuntur.

^a Rev. 14. 11. † Eis aionon kai aionon auton
ἀνακαίειν λέγει, ἵνα μὴ θωπεύσῃ ἀτελεῖς τὸν ἔθ' ἡ κλάσιον ἢ ἀύστρωλον, ὡς οὐ καὶ τὴν ἡμ' δικαίων τρυφῶν αἰώνιον.
Andreas Caspar ad locum. ^b Rev. 20. 10. ^c Rev. 4. 8. 7. 15.

Neither doth this only prove the eternity of infernal pains, but clearly refute the only material Argument brought against it, which is laid upon this ground, that the Wicked after the Resurrection shall be punished with death, and that a second death ; and so they shall be no more, nor can in any sense be said to live or subsist. For, the enduring of this fire is that very death, and they are therefore said to die the second death because they endure eternal torments. *He that overcometh, shall not be hurt by the second death ;* it seems that they which shall die that death shall be hurt by it ; whereas if it were annihilation, and so a conclusion of their torments, it would be no way hurtful or injurious, but highly beneficial to them. But the living torments are the second death. For *Death and Hell were cast into the lake of fire, that is the second death. Whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire, this is the second death.* The Jews before our Saviour's time believed there was a second death, and though it were not expressed in the Oracles themselves which were committed to them, yet in the received † exposition of them it was often mentioned, and that as the punishment of the wicked in the life to come ; and

Rev. 2. 11.

† The Chaldee Paraphrase maketh often mention of it, as Deut. 22. 6. Let Reuben live and not die, he expoundeth thus, : יחי ראובן בחי עלמא ומותא תבינא לא ימות : So the Targum of Onkelos. The Jerusalem Targ. more expressly, יחי ראובן בעלמא חרין ולא ימות במיחנא תבינא רבה מיתין רשעיא לעלמא חרין : Let Reuben live in this World, and let him not die the second death, which the wicked die in the World to come. So Isa. 22. 14. Surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you till ye die. אמתק חבנא חרין לכין עד דו תמותון מותא : אמתק חבנא חרין and 65. 6. I will not keep silence but will recompense, even recompense into their bosom. אתן לך

leth so it lieth : there is no change to be wrought in man within those flames, no purgation of his sin, no sanctification of his nature, no justification of his person, and therefore no salvation of him. Without the mediation of *Christ* no man shall ever enter into Heaven, and when he hath *delivered up the Kingdom to God even the Father*, then shall the Office of the Mediator cease.

So groundless was the Opinion of *Origen*, who conceived that after some number of years the damned should be released from their torments, and made partakers of the Joys of Heaven, or at least try their fortunes in such Regions of the World, as he conceived should be reserved for their habitation. For he may as well imagine that *Christ* shall be born and die again, (who being risen *dieth not*) as that any person being condemned to the flames for contemning of his death, should ever come to live again, and by believing in the death of *Christ*, to be after saved. For certainly their condition is unalterable, their condemnation is irreversible, their torments inevitable, their miseries eternal. As they shall not be taken from their punishment by annihilation of themselves, which is our first; so the punishment shall not be taken off them by any compassion upon them, which is our second Assertion.

To conclude this branch of the Article, I conceive these certain and infallible Doctrines in Christianity. That the wicked after this life shall be punished for their sins, so that in their punishment there shall be a demonstration of the Justice of God revealed against all unrighteousness of men. That to this end they shall be raised again to life, and shall be judged and condemned by *Christ*, and delivered up under the curse, to be tormented with the Devil and his Angels. That the punishment which shall be inflicted on them shall be proportionate to their sins, as a recompence of their demerits, so that no man shall suffer more than he hath deserved. That they shall be tormented with a pain of loss, the loss from God, from whose presence they are cast out, the pain from themselves, in a despair of enjoying him, and regret for losing him. That they farther shall be tormented with the pain of sense inflicted on them by the wrath of God which abideth upon them, represented unto us by a lake of fire. That their persons shall continue for ever in this remediless condition, under an everlasting pain of loss, because there is no hope of Heaven, under an eternal pain of sense, because there is no means to appease the wrath of God which abideth on them. Thus the *Athanasian Creed*, *They that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.*

The next Relation of this Article to the former is in reference to the Resurrection of the Just; and then the *life everlasting* is not to be taken † in a vulgar and ordinary sense, but raised to the constant language of the Scriptures, in which it signifieth all which God hath promised, which *Christ* hath purchased, and with which man shall be rewarded in the World to come.

