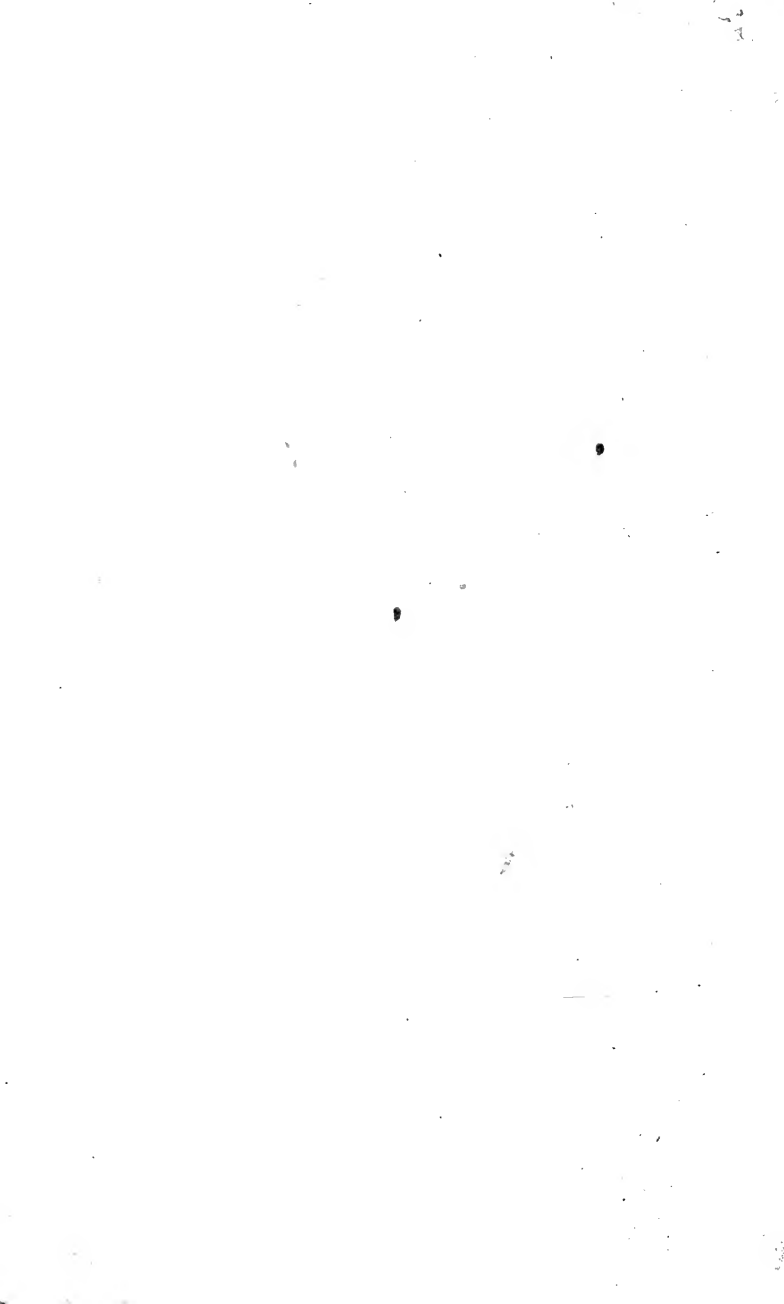


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A N
Historical Account
O F T H E
C O N T R O V E R S I E S

That have been in the
C H U R C H,
Concerning the DOCTRINE of the
Holy *and* Everblest Trinity:

I N
Eight S E R M O N S,

Preached at the
Cathedral-Church of *St. Paul, London,*
In the YEARS 1723, and 1724.
At the L E C T U R E founded by the
Worthy Lady *MOTER,* deceased.

By WILLIAM BERRIMAN, D. D.
Rector of *St. Andrew's Undershaft.*

Ὁ Κύριος ἕως ἐδίδωξεν, ἀπόστολοι ἐκήρυξαν, πατέρες διέτηρησαν, μάρτυρες ἐπέσώωσαν· ἀρκέσθητι λέγειν ὡς ἐδιδάχθητε, καὶ μὴ μοι τὰ σοφὰ ταῦτα
Basil. Hom. 27.

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THE
P R E F A C E.



AFTER the learned and useful labours of those who have gone before me, in asserting the Christian Doctrine of the Holy and Everblessed Trinity; there seem'd to be no part of the Controversy left behind, in which I might more seasonably be employ'd, than the placing it in that light which may be thrown upon it by an historical relation of the several turns which it has taken through the ages that are past. By this means the state of the case will be more clearly understood, some of the objections of the adverse party more easily removed, and the Christian Doctrine, in its original purity, more advantageously supported and maintain'd against them.

As all men are desirous to be thought in the right, it has been earnestly contended by those of Arian sentiments, that the doctrine of the Church in the beginning was on their side, but receiv'd a mighty alteration at the Council of Nice, when a new scheme was establish'd in opposition to theirs,

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theirs, and the partisans of Arius decried as hereticks. They have been learnedly confuted over and over by much abler hands, and the Fathers who lived before the Council have been shewn to have embraced one faith with those who followed it. But their vindication may appear to more advantage, when put in a historical view, which will display the particular ends or designs they had in their respective writings, and suggest the reason of their using such expressions, in order to guard against the heresies of their times, as may possibly appear somewhat harsh and dangerous, when the spirit of error has taken a different turn, and led men to the opposite extreme.

*It is again frequently objected by our adversaries, that this doctrine of the Trinity is clog'd and encumber'd with variety of terms not found in Scripture, which at best are doubtful in their sense, and very improperly obtruded in matters of faith, which ought to be regulated by the standard of revelation. But by this history of the Controversy, it appears that those terms were very early introduced, not first invented by the Council of Nice, but founded upon ancient precedent; so that he who would accuse the Church of usurping a tyrannical dominion in this method of explaining her doctrines, must accuse it in
the*

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the first and purest ages of Christianity, when the same terms were made use of to explain this mystery, which are still continued and retained by us. It will likewise appear upon what occasion such terms were originally introduced: not to alter the doctrine of the Gospel, but to preserve it in its purity; not for the sake of novelty and subtle disquisition, but indeed for a surer fence against novelty, and to expose the perverse interpretations of hereticks, who had urged the phrase, without the meaning, of Scripture, and knew how to conceal the most pernicious tenets under the cloak and garb of scriptural expression.

There is likewise this advantage to be drawn from an historical stating of the Controversy: that the conduct of the different parties may be weigh'd and obser'd; from whence some judgment may be made of the merits of the cause, when it appears who acted most like persons of upright and unbias'd intentions, who were not afraid of coming to the light, but expected an advantage from the brightness of their evidence; and who rather sought their refuge in obscurity, by such insincere shufflings and prevarications, such manifold artifice and subterfuge, such irresolute changing of their forms and endless uncertainty; as is no unreasonable prejudice

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dice against the justice of their scheme, which was rather ruined than defended by such mean and disreputable arts. So that some have thought, there hardly needs any other confutation of the Arians, but to set them forth in their proper colours, and shew how different a figure from the Orthodox they have made in all their controversies.

It will be said perhaps, that the accounts of Maimbourg and Tillemont are sufficient to this purpose, and that it seems a useless labour to undertake the History of Arianism after them. But this objection will appear most considerable to them who are least conversant in such enquiries. Their accounts are both written in another language, which makes them useless to an English reader; and though that defect is in some measure supplied by the translation of a part of Tillemont by Mr. Deacon, under the title of The History of the Arians, yet that reaches but about the compass of sixty years, and is so far from being an entire History of that time, that he is forced to make frequent references to what he has elsewhere said, under the different titles of Alexander, Eusebius, Marcellus, Athanasius, Eustathius, Meletius, &c.

But besides the language, there are other considerations which convince us, that a design of this kind can be no way unseasonable

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sonable or superfluous. Tillemont is an Author, whose judgment, fidelity and diligence deserve our commendation; but then his design was large and extensive, not confined to the single point of Arianism or the doctrine of the Trinity; but intended to take in the whole compass of Ecclesiastical History for six centuries. So that what concerns the subject we have now before us, is scatter'd throughout different parts of a voluminous work, which comes but into few hands, and is not without pains and much consumption of time, to be laid together and connected in a proper order. Besides which it is observable, that however exact as to the transactions of those times, yet he is less particular than might be wished, as to the merits of the cause; so that it is not every reader that would be able to pick out a just state of the Controversy from his relation.

This observation is likewise applicable to the History of Maimbourg, (which is shortly promised to the publick in Mr. Herbert's translation) who in attending to the most remarkable events and occurrences, is many times defective as to the management of the dispute, the true hinge on which it usually turned. Withal it is certain, that however he may have digested his materials into a more uniform History, and collected what relates particularly to

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the case of Arianism, yet he is an Author in whom we want the exactness and the diligence of Tillcmont, and who therefore ought not to be read without some caution, to correct his errors, and supply his defects, which we hope to see in some measure remedied by the notes of his Translator. His History, beginning but from the rise of Arius, is pretty much confined to the proceedings of his followers: whilst the sentiments of the Apollinarian, the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies are overlook'd and neglected; as well as the difference between the Greeks and Latins, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, and some other matters of importance in the middle centuries. But it was thought material, that whatever Controversies had been moved, which did any way affect the Doctrine of the Trinity, as well before the time of Arius, as afterwards, should be put together in a short and easy view, and stated for the benefit of those who have not leisure or capacity for so exact a search into the ancient monuments. Lastly, his account of Socinianism is manifestly very lame and imperfect; nor do I know of any one that had undertaken that part with any just exactness, till last year there came out a History of Socinianism, in French, from whence my eighth Sermon, (which was drawn up before

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before I saw it) has receiv'd many additional improvements.

For my own part, I have endeavour'd to enlarge most upon the different opinions of the hereticks, and the declarations of the Church against them (which are the main hinges whereupon the Controversy always turn'd) and to contract my self, where the state of the Controversy has received no alteration; so that a long recital of facts would but have dwindled into civil History. If I have any where been shorter than was requisite to the clearing of the cause, the confinement I was in before a publick audience may be some sort of apology. And yet if after all I have fewer defects than might well have been expected from a person so unequal to the undertaking; next to the divine assistance, which oftentimes enables the weak things of this world to confound the wise and the mighty, the reader must esteem it to be in great measure owing to the advice and assistance of two of my worthy predecessors in this Lecture, Dr. Waterland and Dr. Knight.

There is one particular in the conduct of St. Basil, which may be thought to deserve a little farther clearing in this place. It is mention'd in the fifth Sermon (pag. 248, 249.) how upon the great growth of heresy under the Emperor Valens, when the
Orthodox

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Orthodox Bishops were almost every where deprived, and St. Basil in a manner stood single to uphold the Catholick Cause, yet even he did so far yield to the iniquity of the times, as to forbear the speaking out in express words, that the Holy Ghost is God. This was objected to him, by some of the more zealous Catholicks, as an argument of meanness of spirit. His principles were well known, not only by many Catholicks, to whom he open'd himself freely, both in his private conferences, and occasional writings; but even by his adversaries themselves, who for that reason perpetually watch'd their opportunity, to catch some direct confession of it out of his own mouth. This induced him to forbear it in his popular discourses, not from the fear of any sufferings to which he might expose himself, but from a just apprehension of the great damage which might accrue to the Church, by having his See vacated in that time of general calamity. At the same time he was far from making any criminal compliances; he advanced nothing inconsistent with the Catholick Faith; nay, he was careful in those very discourses to assert the same doctrine in terms equivalent, tho' he forbore the open use of that expression, which might have given them the readiest handle to proceed against him. For an instance of this, I would here set down

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a part of one of his Homilies upon this subject, as the most substantial apology that can be made for him. It is in his twenty seventh Homily, entitled, Contra Sabellianos, & Arium & Anomæos: where after having asserted the personality of the Son against the Sabellians, and his Divinity against the Anomæans, he thus proceeds:

————— “ But again, I perceive you to
“ be offended at the subject of my dis-
“ course, and seem to my self to hear you
“ (as it were) complaining, that whilst I
“ spend the time in treating of uncontro-
“ verted points, I forbear to touch upon
“ those which are the usual matter of dis-
“ pute. For now every one’s ears are at-
“ tentive to hear something discoursed of
“ the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. This I
“ should desire above all things to deliver
“ to my hearers in the same naked simpli-
“ city in which I have receiv’d it my self,
“ with the same freedom from curiosity in
“ which I have embraced it; that I might
“ not be perpetually answering the same
“ questions, but might give satisfaction to
“ those who learn of me by one open decla-
“ ration. But since you stand about us as
“ judges rather than disciples, desirous to
“ make trial of us, and not seeking to learn
“ your selves, it will be necessary for us as
“ in a court of judicature, to prolong the
“ dispute, always to be thus interrogated,
“ and

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“ and always answering what we have re-
“ ceiv'd. But you we exhort, that you
“ would by no means expect to hear from
“ us what may be agreeable to your selves,
“ but rather what is pleasing to God, and
“ consonant to Scripture, and not repugnant
“ to the Fathers of the Church. What
“ therefore has been said of the Son, that
“ we ought to acknowledge his proper per-
“ sonality, the same we are to say likewise
“ of the Holy Ghost. For the Spirit is not
“ to be supposed the same with the Father,
“ from its being said that God is a Spirit.
“ Nor yet may the person of the Son and
“ Spirit be imagined one and the same,
“ from its being said again, if any one
“ have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none
“ of his: but Christ is in you. From
“ hence indeed some have been led to mis-
“ take, as if the Spirit and Christ were the
“ same. But what say we? namely, that
“ the property of nature is hereby demon-
“ strated, but not any confusion of the per-
“ sons. The Father is he who hath a per-
“ fect essence, and stands in need of nothing,
“ the root and fountain of the Son and
“ Holy Ghost. The Son also is the living
“ Word in the fulness of the Godhead,
“ and the offspring of the Father with-
“ out any defect. In like manner the Spi-
“ rit is full, not part of another, but con-
“ sider'd as perfect and entire in himself.

“ Thus

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“ Thus the Son is inseparably united with
“ the Father, and the Spirit is inseparably
“ united with the Son, there being nothing
“ to divide, nothing which might cut off
“ this eternal conjunction. There has no
“ age or distance of time passed between
“ them, nor can our mind conceive any se-
“ paration, by which the Son should not al-
“ ways coëxist with the Father, or the Holy
“ Ghost with the Son. When therefore we
“ conjoin the Holy Trinity, think not of it
“ as three parts of something which only is
“ not in fact divided (for this were an im-
“ pious imagination) but understand the in-
“ separable coëxistence of three who are per-
“ fect and incorporeal. For where there is
“ the presence of the Holy Ghost, there also
“ is the presence of Christ, and where Christ
“ is, there the Father is evidently also.
“ Know ye not, that your bodies are the
“ temple of the Holy Ghost? and if any one
“ defile the temple of God, him shall God
“ destroy. Being sanctified therefore by the
“ Holy Ghost, we receive Christ dwelling in
“ us in the inner man, and with him the
“ Father, making a common abode with
“ those who are worthy. The same con-
“ junction likewise is denoted by the tradi-
“ tion of baptism, and the confession of
“ faith. For if the Spirit be different in
“ nature, how came he to be number’d toge-
“ ther with them? And if in a course of
“ time

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“ time he was only produced into being, and
“ added to the Father and the Son, how
“ came he to be rank'd with the eternal na-
“ ture? So that they who divide the Spirit
“ from the Father and the Son, and number
“ him among the creatures, must at once
“ imply the form of baptism to be insignifi-
“ cant, and the confession of faith defective.
“ For the Trinity will be no more a Trinity,
“ if the Spirit be taken from it: And yet if
“ any part of the creation be taken in, the
“ whole creation may come in [by the same
“ reason] and be number'd with the Father
“ and the Son. For what [in this case]
“ should hinder us from saying, I believe in
“ the Father, and the Son, and in the whole
“ creation [or in every creature?] Since if
“ it be pious to believe in a part of the cre-
“ ation, much more will it become us to take
“ in the whole creation into our confession.
“ But if you believe in the whole creation,
“ you then believe not only in angels and
“ ministring spirits, but in whatever ad-
“ verse powers there may be, seeing they
“ also are a part of the creation, and you
“ are join'd to these in the confession of
“ faith. Thus does the blasphemy against
“ the Holy Ghost lead into wicked and un-
“ lawful assertions: And as soon as you
“ have spoke what you ought not concerning
“ the Spirit, the dereliction of the Spirit is
“ manifest from thence. For as he that
“ shuts

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“ *shuts his eyes carries darknesſ with him-*
“ *ſelf; ſo he who departs from the Spirit,*
“ *being deſtitute of him that ſhould enlight-*
“ *ten him, is overwhelmed with ſpiritual*
“ *blindneſs. Moreover, let tradition have*
“ *its weight to deter thee from ſeparating*
“ *the Holy Ghoſt from the Father and the*
“ *Son. This is the doctrine which the Lord*
“ *hath taught, and the Apoſtles preached;*
“ *which the Fathers have preſerv'd, and*
“ *the Martyrs have confirm'd: Let it ſuf-*
“ *fice to ſpeak as thou haſt learnt, and let*
“ *me hear no more ſuch ſophiſms as theſe;*
“ *Either he is unbegotten, or begotten: if*
“ *unbegotten he is a father, if begotten he*
“ *is a ſon: but if neither of theſe, he is a*
“ *creature. For my own part, I acknow-*
“ *ledge the Spirit indeed with the Father,*
“ *but not to be the Father: and I have re-*
“ *ceiv'd him in conjunction with the Son,*
“ *yet not under the character or name of the*
“ *Son. But I underſtand his relation to*
“ *the Father, becauſe he proceedeth from*
“ *the Father; and that to the Son, becauſe*
“ *I hear, if any one have not the Spirit*
“ *of Chriſt, he is none of his. Now if he*
“ *were not the proper Spirit of Chriſt, how*
“ *ſhould he appropriate us to him? I hear*
“ *him alſo term'd the Spirit of truth; and*
“ *the Lord is the truth. But when I hear*
“ *him called the Spirit of adoption, this*
“ *calls to mind that unity he has by na-*
“ *ture*

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“ ture with the Father and the Son. For
“ how should that which is alien, adopt?
“ How should that appropriate which it self
“ is different in kind? Thus therefore am I
“ cautious neither to coin new words, nor
“ diminish the majesty of the Spirit. But as
“ for those who dare to call him a creature, I
“ bewail and lament them, that by slight
“ sophisms and specious fallacies, they throw
“ themselves headlong into hell. For be-
“ cause our mind (say they) takes in these
“ three things, and there is nothing in na-
“ ture which falls not within this division,
“ that it is either unbegotten, begotten, or
“ created; since the Spirit is neither the first,
“ nor second of them, τὸ τρίτον ἄρα, it must
“ be the third. This ἄρα (or inference) of
“ yours, will render you obnoxious to an e-
“ ternal ἄρα (or curse.) Hast thou search'd
“ out all things? Hast thou a compass of
“ thought to bring every thing under this
“ division? Hast thou left nothing unexa-
“ mined? Hast thou conceived and shut up
“ all things in thy understanding? Dost
“ thou know what is under the earth, or in
“ the deep? ———

From all this it is evident, that St. Basil was not only entirely catholick in his own sentiments, but was likewise careful to cultivate and improve them in his people.




S E R M O N I.

Preach'd NOVEMBER. 7, 1723.

DEUT. XXXII. 7.

*Remember the days of old, consider
the years of many generations :
Ask thy father, and he will shew
thee ; thy elders, and they will tell
thee.*



IN order to discern or establish SERM. 
the truth of any of those doc-
trines of religion, which are
not discoverable by the light
of nature or principles of hu-
man reason, there is no doubt we must
appeal to the divine revelation as our
guide, that that may be the only standard
of our faith which God has been pleased
to

B

to


SERM. I. to impart to us. But if it be disputed where such revelation may be found, or by what rule it ought to be interpreted; some other help must be called in for the resolution of this question, that the books of Scripture may be certainly known, and their meaning rightly understood.

Where such help may be found, is a matter which deserves our enquiry. Shall we call them to the bar of our own private reason and judgment, esteeming that to be true which suits best with our thoughts and conceptions, and rejecting that as false which to our apprehension may appear absurd or incredible? That would but be forming a religion to ourselves, whilst those books should be genuine which were most pleasing to us, or their meaning should be such as might be most conformable to our prejudices. Shall we say the Scriptures are so clear as to want neither proof nor explanation? This is but begging the question instead of answering it; and I dare venture to appeal to them who are most conversant in the study of those holy Oracles, for proof of this assertion, that there are many passages even of the greatest moment which want to be explain'd, and cannot be rightly understood, by a bare reading or perusal of them. Shall we then expect the favour of immediate inspiration, to lead us into all truth, without the addition

on



on of other outward and convenient assistances? That might do the business indeed: but I know of no promise to warrant us in such presumption; we may as well hope to be instructed without reading the Scriptures at all, as expect the divine illumination to follow upon the bare reading, whilst we neglect those necessary means of understanding them, which the divine Providence has laid before us. Lastly, shall we enquire how the Church in former ages understood and explain'd them, what propositions were anciently collected from them as the genuine doctrine of Christ, and his Apostles, what heresies arose in opposition to such doctrine, and by what arguments the champions for the truth did baffle and defeat them? This seems to be the clearest, or indeed the only way, to put an end to controversies of this kind, and establish our faith on an immovable foundation, since this catholick tradition depends not upon mere oral conveyance, which might be liable to great alterations and corruptions, nor upon the modern testimony of any particular Church, much less upon the pretended infallibility of any single person, but fetches its support from the writings of the most primitive professors of Christianity, from the consent of all the Churches which were planted in their times, and from the constant successi-

SERM. I.  ON OR CONTINUANCE OF SUCH TRADITION THRO' all ages of the Church^a.

This has always been found a more certain method for discovering the truth, than for men to reason entirely out of their own heads, and hope to find out such doctrines as were hidden from the ages that are past. It was so judg'd as long since as the days of *Job*, when *Bildad* made this appeal to the experience and testimony of antient times: *Enquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thy self to the search of their fathers; for we are but of yesterday, and know nothing^b*. So *Moses*, in the text, advised the *Israelites*, as a remedy against their future infidelity, that they would look back, thro' antient history or tradition, to the wonderful things which God had done for them, and his covenant founded thereupon. *Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? Is not he thy father that hath bought thee? hath he not made thee, and established thee? Remember the days of old, consider*

^a Id verius quod prius, id prius quod & ab initio. Tertul. contra Marcionem, lib. 4. cap. 5. Id esse verum quodcunque primum, id esse adulterum quodcunque posterius. Tertul. adv. Praxeam, cap. 2. Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi apostolica auctoritate traditum rectissime creditur. D. August. de Baptism. contra Donatist. lib. 4. cap. 24. ^b Job viii. 8, 9.

the years of many generations : Ask thy father, and he will shew thee ; thy Elders, and they will tell thee^c. And in like manner the Prophet Jeremy^d ; Thus saith the Lord, stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.

And will not the same method of enquiry become us now under the new testament, which was thus recommended and prescribed under the old? The Apostles undoubtedly have left us their directions to the same purpose. From hence St. Paul not only speaks of certain *ordinances* and *traditions*, with regard to matters of practice and outward discipline^e, but likewise of some others of a doctrinal kind^f, of a certain *form of sound words*^g to be retain'd or *holden fast*; which must mean some summary or system of belief, conformable indeed to Scripture, but distinct from it.

Our blessed Lord, 'tis true, upbraids the *Pharisees* with utterly evacuating the word of God by their numerous traditions^h. And it cannot be denied, but there has been too much reason to complain, likewise in the christian Church, of the manifold abuses

^c Deut. xxxii. 6, 7.

^d Jer. vi. 16.


^e 1 Cor. xi. 2.