† Eam quippe vitam eternam dicimus, ubi est sine fine felicitas. Nam si anima in poenis vivit eternis, quibus

& ipsi spiritus cruciabuntur immundi, mors illa potius aeterna dicenda est, quam vita. Nulla quippe major & pejor est mors quam ubi non moritur mors. *S. Aug. de Civit. Dei*, l. 6. c. 12. Quia *vita aeterna* ab his qui familiaritatem non habent cum Scripturis Sanctis potest accipi etiam malorum vita; vel secundum quosdam etiam Philosophos, propter anime immortalitatem; vel etiam secundum fidem nostram, propter poenas interminabiles impiorum, qui utique in aeternum cruciari non poterunt nisi etiam viseriat in aeternum; profecto finis Civitatis hujus, in quo summum habebit bonum, vel pax in vita aeterna, vel vita aeterna in pace dicendus est, ut facilius ab omnibus possit intelligi. *Idem* l. 19. c. 11.

Now this Life Eternal may be looked upon under three Considerations; as Initial, as Partial, and as Perfectional. I call that Eternal Life *Initial*, which

which is obtained in this life, and is as it were an earnest of that which is to follow; of which our Saviour spake, *He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life.* I call that *Partial*, which belongeth though to the nobler, yet but a part of man, that is the soul of the Just separated from the body. I dispute not whether the Joys be partial as to the soul, I am sure they are but partial as to the man. For that life consisteth in the happiness which is conferred on the soul departed in the fear, and admitted to the presence of God. St. Paul had a desire to depart and to be with Christ; he was willing rather to travel and be absent from the body, and to be present and at home with the Lord: and certainly where St. Paul desired to be when he departed, there he then was, and there now is, and that not alone, but with all them which ever departed in the same Faith with him, and that is, with Christ who sitteth at the right hand of God. This happiness which the Saints enjoy between the hour of their death and the last day, is the *Partial* life eternal. Thirdly, I call that *Perfectional* which shall be conferred upon the Elect immediately after the blessing pronounced by Christ, *Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the World.*

This *Eternal Life* is to be considered in the Possession, and in the Duration; in the first, as it is *Life*, in the second, as it is *Eternal*. Now this Life is not only natural, that is, the union of the soul to the body, which is the Life of the Reprobate; but spiritual, which consisteth in the *union of the soul to God, as our Saviour speaks, || *He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son hath not life.* And it is called after an especial manner *Life*, because of the † happiness which attendeth it: and therefore to understand that Life, is to know so far as it is revealed, in what that happiness doth consist.