² Thes. ii. 15.

^f 2 Thes. iii. 6.

^g 2 Tim. i. 13.

^h Mat. xv. 9. Mark vii. 7, 9.

SERM. I.  done under colour of this kind of evidence, to the weakning at least, or rather to the entire defeating and setting aside of many of the genuine and most important doctrines of the Gospel. But in both cases it ought to be observ'd, they are but pretended traditions of a modern date, not only fallible but false, and so far from giving light to Scripture, that they contradict it. And what has this to do with those traditions which are easy to be traced up to the earliest ages, so that they have the justest claim to antiquity; thro' the several Churches where the Gospel has been planted, so that they are truly universal; and this not only as the opinion of a few private persons, but as the sense or doctrine of those Churches, so that they have the fullest and most ample consentⁱ? Such traditions as these, will not obscure or pervert, but clear the sense of Scripture, and whilst they lend a lustre to the sacred writings, will receive from them in return a confirmation of their own authority.

This therefore is the method by which the catholick doctrine has always been defended against the innovations and corrup-

ⁱ In ipsâ item ecclesiâ catholicâ magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. Hoc est etenim verè propriè que catholicum. Vincent. Lirin. Commonit. cap. 3.

tions of Hereticks. The fathers of the Church have constantly appealed to catholick tradition^k: to that doctrine which was at first derived from the Apostles, and from them continued in all Churches for the first three centuries at least: after which, tho' it met with interruption in some places, yet not in all, never entirely suppress'd, but finding some to assert it under all extremities, and thro' a constant succession, capable of being traced backward to the earliest ages.

Surely nothing can be more reasonable than this method of proceeding. For as it cannot be disputed but the Apostles explain'd themselves more fully and at large in their preaching and occasional discourses, but especially in the instructions which they gave to those whom they appointed to govern and inspect the Church: So if their meaning were in any thing obscure, there is no doubt but their disciples would be

SERM. I.



^k Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni ecclesiâ adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre; & habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, & successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt quale ab his deliratur. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem & antecessorem. Tertul. de Præscr. c. 32.


SERM. I.

careful to make such enquiries as might give them occasion to remove that obscurity, and draw them into farther explications. After this, however it might be presumed that the Apostles would make choice of none, but persons of the greatest integrity and best abilities to succeed them in the care of the Church, yet we need ask no more of our adversaries than to grant that they chose men of common sense and common honesty. The first will free the persons chosen from any suspicion of being mistaken themselves in points of great importance; the other will defend them against any charge of intending to deceive their followers. The same is to be said of those who came in the next succession after them¹: nor ought we to forget that the *charismata*, or extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, which were continued in their days, and for a considerable time afterwards, must needs add great weight and confirmation to the testimony of those holy persons. But above all, when the traditions of the several Churches are com-

¹ Constat proinde omnem doctrinam quæ cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis matricibus & originalibus fidei conspiret, veritati deputandam, sine dubio tenentem quod ecclesiæ ab Apostolis, Apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo accepit: omnem vero doctrinam de mendacio prejudicandam, quæ sapiat contra veritatem Ecclesiarum, & Apostolorum, & Christi, & Dei. Tertul. de Præscript. cap. 21.

pared together, and all are found to agree SERM. I.
in one uniform, harmonious and catho-
lick confession, this is the strongest evi-
dence that can be asked of their being
genuine and authentick, and derived, as is
allegd'd, from the authority of the Apostles.
So that when all is done, the fathers of
the Church are appeal'd to in this case no
otherwise than as witnesses of fact, not as
the first preachers or founders of any doc-
trine to be built upon their own authori-
ty, but as attesting it to have been the doc-
trine of the Church in their times, receiv'd
from their fathers as the catholick doctrine,
and so from the Apostles themselves.

Suppose we were enquiring after the genuine sentiments of any philosopher: Next to the consulting of his own writings, which are still extant, should we not imagine it concern'd us to examine how his doctrine was explain'd and understood by the most eminent of his followers, who lived in or nearest to his own times? Or suppose we were for settling the purport and design of any antient statute law: Would it not be thought reasonable, besides weighing the force and propriety of the expressions, in which modern readers might be apt to mistake, to add the circumstances of the times when that law was enacted, the practice that immediately follow'd thereupon, and the determinations of those judges who
remem-

SERM. I. remember'd the occasion of enacting it?  And yet in neither of these cases would there be half the certainty which there is in appealing to antient and catholick tradition for the genuine doctrines of the Christian Church.


True, it may be you will say, in matters of human learning, or of human policy, we may content our selves to rest upon human evidence: But the foundation of our faith must be divine, and the authority of men, tho' the most holy and judicious, is too weak a ground to build upon securely, unless we be able to make out their claim to inspiration. No question but this principle is right; and if any man whatever, nay, *if an Angel from heaven*, should presume to *teach us any other gospel*, than that which the inspired writers have already taught us in the books of Scripture, *let him be anathema*^m. But can this make it impossible for their books to receive light and illustration from human evidence? If so, there should no one be qualify'd to expound them, but he who is himself inspired. And yet, if human evidence be taken in; then whether is it better to receive the testimony of the primitive fathers, men who had the greatest

^m Gal. i. 8, 9.

opportunity to know, the least appearance of worldly interest to serve, and the highest proofs of integrity; or trust to the modern inventions of assuming criticks, who would pretend to explain what they never understood, and pass their judgment on the primitive writings, without knowing the sense or tradition of the primitive Church? This last may be the way to amuse and perplex, but the other to inform and edify!

Well; but this, it may be pleaded, is it self a matter of critical enquiry: and shall no one be supposed to know the grounds of his faith, but he who has leisure and capacity to read the fathers in their own languages, to distinguish their genuine writings from what is spurious, and by summing up the whole evidence together to collect what has been the doctrine of the Church throughout every age of Christianity? Why yes; every man must judge for himself in proportion to those abilities which God has given him. If he have opportunity and learning for that purpose, he will do well to search into the records of antiquity: But otherwise he must content himself with the reports of learned men, of those especially to whose charge he is committed, and of whose integrity he can have no reasonable doubt. I know no other way by which he may be able to

* prove

SERM. I.  prove that the new Testament it self, upon which he founds his belief, is really the word of God. He must trust to the tradition of the Church, and particularly to the fidelity of the first successors of the Apostles, that such books were really written by those holy persons, under whose names they are transmitted to us. And since there were many other histories (as St. *Luke*ⁿ bears witness) of our Saviour's life and actions, he must trust them again in distinguishing between 'em, and judging which were written by inspiration of God, and which were merely human compositions. After this he must trust 'em with the safe custody of these books, and taking care that copies might be faithfully transcribed from them. Then he must trust the copyists of succeeding ages with transcribing from such as were before 'em: and when the art of printing was found out, he must trust the several editors with collating the copies which occur'd to them, and noting their respective variations. So far the learned and unlearned must trust to them alike: but the latter besides all this must rely upon the credit of translators, for faithfully conveying to them the sense of the original. So that to shut out human evidence from the proofs

ⁿ Luke i. 1.

of our faith, so far as 'tis capable of being proved by facts, is really to sap the foundation upon which it stands, and set men loose to eternal scepticism and uncertainty. It is in effect to say, we should believe no farther than our senses reach; and then there is an end of all the credibility of history for the ages that are past, or even for the present, excepting in those few occurrences of which we may happen to be witnesses ourselves.

But what, it may be farther argued, if the fathers should be found to lay down various and inconsistent rules of faith, if the same writer should happen to differ from himself, or several to contradict each other? Are we bound to receive both, however opposite in principle? or ought we not rather to lay both aside, and betake us to some other method for discovering the truth? This, I may venture to say, will hardly be the case among the primitive writers in matters of great weight and importance. But if at any time it should appear to be so, the men of learning and candour will know how to weigh their authority in such manner, as not to prejudice the cause of pure Christianity. They will remember that the fathers, however zealous or good, are yet never appeal'd to as infallible directors, but only as reasonable guides. From hence they will

SERM. I. will be taught to distinguish when those venerable writers do but indulge their fancy in explaining some private opinion of their own, and when they discharge their undeniable duty in delivering the publick and avow'd sence of the Church. In the former case we may allow them to use greater latitude, but in the other they must strictly be regarded as witnesses of fact. Again, it ought to be consider'd what particular point they had in view in their respective writings, whether they might not in guarding against one heresy, become less cautious and observant of another, and so give men an unwary handle to charge them with opinions which they never thought of. Besides which, the whole of their writings ought to be compared together, that what is harsh or obscure in one place may be clear'd by another; and the opinion of the antients concerning them, should be taken into the account, in order to discern what is genuine in their works, from that which is spurious or foisted in by hereticks. Lastly, we ought not to rest upon the judgment of any single writer, but to take in the concurrent suffrage of antiquity: and by a diligent observance of all these directions, it will not be difficult to trace the catholick doctrine throughout every age in matters of the chief moment and importance.

But

But is it after all so sure a thing, that succession and tradition may be fairly pleaded in behalf of the christian doctrine? May it not be urged against us, that Christianity has had its turns and alterations as well as other sects of religion? Is there not a wide disparity observable between the writings of the earliest and the later fathers? Have not the former deliver'd the prime articles of faith in such manner as they who are now called hereticks would not scruple to confess, whilst the other have introduced such a multitude of new phrases as may create a suspicion of some new doctrine, not gather'd from the books of holy Scripture, but learnt from the decrees of Councils, *i. e.* from human decisions? Accordingly, is it not certain that both antient and modern hereticks have laid claim to antiquity as well as the orthodox; and however they might not think fit to lay too much stress on the authority of fathers, yet they have thought they had sufficient grounds to reckon them on their side? Nay, have not some of the modern assertors of orthodoxy given up the cause, and granted to the heterodox side some of the greatest names in antiquity?

In answer to all this, I may venture to assert, because it is no more than much abler hands have already made good, that the faith of the catholick Church has always

SERM. I. ways been the same as to the main heads and substance of its doctrine; and whatever appeals the hereticks may have made to antiquity, they have always been defeated upon that head, whilst the catholick tradition has been easily defended and maintain'd against them. If after this there should appear to be some little variety in the manner of expressing it, that is no more than what usually falls out in every other discipline and science, the true force and import of words being liable to vary, in proportion to the different usages of persons and places, and the circumstances of the times. So long as the multitude of believers were of one heart and of one soul, there was the less need of caution in their manner of expression, because they knew their meaning to be fully understood; and were under no apprehension that their words might be perverted to a contrary signification. But when the subtilty of hereticks took advantage of this primitive simplicity of expression, and explain'd the catholick words to an heretical sense, it became necessary to use such terms as might guard against their wicked artifices, and leave them as little subterfuge as words could do. It is the sense of the article, and not the words, which is the object of our faith: and therefore it can avail our hereticks but little, to plead that they will stand to the primitive expres-

expressions, so long as it is clearly demonstrable that they have departed from the primitive sense^o, and denied that *faith which was once deliver'd unto the saints*^p.

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Here indeed the corrupters of the ancient doctrine take pleasure to display their rhetorick; they declaim loudly and long of the unreasonableness of forming articles in other words than those in which the Holy Ghost has thought fit to lay them down in Scripture; they think this is to aim at being wise above the Holy Ghost, who best knew in what terms to propose the doctrines of our holy religion, and could more easily provide against the subtilties of any future heresy, than the most exquisite art or sagacity of man can do against the present.

Far, far be it from us to dispute either the wisdom or the power of our God, his prescience to foresee, or to have condemn'd in most express terms all the various heresies of future times. But where is the force or conclusion of this argument, that he must certainly have done thus, because it was not impossible for him to have done it? It is surely sufficient that he has made a revelation of himself so clear and perfect, that men of modest and humble dispositions, who use all those helps which his Providence allows them for understanding

^o Tantum veritati obstreperit adulter sensus, quantum & corruptor stilus. Tertul. de Præscript. cap. 17. ^p Jude, ver. 3.
C it,

SERM. I. it, may be able to discern the nature of those truths which they ought to believe, as well as of those duties which they are bound to observe. And can this be reckon'd to exclude or restrain the pastors of the Church from guarding those truths, as new occasions offer, against those fallacious and evasive constructions, whereby some would wrest the very phrases of the Gospel, to evacuate its principal design? imitating herein the father of all lies and heresy, who used the same stratagems of scripture-phrase to seduce, had that been possible, the Lord of Glory⁹. We own the Scriptures to be so far clear as that they may be understood, yet not so as that they cannot be mistaken: God having thus seen fit, as well to try our humility, and to exercise our faith, as to require our diligence in studying the sacred Oracles, and using all the proper methods in our power for fixing their true sense and design. The use therefore of such phrases as may most effectually conduce to that end, is not departing from the Scripture, but adhering to it; and let men exclaim as they please

⁹ Καὶ ἢ τὰς δὲ τῶν γραφῶν λέξεις γράφωσι, μὴ ἀνέχεσθε τῶν γραφῶν· καὶ τα ρήματα τῆς ὀρθοδόξιας φθίνωσιν, μὴ δὲ ἕτως τοῖς λαλοῦσι προσέχει. εἰ ἢ ὀρθὴ διανοία λαλοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνδυμα προβάτε ρήματα περιβαλλόμενοι, ἔνδοθεν τὰ τῆ Ἀρεῖα φρονῶσιν, ὡς ὁ τῶν αἰρέσεων καθηγεμῶν διάβολος, καὶ ἢ κακῶν ἐλάλει μὲν τὰ ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν, ἐφίμωθη δὲ ὡς τῆ σαλῆρος. Athanas. Epist. Encycl. ad Episc. Æg. & Lyb. § 8. Tom. 1. p. 278. Edit. Bened.



against human creeds and impositions, there will be always ground to suspect, that it is not so much the form of words, as the doctrine contain'd in 'em, which gives them such distaste, since he who is satisfied about the sense, can have little reason to quarrel with the phrase.

Well ; but these terms, it is alledg'd, have drawn men off from the simplicity of the christian doctrine, into fruitless and unedifying speculations ; they have substituted *metaphysical* subtilties in the room of articles of faith, and obtruded for catholick doctrines the decisions of men. As if the blame of subtilty and vain speculation were chargeable only on the orthodox side, and were not rather due to the innovations of hereticks, who not content with that simplicity in which the christian doctrine was originally propos'd, were for inventing such new and evasive expositions, as retain'd the words, without the meaning, of Christianity. When they began to philosophize upon the great mysteries of our religion, and to insist that they must either be explain'd in their way, or expos'd as full of absurdity and contradiction ; it was then necessary for the catholick Christians to explain themselves, and shew how their tenets were defensible against those subtle reasoners. When these points came afterwards to be discuss'd in the *schools*, 'tis

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possible they might be spun into some niceties, too fine for common understandings, and too far remote from the substance of religion to be necessary for them. But this was not the condition of the Church in the earliest ages of the Gospel; they had then neither leisure nor luxury enough to indulge themselves in wanton curiosities; and if any thing of this kind should appear in the works of some particular Author, it will be easy to separate it from the known and allow'd doctrine of the Church. So that of these we may be safely ignorant, without giving up those significant explanations by which the primitive Church found it necessary to guard against the innovation and calumny of all gainfayers. 'Tis for that very reason that the enemies of truth have all along complain'd with so much warmth and vehemence against these explanations. But let the blame be laid where it really is due, and let them be answerable for the introduction of other terms, who had first invented to themselves another sense, and taught how to disguise the grossest Paganism under the veil of Christianity.

As well the occasion of my standing here at present, as the plain tendency of this discourse it self, may suggest it to be calculated for the defence of the orthodox doctrine of the *Trinity in Unity*, against the clamorous objections of *Arians* and other

other hereticks, by an historical deduction of this controversy from the Gospel-times, to shew the constant assertion of that doctrine in the Church, the opposition which was made to it from time to time by infidels and hereticks, the different lights in which that may have placed the controversy, and the manner whereby the fathers of the Church have found it proper to guard against such opposition.

Those without all doubt were judg'd the most important doctrines of the Gospel, in which the *Catechumens* were required to be instructed, before they were receiv'd into the Church by baptism: since that confession could not but be esteem'd essential to Christianity, without which no one was permitted to be made a Christian. It has been conjectured by some learned men^r, that the original creed proposed to *Catechumens*, was no other than this short confession taken from the form of baptism, *I believe in the Father, or in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*; which in the second century came to be enlarg'd in opposition to the various sects and branches of the *Gnostick* heresy, which had either disown'd or perverted every

^r Vid. Episcop. Inst. Theol. l. 4. § 2. c. 34. D. Bull. Jud. Eccl. Cath. c. 4. § 3. D. Wall. Hist. of Infant Bapt. part 2. ch. 9. § 10.

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doctrines of Christianity. But as this must be acknowledg'd to be nothing more than matter of conjecture, so perhaps it may appear to have less foundation^f than has been commonly imagin'd, when we have made a little reflection upon the state of the Church at the beginning of Christianity.

It is certain, that the first converts were made either from *Judaism* or *Paganism*; among the latter of whom there were many who had believ'd the eternity of the world, and to both the doctrine of a crucified Saviour had been matter of offence^t. And therefore it cannot but be thought exceeding rational and pertinent, that being thus reclaim'd from the foremention'd infidelity, they should make a more explicit profession of their belief in God as the Creator, and in Christ as humbling himself to take our nature upon him, and redeem us by his death and passion, in order to give the fuller proof of the reality of their conversion. Accordingly it is observable, that the Apostles enlarged much upon these articles^u in the discourses made by 'em to their converts before baptism; as

^f Vid. Grabii Annot. ad Bull. Jud. Eccl. Cath. cap. 6. and Mr. Reeve's Notes upon *Justin Martyr's* Apology, pag. 108, 109. See also the critical History of the Apostles Creed, ch. 1. p. 31, &c.

^t 1 Cor. i. 23. ^u Acts ii. 14, &c. ch. viii. 35. ch. x. 36, &c. ch. xiii. 26. ch. xvii. 23.

upon

upon points in which it was most necessary to have them fully instructed; and of which by consequence they should be expected to make a more distinct and particular confession. To this purpose they seem very early to have been digested into the form of a creed; from whence we find mention made in Scripture of a *form of doctrine deliver'd* ^w, and a *form of sound words* ^x; nay, we have the heads of divers articles recited in the epistle to the *Hebrews* ^y, under the title of the *foundation* formerly laid, and *the principles of the doctrine of Christ*; which will most reasonably be understood to refer to some confession of faith, consisting of several particulars, and recited at the time of baptism, when men were first incorporated into the christian Church.

It is certain again, from the writings of those who lived near the age of the Apostles, as *Irenæus* ^z, *Tertullian* ^a, and *Origen* ^b, that there was some publick form of confession, or *rule of faith*, not always express'd in the very same phrase, but still the same in substance (excepting one or two particulars) with that creed which we now call the Apostles. And it ought to

^w Rom. vi. 17.

^x 2 Tim. i. 13.

^y Heb. vi. 1, 2.

^z Iren. adv. hæ. l. 1. c. 2. l. 3. c. 3, 4. Ed. Feuard.

^a Tertul. de veland. Virgin. c. 1. de Præscript. c. 13. advers.

Praxeam. c. 2.

^b Origen, *ὡς ἀρχαῖον* in præm.

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be observed, that this *rule of faith* is alledged by them in confutation of the hereticks of their times, under the character of that *tradition* which the Apostles had deliver'd to their successors^c; and therefore can scarce be supposed to have been then newly drawn up in opposition to those very hereticks, who could hardly be expected to have much regard to the novelty of such composure. And lastly, in confirmation of all, it may be fit to reflect upon the great uniformity of antient creeds, which is no inconsiderable proof that they had been taught from the beginning. From whence we find, that the western or *Roman* creed (which we now call the *Apostles*) was in substance the same that was receiv'd throughout all parts of the Church, tho' a little more express in the East about the article of the Son's Divinity, because that part of the Church being more infested with heresies in that respect, it became in process of time more necessary to guard their *Catechumens* against those corruptions.

But tho' for these reasons it may seem probable that the original creed for *Catechumens* was not so very short and concise as is alledg'd, but contain'd more arti-

¶ Vid. Autores proxime laudat.

cles, for substance the same in all Churches, though not entirely in the same order or phrase, yet there can be no doubt but that profession of faith in the three Divine Persons was contained in it, such a distinct profession of *believing in* them all, without any intimation of difference or inequality, as was understood by the antients to imply an equal acknowledgment of their Divinity. Nay, and as the other articles were but declaratory of what the Church believes concerning each Person, the *creation* of all things by the Father, the *redemption* of mankind by the Son, and the benefits which we receive by the *sanctification* of the Holy Ghost: For this reason the whole creed is sometimes reckon'd to be sum'd up in this acknowledgment of three Divine Persons, even when there can be no doubt but longer forms were in use^d.

Indeed, in which ever form we suppose the baptismal creed to be expressed, it cannot be imagined that this should be taken for a full and compleat declaration of faith, but only for a short memorial, whereby those who were about to be receiv'd into the Church by baptism, were first required to make profession of their concurrence

^d Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱόν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς ἕν βάπτισμα μελαινοίας. Cyril. Hierof. Myst. 1. § 6.

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with the Church, in acknowledging those three Persons for the one object of their faith and worship; being before instructed by their respective *Catechists*, what was the avow'd meaning and design of that profession, and what they were understood to believe concerning each Person, when they thus openly declared that they believed *in* them^e. This is the more confirm'd, because the confession of faith was used by way of answer to one of the interrogatories at baptism, and as the natural consequences of that renunciation of the devil, which went immediately before it^f; so that from renouncing the devil, they proceeded to profess their faith in God: And who is that God, but Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? to each of whom they did then dedicate themselves by submitting to be incorporated in their name. There can be no dispute of the use of such interrogatories in the age after the Apostles; and as that is a good argument of its being derived from them, so it seems to be not obscurely alluded to by St. *Peter* himself, when in treating of *baptism*, he makes mention of *the answer of a good conscience towards God* &c.

^e D. Bull, ut sup. D. Waterland, Serm. 8.

^f Vid. Const. Apost. l. 7. c. 41. Cyprian. Epist. 70. Cyril. Hieros. Myst. 1. § 6.

^g 1 Pet. iii. 21.

Before the rise of heresy, such general answers might suffice; and they who had no mistrust that their words should be perverted by any heretical pravity, might content themselves with these short hints in the confession it self, so long as the meaning of them was well known and avow'd, and more at large explain'd in *catechetical* discourses. But it was not long that the Church of Christ could enjoy the benefit of such simplicity. The *mystery of iniquity* began to work betimes, and such heresies arose, as quickly gave too just occasion for enlargement. Yet such, withal we may observe, was the condition of many of these heresies, and such the method in which the catholicks opposed them, that the knowledge of this matter cannot but reflect a lustre, and add a mighty confirmation to the orthodox belief in this doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity.

In the very days of the Apostles, began *Simon Magus* to broach his heresy; and he who, before he made profession of Christianity, had so deluded the *people of Samaria* with his *sorceries*, that he pass'd among them for *the great power of God*^h, A. D. 34. was too fond of their esteem to drop his pretensions afterwards; and therefore when he found himself not likely to succeed lon-

^h Acts viii. 9, 10.

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A.D. 64.

ger in *Palestine*, as being neither able to equal the Apostles, nor to bribe them to his interest, he took his journey to *Rome*, that he might spread the poison of his heresy in the western worldⁱ; where though *St. Peter's* arrival effectually exposed the falshood and vanity of the impostor, yet so many and so monstrous were the delusions advanced by him and his immediate followers, that he is from hence esteem'd to be the head or *founder of every heresy*^k, not only as being first in order of time, but as having sown the seeds or principles of all the rest. He still gave out himself for the supream God, who had appear'd in *Samaria* as the Father, in *Judea* as the Son, and in other nations as the Holy Ghost^l. The first production of his mind, he pretended to be a female spirit called *Ennæa*, who having, as the mother

ⁱ Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 14.

^k Simon autem Sa-

maritanus, ex quo universæ hæreses subliterunt—Iren. i. 1. c. 20. al. 23. vid. &c. 30. alias 28. c. 33. al. 29. *πάσης μὲν ἐν ἀρχηγὸν αἱρέσεως πρῶτον γένεσθαι τὸν Σίμωνα παρειλήφαμεν.* Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. 13.

^l Iren. l. 1. c. 20. alias 23.

Epiphanius (Hæc. 21.) makes him to have given out himself for the Father and the Son, and Helena for the Holy Ghost. But I have chosen to follow Irenæus, who was not only a writer of much greater accuracy, but lived much nearer to the time of that impostor. And his testimony is confirm'd by Simon's own words as quoted by St. Jerom (in comment. ad Mat. xxiv. 'Ed. Ben. tom. 4. p. 114.) Ego sum Sermo Dei——Ego Paracletus, ego Omnipotens. Vid. Grabe Spicileg. Secul. 1. p. 307.

of all things, produced those angels and inferior powers, whom he pretended to be the creators and governors of this lower world, did at that time actuate or dwell in the body of that *Helena* whom he entertain'd as his inseparable companion^m. After which he, or certainly his earliest disciples, framed most extravagant conceits ofⁿ their *Æons* or genealogies of Gods, which were afterwards more subtilly proposed and methodized by those who succeeded in the second century. In this they prided themselves for their superior knowledge, assuming the vain-glorious title of the *Gnosticks*, or knowers; which though *Eusebius*^o and *Epiphanius*^p do sometimes seem almost to appropriate to the disciples of *Carpocrates*, does yet appear from *Irenæus*^q to have belong'd in common to the followers of *Simon*; from a collection of whose absurdities the *Carpocratian* heresy it self was framed, and was therefore perhaps more eminently stiled the *Gnostick*^r. Which character, as we learn from *Irenæus*, extended also to the *Nicolaitans*, a sect expressly condemn'd in Scripture, A. D. 87.

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^m Iren. l. 1. c. 20. alias 23.ⁿ Iren. l. 1. c. 33, 34.

Greg. Naz. orat. 44. p. 705.

^o Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 7.^p Epiph. Hær. 27. § 1.^q Iren. l. 1. c. 33. vid. & Tillem.Memoirs pour servir a l'histoire Ecclesiastique, tom. 2. sous titre *Les Gnostiques*.^r Vid. D. Cave Hist. Lit. ad An. 120.

SERM. I. (*Rev.* ii. 6, 10.) and which took their name, though perhaps not their principles, from one of the seven deacons in the *Acts* (vi. 5.) Besides several abominable tenets with relation to practice, they had much the same conceits of the superior powers or *Æons*, and blasphemed the Creator of the world as an inferior being^f.

From hence now we may reasonably argue for the equal Divinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as the known and avow'd doctrine of the Church; since otherwise this impostor had but exposed and ruined his own cause in assuming to himself the characters of all the three. Mean while it is worth our observation that here seem to have been laid the seeds both of the *Sabellian* and the *Arian* heresy. For as in arrogating to himself that threefold character he may seem to intimate, that he meant them for three names of one and the same Divine person, which is pure and undoubted *Sabellianism*: So by teaching that *Helena* or *Ennæa*, who plainly subsisted separately from himself, was yet the first production of his mind, he did at the same time suppose, that all productions of the

^f See Till. tom. 2. Les Nicolaites. Iren. l. 3. c. 11. Epiph. 11. 25. 3. Philastr. c. 33. Aug. c. 5.

Deity must be dated from some beginning, and have a divided or separate existence; which is the very sum and substance of the *Arian* system;

We learn from *Justin Martyr*^t, who was himself a native of the Province of *Samaria*, that most of the people of that city continued under the power of his delusions; and so it should seem did some at *Rome* it self, where (we are told) there was a statue^u erected to his honour, tho' this must be understood of the heathen inhabitants, and particularly of the Emperor *Claudius*, who had the power of erecting statues, and not of the Christians of *Rome*, whom *St. Ignatius* some time after commends^w for the purity of their faith. Within the Church indeed, his heresy cannot be imagined to have made any considerable Progress whilst the Apostles lived. But when they were all dead, except *St. John*, it began to shew its head with greater boldness; and being differently model'd according to the dif-

^t Just. Mart. in Apolog. p. 69. inter opera. ^u This is asserted by Justin, Irenæus, and Eusebius, in the places already cited. Yet some modern critics have judg'd it a mistake, because there was another statue dug up in the last century, with an inscription something like it: Which however concludes nothing, unless it be supposed impossible for two such statues to have been at Rome. Vid. Tillemont. Memoirs, tom. 2. not. 1. sur Simon le Magicien. See also Mr. Reeve's Notes upon Justin's Apology, p. 54, 55, 56. and Mr. Thirlby, Annot. in loc. p. 39.

^w Ignat. Epist. ad Rom. in Grab. Spicil. Secul. 2. p. 13.

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ferent humour of his followers, it was branch'd out into various sects, which being none of them able to digest the doctrine of God incarnate, chose either to divide the Divine nature from the human in our blessed Saviour, or else to suppose his assumption of the human to be nothing more than phantasm and outward shew.

The latter was the heresy of *Simon* himself^x, and after him propagated in the school of *Menander* his immediate successor^y, and of others who were afterwards called *Δοκλήαι* or *Φανλασιχαι*, from this very notion of Christ's taking only the appearance of a man, confessing clearly the proofs of his Divinity, when for that reason they denied him to be cloath'd with the substance of our flesh^z. But the other was the blasphemy of *Cerinthus*, who allowing that *Jesus* was really a man, and suffer'd in such manner as the Gospel relates, believ'd nevertheless (and in that *Irenæus*^a joins him

^x Παθόντα δὲ μὴ πεποιθῆναι, ἀλλὰ δοκῆσαι μόνον. Eriphan. Hær. 21. § 1. Ita & Iren. adv. Hær. l. 1. c. 20. alias 23.

^y Ὁμοία δὲ τῷ ἰαυτῷ διδασκάλῳ τὰ πάντα συνυφαίναν— ἴσθ' ἐν δὲ δὴλατ' ἐ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ. Eriphan. Hær. 22. § 1. Vid. & Iren. l. 1. c. 21. alias 23.

^z Alii quoque Hæretici usque aded Christi manifestam complexi sunt Divinitatem, ut dixerint illum fuisse sine carne, & totum illi susceptum detraxerint hominem, ne decoquerent in illo Divini nominis potestatem, si humanam illi sociassent, ut arbitrabantur, nativitatem. Novat. de Trin. c. 18.


^a Iren. l. 3. c. 11.

with the *Nicolaitans*) that *Christ* was a distinct being, a Divine power, or one of his invisible *Æons*, who descending upon *Jesus* at the time of his baptism, reveal'd to him the unknown Father; and after he had enabled him to work miracles, forsook him again before his crucifixion^b. Here seems to be something like that heresy which was afterwards charged upon *Nestorius*, which divided the natures into two persons; or else like that of *Theodotus*, *Artemon*, *Paul of Samosata*, *Photinus* and *Socinus*, who all supposed him to be merely man, altho' in a most eminent manner gifted and inspired from above. To this he added the observation of the law of *Moses*, tho' that one would suppose must be merely hypocritical^c; to avoid the persecution and envy of the *Jews*, since it is evident he agreed with all the other followers of *Simon*, in supposing this world to be created not by the supream God, but by some inferior, nay evil powers; of whom one was afterwards the lawgiver of the *Jews*, and the inspirer of the antient prophets^d, though not it seems without some exception; for they distinguish'd (we are told) between the antient prophecies as pro-

^b *Iren.* l. 1. c. 25. *Epiphan. Hær.* 28. § 1.

^c *Vid. D. Bull. Def. fid. Nic. sect. 3. cap. 1. § 7.*

^d *Epiph. Hær.* 28. § 1, 2.

SERM. I.  ceeding from two different principles^e; and where-ever they could wrest any thing to look favourably to their sentiments, they were willing to ascribe it to the spirit of truth. Here again was the fountain and foundation of the *Manichean* heresy, which could not otherwise account for the origin of evil, but by asserting a distinct principle of darkness, besides the author and fountain of all light and goodness.

To these we may add the *Ebionites*, another sort of hereticks arising in the first century, so named from *Ebion*, the disciple of *Cerinthus*^f, who observ'd the *Jewish* law out of principle, as his master had done out of hypocrisy, and agreed with him in acknowledging *Jesus* to be merely man, tho' without that fiction of *Christ*, as another person descending on him at his baptism; without concurring likewise in his notion of the *Æons*, or ascribing the creation of the world to an inferior being. It has been earnestly contended, by some of our modern hereticks^g, that this sect of the *Ebionites* were no other than the pure and orthodox *Christians* from among the

^e Iren. l. 2. c. 66. alias 35. Epiph. Hær. 26. 6.

^f Philastr. cap. 37.

^g Zuicker Irenicum Irenicor. cited by Bp Bull in his *prim. & apost. trad.* History of the Unitarians Let. 1. p. 26. Toland's Nazareus, ch. 9. p. 25.

Jews, who were otherwise known by the name of the *Nazarens*, and retain'd the observation of the *Jewish* law, together with their faith in Christ as the *Messiah*. And as it cannot be denied but the *Nazarens* and *Ebionites* agreed in their opinion of the law of *Moses*, and were for that reason both of 'em pretty much neglected by the *catholick* Christians, from the time at least of the destruction of *Jerusalem*; so 'tis not unlikely that this similitude of circumstances might occasion them to cultivate such correspondence with each other, as might in process of time produce a farther agreement in their notions of our Lord^h: At least it might give a handle to the catholicks, who were but little acquainted with them, to treat them as persons of the same sentimentsⁱ. From hence all the judaizing Christians are term'd *Ebionites* by *Origen*^k; and however *Epiphanius*^l himself pretends not to any certainty that the *Nazarens* deny'd the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, but indeed expressly allows^m that there was some diffe-


^h Vid. Epiph. Hær. 30. § 2.

ⁱ Vid. Bull. Jud. Eccl. Cath. cap. 2. § 16.

^k Orig. contra Cels. l. 2. juxta init.

^l Περὶ χριστοῦ δὲ ἐκ διδαχῆς εἰπεῖν, ἐκ καὶ αὐτοῦ: — Φιλὸν ἄνθρωπον νομίζουσιν. Epiph. Hær. 29. § 7.

^m Διαφέρονται μὲν ἕτεροι πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον καὶ αὐτοῦ. Hær. 30. § 2.

SERM. I.  rence between them and the *Ebionites*: Yet having rashly censured them, upon account of their adherence to the law, as persons of like sentiments with the *Cerinthians*ⁿ, this probably gave the handle to *Theodoret*^o for representing them as *Jews*, who honour'd Christ only as a righteous person. In which point notwithstanding, we have the express testimony of St. *Augustin*^p and St. *Jerom*^q for their orthodoxy; besides some pretty clear intimations in *Justin Martyr*^r, and the apostolical constitutions^f, that there were certain *judaizing* Christians who acknowledg'd the Divinity of Christ, as well as others that deny'd it; and all this confirm'd by the concurrent accounts of ecclesiastical history, which makes honourable mention of the first Christians at *Jerusalem*, as persons of an orthodox faith^t, but speaks of the *Ebionites* with the utmost abhorrence, as of the most abandon'd hereticks^u.

ⁿ Ναζωραῖοι ——— σύγχρονοι ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις [de Cerinthianis ante dixerat] καὶ ὁμοια κέκλιται τὰ φρονήματα. Hær. 29. § 1.

^o Theodoret. Hær. fab. l. 2. c. 2.

^p D. August. de Hær. cap. 9, 10.

^q D. Hieron. ad August. Epist. 89. alias 74.

^r Just. Mart. in dialog. cum Tryph. p. 265.

^f Constit. Apost. l. 6. c. 10, 12. See these testimonies farther explain'd and vindicated by Bishop Bull, Jud. Eccl. Cath. cap. 2. § 13, 14, 15. & in Prim. & Apost. tradit. cap. 1. § 7, 8, 9, 10.

^t Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 5. & Sulp. Sev. sac. hist. l. 2. c. 45.

^u Euseb. E. H. l. 3. c. 27.

Upon the whole however, thus much is SERM. I. evident, that there were two opposite heresies sprung up, before the death of St. *John*, concerning the person of our blessed Lord: one, which denied the reality of his incarnation and sufferings, and represented the whole history of his life and death as matter only of appearance and outward shew: the other, which confess'd him to be truly partaker of the human nature, but denied its personal union with the divine. Accordingly it is obvious to take notice, how St. *John* in his epistles and his gospel (which last was written as a supplement to the other evangelists, and as St. *Jerom*^w adds, at the instance of the A. D. 97; *Asiatick* Bishops, for a remedy against the growing heresies) has manifestly struck at both these mischievous opinions^x.

Against the former he maintains that *the Word* was really *incarnate*, and pitch'd his *tabernacle* among men, so that they *beheld his glory*^y; their senses were the undoubted witnesses of this great doctrine, they *heard*, they *saw*, they *handled* him^z, insomuch, that what *spirit* soever should *not confess* his *coming in the flesh*, could not be of

^w Catal. script. Eccles. in *Johanne*, cap. 9. Vid. & Iren. adv. hær. l. 3. c. 11.

^x Iren. *ibid.*

^y Joh. i. 14.

^z 1 Joh. i. 1.

SERM. I. *God*, but was the *spirit of Antichrist*^a.



Against the other in like manner he maintains, that this same *Word* which in time became incarnate, did nevertheless exist *in the beginning*, that he was the *Word of life eternal*, that he *was with God* the Father, that he *was God* himself^b: so that whosoever should *deny Jesus* to be *Christ*, (as the *Cerinthians*, who made *Christ* to be a person distinct from *Jesus*) or deny'd him to be *the Son of God*, (as both they and the *Ebionites*) was likewise to be esteem'd *Antichrist denying both the Father and the Son*, and having no true communion with either^c. And this is the more considerable, because it is acknowledged by *Julian* the Apostate, who denied it of the other Apostles, that St. *John* at least asserted his Divinity, which he ascribes to the growth of this opinion among the Christians dispersed thro' many of the cities of *Greece* and *Italy*, by the time of publishing his Gospel^d. An important confession, from an adversary, of the great antiquity of this doctrine!

^a 1 Joh. iv. 2, 3.

^b Joh. i. 1, 2, 1 Joh. i. 1, 2.

^c 1 Joh. ii. 22, 23. — iv. 15. — v. 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20.

^d Τὸν γῶν Ἰησοῦν ἔτε Πᾶυλὸς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν Θεόν, ὅς ἐ Ματθαῖος, ἔτε Λευκάς, ἔτε Μάρκος· ἀλλ' ὁ χρηστὸς Ἰωάννης ἀειδόμενος ἤδη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλακὸς ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν ἐλληνίδων καὶ Ἰταλιανίδων πόλεων ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς νόσεως. — πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν.


Julian. apud Cyril. l. 10. contra Julian. in tom. 6. p. 327.

Lastly,

Lastly, in opposition to the common opinion of all the followers of *Simon*, concerning the creation of the world by an inferior being, and not by the supreme God, the same Apostle asserts that *by this Word were all things made, and without him was not any thing made that was made*^e, more particularly that *the world was made by him*^f, and therefore when he came into the world, he *came but to his own*^g. Not to insist now upon his hinting at the abrogation of *Mosaick* rites, when he says that *the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ*^h. Such light does the Gospel it self receive from history and ecclesiastical tradition!

Upon this opposition which *St. John* made to the earliest heresies, I would desire to make the following remarks; namely, (1.) that tho' the catholick doctrine was before this well known and understood in the Church (for otherwise the *Asian* Bishops had not been so much offended at the growth of heresy) yet the rise of these deceivers made it necessary to have it proposed after another method, and in terms more directly level'd against their delusions. And was not this example a full warrant

^e Joh. i. 3.^f ver. 10.^g ver. 21.^h ver. 17.

SERM. I.  for the Church's practice afterwards, to express her self in such terms as might most effectually guard the antient rule of faith against the innovations of any other heresy? (2.) That this however made no alteration or addition to the faith; the *Asian* Bishops detested those very heresies before the writing of St. *John*, and desired him to write on purpose to confute them. (3.) That when the antient defenders of our faith ascribe the work of creation to the Son of God, they do herein presuppose his true and proper Divinity, as urging it in opposition to the *Gnostick* hereticks, who asserted that to be the work of an inferior being.

The other writers about the time of St. *John*, were St. *Barnabas*, St. *Hermas*, and St. *Clement* of *Rome*, who tho' not writing professedly against the hereticks (as St. *John* appears to have done) because as they wrote somewhat earlier, so probably the places where they lived were less infested with them, have yet express'd their sense in such a manner as shews their faith to have been perfectly consistent and conformable to his; not without glancing now and then at those heresies which were just springing up. By the two former, the *Son* is not only saidⁱ to have been *begotten be-*

ⁱ S. Barnab. epist. c. 5. Filius Dei omni creaturâ antiquior. Herm. Pastor. l. 3. sim. 9. § 12.

fore the world, but likewise to be its *Maker and Lord*^k, and its *immense preserver*^l, to dwell in the hearts of the faithful as in *Temples* consecrated to him^m; not to be himself in the condition of a creature or a *servant*ⁿ, yet to have taken upon him human flesh, so as to be obvious to the sight of men^o, and his body to have been sanctified by the Holy Ghost, as preparatory to its being dwelt in by the *Deity*^{oo}.

SERM. I.



St. *Clement* wrote his first epistle before those heresies were grown so considerable, and while the temple of *Jerusalem* was yet standing^{pp}: So that *Photius* had little reason to find fault^p, if he was not so solicitous to establish a doctrine which was hardly brought into dispute. Yet even there, by making mention of the *sufferings of God*^q, as well as by directing his doxologies to Christ, in the same ample

A. D. 654

^k S. Barnab. Epist. c. 5. & Herm. ut supr.

^l Nomen Filii Dei magnum & immensum est, & totus ab eo sustentatur orbis. Herm. Past. l. 3. sim. 9. § 14.

^m S. Barnab. Epist. cap. 6.

ⁿ In servili conditione filius Dei non ponitur, sed in magna potestate & imperio. Herm. l. 3. sim. 5. § 6.

^o 'Εὖ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, πῶς ἀν ἐσώθησαν ἄνθρωποι οἱ βλέποντες αὐτόν. Barnab. Epist. c. 5. ^{oo} Herm. l. 3. sim. 5. § 6.

^{pp} Vid. Clement. Epist. ad Corinth. cap. 40, 41. item Wotton. prefat. pag. 205.

^p Photii Biblioth. cod. 126.

^q Clem. Epist. 1. ad Corinth. cap. 2. where that it should be read παθήματα, and not μιθήματα, read Dr. Grabe's Annotations upon Bishop Bull, p. 60. and Mr. Wotton's Note upon the place.

SERM. I. terms as to the Father himself^t, he has testified his belief of our Saviour's Divinity: and in his second epistle, he cautions the *Corinthians* against thinking meanly of our salvation, (with an eye 'tis probable^f to the heresies which were then coming in vogue) and advised 'em to think of *Jesus Christ* in like manner as of God^t, that he had a spiritual or Divine Being, before that he assumed the substance of our flesh^v. But the most remarkable passage is that preserv'd by St. *Basil*^w: *God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit*, where the principle of life is equally attributed to all the three, in the form of an oath (as it should seem) taken from the *Jewish* form of swearing, *the Lord liveth*^x, and agreeable to that military oath which was certainly used by the Christians of the fourth century^y, and was probably derived

^t Ω [Χριστῶ] ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλοσύνη εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀρμέν. Clem. Epist. 1. cap. 20. & 50. See Mr. Wotton's Notes. Confer. & S. Barnab. Epist. cap. 17.

^f Vid. Bull. def. fid. Nic. sect. 2. cap. 3. § 5.

^v Clement. Epist. 2. ad Corinth. cap. 1.

^w Cap. 9.

^x Ζῆ ὁ Θεός, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἰησοῦς χριστός, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Clem. Rom. apud D. Basil. de Spir. sancto, cap. 29.

^y Jer. iv. 2. and elsewhere frequently. See the second Review of Mr. Whiston's account of Doxologies, p. 41, 42.

^z Flavius Vegetius Renatus (an Heathen Author) in his book de re militari, l. 2. c. 5. which was written under Valentinian the 2^d, (vid. Godeschalch. Steweck. in comment. ad Veget. p. 2. Edit.

derived to them from former times, since it agrees so well with that which is exposed and ridiculed in the *Philopatris* ascribed to *Lucian*^z.

And if any one should doubt of the genuineness of this passage, because St. Ba-

Edit. vefal. 1670.) gives this account of the military oath of the Christians: Jurant autem per Deum, & per Christum, & per Spiritum sanctum, & per majestatem Imperatoris quæ secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est & colenda. An oath is certainly an act of religious worship. But then, how came they to swear by the majesty of the Emperor? Tertullian (in whose time likewise this practice prevail'd) makes a distinction between this kind of oath, and swearing by the Emperor's genius. The latter he condemns as doing honour to devils: But the other he commends as reverencing the Providence of God in the person of the Emperor. Tertul. Apol. cap. 32. See Mr. Reeve's Notes on the Apologies, Vol. 1. p. 42, 310. So that two things are implied in this way of expression: (1.) that God is refer'd to as the Author of the Emperor's safety (qui Deo regnat Auctore. Veget. ubi supra) and so may be metonymically understood under the name of his safety or defence, (vid. Spanhem. dub. Evang. par. 3 dub. 124. p. 646,) agreeably to the doctrine of the Canonists: Scendum est quod sancti non tam per creaturas quam per Auctorem creaturarum jurabant: nec in creaturis aliud quam Creatorem ipsarum venerabantur: sicut Joseph, qui per Pharaonem jurando, hoc in eo veneratus est, quod Dei judicio positus erat in infimis. Gratian. decr. par. 2. caus. 22. q. 1. c. 16. And, (2.) that the Emperor's safety was hereby understood to be devoted to God, in this sense: So may the Emperor be safe as I, &c. (vid. Spanhem. ut supr.) in like manner as at other times when the swearer mentions his own safety, or any thing that is dear to him. As, μὰ τὸν φίλιον τὸν ἐμένετε καὶ σὸν. Synes. Epist. 49, 103. ὁ κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτῆς σωτηρίας ἐμῶς δοκεῖ μὲν ὀμνῆσαι κατὰ τῆς Θεῆς. Basilic. Eclog. l. 22. tit. 5. c. 20. quoted by Mr. Selden. Quem etiam vid. in not. ad Smyrn. decr. inter Marmora Arund. p. 147, &c. vid. & Lydius de Juramento, cap. 3. § 15.

^z See more of this in the next Sermon.

SERM. I. *fil* has not said from whence he quotes it, it may be worth considering, that in the undoubted epistle of St. *Clement*, the three persons are join'd together in a manner not very different: *Have we not* (says he) *one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace*^a.

To these apostolical fathers, I should add St. *Ignatius*, the disciple of St. *John*, who is more full and express upon this article. But with him I purpose to begin the second century, when God shall grant us another opportunity. *To whom, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, be all Honour, &c.*

^a Οὐχὶ ἓνα Θεὸν ἔχομεν, καὶ ἓνα Χριστὸν, καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. cap. 46.






S E R M O N II.

Preach'd DECEMBER. 5, 1723.



HAVING at large asserted in a SERM. II. former discourse the use of catholic tradition, for ascertaining the genuine faith and doctrine of the Gospel; and shewn how the first heresies that arose, attacking either the Divinity or incarnation of the Son of God, were for that reason rejected by the faithful Christians with the utmost abhorrence, and plainly struck at by St. *John*, both in his Gospel and Epistles; (not to mention some passages of like kind in his *Apocalypse*) I went on to take notice of the concurrent testimony of other ecclesiastical writers in the same century.