deferat Deus. S. August. in Psal. 70. || 1 John 5. 12. † For Life is taken for happiness, and to live for being happy. As among the Greeks and Latines Ζῆν and Vivere were taken for living a cheerful and a merry life, as Vivamus, mea Lesbia, in Catull. 5 and in Martial. Sera nimis vita est crastina, vive hodie, and as it is an old Inscription, AMICI DUM VIVIMUS VIVAMUS, and in the convivial wish, Ζῆσαι, mentioned by Dio in the Life of Commodus: So in the language of the Scriptures and a religious notion, they signifie an happy and a blessed life: as 1 Sam. 10. 24. יְחִי הַמֶּלֶךְ. Let the King live, is translated by the Chaldee Paraphrast, יְצַלַח טַרְחָה לְמֶלֶךְ, Let the King prosper. And when David sent unto Nabal, he said, Thus shall ye say to him that liveth in prosperity, which is in the Origine nothing but יְחִי. So the Psalmist is to be understood, Pl. 69. 32. The humble shall see this and be glad, and your heart shall live that seek God. And S. Paul, 1 Thess. 3. 2. ἵνα ὡς ζῶμεν, ἐδὲν ὑμῶν εὐχόμενοι εἴητε ἐν Κυρίῳ. Thus Life of it self is often taken in the Scriptures for a happy and glorious life, even that which is eternal, as S. Austin observeth upon these words of the 119. Psal. Veniant mihi miserationes tuae & vivam] Tunc enim vere vivam, quando nihil potero timere ne moriar. Ipsa enim & sine ullo additamento dicitur Vita, nec intelligitur nisi aeterna & beata, tanquam sola dicenda sit vita, in cujus comparatione ista quam ducimus, mors potius sit appellanda quam vita; quale illud est in Evangelio, Si vis venire ad vitam, serva mandata. Nunquid addidit aeternam vel beatam? Item de resurrectione carnis cum loqueretur, Qui benefecerunt, inquit, in resurrectionem vitae. Neque hic ait, aeterna vel beata. Sic & hic, Veniant, inquit, mihi miserationes tuae, & vivam: Neque hic ait, in aeternum vivam; vel beate vivam; quasi aliud non sit vivere quam sine ullo fine, & sine ulla miseria vivere: Thus St. Austin. And again Enchir. ad Laurent. c. 92. Non est vera vita, nisi ubi feliciter vivitur, nec vera incorruptio, nisi ubi salus nullo dolore corrumpitur.

To begin with that which is most intelligible; the bodies of the Saints after the Resurrection, shall be transformed into spiritual and incorruptible bodies. The flesh is sown in corruption, raised in incorruption, sown in dishonour, raised in glory, sown in weakness, raised in power, sown a natural body, raised a spiritual body. This perfective alteration shall be made by the Son of God, who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself. Thus when we come into that other World, the World of Spirits, even our bodies shall be spiritual.

As for the better part of man, the Soul, it shall be highly exalted to the utmost perfection in all the parts or faculties thereof. The understanding shall be

1 Cor. 13. 12. raised to the utmost capacity, and that capacity completely filled. Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face; now we know but in part, but then shall we know even as also we are known. And this even now we know, that when God shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is. Our first temptation was, that we should be like unto God in knowledge, and by that we fell; but being raised by Christ we come to be truly like him, by knowing him as we are known, and by seeing him as he is. Our wills shall be perfected with absolute and indefective holiness, with exact conformity to the will of God, and perfect liberty from all servitude of sin. They shall be troubled with no doubtful choice, but with their † radical and fundamental freedom shall fully embrace the greatest good. Our affections shall be all set right by an unalterable regulation, and in that regularity shall receive absolute satisfaction; and all this shall be effected that we may be thereby made capable, and then happy by a full fruition.

† Sicut prima
Immortalitas
fuit quam pec-
cando Adam
perdidit, pos-
se non mori,
novissima erit
non posse mo-

ri; ita primum liberum arbitrium, posse non peccare, novissimum non posse peccare. Sic enim erit inamissibilis voluntas pietatis & aequitatis quomodo est felicitatis. Nam utique peccando nec pietatem nec felicitatem tenuimus, voluntatem vero felicitatis nec perditam felicitate perdidimus. Certe Deus ipse numquid quia peccare non potest ideo liberum arbitrium habere negandus est? Erit ergo illius Civitatis & una in omnibus & incomparabilis in singulis voluntas libera, ab omni malo liberata, & impleta omni bono, fruens indeficienter æternorum jucunditate gaudiorum, oblita culparum, oblita pœnarum, nec tamen ideo suæ liberationis oblita, ut liberatori suo non sit ingrata. S. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 22. c. 30. v. eundem Tractatu de Epicuris & Stoicis, prope finem.

To this internal perfection is added a proportionately happy condition, consisting in an absolute freedom from all pain, misery, labour, and want; an impossibility of sinning and offending God; an hereditary possession of all good, with an unspeakable complacency and joy flowing from it, and all this redounding from the vision and fruition of God: This is the *Life*.

And now the *Duration* of this life is as necessary as the life it self, because to make all already mentioned amount unto a true felicity, there must be added an absolute security of the enjoyment, void of all fear of losing it or being deprived of it. And this is added, to complete our happiness, by the adjunction of Eternity. Now that this life shall be eternal we are assured who have not yet obtained it, and they much more who do enjoy it. He which hath purchased it for us and promised it unto us, often calleth it *eternal life*; it is described as a *continuing city*, as *everlasting habitations*, as an *house eternal in the heavens*; it is expressed by *eternal glory*, *eternal salvation*, by an *eternal inheritance*, *incorruptible*, *undefiled*, and that *fadeth not away*, by the *everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. And lest we should be discouraged by any short or lame interpretation of eternity, it is further explained in such terms as are liable to no mistake. For our Saviour hath said, *If any man keep my saying he shall never see death*. And, *whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall not die*. When God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes, there shall be no more death; and where there is life and no death, there must be everlasting life. Which is expressed by St. Paul by way of opposition, calling it *life and immortality*, and that together with the abolition of death, saying that *our Saviour Jesus Christ hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel*.

The belief of this Article is necessary, (as to the eternity of torment) to deter us from committing sin, and to quicken us to holiness of life and a speedy repentance for sin committed. For, *the wages of sin is death*; nothing can bring us to those everlasting flames but sin, no sin but that which is unrepented of; nothing can save that man from the never-dying worm, who dieth in his sins; and no other reason can bring him thither, but because he sinned

Heb. 12. 14.
Luke 16. 9.
2 Cor. 5. 1.
1 Pet. 5. 10.
Heb. 5. 9.
9. 15.
1 Pet. 1. 4.
2 Pet. 1. 11.
John 8. 51.
11. 26.
Rev. 21. 4.

2 Tim. 1. 10.

sinned and repented not. † They which imagine the pains inflicted for sin to be either small or short, have but a slender motive to innocence or repentance; but such as firmly believe them sharp and endless, have by virtue of that faith within themselves a proper and natural spur and incitement to avoid them: for *who can dwell in everlasting burnings?*

† Tertul. Apol. c. 45. recounting the advantages of the Christians towards innocence and holiness.

life which the Heathens had not. Recogitate etiam pro brevitate supplicii cuiuslibet, non tamen ultra mortem remanenti. Sic & Epicurus omnem cruciatum doloremque deprecatur, modicum quidem contempribilem pronuntiando, magnum vero non d'uturnum. Enimvero nos qui sub Deo omnium speculatore dispungimur quiq; æternam ab eo pœnam providemus, merito soli innocentia occurrimus & pro scientia plenitudine, & pro latebrarum difficultate, & pro magnitudine cruciatûs, non diuturni sed sempiterni, cum timentes quem timere debet & ipse qui timentes iudicat, Deum non Proconsulem timentes.

Secondly, The belief of eternal pains after death is necessary to breed in us a fear and awe of the great God, a jealous God, a consuming fire, a God that will not be mocked; and to teach us to tremble at his word, to consider the infinity of his Justice, and the fierceness of his wrath, to meditate on the power of his menaces, the validity of his threats, to follow that direction, to embrace that reduplicated advice of our Saviour, *I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear; Fear him which, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell; yea I say unto you, Fear him.* And that exclusively of such fear as concerns the greatest pains of this life; which the ∴ Martyrs undervalued out of a belief of eternal torments.

Luke 12. 5.