SERM. II.  Of these I mention'd St. *Barnabas*, *Hermas* and St. *Clement* of *Rome*, who tho' they do not seem to have level'd their discourses directly against these heresies, as writing probably before they were grown very considerable, or for the use of such persons as were less infested with them, have yet express'd themselves in such a manner, as testifies their perfect agreement with the catholick faith.

The next to be consider'd is St. *Ignatius*, the disciple of St. *John*, and by him constituted Bishop of *Antioch*, before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in the reign of *Vespasian*: who might therefore be reckon'd among the fathers of the first century, altho' his epistles, which are still extant, were written but just before his martyrdom, in A. D. 107. the reign of *Trajan*, about the year 107, or some years afterward; for in that chronologers are divided^a. It was towards the beginning of his reign, and about the year A. D. 100. of Christ 100, that *Cornelius Tacitus* wrote his *Annals*^b; in which he charged the Christians as being guilty of most pernicious superstition, and odious for their wick-

^a Vid. Cave Hist. lit. in Ignat. Pearson. dissert. de anno Martyr. Ignat. Edit. Smith. p. 58. Pagi critic. in Baron. tom. 1. ad. an. 107.

^b Cave's Hist. lit. vol. 1. p. 61.


edness to all mankind^c; which might be probably occasion'd by the abominable impurities of the *Gnosticks* at that time, who easily pass'd among the heathens under the common veil of Christianity. This probably might give occasion to the third persecution under *Trajan*, which seems not to have been set on foot by any new law, but rather by enforcing the old, under colour that the assemblies of the Christians, were such *clubs* or *societies* as were forbidden by the *Roman laws*^d. *Trajan*, notwithstanding this, being inform'd by the junior *Pliny*^e, that however superstitious, yet their manners were unblameable, and the main of their crime consisted in their *singing hymns to Christ, as God*, (a clear proof that the worship of the Son of God was used in the Church from the beginning!) gave orders to his *Proconsul* for relaxing the persecution, neither searching out any that were guilty of this crime, nor refusing to punish such as should be brought before him^f. In this circumstance of the Church, the good Bishop of *Antioch* could

^c Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 44.

^d Cave p. 25. vid. & *Lex Gabinia* in Kennet's Rom. Antiq. par. 2. l. 3. c. 24.

^e Plin. l. 10. Epist. 97. vid. & Tertul. Apol. c. 2. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 33.

^f Tertul. & Euseb. *ibid.*

SERM. II.  not escape, but was sent to *Rome* for punishment, by order of the Emperor himself^g.

By that time the aforesaid heresies were mightily encreased, by *Cerinthus* in *Asia*^h, by *Menander* in *Samaria* and *Antioch*ⁱ, by *Carpocrates* in *Egypt*^k, and by *Ebion* (most probably) in *Judea*^l. No wonder, therefore, if the Bishop of *Antioch*, in his epistles at this time written to the Churches of *Asia*, as well as *Rome*, should be very earnest to caution them against such impious and blasphemous opinions, if he should mention those deceivers with abhorrence^m,

^g Euseb. l. 3. c. 36.

^h Epiphan. Hær. 28. § 1.

ⁱ Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 36.

^k Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 3. juxta init. p. 428. Ed. Paris. Yet the exact age of Carpocrates is more doubtful than the rest. See Tillemont's Memoirs, tom. 2. Les Carpocratians.

^l The name of Ebionites is by Eusebius (H. E. l. 3. c. 27.) and others of the antients explained to signify poor or mean persons, and is applied to their abject notions of the person of Christ. For which reason some have thought that they had not their name from any Heresiarch called Ebion. Yet Tertullian (de Præscript. c. 48.) Epiphanius (Hær. 30.) and others of the antients speak of Ebion as founder of that sect. And they who would infer the contrary from that mention which is made of the meaning of the Word, might as well argue that there was no such man as Nabal, Manes, or Arius, as Bishop Bull has justly observed, since the like allusions have been made to the meaning of those words, vid. Bull. Jud. Eccl. Cath. c. 2. § 17. However, from that allusion to its Hebrew signification, one would be apt to imagine, that that sect must have spread chiefly in Judea.

^m Θηρία — κύνες λυσσῶντες, λαθροθήλαι, Ignat. ad Ephes. § 7. ὡς περ θανάσιμον φάρμακον διδόντες μείλα ὀνομελίῳ. Ad Trall. § 6. προφυλάσσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων. Ad Smyrn. § 4.

as *Atheists* and *Infidels*, as *ravenous dogs*, SERM. II.
 as *wild beasts in human shape*, as *mixing*
deadly poison with the sweet wine of the
Gospel; if besides inveighing against the con-
 tinuance of the *Mosaic* ritesⁿ, he should
 assert Christ to be *God* with the article^o,
 and ascribe to him that omniscience^p which
 the *Gnosticks* denied their Λόγῳ, and the
Ebionites could never acknowledge in a
 mere man; if he should maintain his dwell-
 ing in the hearts of the faithful, as in tem-
 ples consecrated to him^q, which is the pro-
 perty of none but the supream God, so
 that Christians might from thence be term'd
 θεοφόροι and ναοφόροι, *bearers of God*, and
bearers of his Temple^r; if in one word he
 should assert him to be *without beginning*
of time^t, the *eternal* Λόγῳ, *not proceeding*
out of silence^t. By which last phrase, whe-
 ther he struck at the *Sige* of the *Gnosticks*^u,
 whom

ⁿ Ad Magnes. § 8, 9, 10. Ad Philadelph. §. 6.

^o Χριστὸς τῶ θεῷ ἡμῶν. — ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστός. Ad Ephes. in salutem. & §. 18. ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμηθῆναι εἶναι τῷ πάτρι τῷ θεῷ μὲν, ad Rom. §. 6.

^p Οὐδὲν λαμβάνει τὸν κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρύπτα ἡμῶν ἐγγύς αὐτοῦ εἰσιν. Ad Ephes. § 15.

^q Αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῶν [leg. ἡμῶν] κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ᾤμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί, καὶ αὐτὸς ἢ ἐν ἡμῶν θεὸς ἡμῶν. *ibid.*

^r Ad Ephes. §. 9. & in fronte omnium epistolarum.

^t Τὸν ὑπέροκαιον προσδόκῃα, τὸν ἀχρονον, τὸν ἀέρατον τὸν δι' ἡμῶν ὄρατόν. Ad Polycarp. §. 3.

^u Λόγῳ αἰδίῳ, οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθόν. Ad Magnes § 8.

^v That the Gnosticks had their Aëons before Valentinus, is certain. [See Vossius's Notes upon the place & Pearson. vindic.

SERM. II.



whom they supposed to have been coupled with *Bythus*, and from both to have proceeded the whole race of *Æons*; or else meant that this *Word* had always a substantial existence, and was not as a mere voice or sound which follows after *silence* ^w; either way the argument is clear for his essential and eternal Divinity. No wonder again, if the same holy writer insisted much upon the certainty of his incarnation and death, that he was conceiv'd in the womb of the Virgin *Mary* ^x, that he was of the seed and family of *David* ^y, that he was *truly* born, eat and drank ^z, and was baptized ^a; that he was *truly* persecuted under *Pontius Pilate*, was *truly* crucified, and died, and arose *truly* from the dead ^b, that

Ignat. par. 2. c. 3. ——— 7.] That they, and particularly the Cerinthians, had the name of *Sige*, as coupled with *Bythus*; from whom was produced *Monogenes*, and from him Δόγῳ, is evident from *Irenæus*, l. 3. c. 11. compared with *Greg. Naz. orat.* 23. p. 414. Which was afterwards, with such improvements, as they saw fit, transcribed by all the sects of the *Gnosticks*. Vid. *Iren.* l. 2. c. 48. alias 28. & *Bull. Def. fid. Nic. sect.* 3. c. 1. § 8. ——— 14. So that there can be no argument from hence against the genuineness of these *Epistles*.

^w Vid. *Coteler.* in loc. *Pearson.* *Vind. Ignat. par. 2. cap.* 3, 4. *Du Pin's Hist. of Eccles. Writers, Vol. 1. p. 41.*

^x Χριστός ἐκνοφερέθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας. *Ignat. ad Ephes. § 18.*

^y Ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαβίδ. *ibid.* τῷ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαβίδ. § 20. *Conf. ad Smyrn. § 1.*

^z Ὁς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγεν τε καὶ ἔπιεν. *Ad Trall. § 9.*

^a Καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη. *Ad Ephes. § 18. Conf. ad Smyrn. § 1.*

^b Ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ ποντίου πιλάτου, ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἐπέθανεν ——— ἀληθῶς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν. *Ad Trall. § 9. Conf. ad Smyrn. § 1, 2, 3.*

we should labour to confirm ourselves in this belief, as of *true* and real facts, fortifying ourselves against the insinuation of those vain deceivers^c, who would deny their reality^d, and assert him to have suffer'd only in appearance^e, which this zealous father look'd upon as horrid blasphemy^f.

Thus was the blessed Martyr (like the Apostle St. *John*) at once careful to assert the Divine and human nature of Christ, that he was both the *Son of Mary* and of *God*, as well partaker of the substance of our flesh, as spiritually united with the Father, in one respect a creature, but uncreated^h in the other, God really incarnate,

^c Θέλω προφυλάσσεσθαι ὑμᾶς μὴ ἐμπεισῆν εἰς τὰ ἄγκιστρα τῆς κενοδοξίας, ἀλλὰ πεπληροφῶσθαι ἐν τῇ γενήσει καὶ τῷ πάθει, καὶ τῇ ἀναστάσει.—πραχθέντα ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως διὰ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἧς ἐκτραπῆναι μηδενὶ ὑμῶν γένοιτο. Ad Magnes. § 11. Conf. ad Philadelph. § 8.

^d Τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ὃν τινες ἀρνοῦνται. Ad Magnes. § 9.

^e Λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν. Ad Trall. §. 10. Ad Smyrn. § 2.

^f ——— Τὸν ᾧ κύριον μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκόφορον, ὃ ᾧ τοῦτο μὴ λέγων, τελείως αὐτὸν ἀπῆρηται. Ad Smyrn. §. 5.

^g D. Pearson. Vind. Ignat. par. 2. c. 1.

^h ἈγέννητⓄ and ἈγέννητⓄ were used indifferently by the most primitive writers to signify *uncreated*; and they seem to have had no such term as *unbegotten*. See Dr. *Waterland's* 2^d Det. p. 256, &c. But in process of time, they came to make a distinction, understanding the former to have the same sense with ἀκτιστⓄ, and the latter with μὴ γεννηθείς, which character cannot be applied to the Son. Vid. Coteler. Not. in Ignat. ad Ephes. §. 7.

SERM. II. *visible and invisible, passible and impassible*ⁱ. Only it is observable, that St. *John* residing in *Asia*, where *Cerintbus* had chiefly broach'd his blasphemous opinions, enlarges most upon the proof of the Divinity; whereas *Ignatius* being Bishop of *Antioch*, where *Menander* had spread the poison of his heresy, is most full and express in his assertions of the incarnation. However, as it was natural for these hereticks, by insisting upon what was said of Christ in one respect, to draw off their followers from crediting the other; this made it necessary for the fathers of the Church to distinguish carefully between these two characters, and teach their people to observe how some things were spoke of him as man, which could not be applied to him as God, and so *vice versa*. The former were said to be spoken κατ' οἰκονομίαν, with regard to the *æconomy*, or that mysterious *dispensation* of Divine love, whereby the Son of God condescended to assume our nature, and undertake the work of our redemption. This term we find first of all

ⁱ Εἰς ἰατρόν ἐστιν σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητός καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός, — καὶ ἐκ μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ πρῶτον παθητός, καὶ τότε ἀπαθής. Ad Eph. § 7. — ὡς σαρκικός, καίπερ πνευματικῶς ἐνωμένος τῷ πατρὶ. Ad Smyrn. § 3. — τὸν ἀόρατον δι' ἡμᾶς ὁρατὸν — τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητόν. Ad Polycarp. § 3.

used by St. Ignatius^k, after him by Justin SERM. II. Martyr^l, and Irenæus^m, and by the latter fathers frequentlyⁿ. It is sometimes explain'd to mean the incarnation of Christ^o; but this ought not to be restrain'd merely to his assumption of the human nature, but understood to include all he did and suffer'd in this state of humiliation, for the procuring of our pardon and reconciling us to God^p; nay, all that he did in various appearances, under the old Testament, with a view to the same great work of our salvation^q: from whence we find that word used by Irenæus^r in the plural, as tho' there were

^k Χριστὸς ἐκυφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ --- ἵνα τῷ πάθει, κ. τ. λ. Ignat. ad Ephes. §. 18.

^l Πρὶν τὸν χριστὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν, τὴν κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ πατρὸς γεγενημένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ σωθῆναι ἐλθεῖν. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 331. τῆ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ οἰκονομία. P. 247.

^m Κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν--- τὸν ἕχατον ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀναγέννησιν τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου πιφθῆναι. Iren. l. 1. c. 10.

ⁿ Theodoret. Dial. 2. tom. 4. p. 62. & ad c. 4. Ep. ad Hebr. tom. 3. p. 414. Greg. Naz. Orat. 38. p. 616. Joh. Damasc. l. 3. orthod. fid. c. 15. p. 231. vid. Euseb. E. H. l. 1. c. 1. Ephræm. Antiochen. apud Phot. cod. 228.

^o Τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου καλοῦμεν οἰκονομίαν. Theodoret, Dial. 2. ut supra. See Bishop of London's Letter defended, p. 7, 8. Suicer. in voce οἰκονομία.

^p Vide Ignat. Justin. Iren. ut supra. item Valesii Annot. in Euseb. p. 4.

^q A primordio omnem ordinem Divinæ dispositionis per filium decucurrissē. Tertul. contra Praxeam. cap. 16. Vid. & D. Bull. def. fid. Nic. sect. 4. cap. 3. §. 4, 8, 9.

^r ---Τὰς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις--- Iren. l. 1. c. 2. There is yet another sense of the word οἰκονομία, as it denotes the mysterious



were several *œconomies* or dispensations of Christ. The opposite term to this was Θεολογία, the Theology^f, the obvious meaning of which must carry our thoughts to his Divine nature; and tho' we have not such early examples of the use of this term as of the other, yet the sense of it is sufficiently evident, as from other arguments, so from the very application of the opposite term οἰκονομία, which had been useless, if there were not a superior nature, from which the human was distinguish'd. Nay, and the very word Θεολογία is mention'd without any stricture by *Eusebius*^t, as a word both well known and approved of by himself; and therefore (we may reasonably presume) in familiar use before the Council of *Nice*. And indeed, about the conclusion of the second century, we find an anonymous writer in *Eusebius*^u confuting *Artemon* from those hymns which

rious subordination of the persons, or their internal relation to each other, the disposition of the unity of the Godhead into a trinity of persons. Oeconomix sacramentum quæ Unitatem in Trinitatem disponit. Tertul. contra Praxeam c. 2. Monarchiam sonare student Latini; œconomiam intelligere nolunt etiam Græci, cap. 3.

^f ---Τίνα μὲν τῆς Θεολογίας, τίνα ἢ τῆς οἰκονομίας ὀνόματα. Theodoret ad cap. 4. Epist. ad Hebr. tom. 3. p. 414. Vide Suicer. in voce Θεολογία.

^t Euseb. E. H. l. 1. c. 1. vid. & Valesii Annotat.

^u Φαλμοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἀδελφῶν ἀπαρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσθαι, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι Θεολογοῦντες. Euseb. E. H. l. 5. c. 28.

were anciently sung in honour of Christ, whereby the Church did (as he speaks) θεολογῆν, or acknowledge his Divine nature. By remembering this distinction it will be easy to account for several expressions in the antient writers, which might otherwise look harsh and inconsistent with the usual tenor of their doctrine.

It does not yet appear that these first hereticks had utter'd any blasphemous opinions concerning the person of the *Holy Ghost*, except it were indirectly and obliquely, by ascribing the inspiration of the ancient prophets, not to the divine, but to an inferior, and indeed an evil Being. It is not therefore to be wonder'd, if the first fathers of the Church should be less full and explicit upon this head, and not direct their writings against such heresies as were not yet risen. Yet as occasion offer'd, they have made such mention of that ever-blessed Spirit, as very amply testifies their sense and acknowledgment of his Divinity. We saw in the last discourse how *St. Clement of Rome* join'd him with the Father and the Son, as equal in his nature and attributes, the principle of life, the searcher of hearts, and the revenger of violated oaths. And what less could be intended by *Ignatius*, when he advis'd his *Magnesians* to be *subject to the Bishop and to one another, as Christ according to*

SERM. II. *the flesh* (or in his human nature) *was to the Father; and as the Apostles* (who had no other but the human nature) *were to Christ, and to the Father and the Spirit^w?* Or by those his companions, whose narrative of his martyrdom concludes with this doxology, directed jointly to all three -- *by whom, and with whom, (viz. the Son,) glory and dominion be to the Father, with the holy Spirit, for ever. Amen^x.*


126. After *Trajan's* death the persecution of the Church continued in the reign of *Adrian*, when *Quadratus* and *Aristides*, two *Athenian*, but Christian Philosophers, presented the Emperor with their apologies for Christianity^y; which met with such success, that they obtain'd an edict that no Christian should be punish'd meerly upon popular clamours, but only such as were legally convicted of acting against the laws^z. These books being lost, we cannot certainly pronounce of the doctrine contain'd

^w Ὑποτάγετε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις, ὡς Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ σάρκα, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ χριστῷ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. Ignat. ad Magnes. §. 13.

^x --- Δὶ ἔ καὶ μισθὸς τῷ πατρὶ ἢ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ αἰνῷ πνεύματι εἰς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Martyr. Ignat. apud Grabe spicileg. secul. 2. p. 22. Ruinart. Acta Martyrum, p. 708. Edit. 4to. and Smith Ignat. p. 52. The genuineness of this piece is disputed by Mr. *Whiston*: but see what is said against him, in the Additions to the *seasonable Review* of his account of Doxologies, p. 3, 4, 5. and in the *second Review*, p. 52, 53.

^y Euseb. E. H. l. 4. c. 3.

^z Cap. 9.

in them, only that *Eusebius* speaks of the authors as *faithful men*, and their doctrine *truly apostolical*^a. SERM. II. 

Mean while both the branches of the *Gnostick* heresy were exceedingly encreased, the *Δοκηταί*, or *Simonian Gnosticks*, having for their teachers two of the disciples of *Menander*, namely, *Saturninus* at *Antioch*, and *Basilides* in *Egypt*^b, both agreeing in their grand principle of denying the incarnation, though with some difference in other respects, as particularly in the genealogy of the *Æons*, which *Basilides* had improved with greater subtilty^c: though both he and his son *Isidorus* were elegantly confuted by *Agrippa Castor*, a writer of their own age, whose book, now lost thro' the injuries of time, is so highly commended, not only by *Eusebius*^d, but by *St. Jerome*^e, and *Theodoret*^f, that there can be no doubt of its agreement with that which is still acknowledged for the catholick faith.

The other branch of that heresy was, though not without some alterations and additions, continued likewise in *Egypt*, by *Carpocrates* and his celebrated

^a Euseb. E. H. l. 4. c. 3.

^b Cap. 7. item Epiph. hæc. 23. §. 1. & hæc. 24. §. 1.

^c Vide Epiph. hæc. 24. §. 1.

^d Euseb. E. H. l. 4. c. 7.

^e Hieron. de scriptor. c. 21.

^f Theodoret. de hæc. fal. l. 1. c. 4.

SERM. II.



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son *Epiphanes*, who, though not surviving the age of seventeen years, was yet so strenuous an assertor of his father's heresy, that whilst living he became the darling of the party, and when dead was honour'd as a god^g.

But the perfection of *Gnostick* heresy was that of *Valentinus*, who form'd to himself a system out of all the rest, more artificial in its contrivance, and more uniform in itself, tho' full of gross absurdities, if called to the bar of reason or authority. The *Æons* of the former *Gnosticks* he advanc'd to the number of thirty, and from the fall of one of those (tho' afterwards recover'd) he accounted for the origin of evil, and the production of this animal material world. It is besides my purpose to lay open all his wild and extravagant opinions, which are at large explain'd by *Irenæus*^a, *Tertullian*^b, *Epiphanius*^c, and *Theodoret*^d. And though these *Valentinians* were subdivided into diffe-

^g Clem. 4. lex. Strom. l. 3. p. 428. Edit. Par. *Epiphanius* (hær. 32. §. 3, 4.) reckons him among the *Secundians*, a branch of the *Valentinian* heresy: but his early death will hardly allow it, for both he and *Valentinus* are referr'd to the year 120. See *Cave Hist. Lit. secul. 2.*

^a Iren. l. 1. c. 1. & alibi.

^b Tertul. adv. Valentin.

^c Epiphan. hær. 31, &c.

^d Theod. de hæret. fab. lib. 1. cap. 7;

rent sects^e, as the *Secundians*, *Ptolomeans*, and others, yet they were reckon'd to agree in the main points of their heresy, and were confuted in a manner by the same arguments. The chief of their positions which affected the doctrine we are now considering, were these that follow: (1.) That *Demiurgus*, or the Creator of this world, is not the supream God, nor indeed of a spiritual but animal nature, inferior to that *Plerôma* or plenitude of the Deity, in which the whole race of *Æons* is contain'd, and into which the spiritual part of mankind (as to be sure they esteem'd themselves) shall hereafter be received^f. (2.) That *Λόγος*, or the Word, is not the immediate son of *Bythus*, or the Father, but of *Nûs*, or *Monogenes*, the only begotten, so that they are reckon'd as two distinct *Æons*. These two were the current opinions of all the *Gnosticks*. (3.) That there is a superior or heavenly *Christ*, distinct from the *Λόγος*, and that he and the *Holy Ghost* were posterior to the thirty

^e Ὡς διαφοραὶ μὴ ἑστὶ δέκα ἐν μιᾷ πληγῇ—ισορρόπως πεπληγμένων. Epiphani. hæc. 31. §. 1.

^f *Saturtinus* first taught the distinction of mankind as naturally good or evil. (*Iren.* l. 1. c. 22. al. 24.) The other hereticks took it, but *Valentinus* improved it, by placing between the material and spiritual man (the one of which could not perish, nor the other be saved) the animal, who was capable of inclining either way. *Iren.* l. 1. c. 1. al. 5, 6.

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Æons, and produc'd by *Monogenes*, for the confirmation and establishment of the *Plerôma*. This seems to have been partly taken from *Cerinthus*, but augmented and improved by *Valentine*. (4.) That *Jesus*, or the *Saviour*, was distinct from *Christ*, and the product of all the *Æons* jointly, who, with the angels to attend him, concluded all the productions within the *Plerôma*. This seems to have been the peculiarity of *Valentine* alone. (5.) That *Christ*, who appear'd here upon earth, was the Son of *Demiurgus*, or the Creator; and had a body of a more subtle and artificial kind of matter than ours, or rather truly divine^s, so that he could not be esteemed to receive the substance of his flesh from the blessed Virgin. Which looks something like the heresy of the *Docetæ*; or rather, perhaps, like the *Apollinarians*, or *Eutyrians*^h, whom we shall hereafter observe to have introduced the like absurdities as to the body of *Christ*. (6.) That after the baptism of this *Christ*, *Jesus* descended upon him from the *Plerôma*, and left him again before his passion: which is a plain imitation of the doctrine of *Cerinthus*, only giving him the name of

^s Ουαλεντίνος ἤ πάλιν, κοινὸν τῆς τριάδος τὸ πάθος λέγει, τῆς Θεότητος μέρος τὴν σάρκα φανταζόμενος. Athanas. contra Apollinar. lib. 2. §. 3. p. 942.

^h Ουαλεντίνος γὰρ κατὰ λέξιν ἔτσι λέγει τῶν γαλιλαίων ἐπὶ χριστῷ δύο φύσεις λεγόντων, πλατὺν καταχέομεν γέλωτα ἡμεῖς γὰρ τοῦ ὁρατοῦ καὶ ἀοράτου μίαν εἶναι τὴν φύσιν φαρμέν. Eulog. Alex. apud Phot. cod. 230.

Christ

Christ who appear'd on earth, whereas *Cerinthus* gave it to him who descended from above. SERM. II.

These, and others of the like absurdity, were the doctrines which *Valentine* first broach'd in *Egypt*, and afterwards at *Rome*; from whence they were propagated by his followers thro' many provinces, till his heresy became the most prevailing and considerable of the second Century. His fiction of the *Æons* seems to have been entirely embraced by *Cerdon*, and his disciple *Marcion*^h: but they differ'd from him in some measure, as to the body of *Christ*; which these expressly asserted to be merely fantastick and imaginaryⁱ; and did more openly blaspheme the Creator of the world as the author and origin of evil^k. The remembrance of these heretical tenets may be a useful key to explain several passages in the writers of those times, not only in such books as were written purposely against those hereticks, as the books of *Irenæus*, and some parts of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Tertullian*; but even in their occasional writings, whether against *Jews*

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^h Vid. Iren. l. 2. c. 1, 3, 48. Greg. Naz. in orat. 44. p. 705, 706. ac annotat. Eliæ cretenf. in orat. 23. p. 819. velim autem conferas D. Bull. def. fid. Nic. sect. 3. cap. 1. §. 11; 12, 13.

ⁱ Vid. Epiphan. hæc. 42. Tertul. de præscript. cap. 51.

^k Iren. l. 1. c. 28, 29. Tertul. ut supra Epiphan. hæc. 41, 42.

SERM. II. or *Heathens*, or for the use and improvement of their fellow *Christians*.

Against the *Jews* we have still extant a celebrated piece of *Justin Martyr's*, namely, his dialogue with *Trypho*; and another of *Tertullian*, not written till after the beginning of the third century. Against the heathens we have not only those solemn apologies, which were presented to the heathen Emperors, for allaying the heat of persecution; to *Antoninus Pius* by *Justin*; to *Marcus Antoninus* by the same *Justin* again, and *Athenagoras*; and by *Tertullian*¹, either to the *Roman* senate, or to the magistrates of *Carthage*^m, under the Emperor *Severus*, besides another afterwards distinctly address'd to *Scapula* the governor of *Africa*: but we have likewise those other treatises which were written upon more private occasions, such as the books of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch*, to *Autolycus*, the treatise of *Tatian* against the *Gentiles*, and some parts of *Clemens* the presbyter and catechist of *Alexandria*, besides two books of the *nations* written by *Tertullian*, and his *testimony* of the *soul*. These had, questionless, their use among private Christians; but there were others more parti-

¹Tillem. not. 9. sur Tert. tom. 3.

^m See Mr. Reeve's Notes on his Translation of *Tertullian's* Apol. p. 153, 154.



cularly calculated for that purpose, as the acts or martyrdom of St. *Polycarp*, the *Pædagogus* of *Clemens*, and several treatises of *Tertullian*, as well before as after he became a *Montanist*, which however are of equal authority in the present controversy, because he declares that his doctrine had always been the same in that particularⁿ. In these kind of writings it is reasonable to expect that men of gravity and candour would not indulge any flights of their own fancy, so far as to alter any of the great articles of christian belief, but would faithfully deliver the doctrines of the Gospel, as they receiv'd 'em from the former age, and profess'd 'em in their own. But especially when they assert it as plain matter of fact, that such was the avow'd doctrine, and such the worship of the Church, conformable to the known rule of faith and apostolical tradition; we cannot suspect them to have falsified in these particulars, without calling their sense as well as honesty in question; nay, and the sense of all mankind besides, who cou'd not confute so obvious a falsity.

Let it then be our enquiry what account may be collected of the doctrine before us, from those ancient expositions and

ⁿ Tertul. advers. Praxeam. cap. 2.

SER. M. II. defences of our holy religion, illustrated thus by looking back to the time and occasion upon which they were written. The edict of *Adrian* already mention'd, did not so entirely stop the rage of persecution, but that it continued to be carried on in some places, under the reign of his successor *Antoninus Pius*, altho' not of himself disposed to such severities; which seems to have been owing to that ancient decree mention'd by *Tertullian*, whereby the Emperor himself was disabled from consecrating or appointing the worship of any new god, without the approbation of the senate; which was such an authority as *Tiberius* himself had not been able to procure for the christian worship°. Besides which, the *Christians* were in general calumniated by the *heathens*, as *atheists* in principle, and *debauchees* in practice: so that when they were accused of being *Christians* (a charge which they were not backward to acknowledge) that name was supposed to include every crime, and without farther examination into particular facts, they were immediately condemn'd to capital punishment as the grossest offenders. This, *Justin* P, in his first apology

° *Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. see Mr. Reeves's Notes.*

P In oper. *Just. Mart.* p. 54, 55. so also in his other *Apolo-*
logy, p. 42, 43. confer. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. 7. p. 701.

presented to that Emperor, complains of SERM. II! as a very grievous hardship: and the same complaint was made afterwards by *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*^q, by *Athenagoras* the *Athenian*^r, and by *Tertullian* the presbyter of *Carthage*^s, in their respective apologies. But as to the calumnies themselves, they defied their enemies to make proof of such abominations as were pretended, upon the *catholick* Christians, whose precepts of morality were utterly inconsistent with them^t; and if they found any guilty (as among the *Gnosticks*, who falsely called themselves *Christians*, it was too probable^v they might) they desired not to skreen them from the punishment due to their iniquity.

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170.
168 vel
177.
202.

To the charge of *atheism*, the same *Justin* has replied, by shewing both the object and the method of their worship, and concluding it most unreasonable to repute them *atheists*, by whom the *Father and the Son, and the prophetick Spirit*, were worship'd, ador'd and honour'd,

^q Apolog. Melitonis cujus fragm. apud Euseb. E. H. l. 4. c. 26.

^r Athenag. legat. pro christianis, §. 1. p. 7, &c. Edit. Oxon. *Chronologers are not agreed as to the date of this Apology of Athenagoras. It was certainly written in the reign of Marcus Antoninus. Vid. Cave Hist. lit. ad an. 177.*

^s Tertul. Apol. c. 2, 3.

^t Justin, p. 61, &c. Athenag. §. 2. p. 10, &c. §. 27. p. 123, &c. Tertul. ubi supra.

^v Kortholtus (de moribus christian. affectis cap. 9.) endeavours to vindicate the *Gnosticks* against this charge. But see Mr. Reeves's Notes upon *Justin*, p. 57, 58.

SERM. II. *in spirit and in truth*^w. Which is seconded by another passage in the same apology, where he not only mentions the *Father* for the object of worship, but likewise *the Son in the second place*, and the *prophetick Spirit in the third*^x.

I would just observe by the way, that the character of the *prophetick Spirit* seems to be directed against that part of the *Gnostick* heresy, which asserted the lawgiver of the *Jews*, by whom the prophets of the old Testament were inspired, to have been a being of inferior nature and capacity. To which likewise it was owing, that in the ancient *Eastern* creeds (as may appear from that which was explain'd in the catechetical lectures of *St. Cyril of Jerusalem*^y, as well as other descriptions of the Holy Ghost^z, long before the council of *Constantinople*) he is term'd the *Paraclete who spake by the prophets*. Whereby again another error of the *Valentinians* was manifestly struck at, who supposed

^w Ἄλλ' ἐκείνον τὸ [πατέρα] καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα. — πνεῦμα τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνῶμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες. Justin, p. 56.

^x Τὸν δημιουργὸν σεβόμενοι. — τὸν διδασκαλὸν τε — ἰησοῦν χριστὸν — υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ μαθόντες, ἃ ἐν δευτέρῳ χάραϊ ἔχοντες, πνεῦμα τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει, ὅτι μυστῆ λόγῳ τιμῶμεν, ἀποδείξομεν. Idem, p. 60.

^y Cyril. Hieros. catech. 4. §. 12.

^z Iren. l. 1. c. 2. l. 4. c. 62. aliiq; a D. Bull. citati in Jud. Eccl. Cath. c. 6. §. 11, 12.

the *Paraclete* and *Holy Ghost* to be distinct from one another^a.

SERM. II.



But to return to *Justin's* argument: If the Scriptures and the reason of the thing, as well as the doctrine of *Justin* in other places, did not clearly instruct us that God only, in the proper sense, can be the object of religious worship; and if it were not consequently evident from hence, that the Father, Son and Holy Ghost must here be supposed to be God in the proper sense, because the object of worship; yet the occasion upon which this argument is here produc'd wou'd sufficiently evince it. They are mention'd, we see, in answer to the charge of *atheism*: *We are not atheists*, says *Justin*; and how does he prove that? because we *worship God*; and how does that appear? namely, by our *worshiping Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*.

The like way of arguing was used to the next Emperor, by *Athenagoras*, who mentions *God the Father, God the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, as the object of their faith and worship^b. Where, tho' he has not repeated the word *God* three times over, yet the nature of his argument, as urged in opposition to the charge of *atheism*, does sufficiently imply the third Person to be *God* as well as the two former. Be-

168, *aliis*
177:

^a Vid. D. Bull. §. 11.

^b Τίς οὖν ἐκ ἂν ἀπερήσαι λέγοντας Θεὸν πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν Θεὸν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἄγιον--- ἀκούσας ἀθέως καλεσμένους. Ath. leg. §. 10. p. 40.

sides which, his other explications of the nature of their union do very clearly confirm it; namely, by speaking of the Father as the fountain of the Deity, whose divine nature is communicated to the other two persons; insomuch that as the Son is not like the fabulous productions of the heathen deities, but the *Mind*, the *Word*, the *Wisdom* of the Father, and one with him, the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son, so this is farther explain'd by the *unity and power of the Spirit*^c, who is himself as a stream or emanation from the same fountain of light^d: which manifestly points out to us, that περιχώρησις or ἐνυπαρξις^e, that *indwelling* or *pervasion*, whereby these divine persons do mutually comprehend, and (if I may so speak) measure out each other's immensity, being thus, according to the same *Athenagoras*^f,

^c Ἐνὸς ἑνὸς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἑνὸς ἢ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν πατρὶ, καὶ πατρὸς ἐν υἱῷ, ἐνότητι καὶ δυνάμει πνεύματος, νοῦς καὶ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. §. 9. p. 38.

^d Ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀπόρροιαν εἶναι φημὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπορρέον καὶ ἐπαναφερόμενον, ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἡλίου. §. 10. p. 40. Νοῦς, Λόγος, σοφία υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς* καὶ ἀπόρροια, ὡς φῶς ἀπὸ πυρὸς, τὸ πνεῦμα. §. 22. p. 96.

^e Vid. D. Bull. def. fid. Nic. sect. 4. c. 4. §. 10, &c.

^f ---δεικνύοντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν. §. 10. p. 40. τίς ἢ τοῦ υἱῶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐνότης, τίς ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν κοινανία, τί τὸ πνεῦμα, τίς ἢ τῶν τοσούτων ἐνωσις καὶ διαίρεσις, ἐγκύματα τοῦ πνεύματος, τοῦ παιδὸς, τοῦ πατρὸς. §. 11. p. 46. Θεὸν φημὲν, καὶ υἱὸν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐνούμενα μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν τὸν πατέρα, τὸν υἱόν, τὸ πνεῦμα. §. 22. p. 96.

distinct but yet united, and that not merely by equality of nature, but by the closest communion of substance; whilst the Father alone being *Αὐτὸς*, or *God of himself*, does yet communicate his Godhead to the Son and Holy Ghost. SERM. II.

It was this way that the ancient fathers supposed their faith to be secured in the *monarchy* (as they often^s term'd it) or *unity* of the *divine essence*, notwithstanding their admission of three really and distinctly subsisting in it; so really and distinctly, that they might be justly number'd as one, and another, and a third. And from hence it comes to pass, that the character of *Procession*^h, and the very name of *Holy Spirit*ⁱ, is sometimes given to the *Son*, because he, as well as the *Holy Ghost*, has his essence by *communication*, and is not

^s Eusebius, E. H. l. 4. says that *Justin Martyr* wrote a Treatise, *Περὶ Θεοῦ μοναρχίας*, a Fragment of which we have in *Justin's Works*, under that Title. We have the same use of the Word in *Tertullian* against *Praxeas*, and elsewhere frequently.

^h Ἀφ' ἐνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα. Ignat. ad Magnes. §. 7. Sermo ipsius qui ex ipso processerit. Tertul. adv. Praxeam. c. 2. Ita & Novatian. de Trin. c. 31. vid. & Grot. annotat. ad Marc. 2. 8.

ⁱ Filius autem Spiritus sanctus est. Herm. Pastor. l. 3. sim. 5. §. 5. He is also called, πνεῦμα, by *Barnabas*, Epist. c. 7. Ignat. ad Smyrn. in inscript. Theoph. ad Autolyc. l. 2. p. 81. Edit. Oxon. Iren. adv. Hær. l. 5. c. 1. Hippolyt. contra Noët. c. 16. vid. Bull. Def. fid. Nic. sect. 1. c. 2. §. 5, 6. & Grot. ut supra.



properly *Autōs*, or *God of himself*; which is the peculiar character of the Father only. And if the *Holy Ghost* be not on the other hand call'd the *Son of God*, nor said to be *begotten*, yet is he sometimes described among the ancients under the name of *Wisdom*^k, as being the giver or dispenser of true heavenly wisdom^l; though that be otherwise the usual appellation of the second Person.

I pass by many other passages which might be produced in confirmation of this catholick doctrine, from *Justin*, *Tatian*, and *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, as well as the doxology of *St. Polycarp*, just before his martyrdom, who (tho' properly a father of the first century, and placed at *Smyrna* by *St. John*, yet) suffer'd not till the reign of *Marcus Antoninus*: I pass by these, I say, not only for brevity, and because they have been often urged by abler hands, but likewise because it is not so much my design at present to defend the truth from the number of authorities, as to connect the doctrine with the history of the Church, that one may add a light and lustre to the other. Yet two things should be remem-

94.

167, at
juxta a-
lios, 147.

^k Theoph. ad Autolyt. l. 2. p. 81, 106. Iren. l. 2. c. 55. l. 4. c. 17, 37. Hippolyt. contra Noët. c. 10. Origen. contra Celsum, l. 6. p. 323.

^l Vide Petav. de Trin. l. 7. c. 12. §. 16.

ber'd with relation to the fathers of this age, without which they may be easily misunderstood by an uncautious reader: namely, (1.) That those among them who speak of the *πρόγελευσις* of the Word, or his *coming out* of the Father just before the creation of the world, and call that his *generation*, do not thereby mean to intimate either that that was his *beginning* of existence (for they speak of him before that, as always subsisting in and with the Father) nor yet that it was any actual separation of him from the Father, with whom he must be one eternally, but only that it was the first manifestation or ostension of him in that stupendous operation^m. And, (2.) That those passages which distinguish the Son from the Father as being *visible*, and *comprehended by place*, were plainly not design'd to exclude that immensity of the divine nature in the Son, which the same writers have otherwise most clearly asserted, but only to refer to that *æconomy*, whereby the Son, and not the Father, condescending to assume our nature, and previously to that, to appear to the prophets and patriarchs of old, was in that respect only circumscribed by place, and offer'd to the

^m See this largely explain'd by Bishop Bull, Def. fid. Nic: sect. 3. cap. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

SERM. II.



sight of menⁿ; no more indeed confin'd to earth, in his divine nature, whilst he dwelt upon it, than the Father himself is to heaven, where he keeps his residence^o.

This last observation is the more considerable, because those expressions seem to be levell'd against certain hereticks, who appear, from some passages of *Justin Martyr*^p, and *Tatian*^q, to have been in those times; and had been, probably, from the time of *Simon Magus*, espousing the same notion which was afterwards more strenuously propagated by *Praxeas*, *Noëtus*, and *Sabellius*; namely, that the Godhead is in all respects but one, not only without any division of substance, but likewise without all distinction of subsistence. And perhaps this might be the ground of *Justin's* making use of that strong expression; when speaking of the Son, he says, there is *ἕτερος*, another, besides the Maker of all things, who is, and is term'd, God and Lord^r; by which, that he could not mean another, or a separate God, but only a distinct person from the Father, who is


ⁿ Vide Bull. Def. fid. Nic. sect. 4. cap. 3.

^o Vide D. Grabe annot. in Bull. p. 279.

^p Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 358. Paris.

^q Tatian Orat. contra Græ. p. 145. alias 21. §. 8.

^r Ὅτι ἕστι καὶ λέγεται Θεὸς καὶ κύριος ἕτερος ὑπὲρ τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὄλων. Just. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 275. vid. & p. 283.

truly *God*, as well as he, might be undeniably demonstrated from the scope and tenor of that martyr's writings^f. SERM. II. 

It might probably be in opposition to the same heresy, that *Theophilus* the Bishop of *Antioch*, in treating of this mystery, made the first use or application of the word *Trinity*^g, to denote the real distinction of Father, Son, and holy Ghost, who are as truly three in one respect, as they are one in another: unless we should choose to explain him in this place, as striking at the *Valentinians*, who by their various combinations of the *Æons*, did not only distribute them into so many *Dyads*, *i. e.* pairs or couples, but likewise into an *Ogdoad*, consisting of the four first couple; a *Decad*, consisting of five pair produced from the third couple of the *Ogdoad*; and lastly, a *Dodecad*, consisting of six pair produced from the last couple of the *Ogdoad*^h. In opposition to these extravagances, the Bishop of *Antioch* might mean it; that there is in the Deity neither *Ogdoad*, *Decad* nor *Dodecad*, but a *Triad*

^f See Dr. *Grabe's* Notes on Bishop *Bull*, p. 75, 76.

^g Ὡσαύτως καὶ αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι. — τύποι εἰσι τῆς τριάδος, τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ. *Theoph. ad Autolyc.* l. 2. p. 106. Ed. Oxon.

^h Πλήρωμα τριχῆ διεσπόμενον εἰς ὀγδοάδα, καὶ δεκάδα, καὶ δωδεκάδα. *Iren.* l. 1. c. 1. vid. & *Epiph. Hær.* 31.

SERM. II. or *Trinity* only; which word, as the *Sabellian* heresy grew on and encreas'd, was very properly retain'd by the *Catholick* writers, to denote a personal distinction of the sacred Three.

167. Contemporary with *Theophilus* was *Irenæus*, who being (as it seems) by birth an *Asiatick*, and an hearer of *St. Polycarp*, but afterwards promoted to the bishoprick of *Lyons* in *France*, and withal a person of great integrity and accuracy of judgment, must needs be a very fit and unexceptionable witness of the doctrine that was receiv'd both in the *Eastern* and the *Western* Church. His writings are oppos'd to the various sects of the *Gnosticks*, which prevail'd much in his time; but particularly the *Valentinians*, who, besides their other corruptions, had err'd very grievously with relation to the *Word* and *Wisdom* of *God*, which they held to be not only distinct in person from *Bythus*, (who was father of the *Æons*;) but even separate in substance, posterior to him in the order of existence, inferior in point of immensity, ignorant of his infinite perfections, and wholly unconcern'd (as well as *Bythus* himself) in the creation of the world.

Against these monstrous absurdities, the holy Bishop has declar'd himself in very strong and significant expressions, not only that the *Word* did *always exist*, did *always*
cœexist

coëxist with the Father^x, equal to him in immensity, and as it were measuring out him who is unmeasurable^y, that he is therefore truly and properly God, as well as truly man, God of the living, and God over all^z; but he likewise includes the *Holy Ghost* in the participation of the same Divinity^a, when he asserts that the Father has *always* with him the *Word* and *Wisdom*, the *Son* and *Spirit*^b, who therefore concurr'd with him in the act of creation, when the Father is said to have made all things by *himself*, that is, by his *Word* and *Wisdom*^c, by whom likewise he still preserves and governs them^d, and bestows on men the blessings of eternal life and salvation^e.

^x Non enim infectus es, O homo, neque semper coëxistebas Deo, sicut proprium ejus verbum. Iren. l. 2. c. 43. Semper autem coëxistens filius Patri. l. 2. c. 55. Filius Dei existens semper apud Patrem. l. 3. c. 20.

^y ---Ipsum immensum Patrem in Filio mensuratum. Mensura enim Patris Filius, quoniam & capit eum. l. 4. c. 8.

^z Ipse proprie Deus. l. 3. c. 21. verè homo & vere Deus. l. 4. c. 14. Ipse igitur Christus cum Patre vivorum est Deus. l. 4. c. 11. Deus super omnes. l. 3. c. 18.

^a Spiritum quidem propriè in Deo deputant. l. 5. c. 12.

^b Adest enim ei semper Verbum & Sapientia, Filius & Spiritus, per quos & in quibus omnia liberè & sponte fecit, ad quos & loquitur dicens, *faciamus hominè*, &c. l. 4. c. 37.

^c ---Qui fecit ea per semetipsum, hoc est per Verbum & Sapientiam suam. l. 2. c. 55.

^d ---Per Verbum & Spiritum suum omnia faciens, disponens & gubernans & omnibus esse præstans. l. 1. c. 19.

^e Ea autem quæ salvant ait esse nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi, & Spiritum Dei nostri. l. 5. c. 11, vid. & cap. 13.

Son,

SERM. II.

So that there is *one God the Father, one Son, and one divine Spirit*^f, properly distinguish'd from each other, altho' inseparably united in that Divinity which is but one^g.

What descriptions could be thought of stronger, or more emphatical; which tho' directly levell'd at such heresies as are now utterly extinct, are yet abundantly sufficient to convince us of the falshood of such as were then hardly risen? What then tho' the *Word* and *Spirit* be sometimes mention'd by the same author^h as *ministering* to the Father? This is not in the quality of agents inferior in their nature, but con-natural with himselfⁱ, insomuch that we have seen they are said to be himself; and what he does by them, he is said to do by *his own hands*; that is, by his *Word* and *Spirit*^k. From whence it may be once

^f In omnibus & per omnia unus Deus Pater, & unum Verbum & unus Filius & unus Spiritus. l. 4. c. 14.

^g Unus Deus omnipotens--- per Verbum & Spiritum suum omnia faciens. l. 1. c. 19. sic unus Deus Pater ostenditur qui est super omnia, & per omnia, & in omnibus: super omnia quidem Pater--- per omnia autem Verbum--- in omnibus autem nobis Spiritus. l. 5. c. 18. *The three characters are first attributed to the one God, [Confer. cap. 17. in fine] and then distributed distinctly to the three Persons.*

^h Ministrat enim ei ad omnia sua progenies & figuratio sua, [leg. ejus] id est Filius & Spiritus sanctus, Verbum & Sapientia. l. 4. c. 17.

ⁱ Vide D. Bull. Def. fid. Nic. sect. 2. c. 5. §. 6, 7.

^k Per manus enim Patris, id est per Filium & Spiritum fit homo secundum similitudinem Dei. Iren. l. 5. c. 6.

for all observ'd, that the preposition *διὰ* cannot be fairly urged to infer a diversity of nature between the Father and the other two Persons, since they act but as his hands, nay, as himself, and therefore clearly consubstantial. And this testimony of *Irenæus* is the more considerable, because he lays it down as the catholick doctrine of the Church, throughout all parts of the world, and derived by a constant and uninterrupted tradition from the days of the Apostles^k: in which he could not well be mistaken, having been himself the hearer of *St. Polycarp*, as he was of *St. John*.