Thirdly, This belief is necessary to teach us to make a fit estimate of the price of Christ's Blood, to value sufficiently the work of our Redemption, to acknowledge and admire the love of God to us in Christ. For he which believeth not the eternity of torments to come, can never sufficiently value that ransom by which we were redeemed from them, or be proportionately thankful to his Redeemer by whose intervention we have escaped them. Whereas he who is sensible of the loss of Heaven, and the everlasting privation of the presence of God, of the torments of fire, the company of the Devil and his Angels, the vials of the wrath of an angry and never to be appeased God, and hopeth to escape all these by virtue of the death of his Redeemer, cannot but highly value the price of that Blood, and be proportionably thankful for so *plenteous a Redemption.*

∴ St Polycarpus the Martyr answered the Proconsul threatening to consume him with fire. Πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς τὸ πρὸς ἕσθαι κατέβηρον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον σβενύμενον. Ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι τὸ ἔμμελλουσιν κείσεως καὶ αἰῶνίς κολάσεως τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τῆς ἐβρόντου. Epist. Smyrn. Eccles.

Again, as this Article followeth upon the Resurrection of the just, and containeth in it an eternal duration of infinite felicity belonging to them, it is necessary to stir us up to an earnest desire of the Kingdom of Heaven and that righteousness to which such a life is promised, *I will now turn aside and see this great sight,* said Moses, when he saw the burning Bush. *It is good for us to be here,* said S. Peter, when he saw our Saviour transfigured in the Mount; how much more ought we to be inflamed with a desire of the joys of heaven, and that *length of days which only satisfieth by its eternity, to a careful and constant performance of those commands to which such a reward is so graciously promised! For as all our happiness proceedeth from the vision of God, so we are certain that without holiness no man shall see him.

* St S. Austin upon these words, Longitudine dierum replebo eum] in the 91. Psal. Quæ

est longitudo dierum? vita æterna est. Fratres, nolite putare longitudinem dierum dici, sicut sunt hyeme minores, æstate dies majores. Tales dies nobis habere dare? Longitudo illa est quæ non habet finem, æterna vita quæ nobis promittitur in diebus longis. Et vere quia sufficit non sine causa dixit, replebo eum. Non nobis sufficit quicquid longum est in tempore habet finem, & ideo nec longum dicendum est. Et si avari sumus, vitæ æternæ debemus esse avari: talem vitam desiderate quæ non habet finem. Ecce ubi extendatur avaritia vestra. Argentum vis sine fine? Vitam æternam desiderate sine fine. Non vis ut habeat finem possessio tua? Vitam æternam desiderate.

Secondly, This belief is necessary to take off our inclinations and desires from the pleasures and profits of this life; to breed in us a † contempt of the immortal; desiderat, nisi cum vitæ hujus temporalis, corruptibilis, mortalisque pœniteat. S. Aug. Hom. 10.