Before the death of *Irenæus*, according to some, or certainly soon afterwards^l, *Clemens* was the celebrated Schoolmaster and Catechist of *Alexandria*, whose works are stored with great variety of learning, digested with exactness of judgment; wherein he not only exposes the absurdities of *Pagan* superstition, and *heretical* perverseness, but lays down excellent precepts for

192.

^k *Iren. L. 1. c. 2, 3. l. 2. c. 9. l. 3. c. 2, 3, 4. & in præfat.*

^l Some suppose *Irenæus* to have been born not long before the year 140, and to have suffer'd martyrdom under *Severus*, in the beginning of the third century. Others suppose him to have been born in the year 97, and to have died in the year 189, or soon after. This, however, is certain, that he was Bishop of *Lyons* next after *Pothinus*, about the year 167. *Vid. Cave Hist. lit. eo anno. Clemens* began to flourish about the year 192.

SERM. II. the conduct of a christian life, and labours to preserve the *apostolical tradition* in its genuine purity^m. To that purpose he is full of very high and lofty descriptions of the Son of God, terming him *God* with the articleⁿ as well as without it, Almighty^o, one with the Father^p, and to whom belongs the inspection of our hearts^q, and of all things in the universe^r; the everlasting *Word*, the *infinite Age* or *Æon*, (in opposition to the *Valentinians*, who dreamt of the Λόγος as a *finite Æon*;) He terms him, moreover, the *eternal Light*^s, infomuch that however it be the peculiar character of the Father to be ἀναρχος, as that word is understood to denote him un-

^m Ἡδη ἢ ἡ γραφή — εἶδωλον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ σκιογραφία τῶν ἐναργῶν καὶ ἐμφύγων ἐκείνων, ὧν κἀνηξιάθη ἐπακῶσαι λόγων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν μακαρίων καὶ τῶ ἐνὶ ἀξιολόγων — ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας σώζουτες διδασκαλίας παράδοσιν ἐνθὺς ἀπέ — τῶν ἀγιῶν ἀποστόλων, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεχόμενοι — ἦγον δὴ σὺν θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ προγονικὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀποστολικά καταθησόμενοι σπέρματι. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. p. 274, 275. alias 322, 323.

ⁿ Τὸν θεὸν τὸν λόγον. Pædag. l. i. c. 5. prope fin. ἔτ' ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς ὁ λόγος. c. 6. p. 110.

^o Τῷ παντοκρατορικῷ θελήματι l. 4. p. 517.

^p Ἐν ᾧ ἄμφω, ὁ θεός. Pædag. l. i. c. 8. p. 113. οὐ καὶ πατὴρ, ἐν ἄμφω, κύριε. l. 3. c. 12. p. 266.

^q Οὐδὲν ἔληθεν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐνοιῶν καὶ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ὧν ποιήματα. τὸν κύριον ἴσεν λέγων, τὴν τῷ παντοκρατορικῷ θελήματι ἐπισκοπὸν τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν. Strom. l. 4. p. 517.

^r Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἢ μερίζομενος, ἢ ἀποδιεμένομενος, ἢ μετὰ-καίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τόπον, πάντη ἢ ἂν παντότε, καὶ μηδαμῇ περιεχίμενος, ὅλον νῆς, ὅλον φῶς πατρῶον, ἔλον ὄφθαλμὸς πάντα ἐρῶν, πάντα ἀκάνων, εἰδῶς πάντα. l. 7. p. 702.

^s Λόγος αἰῶνος, αἰὼν ἀπλετος, φῶς αἰδίου. Hymnus ad calcem Pædagog.

originate^t, or God of himself, yet the Son likewise is ἀναρχος, *without beginning*^u, as the same word is understood to have reference to time, or a *beginning of existence*. So again the Holy Ghost is clearly included in his notion of the *Trinity*^w, as every where present with the Father and the Son^x, and therefore join'd with 'em in his remarkable Doxology^y, as entirely one with them, the upholder of eternity, and author of all good.

After all this, it is wonderful that any one should charge this *Alexandrian* Presbyter with sentiments different from those that were establish'd at the council of *Nice*, upon account only of one or two expressions, which, tho' not perfectly agreeable to modern style, are yet easily reconcilable with the catholick faith, upon a view of the ancient state and circumstances

^t Vide D. Bull. Def. fid. Nic. sect. 4. c. 1. §. 3.

^u Τὸν ἀκρονον καὶ ἀναρχον— τὸν υἱόν. Strom. l. 7. p. 700.

— τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπαθῆς ἀνάρχως γενόμενα. p. 703.

^w Οὐκ ἄλλως ἔγωγε ἔξακέω, ἢ τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα μνησέω· τρίτον μὲν ᾧ εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· τὸν υἱὸν ᾧ δεύτερον. l. 5. p. 598

^x Ω θαύματ' ὀμοιωτικῶν; εἰς μὲν ἢ [l. ο.] τῶν ὅλων πατέρ'· εἰς ᾧ καὶ ὁ τῶν ὅλων λόγος· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ. Pedag. l. 1. c. 6. p. 102.

^y --- Ευχαριστήντας αἰνεῖν, αἰνοῦντας εὐχαρισεῖν, τῷ μονῷ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ, υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ --- σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι· πάντα τῷ ἐνί· ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα· δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ἐν· δι' ὃν τὸ αἰεὶ· ἔ μέρη πάντες· ἔ δόξα αἰῶνες· πάντα τῷ ἀγαθῷ, πάντα τῷ καλῷ, πάντα τῷ σοφῷ· τῷ δικαίῳ τὰ πάντα· ᾧ ἢ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. l. 3. c. 12. p. 266.

SER. M. II. of the Church. Whilst the controversy with hereticks was not strictly *trinitarian*, or concerning the subsistence of *three in one*, as that with the *Gnosticks* most certainly was not, nor that other with those who held Christ to be a mere man, without determining any thing about the nature of God; it is no wonder if the terms *nature* and *person* should not be so accurately and constantly distinguish'd, but that *Clemens* might make mention of the *nature* of the *Son*^z, where the writers of following ages would have chose to say his *person*, although his meaning be perfectly the same with theirs, as must appear to any one who would take an impartial view of his whole doctrine sum'd up together.

176. Indeed that appears to have been the known and avow'd doctrine of the Church before his time, and as such was prophane-ly ridiculed by *Lucian*, or whoever else was author of that Dialogue entitled *Philopatris*, (certainly^a one of equal, if not greater antiquity,) where the Christian proposes to the Heathen, that instead of swear-

^z --- Ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσις, ἢ τῶν μόνων παντοκράτορι προσεχρησάτη. Strom. l. 7. p. 702. For a fuller satisfaction as to this and other expressions of this father, particularly those cited by *Photius*, from his book called *Hypotyposes*, which is now lost, see *Bull Def. fid. Nic. sect. 2. c. 6. §. 6, 7, 8, 9.* and *second Review of Whiston's Doxologies*, p. 59, 60, 61.


^a Vid. Fabric. Biblioth. Græca l. 4. c. 16.

ing by his *Jupiter*, he should rather appeal to the *Most High God*, to the *Son of the Father*, and the *Spirit proceeding from the Father*, *One of Three*, and *Three of One*, esteeming this to be *God or Jupiter*^b. To which the Heathen replied, that this was a thing he could no way understand, how *One* shou'd be *Three*, and *Three One*^c. So openly was this doctrine then profess'd in the Church, that the heathens themselves were not strangers to it! Which was a consideration long ago of such weight with *Socinus*^d, that supposing this passage were genuine (against which he offers nothing but the bare conjecture of some persons whom he has not named) he could not but esteem it as the most considerable proof of the *Trinity* in all

^b Ὑψιμέδοντα θεόν, μέγαν, ἀμείροτον, ἑρασίωνα, υἱὸν πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐν ἑκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία, ταῦτα νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τὸν δ' ἠγοῦ θεόν. *Lucian. Philop.*

^c Οὐκ οἶδα ᾧ τὶ λέγεις, ἐν τρία, τρία ἐν. Concerning this Dialogue ascribed to *Lucian*, I would observe, (1.) That it was certainly written by some heathen, since no Christian can be suspected to have forged such a burlesque upon our holy religion. Consequently, (2.) That it was not written to support the doctrine of the Trinity, but to expose it. (3.) That it was written before the words *substance* or *hypostasis* were commonly used in the explication of this mystery: otherwise the scoffer would certainly have mention'd them. And 4. That the stile, and other internal characters, do argue its antiquity, as is observ'd by the Editors of *Lucian*.

^d Socin. in Defens. Animadv. advers. Gabriel. Eutrop. Cap. 15.

SERM. II.  antiquity, and such as might conclude it to have been the opinion of some Christians in that age. But for his own part, he professes without reserve, that tho' it should be proved, that this doctrine was *universally* receiv'd by *all Christians from the very days of the Apostles*, yet he should not be induced to admit it as true christian doctrine: which is such a barefaced affront to all antiquity and catholick tradition, as deserves no other answer but the utmost contempt.

180.

About this time we are to place a sort of hereticks mention'd by *Epiphanius*^e, under the name of *Alogi*, so called for their denying the personal subsistence of the *Word*, or its union with the human nature of Christ, and rejecting, for that reason, the Gospel of St. *John*, which so clearly asserts both. I should imagine they were no other but a branch of the *Ebionites*, made known under another name; since *Theodotus*, who is said to have taken these very principles from them^f, is notwithstanding described as the *father or head of this apostacy*^g, which must at least imply him to be the first who left the catholick doctrine for such impiety, whilst the *Ebio-*

^e Epiph. H. 51. Aug. H. 30.

^g Euf. l. 5. c. 28.

^f Epiph. har. 54. §. 1.

rites were not reckon'd to have apostatized from the Church, but rather to be meer *Jews*, and so never receiv'd into it^g. Of perhaps it may be said that *Epiphanius* was mistaken in supposing *Theodotus* to transcribe after the *Alogi*, when they were rather followers of him.

He was a *currier* by trade, and a citizen of *Byzantium*, called afterwards *Constantinople*^h, who having denied Christ in the time of persecution, and being afterwards ashamed of his offence, endeavour'd to extenuate by increasing it, and disown'd our Saviour's Divinity for the sake of this wretched pretence, that he had *not denied God but man*ⁱ. Which probably gave occasion to the Church to fix upon his heresy the character of ἀρνησίθετος ἀποστασία^k, to shew he was so far from proving that he had not denied God in the time of persecution, that the opinion which he now avow'd was it self a continued denial of God, and enough to make good the accusation brought against him. But so offensive was his doctrine to the Church at that time,

193.

^g Bull. Jud. Ec. Cath. c. 3. §. 1, 2.

^h Tert. de præscr. c. 53. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. c. 28. Epiph. hæ. 54. Philastr. de hæres. c. 50. D. Aug. de hæ. c. 33. Theodor. hæ. fab. l. 2. c. 5.

ⁱ --- Θεόν ἐγώ. ἐν ἡρησιάζεω ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπον ἡρησιάζεω. Theod. apud Epiph. hæ. 54. §. 1.

^k Euseb. ut supra.

SERM. II. that he was immediately excommunicated
 194. by Pope *Victor*; and when *Natalis*, one
 201. of his followers, was reclaim'd from his
 errors under the next Pope *Zephyrin*, he
 was, not without difficulty, restored to
 the communion of the Church^l. So that
 it was an instance of the most shameless
 impudence in *Artemon*, who propagated
 circa 205. the same heresy very near the beginning of
 the third century, to pretend that the doc-
 trine of the Son's Divinity had not been
 preach'd before the time of *Victor*, but
 only from the time of the pontificate of
Zephyrin. He was confuted, as *Photius*^m
 bears witness, by *Caius* a Roman Presbyter
 of that time, a fragment of whose book
 is probably preserv'd by *Eusebius*ⁿ, who
 produces an anonymous author disputing
 against *Artemon*, not only from many
 great authorities before *Victor*, but like-
 wise from the books of Scripture, and
 those publick hymns in honour of Christ,
 which had been used from the beginning.

So far we have seen the doctrine
 of the Church during the second century.
 But here it will concern me, by a short di-
 gression, to vindicate this doctrine of the
 Church, against the calumny invented by

^l Euseb. ut supra.

^m Phot. Cod. 48.

ⁿ Euseb. ut supr. vid. Pearson. op. posthum. p. 147, &c.
 Cave hist. lit. an. 210.

some modern criticks, who charge even the fathers of the second century as retaining some tincture of the ancient superstition, and adulterating the truth of the Gospel with the errors of *philosophy*^o. To this purpose they suggest that the notion of three principles was first advanced by *Plato*, which he term'd *Goodness*, or the good Being, his *Λόγος*, *Word* or *Reason*, and the *Anima Mundi*, or Spirit which actuates and influences the whole system of beings in the universe^p. They tell us that this *Λόγος* was consider'd by the *Platonists*, either as it was originally in God, containing the pattern or *archetype* of all things to be made, or else as in time it proceeded or came forth out of him in the actual production or creation of the universe^q. Some of them have imagined that *Plato* meant nothing by all this but to describe the three properties or attributes of the one God display'd in the creation, namely, his goodness, wisdom and power^r, which is called the more refined or subtle *Platonism*, being thus, thro' fear of the aversion of the populace to any acknowledgments of the divine Unity, wrapt up

^o Vid. Cleric. ars critica. vol. 1. p. 536.

^p Platonisme dévoilé par. 1. c. 5.

^q Ibid. cap. 9.

^r Ibid. cap. 5, 7;

SERM. II. and cover'd in such allegorical descriptions, as were commonly taken in the grosser sense to denote so many distinct divine Substances^f. From hence it is insinuated that *Justin Martyr*, who had been educated in the school of *Plato*, and the fathers that followed him, whether converts from idolatry, or instructed by such as were, mix'd up with Christianity the principles that were imbibed in *paganism*; and if any of them understood the more refined and allegorical sense, yet to vulgar apprehensions at least they introduced a *tritheistick* worship^t, which came at length to be establish'd by the council of *Nice*^u, and continued in succeeding ages. So that the doctrine of the Church Catholick, even in those early ages, was nothing else, in the judgment of these wonderful discoverers, but the corruption of philosophy, and the fathers of the Church were even worse instructors than *Plato* or *Plotinus*! Nay, some have gone yet farther, and included the Apostle *St. John* in the same

^f Ibid. cap. 12, 18.

^t Ibid. cap. 1. Vide Le Clerc Biblioth. choisie tom. 3. p. 86, &c. *The like attempt is made, tho' with another view, by Cudworth, Intellect. System. c. 4. §. 36.*

^u Vid. Curcellæ. Inst. rel. Christ. l. 2. c. 20, 22. item Quatern. Dissertat. diss. 1. §. 72, &c.

charge of *Platonism*^w, as borrowing his notions of the divine *Λόγος*, if not immediately from *Plato* himself, yet at least from *Philo the Jew of Alexandria*, who seems to have been much addicted to *Platonick* speculations^x. No wonder if the successors of the Apostles be accused of such apostacy, when the inspiration of the Apostles themselves has not secured them all from the same accusation; tho' some have try'd to soften it by suggesting that *St. John* used the style of the philosopher, but with a better meaning, only to shew how far the language of the *Platonists* might be accommodated to a christian sense^y.


But let us enquire a little, whether there be at last any real ground or foundation for all this cry of *Platonism*. The first schools of the Christians, as appears by that famous one at *Alexandria*^z, which if not

^w See the historical vindication of the naked Gospel, quoted by *Bishop Bull*, in his *Prim. & Apost. trad.* c. 5. §. 7. and by *Mr. Reeves*, in his preliminary Discourse to *Justin Martyr's* Apology, p. 4.

^x *Cleric. ars Critica*, vol. 3. ep. 7, 8. *Biblioth. Univ.* tom. 10. p. 400, &c. as cited by *Baltus*.

^y Vid. ejusdem *Epist. de Hammondo & critica*, p. 355.

^z *Alexandriâ*----- ubi a *Marco Evangelistâ* semper ecclesiastici fuere doctores. *D. Hieron. de scriptor. Eccles. in Pantæno.* cap. 36. *Philippus Sidetes* makes *Athenagoras* to have been the first master of this school in the reigns of *Adrian* and *Antoninus*; and to have been succeeded in that office by *Clemens*,

SERM. II.  not first of all erected whilst St. *Mark* was their Bishop, was at least continued in the time of his successors, under the direction of those celebrated masters, *Pantænus*, *Clemens*, *Origen* and *Heracles*; were manifestly design'd for training up the christian youth in the doctrines of our holy Religion, as laid down in Scripture^a, and not in the peculiar principles or tenets of any sect of philosophers. And though the opposition which they met with from the heathen writers, made it necessary in time to have some schools erected for the study of philosophy, as those of *Ammonius*^b, *Anatolius*^c, and others; or at least to select some of their disciples for that sort of education, as *Eusebius* relates of *Origen*^d;

Pantænus, *Origen*, *Heraclas*, *Dionysius*, *Pierius*, *Theognostus*, *Serapion*, *Peter*, *Macarius*, *Didymus* and *Rhodon*, who removed the school from Alexandria to Side, in the reign of the Senior *Theodosius*. See *Dodwell's Appendix to his Dissertations upon Irenæus*, p. 488, &c Vid. *Cave Hist. lit. vol. 2. p. 51.*

^a -- Εξ αρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλείου τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων παρ' αὐτοῖς σιωπεῶτος — Πάνταινος — ζῶσῃ φωνῇ ἐ λέξ' συγγραμμάτων τοὺς τῶν θείων δογμάτων θεσαυροὺς ὑπερμνηματιζέμεθα. *Euseb. E. H. l. 5. c. 10.* See more fully upon this point *Father Baltus's Défense des SS. Peres accusez de Platonisme livr. 1. ch. 1.*

^b *Porphyr.* in *Euseb. l. 6. c. 19. vid. & Hierocl. apud Phot. cod. 214. who speaks of Ammonius as having read philosophy to Origen.*

^c *Anatolius, afterwards Bishop of Laodicea. Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 7. c. 32. But Dr. Cave supposes the Schoolmaster and Bishop to have been different persons. Hist. Lit. vol. 2. ad an. 270.*

^d *Euseb. l. 6. c. 18.*

yet they were not addicted to any distinct sect, but rather set themselves to expose what was absurd in all the different sects, and to collect that which was right^e; that so they might dispute with these philosophers upon their own principles, and make their philosophy as much subservient to the cause of Christianity, as the various arts and sciences of human learning are to philosophy itself^f. Even *Origen* himself, who seems to have indulged a philosophick genius farther than the rest, yet caution'd his pupil *Gregory Thaumaturgus* to keep it within these restrictions; and declar'd, for his own part^h, that he had confin'd himself wholly to the word of God, till the confluence of philosophers, as well as hereticks resorting to his lectures, made it necessary, in order to adapt his arguments

SERM. II.



^e Φιλοσοφίαν ἧ, ἢ Στωικὴν λέγω, ἢ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικυρήσιον τε ἢ Ἀριστοτελικὴν, ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἰρέσεων τῶν καλῶς, δικαιοσύνη μετὰ ὡσεὶ ὄξος ἐπισήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τῆτο σύμπαν τὸ ἐκλεκτικόν, φιλοσοφίαν φημί· ὅσα ἡ αἰθραπίνων λογισμῶν ἀποτεμνόμενοι παρεχάραξαν, ταῦτα ἐκ ἀν' ὅτε θεῖα εἴποιμι ἄν. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 288.

^f Ἄλλ' ὡς τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα συμπάλλεται πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτῶν, ἔτω ἢ φιλοσοφία αὐτὴ πρὸς σοφίας κτήσιν σωτηριῆ. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 284. — ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας αὐτῆς — ἀνεπιτέλευτον φυλάσσειν τὴν πίσιν. p. 291. — ἢ ὅπερ φασὶ φιλοσοφῶν παῖδες περὶ γεωμετρίας, ἢ μουσικῆς, γραμματικῆς τε ἢ ῥητορικῆς, ἢ Ἀστρονομίας, ὡς συνέειδαν φιλοσοφία, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἐπιπρωμῶν ἢ περὶ αὐτῆς φιλοσοφίας πρὸς χριστιανισμόν. Origen in Philocal. cap. 13.

^g Philocal. cap. 13.

^h Euseb. H. E. lib. 6. c. 19.

the

SERM. II. the better to their prejudices, that he should be first acquainted with their books and sentiments. So that the doctrines of the Gospel were not meanly submitted to the correction of their systems, but they were rather corrected and reform'd by the standard of the Gospel. The christian apologists were so far from yielding to them in matters of faith, that they expos'd their errors and inconsistent perplexities, even in the theories of nature, and questions of moralityⁱ.

But if it could be suppos'd that they who had been first educated to the study of philosophy, retain'd some tincture of their former notions, even after their conversion to the faith of Christ, yet why must *Platonism* be suppos'd to have had greater influence than all the other heathenish systems put together? It is certain that the *Peripateticks*, the *Epicureans*, and above all the *Stoicks*, were the most prevalent and flourishing sects in the first ages of the Gospel^k, whilst the *Platonick* system, which had been corrupted soon after the death of

ⁱ Vid. Hermiæ Philosophor. Gentil. irrisio ad calc. Just. Mart. Lactant. Divin. Instit. l. 3. c. 2—7. Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 15. c. 1, 32, 61. Theodor. Serm. 4. de materiâ & mundo, inter opera tom. 4. p. 527, &c.

^k Vid. Baltus Defense des SS. Peres accusez de Platonisme. l. 1. c. 11, 12. and *Judgment of the Jewish Church against the Unitarians*, c. 23.

Plato, by *Speusippus* and *Xenocrates* his immediate followers^l, and after that fell into general disrepute by the various dissensions of the *Academicks*^m, was almost utterly extinct, till in the third century it was revived by *Plotinus*ⁿ, who open'd a school for that purpose at *Rome*, and was succeeded in the profession of that sect, by *Porphiry*, *Iamblichus*, and others, down to *Proclus* in the sixth century^o, so that before this the generality of converts might be supposed to have come from any other sect rather than *Platonism*; and I know not of any one among the Fathers, besides *Justin Martyr*, who had actually made profession of that sect. And can it then be imagin'd that Christianity should be form'd upon the foot of the *Platonick* system? especially when it is added, that after the revival of *Platonism*, the professors of that sect were the most virulent


^l Numenius *apud* Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 14. c. 5.

^m Numenius *ibid.* c. 6, 7, 8, 9. Itaque tot familiæ Philosophorum sine successore deficiunt. Academici & veteres & minores nullum antistitem reliquerunt. Senec. nat. Quæst. l. 7. c. 32.

ⁿ Plotinus was the fellow pupil of Origen, under Ammonius, [*vid.* Hierocl. *apud* Phot. Cod. 214.] and flourished in the reign of Galienus [*vid.* Porphyr. in vitâ Plotini.] Tunc Plotini Schola Romæ floruit. D. August. Epist. 118. alias 56. ad Dioscorum, §. 33.

^o Vid. D. August. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 12. & Suid. in voce Πλωτῖνος. See also the lives of several of them by Eunapius, an heathen writer of the fourth century.

opposers

SERM. II.  opposers of Christianity^p, and therefore might naturally be expected rather to create an aversion, than incline to any imitation of them.

The truth is, as the Philosophers were the chief supporters of *Paganism*, the Fathers of the Church were so far from being attached to any of them, that they have expressly declared against them all, and consider'd 'em as their avow'd adversaries, insomuch that even *Justin* himself^q, who stands first in this charge of introducing a *Platonick* theology, has freely expos'd the systems both of *Plato* and of *Aristotle*, as absurd and inconsistent, whether consider'd in themselves, or compared with one another; as built, at best, upon conjecture and uncertain reasonings, unable to defend them against the opposite hypothesis of any other philosopher, or to create that firm and unshaken assent of mind which is due only to the oracles of God, and the infal-

^p Vid. Porphyr. in vitâ Plotini. Eunap. in vitâ Ædesii, p. 64, 65. Edit. 1616. Suid. in voce Πρόκλος.

^q Οὐτω μὲν ἐν περὶ τῶν ἐναντιῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφέρονται πραγμάτων [Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους] ὡς τε εἶδέναι προσήκει, ὅτι οἱ μὴδὲ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα γινώσκον διωθέντες, ἀλλὰ ἔτι περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διεφερόμενων, ἐκ ἀξιοπίστοι φανήσονται περὶ τῶν ἐναντιῶν διγέρμοι. Just n. Martyr. cohort. ad Græc. p. 7. And in his Dialogue with Trypho, (p. 152. Edit. Thirlby; alias 225.) speaking of the Scriptures, he says, ταῦτ' οὐ μόνον εὐρισκόν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τὴν καὶ σύμφερον ἕτως ἢ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φιλόσοφοι ἐγώ.

lible assurance of divine testimony. They who, notwithstanding this, can charge *Justin* with *Platonism*, after his conversion, because he was before it an admirer of *Plato*, may e'en as well suppose him to have been a *Pagan* still, with equal truth, and justice to the Martyr's memory^r.

Nay, to do 'em right, it must be farther added, that the Catholicks did all along exprefs the greatest jealousy of those whom they perceiv'd to incline to *philosophick* notions^r, and made it one great branch of their accusations against the antient hereticks^r, as first against the

Valen-

^r Vid. Baltus Defensé des SS. peres accusez de Platonisme. l. 2. c. 4.

^r This is particularly observable in the case of Origen, who; notwithstanding his great piety, and the danger he seems to have sometimes apprehended from mixing Divinity with philosophick notions, was yet so much addicted to speculation and metaphysical enquiries, that he became very much suspected in this particular, and was by many of the ancients severely censured upon that account. Δῆλον δὲ ἐστὶ ἡδὲ τῶν τῶν Πλάτωνος μεμνημένων lege μεμνημένων [Οριγίνης] δογμάτων, ἔ τῆς τῶν ἀρχῶν παρ' αὐτῶν διαφοράς, περὶ ἀρχῶν γέγραφε βιβλίον. κ. τ. λ. Marcel. Ancyran. apud Euseb. contra Marcel. l. 1. c. 4. p. 23.

^r Ipsæ denique hæreses a philosophiâ subornantur. Inde Æones & formæ nescio quæ—— Hinc illæ fabulæ & genealogiæ interminabiles, & quæstiones infructuosæ, & sermões serpentes velut cancer a quibus nos apostolus refrænans, nominatim philosophiam testatur caveri oportere—— Fuerat Athenis, & istam sapientiam humanam, affectatricem & interpolatricem veritatis, de congressibus noverat, ipsam quoque in suas hæreses multipartitam varietate sectarum invicem

SERM. II. *Valentinians*^u and other *Gnosticks*^w, and afterwards against the *Arians*^x, that they had transcribed after *Plato* and his followers, and corrupted the simplicity of the Christian faith with mixtures of *philosophy*.

vicem repugnantium. Quid ergo Athenis & Hierosolymis? Quid Academiæ & Ecclesiæ? Quid Hæreticis & Christianis? Nostra institutio de porticu Salomonis est, qui & ipse traderat Dominum in simplicitate cordis esse quærendum. Viderint qui Stoicum, & Platicum, & Dialecticum Christianissimum protulerunt—— *Tertul. de præscript. cap. 7.* Doleo bonâ fide Platonem omnium Hæreticorum condimentarium factum. *Idem, de Animâ cap. 23.* Hæreticorum patriarchæ philosophi. *Idem advers. Hermog. cap. 8.* De Platonis philosophiâ major & antiquior est expositio christianorum patrum—— Et verò res per se loquitur, ac præscarum omnium hæresum, quæ primis tribus sæculis exortæ sunt, historia ipsa testatur, Simonianos, Valentinianos, Marcionitas, Manichæos ac cæteros non aliunde quam ex commentis Platonis subornatos esse, &c. *Petav. Dogm. Theolog. in Prolegom. c. 3. §. 2. vid. & eund. de Trin. l. 1. c. 1.*

^u Quod autem dicunt imagines esse hæc eorum quæ sunt, & rursus manifestissimè Democriti & Platonis sententiam edisserunt. *Iren. adv. her. l. 2. c. 19. alias 14.* Ipsæ denique hæreses a Philosophiâ subornantur. Inde Æones & formæ nescio quæ, & Trinitas hominis apud Valentinum: Platoniscus fuerat. *Tertul. de præscr. c. 7.* Hoc fecit infelix Valentinus & Basilides, hoc fecit & Marcion hæretici, furati sunt isti linguas aureas de Hiericho, & Philosophorum nobis non rectas in Ecclesias introducere conati sunt sectas & polluere omnem ecclesiam Domini. *Origen hom. 7. in Josuen.*

^w Ἠκολούθησε ἡ ἔτα πῶς καὶ ὁ Πλάτων τῶδε τῶ μύθῳ ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Μάνης, καὶ πρόγε τέττε ὁ τῶν καλουμένων Γνωστικῶν δυσσεβῆς ἑρμαθὸς τὰς ἀφορμὰς εἰληφότες—— οἱ ἡ παρμύριοι Καρποκράτης, καὶ Επιφάνης, καὶ Προδίκος, καὶ οἱ Καίλιοι τὸν συνάδη βίον νομοθετήσαντες—— *Theodorit. Hær. fab. l. 5. c. 20. p. 297.*

^x Ariana hæresis magis cum sapientiâ sæculi facit, & argumentationum rivos de Aristotelis fontibus mutuatur. *D. Hier. in dialog. advers. Luciferianos, inter opera tom. 4. par. 2. col. 296. Ed. Ben.*

and

and vain deceit. The heathens were sensible of this aversion in the Catholicks to their philosophy: nor were they wanting, for that reason, to upbraid them as forsaking the eloquence and wisdom of the *Greeks*, to embrace the doctrine of *Barbarians*. The Catholicks were so far from dissembling this charge, that they readily acknowledg'd it^z, and justified themselves, by observing what absurdities and contradictions, what doubt and inconsistency, what useles speculations, at the best, were found in the greatest *philosophers*, whilst whatever was useful or valuable in their writings, was entirely borrowed from the sacred oracles; ^a. They rejected

^y Τατιαδὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑλλήνας, ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄπειρον τῶν φιλοσοφούντων πλῆθος καινοτομῆ τὰ βαρβάρων ὀνύματα. Ita *Ethnici* apud Tatian. in orat. contra Græc. §. 57. p. 124. *alias* 170. Eusebius takes notice of the like objection, — τί δὴ ἄρα καλὸν ἢ σεμνὸν ἰδόντες ἐν τοῖς βαρβάρων γράμμασι, τῆς πατρώας καὶ εὐγενῆς φιλοσοφίας, τῆς ἑλλήνων λέγω, προκρίνειν αὐτὰ διαγενομένηα. Præp. Evang. l. 14. in proem. — τῶν καταλιπόντων τὰ σφέτερα, καὶ τὰ ἰουδαίων προσποιουμένων. Celsus apud Origen. l. 5. p. 359. In like manner speaks Porphyry of Origen, in Euseb. H. E. l. 5. c. 19. and Julian, apud Cyril. Alex. contra Julian, l. 2. p. 43. Paris, 1638.

^z Vid. Tatian. ut sup. §. 56. Orig. ibid. Cyril. Alex. ibid. & l. 7. p. 230, 231.

^a Ἀντίκα τῶν εἰρημίων ὅσα μὲν ἐπιτυχῶς λέλεκται τῷ ἀνδρὶ σωτηρέχοι ἀν τοῖς Μωσῆ διδουμένοις ὅσα ἢ μὴ ἀρίσκοντα Μωσῆ καὶ τοῖς προφήταις ὑπέλαβεν, ἐκ ἀν ἔχοι σωεσῶτα τὸν λόγον. Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 11. c. 28. vid. & Aug. de civ. Dei. l. 8. c. 11.

SERM. II. all the parts of *philosophy* with such disdain and contempt, that the moderns who think fit to make use of it in their searches after truth, have found it necessary to take some pains, in order to reconcile their practice with this judgment of the ancients^b.

And no wonder, whilst the whole study of philosophy was employ'd to beat down Christianity, if the christian writers should think of it with different sentiments from those which have been entertain'd since the ceasing of such danger, and profess'd opposition^c. As the *Platonick* system was the most specious and plausible, so there was the greatest danger apprehended from it; and for that reason the ancient writers of our religion have express'd themselves with greater zeal and vehemence against *Plato*, than they have against *Zeno*, *Aristotle*, or *Epicurus*; they have labour'd to expose his absurdities as well in moral as in natural *philosophy*; and in short, they seem not more averse to any thing, than to confess the credit or authority of this *philosopher*^d. So that if we were resolv'd to

^b Vide Petav. Dogm. Theolog. in Prolegom. cap. 4. §. 12. — 17.

^c Vide Baltus defense des SS. Peres accusez de Platonisme, l. 2. c. 18.

^d Vide ejusd. l. 3. per totum.

Suppose them imitators of the heathens, we might seem to offer less violence to their writings, by ascribing them to any other sect than to the *Platonists*, since there is no other of which they have so amply expressed their detestation and abhorrence.

Not that they had really a worse opinion of *Plato*, than they had of any other *philosopher*! but only as they apprehended more danger from him, there was the greater necessity of being fuller and more explicit in their declarations against him. Otherwise it must be owned that some of them, when they have taken the *philosophers* in a comparative view, have spoke of *Plato* in terms of less dislike than the rest^e, as approaching nearer in his notions to the truth of things, and less opposed to the doctrines of the Gospel. But it ought no more to be concluded from hence that they were followers of *Plato*, than from our saying of the hereticks and infidels of these days, that some are less hurtful than others, and nearer to the catholick faith, it might be argued, that we did really approve of any of 'em, and concurr'd in the same sentiments with

^e Ουλος μόνον [Πλάτων] ἔοικε τῇ δόξῃ τῆς πάσης υπερακογίσιας.
Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 11. in præm. vid. & D. August. de Civ. Dei. l. 8. c. 5, &c. l. 10. c. 1.

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them^f. The glimmerings of truth which appear'd in *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, they ascribed to the remains of *Hebrew* learning pick'd up by them in *Egypt*^g, which they had greatly corrupted and adulterated by their own vain and contradictory opinions. And it is worth our observing, that the learned *Dr. Cudworth*, amidst all his endeavours to shew the agreement between the *Platonists* and the ancient Fathers, supposes *Plato* himself to have derived his notions from a Divine or *Mosaick Cabala*, tho' by many of his followers depraved and misunderstood^h.

From hence therefore, when the Fathers were endeavouring to convince the heathens of the truth of Christianity, they very reasonably judg'd it might be useful

^f Isti philosophos ceteros nobilitate atque auctoritate vicerunt, non ob aliud, nisi quia longo quidem intervallo, veruntamen reliquis propinquiores sunt veritati. D. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 11. c. 5. Ideo istos philosophos dixi aliis fuisse meliores, in comparatione pejorum— & in quo illi meliores erant, quamvis in multis a veritate deviantes, tamen in quo erant istis superiores, veritati fuerant propinquantes. D. Aug. Serm. de temp. 139 alias 240.

^g Πλάτων ἀποδείξασθαι μὴν, ὡς ἔοικεν, τὴν περὶ ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου θεῶ, Μωσέως ἔ τῶν ἄλλων προφητῶν διδασκαλίαν, ἢ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενέσθαι ἔγνω. κ. τ. λ. Just. Mart. Cohort. ad Græc. Πλάτων τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας δοξάζουσι μὴ πως ἐπιτεκέσθαι περὶ τε θεῶ καὶ κόσμου· συνειλόχασιν ἢ τὴν εἰς τῆτο παιδείαν, ἔ τιν ἐπιστήμῳ Αἰγυπτίῳ ἐμβέβηκατες, παρ' οἷς δὴ πολὺς ὁ περὶ τῆ πανσέφου Μωσέως λόγος ἦν, καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν δογμάτων τὸ θαῦμα ἐπιτήμηο. Cyr. Alex. advers. Julian. l. 2. p. 47. Paris, 1638.

^h Cudworth. Intellect. System. p. 557.

to this purpose, to collect out of the writings of their own *philosophers*, such passages as contain'd any of these glimmerings of truth, that from thence they might argue for the greater certainty of that religion, by which those matters were proposed with greater evidence and perspicuity. Among the rest, as *Plato* had treated of many points unknown to other *philosophers*, and had sometimes express'd himself almost in the very words of Scriptureⁱ, inso-much that some of his own followers^k look'd upon him to be but as another *Moses speaking Greek*, it must be reasonable to conclude, with the concurrence of all antiquity, that he had either seen the *Jewish* books in his travels, or at least had pick'd up some notices of their religion by conversing with them that had^l.

ⁱ Τῆς ἑβραίων γραφῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ δημιουργημάτων ἐπιφανέσης· καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πάντων συγκεφαλαιώσει φασκίσης καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἰδὲ καλὰ λίαν. Ἄκουε τῶ Πλάτωνος λέγοντος, εἰμὲν δὲ καλὸς ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ὁ κόσμος, ὅτε δημιουργὸς ἀγαθός, ὅλον ὡς πρὸς τὸ αἰδῖον ἔολεσε. καὶ πάλιν ὁ μὲν ἦ καλλίς τῶν γεγονότων, ὁ δ' ἀρεῖς τῶν αἰτίων. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 11. c. 31. Hæc et alia vid. apud Balt. Defensæ des SS. Peres l. 4. c. 24.

^k Νουμῆνι ἢ ὁ Πυθαγόρει φιλόσοφῳ ἀντικρὺς γράφει, τὸ γὰρ ἐστὶ Πλάτων, ἢ Μουσῆς ἀτυκίζων. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. p. 342. vid. et Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 6. Theodorit. Serm. 2. p. 505. Suid. in voce Νουμῆνι.

^l See this proved by Father Baitus, in his Defensæ des SS. Peres l. 4. c. 22, 23. See Bishop Bull, Def. fid. Nic. sect. 1. cap. 1. §. 18, 19. & Prim. & Apost. trad. cap. 5. §. 5. and Dr. Allix Judgment of the Jewish Church, chap. 23.

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So that as the ancient defenders of our faith had observed in his and other pagan writings, some obscure footsteps of the *Mosaick* history of the *creation* and the *deluge*, and of the doctrines of the *immortality* of the soul, and the *resurrection* of the dead^m, it is no wonder if among the rest, they should not fail to urge what he has said of the *divine Word*, and apply it to dispose those heathens with whom they disputed to a readier reception of the christian mysteries. But can it be concluded from all this, that they took their notions from *Plato*, or approved of all the superstitious mixtures with which he had blended and corrupted what was true? No; we might argue with as much reason, that their notions of the soul's *immortality* and the *resurrection* of the body were taken from *Plato* too! Let us but observe with what severity many of the ancients treat the works of *Origen*, upon suspicion of his indulging too much to philosophick reasonings, and accuse the hereticks in general of corrupting the simplicity of the christian doctrine by such kind of speculations; nay, how *Origen* himself was not

^m Tho' the Platonists disown'd and ridiculed the christian notions of the resurrection; yet there seem to be some footsteps of it in their doctrine of incorruptible bodies, and of the transmigration of souls.

insensible that his philosophick studies were a matter which needed some apologyⁿ; and it can never be imagined that the common doctrine of the Church, in matters of such vast moment, should be formed upon the maxims of *philosophy*, but only that those maxims might be urged upon occasion, to convince the heathens among whom they were receiv'd.

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And yet where, after all, is this prodigious conformity between the principles of *Plato*, and the christian doctrine of the Trinity? Does there any thing appear like it in the writings of *Plato* himself, or of those who have given any account of his notions, before the conclusion of the second century? What is there in *Tully*, or in *Plutarch*, in *Apuleius*, or *Diogenes Laertius*, which might countenance this insinuation? There might be something for the Christians to lay hold of in their arguments about the Trinity; something *Plato* had said of the *Divine Word* or *Wisdom*, which might help to take off that aversion the heathens had usually express'd against this mystery: but the doctrine it self, as stated by the Fathers, was not proposed among them, nor any thing that look'd like it, till the revival of *Plato*-

¶ Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 19.

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Having thus far remov'd the charge of *Platonism* from the Church, I should next go on with *Tertullian*, *Hippolytus* and *Origen*, and the Fathers that followed in the third century. But with them I purpose to proceed (God willing) at some other opportunity.

Now to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, &c.

° Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων. Plotin. Eunead. 5. l. 1. ψυχὴν ἢ γεννᾶ νῆς— νῆς ἢ γέννημα λόγου τὸς καὶ ὑπέσασιν τὸ διανοούμενον. Ibid. cap. 7.

^p Vid. Petav. de Trin. l. 1. c. 8. §. 2. yet Dr. Cudworth (p. 575. of his Intellectual System) observes this difference, that the Platonists supposed their three principles eternal. See Socrat. H. E. l. 7. c. 6. However, their admitting a division both of existence and power, was clearly coincident with the Arian System.



SERMON III.

Preach'd JAN. 2, 1723-4.



THE doctrine of the second century, in relation to the everblessed *Trinity*, was so far clear'd up and explain'd, when I was last in this place, as can leave us in no reasonable doubt of its having been, as to the main and substance of it, the same with that which is still acknowledg'd for the catholick faith; however some new terms may have been introduced, as others may have grown obsolete, in proportion to the different circumstances of the Church, and the opposition it received from hereticks. The charge which some novelists have brought against it, as tho' 'twere borrowed from the school of *Plato*, and were nothing else but pagan

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philosophy dress'd up under a christian garb, was shewn at the same time to be altogether groundless, and without any support. So that being thus far clear in our original, we may have leave now to come lower down, and observe what turns this controversy took, as new heresies arose, which required a new kind of opposition.

172.

It was near thirty years before the conclusion of the second century^a, that the enthusiastick spirit of *Montanus* had made its claim to a divine authority, and by the most specious appearances of piety and great austerity, had gain'd over many profelytes, and was grown into a good degree of reputation^b. It is not to be disputed but this enthusiast acknowledged the one Godhead of Father, Son and Holy Ghost^c. And indeed our adversaries are so far from disputing it, that some of them would suggest, the doctrine was derived from him, and cannot be traced to any better original^d. But the falshood of that

^a Vid. Cave, Hist. Lit. ad an, 172.

^b See the History of Montanism. Art. 1, 2.

^c Hist. of Mont. Art. 2. §. 12. Theodorit. Hær. fab. l. 3. c. 2. Philastr. de Hær. c. 49. Epiphan. Hær. 48. §. 1.

^d Schlichting. præfat. ad Eccles. Evang. pastores, p. 17, &c. Sandius in Nucl. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. p. 136. Edit. 1669. Whiston's true origine of the Sabellian and Athanasian doctrines, p. 64, &c.

suggestion

suggestion will easily appear, when 'tis consider'd that *Montanus* and his followers were for a good while suffer'd to remain in the communion of the Church, which could never have been allowed, if their doctrine in this important article had been new and inconsistent with the catholick faith. And when at last they were actually excluded, this made no part of the charge against them, which was founded on their breach of order and unity, and arrogant ascribing their pretended revelations to the impulse of the Holy Ghost^e. After this, they are said to have taken occasion, from the controversy about *Easter*, to court the favour of Pope *Victor*, and did so far insinuate themselves into his esteem, as to obtain letters of communion from him^f; till *Praxeas*, coming from *Asia* to *Rome*, gave him a different notion of the men, and prevail'd with him to revoke and cancel the countenance which he had shewn 'em^g. *Praxeas*, however, was not him-

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circa 198.

^e Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. c. 14, 16.

^f The Pope's name, who granted these letters, is not in Tertullian. Mr. Dodwel, in Dissert. de Rom. Pontiff. c. 15. §. 9. &c. contends that *Praxeas* came to Rome in the time of Pope *Zephyrin*, who succeeded *Victor*: but his argument proves only that he broach'd his heresy under him, not that he came to Rome no sooner. Bishop *Pearson* (Diss. 2. c. 9.) has more to say for referring it to the time of *Eleutherus*, who was before *Victor*. But the more general opinion lies between them.

^g Tertul. adv. Praxeam. cap. 1.

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self clear from the charge of heresy; whilst for fear of destroying the Unity of the divine Nature, he acknowledg'd no other than a nominal distinction, and believ'd the Father Almighty to be in all points *the same* who was born and suffer'd in *Judea*, and to differ no otherwise than as he was consider'd under different views, and so term'd the Father in one respect, the Son in another, and the Holy Ghost in a third^h.

It has been formerly observ'dⁱ, that some such sort of principle seems to have been advanced by *Simon Magus*, and was certainly espoused in the time of *Justin* and *Tatian*, by some obscure persons of no name in history. But now, by the activity and diligence of *Praxeas*, it spread with greater success, being propagated by him first at *Rome*, and afterwards in *Africk*^k: where tho' he was once brought to a retractation, yet he soon resumed the exploded heresy, and asserted it with greater vigour; insomuch that notwithstanding the opposition he had made to the enthu-

^h Itaque post tempus Pater natus, & Pater passus, ipse Deus, Dominus omnipotens, Jesus Christus predicatur— dum unicum Deum non alias putat credendum, quam si ipsum eundemque & Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum sanctum dicat. Ibid. c. 2.

ⁱ See the foregoing Sermons, p. 28, 30, 72.

^k Hist. of Mont. art. 8. §. 4.

fiasm of *Montanus*, yet there was a sect of the *Montanists* themselves imbibed his heresy¹, who were term'd the followers of *Æschines*, in contradistinction to another sect of those enthusiasts, who were the followers of *Proclus*. So that St. *Jerom* must be understood with some caution, when he makes mention of the *Montanists*, without any distinction, without any distinction, as embracing the doctrine of *Sabellius*^m. And from hence we may account for the mention which *Pacian*ⁿ has made of *Praxeas* himself as a teacher of the *Montanists*.

From the nature of this *Praxean* heresy, it may justly be observed, how clearly the doctrine of the Church had declared for the proper Divinity of the Son and Holy Ghost, infomuch as to give a handle for confounding them with each other, and representing them as nothing else but other names for the Father himself^o. The
Unity

¹ Sunt enim qui Kata Proclum dicuntur, sunt qui secundum Æschinem pronunciantur.— Privatam autem blasphemiam illi qui sunt Kata Æschinem, hanc habent qua adjiciunt etiam hoc, ut dicant Christum ipsum esse Filium & Patrem. Tertul. de Præscript. cap. 52, vid. & Theodor. Hær. fab. l. 3. c. 2.

^m Hieron. Ep. 54. aliàs 27.

ⁿ Pacian. Ep. 1. contra Novatianos in tom. 4. mag. Biblioth. Patr. col. Agrip. 1618. p. 235.

^o Æstiment ergo an hic sit Deus, cujus auctoritas tantum movit quosdam, ut putarent, illum jam ipsum Patrem Deum;

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Unity of the divine Nature was confess'd on both sides: but the difficulty was how to include the Three in this divine Unity. The hereticks took away all real distinction, lest they should divide the substance: And had the Catholicks conceiv'd of them as the *Arians* did afterwards, that they are Beings truly separate, they would have found no difficulty in maintaining the reality of their distinction, and the possibility of one assuming human nature without the other. But the truth is, they were for preserving both, and therefore sometimes were at a loss for proper words to express themselves in such manner as to avoid the falling into either extream. They had sometimes spoke of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as *one* and the *same*; and when some persons, without regarding those other passages which implied a *real* distinction, had from hence taken occasion to represent it as tho' 'twere only *nominal*, this made it necessary for them to introduce new terms in the explication of this mystery, in order to guard their sense against any mistake, that they might neither give the hereticks any handle to support their own heresy,

um; effrenatius & effusus in Christo Divinitatem confiteri, ad hoc illos manifestâ Christi Divinitate cogente, ut quem Filium legerent, quia Deum animadverterent, Patrem putarent. Novat. de Trin. c. 18.

nor incur the blame of setting up another^p.