† Nemo vitam æternam, incorruptibilem

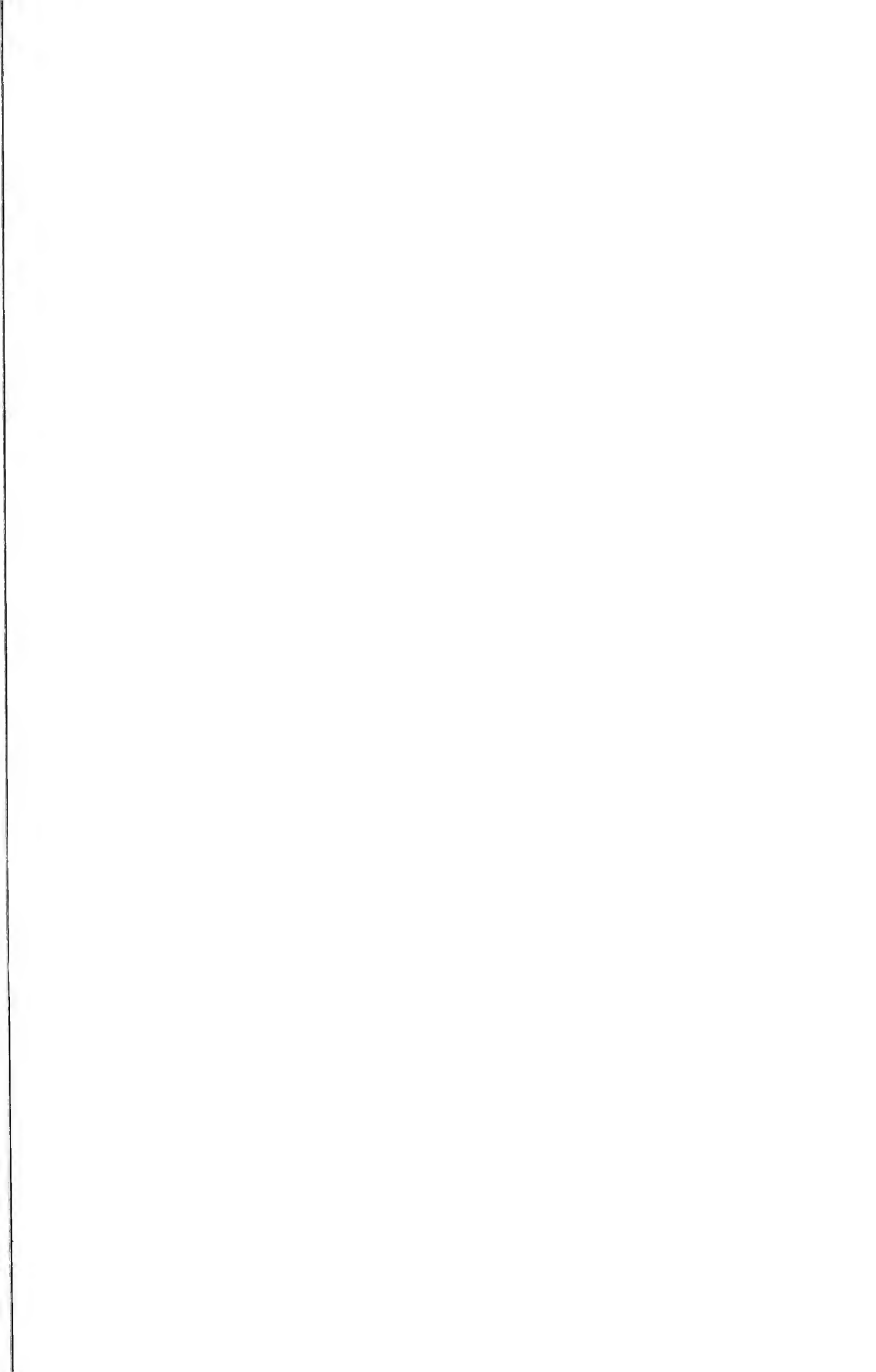
world,

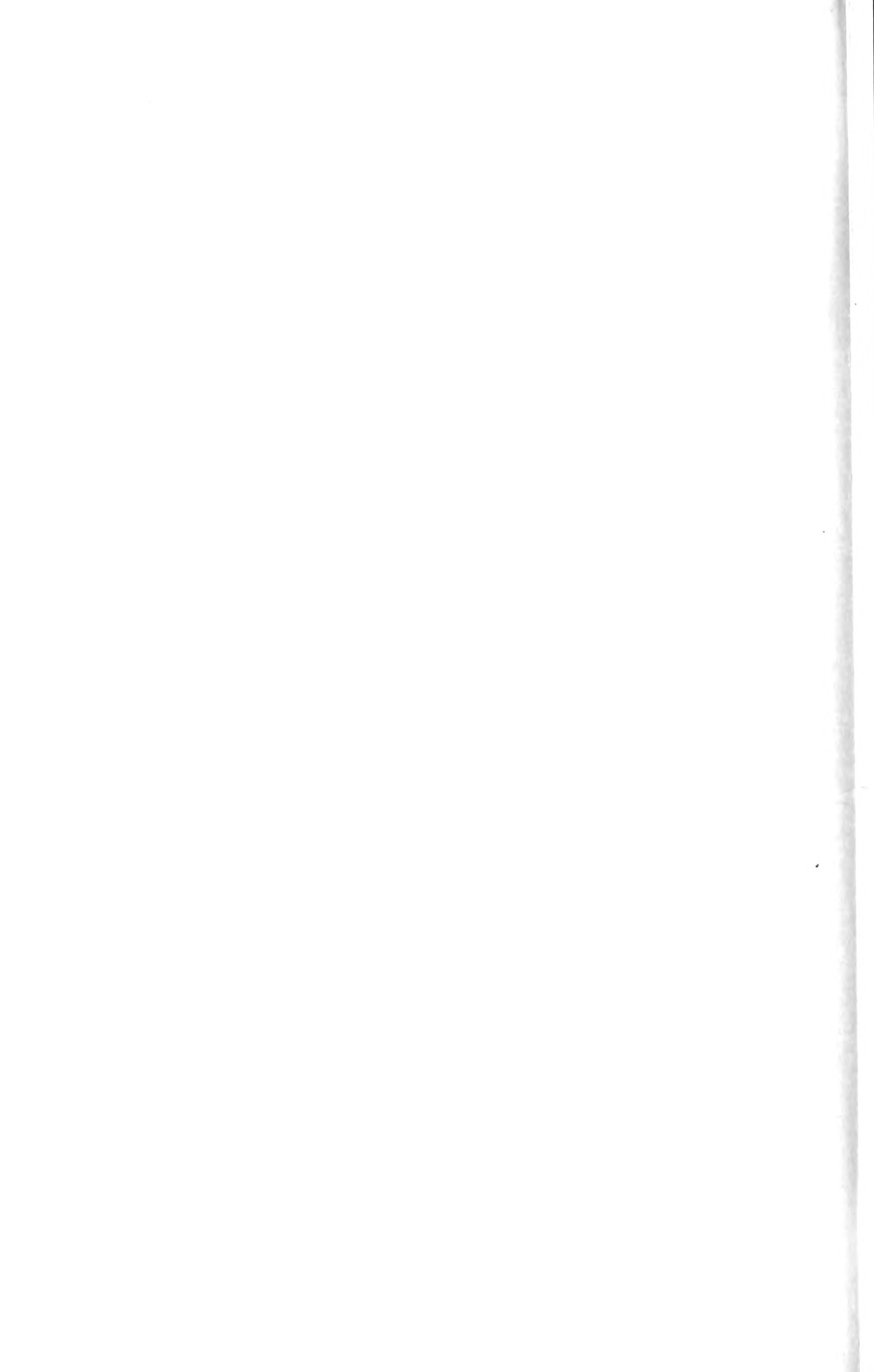
world, and to teach us to despise all things on this side heaven; to *set our affections on things above, not on things on the earth*, considering we are dead, and *our life is hid with Christ in God*. For *where our treasure is, there will our hearts be also*. Therefore we must forget *those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, press toward the mark, for the price of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus*.

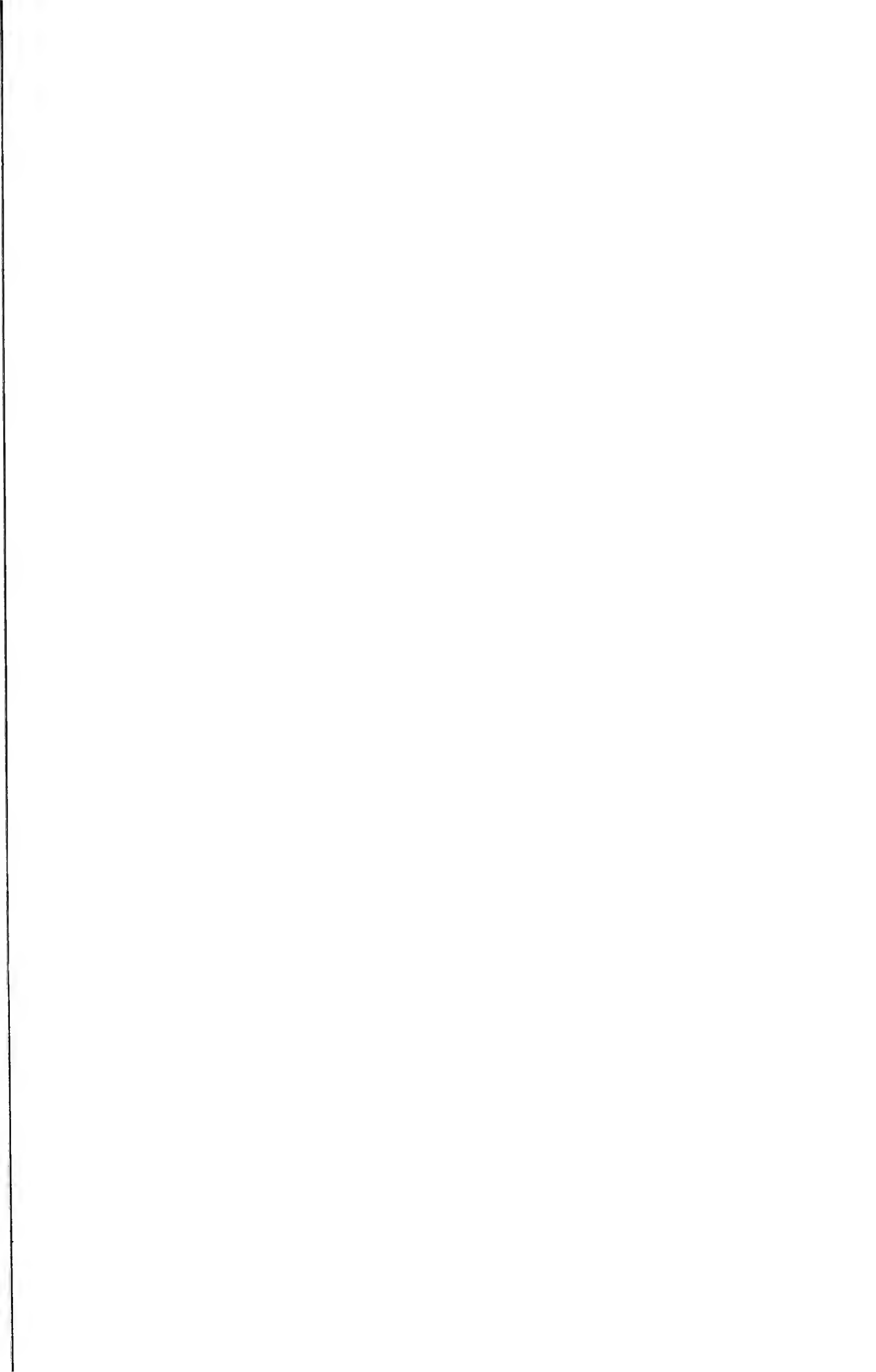
Thirdly, An assent unto this Truth is necessary to encourage us to take up the Cross of Christ, and to support us under it, willingly and cheerfully to undergo the afflictions and tribulations of this life, reckoning with the Apostle, *that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us*; and knowing that *our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory*: and this knowledge is not to be obtained, this comfort is not to be expected, except we look *not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen*; for *the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal*.

And now having thus shewed the propriety, proved the verity, and declared the necessity of this Article, we may fully instruct every Christian how to express his Belief in the last object of his Faith, which he may most fitly thus pronounce: I do fully and freely assent unto this as unto a most necessary and infallible truth, that the unjust after their Resurrection and Condemnation shall be tormented for their sins in Hell, and shall so be continued in torments for ever, so as neither the Justice of God shall ever cease to inflict them, nor the persons of the wicked cease to subsist and suffer them: and that the Just after their Resurrection and Absolution shall as the blessed of the Father obtain the Inheritance, and as the servants of God enter into their Masters joy, freed from all possibility of death, sin and sorrow, filled with all conceivable and inconceivable fulness of happiness, confirmed in an absolute security of an eternal enjoyment, and so they shall continue with God and with the Lamb for evermore. And thus I believe the *Life everlasting*.

F I N I S.







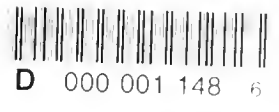
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