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209.

Tertullian was the first who wrote professedly against this dangerous opinion: and tho' he was by that time fallen into *Montanism*, yet it is remarkable that he does not ascribe his information in this matter to *Montanus*, but only his farther assurance and confirmation in it; he mentions it as the doctrine he had *always* believed, and appeals for it to that *rule of faith* which had been handed down from the days of the Apostles^q. The great scope of his book against *Praxeas*, is to prove a real distinction of the sacred Three, which he expresses in such high terms as to call the Son *another* from the Father, and the Holy Ghost *another* from both^r. Yet this way of expression, he knew, would need some apology; and therefore he adds, that he meant not hereby to intimate any separa-

^p See Dr. *Wall's* History of Infant Baptism, par. 2. ch. 5. §. 12.

^q Nos verò & semper & nunc magis ut instructiores per Paracletum—— unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione quam œconomiam dicimus, ut unicus Dei sit & Filius sermo ipse, qui ex ipso processerit—— qui exinde miserit, secundum promissionem suam, a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum. Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decurrerit, &c. *Tertul. advers. Praxeam. c. 2.*

^r Ecce enim dico alium esse Patrem, & alium Filium, & alium Spiritum: cap. 9.

SERM. III.  tion of them from each other, but spake thus merely of necessity, to guard against the captious disposition of his adversaries; who, attending to the *Monarchy* or *Unity*, in prejudice of this sacred *Oeconomy*, contended, that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were the *same*^f.

Thus was he all along careful to obviate the capital objection of the hereticks which was taken from the *Unity* of the divine Nature, which this Father thought to be abundantly secured by the catholick doctrine, whilst the *Unity deriving the Trinity out of itself, was not* (as he speaks) *destroy'd but administer'd*; so that the Father only was fountain of the Deity, and the same substance was acknowledged unoriginately in the Father, but derivatively in the Son and Holy Ghost^t. Thus they
were

^f Male accipit idiotæ quisque aut perversus hoc dictum, quasi diversitatem sonet, & ex diversitate separationem protendat, Patris & Filii & Spiritus. Necessitate autem hoc dico, cum eundem Patrem & Filium & Spiritum contendunt, adversus œconomiam monarchiæ adulantes, non tamen diversitate alium Filium a Patre, sed distributione; nec divisione alium, sed distinctione. Tertul. advers. Praxeam. c. 9.

^t Perversitas — quæ unicum Deum non alias putat credendum quam si ipsum eundemque & Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum dicat: quasi non sic quoque unus sit omnia, dum ex uno omnia, per substantiæ scilicet unitatem; & nihilominus custodiatur œconomiae sacramentum, quæ Unitatem in Trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens, Patrem & Filium & Spiritum Sanctum. cap. 2. — Unicum quidem, sed cum suâ œconomia esse credendum — quando unitas ex semetipsâ

were *three, not in dignity, but order; not in substance, but form; not in power, but manifestation* ^u. Tho' really distinguish'd, they were at the same time inseparably *coherent*: though *substantially united*, yet they were distinctly *enumerated* ^w, their *numbers* being no less certain than their *inseparability* ^x. From hence he made no scruple of attributing the title of *God* to every one of the Three; though still he was determined to acknowledge no more Gods or Lords than *One* ^y. Nay, and for the

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femetipsâ derivans Trinitatem, non destruat ab illâ sed administretur. cap. 3. Cæterum qui Filium non aliunde deduco, sed de substantiâ Patris— quomodo possum de fide destruere monarchiam, quam a Patre Filio traditum in Filio servo? Hoc mihi & in tertium gradum dictum sit, quia Spiritum non aliunde puto, quam a Patre per Filium. Vide ergo ne tu potius monarchiam destruas, qui dispositionem & dispensationem ejus evertis, &c. cap. 4.

^u Tres autem non statu, sed gradu; nec substantiâ, sed formâ; nec potestate, sed specie; unius autem substantiæ, & unius status, & unius potestatis; quia unus est Deus; ex quo & gradus isti & formæ & species in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti deputantur. cap. 2.

^w Ubique, teneo unam substantiam in tribus cohærentibus tamen alium dicam oportet ex necessitate sensus eum qui jubet, & eum qui facit. cap. 12. Ita connexus Patris in Filio, & Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero, qui tres unum sunt, non unus, quomodo dictum est ego & Pater unum sumus, ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem. cap. 25.

^x Quomodo autem numerum sine divisione patiuntur procedentes retractatus demonstrabunt. cap. 2.

^y Duos tamen Deos & duos Dominos nunquam ex ore nostro proferimus, non quasi non & Pater Deus, & Filius Deus, & Spiritus Deus, & Deus uniusquisque. cap. 13. —Ne

in

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the clearer dispatch of this controversy, he seems to have been the first that introduced the term *Person*, in contradistinction to *Substance*^a, and from hence he freely speaks of personal characters appropriate to each of the Three. And therefore when an ancient author^b says, that that term was never used in the Church till *Sabellius* made it necessary, he must be understood of such persons as advanced the *Sabellian* tenets, tho' long before the rise of *Sabellius* himself.

But however the consubstantiality of the persons be thus clearly asserted, it must be owned there is a passage in *Tertullian's*

in isto scandalizentur rationem reddidimus, qua Dei non dicantur, nec Domini, sed qua Pater & Filius duo; & hoc non ex separatione substantiæ, sed ex dispositione, quum individuum & inseparatum Filium a Patre pronunciamus; nec statu sed gradu alium; qui etsi Deus dicatur, quando nominatur, singularis non ideo duos Deos faciat, sed unum, hoc ipso quod & Deus ex unitate Patris vocari habeat. cap. 19.

^a Sic & cætera quæ nunc ad Patrem de Filio, nunc ad Filium de Patre, vel ad Patrem, nunc ad Spiritum pronunciantur, unamquamque personam in suâ proprietate constituunt. cap. 11. —Scriptura distinguit inter personas—— Alium autem quomodo accipere debeas jam professus sum; personæ non substantiæ nomine; ad distinctionem, non ad divisionem. cap. 12.

^b Personarum autem nomen, non nisi cum Sabellius impugnaret ecclesiam, necessario in usum prædicationis assumptum est; ut qui semper tres crediti sunt & vocati, Pater & Filius & Spiritus Sanctus, uno quoque simul & communi personarum nomine vocarentur. Facund. Defens. trium capit. l. 1. c. 3. p. 19.

book against *Hermogenes*^c, that seems at first sight to bear hard against the Son's eternity. Which yet, upon a stricter examination, and comparing it with his book against *Praxeas*^d, may appear to be only a nicer speculation of that Father, who had perhaps too subtilly improved upon the distinction of the ancients between the *internal Reason* always coexisting with the Father, and the same *Reason* brought forth to an *external Word*, and so in time obtaining the character and name of a *Son*^e.

But whatever be determined of *Tertulian's* notion of the nature of the *Son*, yet with respect to the *Holy Ghost* at least, it is pretended by some of our *anti-trinitarian* writers^f, that the notion of *his* Divinity was entirely new, and derived from

^c Non tamen ideo Pater & Judex semper, quia Deus semper: nam nec Pater potuit esse ante Filium, nec Judex ante delictum. Fuit autem tempus cum & delictum & Filius non fuit. Tertul. adv. Hermog. cap. 3.

^d Ante omnia enim Deus erat solus— quia nihil aliud extrinsecus præter illum. Cæterum ne tunc quidem solus; habebat enim secum quam habebat in semetipso; rationem suam scilicet. — Nam etsi Deus nondum sermonem suum miserat, proinde eum cum ipsâ & in ipsâ ratione intra semetipsum habebat, tacite cogitando & disponendo secum, quæ per sermonem mox erat dicturus. Tertul. adv. Prax. c. 5.

^e Vid. de hac re fufius D. Bull. Def. fid. Nic. sect. 3. cap. 10.

^f Vid. Schlichting. in præfat. ad Ecclesiar. Evangelicar. Pastores, disputationi de SS. Trinit. præfixâ. p. 21. Whiston's *origin of the Sabellian and Athanas. doctrine*, p. 64, &c.

SERM. III. the Spirit of *Montanus*, and that *Tertullian*^b intimates as much himself, when he professes to believe the Godhead as consisting of *two, the Father and Son, AND NOW three with the Holy Ghost*. From that word *NOW*, they would infer that his acknowledgment of the Holy Ghost was matter of new light receiv'd since he became a *Montanist*. But when it is remembered that he mentions all as matter of *catholick tradition*, contained in the *rule of faith*, and founded on the Scriptures of the old and new testament, it must be most unreasonable to suppose all this overthrown by an ambiguous word, in a writer of so many peculiarities in style as *Tertullian*, when that very word, if it be not (as some have thought) an error of transcribers^h, may however be much better explain'd to refer to the fuller confirmation of an old doctrine, by his pretended prophet, than to the first revelation of a new oneⁱ.

^b Duos quidem definimus, Patrem & Filium, & jam tres cum Spiritu Sancto. Tertul. adv. Prax. cap. 13. Itaque duos & tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari. cap. 3.

^h Et jam, if the words be join'd, will be etiam. Vid. Calov. Script. Antifocin. vol. 2. p. 503.

ⁱ Thus Tertullian himself a little lower, ubi venit Christus — factus secundus a Patre, & cum Spiritu tertius ET JAM Pater per ipsum plenius manifestatus, &c. Tertul. adv. Prax. cap. 13.



Such was the state of the *Trinitarian* controversy in the time of *Tertullian*, who lived at the close of the second, and beginning of the third century. But all the opposition which he made to the heresy of *Praxeas* in *Africa*, could not hinder it from spreading afterwards^k into *Asia*, by the industry and cunning of *Noëtus*, an inhabitant of *Smyrna*^l. And therefore as the persons of this principle, who from the nature of their heresy were called at first *Monarchians* by *Tertullian*^m, and afterwards *Patripassians*ⁿ by the Latin Church, had like-

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^k Epiphanius (hær. 57. §. 1.) speaking of the age of Noëtus, says he spread his heresy about an hundred and thirty years ago, more or less: the way of speaking shews he did not intend an exact calculation, but something near it. Now Epiphanius began to write his books against heresies in the year 374; (see Cave hist. lit. an. 368.) from whence that account would bring us to the year 244. On the other hand, Hippolytus, who wrote against Noëtus, and therefore must have writ after him, tho' not long, (ὁ πρὸ πολλῆς χρόνου γενόμενος. Hippol. contra Noët. §. 1.) is said by some to have died in the year 230. (vid. Tillem. tom. 4. in Les Sabelliens) by others in the year 235; but both upon uncertain grounds, (vid. D. Cave, hist. lit. ad an. 220. in utroque volum.) The truth may be, probably, between both. So that Noëtus might appear about the year 238, and Hippolytus's answer might be written about the year 240, if Maximin's persecution held so long, otherwise his martyrdom must be brought down to Decius. See Till. tom. 3. S. Hippolyte.

^l Νοήτης μαθητῆς, ὃς τὸ μὴ γένεθ' ἢν Σμυρναίῳ. Hippol. contr. Noëtum §. 1. vid. Fabric. annot. item Theodor. hær. fab. l. 3. c. 3. Epiphanius (hær. 57. §. 1.) speaks of him as being of Ephesus.

^m Quod vanissimi isti Monarchiani volunt. Tertul. adv. Prax. cap. 10.

ⁿ Vid. Philastr. de hæres. cap. 54. & D. August. de hæres. cap. 41.

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wife the name of *Praxeans*^o, from their chief leader in *Africk*, so now they began to be made known in the *East* under the name of *Noetians*^p.

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Against this heresy of *Noëtus*, there soon appeared a seasonable antidote, written by *Hippolytus* the Bishop of *Porto* in *Arabia*^q, which is still extant, tho' denied by our modern *Arians* to be genuine, and called with confidence enough, the interpolated *Hippolytus*^r. But this, for no better reason that I know of, than because at the same time that he confutes the *Næ-tians*, he carefully guards against the other extreme, which was afterwards taken by

• *Idem ibidem.*

^p *Philastr. cap. 53. D. Aug. cap. 36.*

^q *St. Jerom (de Script. Eccles. cap. 61.) knew not of what place he was Bishop: Eusebius does, not obscurely, intimate it to have been somewhere in Arabia (E. H. l. 6. c. 20.) Gelasius (de duob. natur. apud Le Moyne in Proleg.) makes him Bishop of the metropolis of Arabia. We have not yet the name of the city; but sometimes we find him called Bishop of Rome, and sometimes of Porto of Rome, (vid. Fabric. in præfat. ad Hippol.) which has inclined some to think him Bishop of Portus Romanus at the mouth of the Tibur, which was thought to be not a little confirmed by a monument of him dug up at Rome about an hundred and seventy years ago. But how does this agree with his being Bishop of Arabia? A learned Author [Le Moyne proleg. ad varia sacra fol. * 29. 2.] has happily removed the difficulty, by supposing him to have been Bishop of Aden in Arabia-Fælix, called by Greek writers, *πρωμακρον ἐμπορειον*, which gave ground to the mistake. Vid. & D. Cave hist. lit. ad an. 220. in utroque vol.*

^r See Reply to Dr. Waterland, p. 117. and elsewhere.

the *Arians*, and to which the *Praxeian* or *Noetian* hereticks did constantly endeavour to reduce the orthodox. That he wrote a book against thirty two heresies, concluding with that of the *Noetians*, is attested by *Photius*^f. That this piece which now remains is a fragment of that larger work, may be fairly argued from the first words of it^g, which plainly refer to something that had gone before upon the subject of other heresies. And that it is the concluding part, may be farther argued from the solemn *doxology*^h with which it ends. That author's way of thinking, and of explaining this mystery, is so much the same with *Tertullian's*, that whilst it shews the perfect harmony between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, it must likewise argue it the genuine product of that age, and therefore of *Hippolytus*.

It appears from this writer, as well as from *Tertullian*, that the grand argument of the *Monarchian* or *Unitarian* hereticks was taken from the *Unity* of the divine nature, by which they hoped to reduce the

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^f Phot. Biblioth. cod. 121.

^g Ἐτεροί τινες ἑτέρας διδασκαλίαν παρεισάγουσιν, κ. τ. λ. Hippol. contra Noet. §. 1.

^h Ἀυτῶ ἡ δόξα ἐ τὸ κράτῳ ἅμα πατεῖ ἐ ἀγία πνεύματι, ἐν τῇ ἀγία ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐ ἰν ἐ αἰεὶ κὶ εἰς τὸς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, ἀμήν. §. 18. in fine.



Catholicks to the unhappy *dilemma* of either accepting of their scheme, or declaring for open *Tritheism*. *Hippolytus* replies in the same way with *Tertullian*, that they asserted the *Unity* of nature and power as much as any of them all, but that this destroy'd not that mysterious *Oeconomy*, whereby a plurality of PERSONS subsisted in a proper order, the Father having always his *Word* and *Wisdom* in himself, which were manifested in due time to perform his wondrous operations^w. All which agrees well with *Hippolytus's* doctrine upon other occasions; as when disputing with the *Jews* he represents the

^w Τις ἦδ' οὐκ ἐρεῖ ἕνα θεὸν εἶναι; ἀλλ' ἔ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀναίρησει, Hippol. contra Noet. §. 3. --- μυστήριον οἰκονομίας --- ὁ πατὴρ ἦν ἐν τῷ υἱῷ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, ἐμπολιτευομένης τῆς υἱᾶς ἐν ἀνθρώποις. --- πῶς ἔν ἦν ἐν ἑραυῶ ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος ἄσαρκος; --- λόγος σαρκῆς ἦν, πνεῦμα ἦν, δύναμις ἦν. §. 4. ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογησὶς γενένηται, καὶ ἀνθρώπος γενόμενος θεὸς ἐστὶν εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας. §. 6. ἐκ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμῷ, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐσμέν· τὸ γὰρ ἐσμὲν ἐκ ἐφ' ἑνὸς λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ δύο πρόσωπα εἰδείξεν, δύναμιν ἢ μίαν. §. 7. --- καὶ τέττας εἶναι ἕτως τρεῖς. Ἐἰ ἢ βέλεται μαθεῖν πῶς εἰς θεὸς ἀποδεικνύται, γινώσκεται ὅτι μία δύναμις τέττα, καὶ ὅσον μὲν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ἐστὶ θεὸς, ὅσον ἢ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, τριχῆς ἢ ἐπίδειξις. §. 8. Θεὸς μόνος ὑπάρχων, εἰ μηδὲν ἔχων ἐαυτῷ σύγχρονον --- αὐτὸς ἢ μόνος ἂν πολὺς ἦν· ἔτε ἦδ' ἀλογος, ἔτε ἄσοφος, ἔτε ἀδύνατος, ἔτε ἀεθέλευτος ἦν --- τῶν ἢ γινομένων ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σύμβουλον καὶ ἐργάτην ἐγένετο λόγος, ὃν λόγον ἔχων ἐν ἐαυτῷ --- ὁρατὸν ποιεῖ, πρότερον φωνὴν φεγγερόμενος --- αὐτῷ μόνω πρότερον ὁρατὸν ὑπάρχοντα. --- διὰ λόγος εἰ σοφίας --- λόγος μὲν κτίζων, σοφία ἢ κοσμῶν --- §. 10. Ἐτερον ἢ λέγων, ἔ δύο θεὸς λέγων, ἀλλ' ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτός. §. 11. Δύο μὲν ἐκ ἐρῶ θεὸς, ἀλλ' ἢ ἕνα, πρόσωπα ἢ δύο, οἰκονομίαν ἢ τρίτη, χάριτι τῆς ἁγίας πνεύματος. §. 14.



Son as coeternal with the Father^x, and in opposition to certain hereticks advancing the same doctrine which was afterwards espoused by *Eutyches*, he asserts him to be at the same time the infinite God and a finite man, perfectly possess'd of the perfect substance of both^y.


Contemporary with *Hippolytus* was *Origen*, whose great aversion to the *Noetian* heresy occasion'd him to express the distinction of the three divine Persons in terms still stronger and more significant. It seems as if the hereticks had by this time taken advantage (in like manner as *Sabellius*^z certainly did afterwards) of the ambiguity of the word ^a *πρόσωπον*, which sometimes signifying no more than an appearance, manifestation, or theatrical character, they were content to admit, that in this sense there were three *πρόσωπα* in the Godhead, leaving out that other sense in which the Catholics plainly meant it, that they were three persons really subsisting. It was therefore necessary to use some other term which might guard against

^x Hippol. contra Judæos §. 7. Ἄυτὸς γάρ ἐστι ὁ τῷ πατρὶ συναΐδιος.

^y --- Θεὸν ὁμῶς καὶ περιγραπτόν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα τε καὶ νοούμενον, τὴν ἑσῶν ἑκατέρου τελείως τελείαν ἔχοντα. Hippol. contra Beron. & Helic. §. 1.

^z Basil Ep. 64. 391. p. 102.

^a See Dr. *Waterland's second Defense*, p. 212, 213.

SERM. III.  their subtle evasions. Accordingly *Origen*, as it is well known, applied the word ὑπόστασις^b, which besides a bare appearance or manifestation, must needs convey some notion of substance under it, and that with such an appropriate character as may distinguish it from other hypostases subsisting in the same essence^c. I do not say he was the first that ever used that word with relation to the Deity, and much less that he borrowed it from the *Platonick* philosophy, as *Grotius* has hardily asserted^d; whereas it might with better reason be presumed that the modern *Platonists* took it from the Christians^e. When *Tertullian*, who loved to imitate the *Greek* phrases, speaks of the Son as being ^f *res substantiva*, and held it absurd to imagine he should want *substance* who proceeded from so great a substance^g, he seems plainly to allude to the phrase now in view, and represents the Son as a distinct ὑπόστασις. Yet neither can I say that that word is so applied by any

^b Thus l. 8. contra Celsum p. 386. he blames the hereticks who denied δύο εἶναι ὑποστάσεις πατέρα καὶ υἱόν, and afterwards concludes, θεσηκεύομεν ἐν τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας, ἔ τὸν υἱὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔντα δύο τῆ ὑποστάσει πράγματα.

^c Vid. Suicer. in voce ὑπόστασις.

^d Grot. Annot. ad Joh. i. 2. & Heb. i. 3.

^e See the foregoing sermon, p. 102.

^f Deus Dei tanquam substantiva res. Tert. adv. Prax. cap. 26.


^g --- Nec carere substantiâ quod de tantâ substantiâ processit. Tertul. adv. Prax. c. 7. vid. & cap. 26.

Greek writer that is now extant, before the time of *Origen*: who, from the spreading of the *Noëtian* heresy, found it necessary to be as express as possible, in asserting the real and personal distinction of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and the mutual relations they bear to one another, which argue them to subsist in a regular subordination, and by consequence to be distinct.

All this has been urged against him by some writers of succeeding ages, as a proof of his inclining to the opposite extreme, and being tainted with that heresy, which in the next century was called *Arian*: and the *Arians* accordingly have usually appealed to him as a great patron and defender of their cause. But it ought to be observed, that amidst all the storms which were raised against him whilst he lived, there was never any suspicion of this kind fixed upon him, as there plainly was upon *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* in the like case; nor for a good while after, till about the beginning of the fourth century, when many of his books, writ only for private use^h, with less care and accuracy, and many times in a problematical wayⁱ, came to be dispersed in-

^h D. Hieron. Epist. 41. aliàs 65. ad Pammach. & Ocean.

ⁱ Vid. Athanas. de decr. syn. Nic. §. 27. tom. 1. p. 232.
3 Ed. Par. 1698.

SERM. III.  to many hands, and appealed to as the standard of his real sentiments: when many spurious writings were probably obtruded on the world under the shelter of his venerable name, and those which were really of his composure, had been greatly corrupted and interpolated by hereticks^k, who (as he complains^l himself) had begun to use that freedom with him in his own time, and would not, probably, be less audacious after he was dead. Yet notwithstanding this, he wanted not many men of name and character to plead his cause, and vindicate him from the charge of heresy. Besides *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius*, whose apology we have in the translation of *Ruffinus*, there were many others of distinguish'd zeal for orthodoxy (and among them the great *Athanasius*^m himself) who were not ashamed to profess their esteem for *Origen*, and appeal to him as a patron of the catholick cause. Nor do I find that many Catholicks of figure judged otherwise of him, till towards the middle of the fourth century, when the *Eustathian* party had run high, and almost endanger'd a relapse into *Sabellianism*.

^k Ruffin. de adulterat. libror. Origen. in tom. 5. operum D. Hieron. p. 249, &c. Ed. Ben.

^l In epistolâ eidem apologiæ annexâ.

^m Athanas. ubi supra.

In his writings that remain, and particularly in his books against *Celsus*, (which were written with more care and exactness, when his judgment was grown to greater ripeness and perfection, and in which there is least room to suspect any corruption) there are many passages which are wholly inconsistent with the *Arian* scheme, and could proceed from none but who believed that faith which the council of *Nice* did afterwards declare. The few passages which have been urged to the contrary, from his books against *Celsus*, have been shewn by learned men to admit of an easy reconciliation; and all that is alledg'd against us from his other writings, may be well ascribed to that corruption, which his works have unquestionably undergoneⁿ.

It was in his time that *Beryllus* Bishop of *Bostra* in *Arabia*, after he had for some time govern'd his Church with reputation^o, advanced at length some heretical tenets concerning the person of our blessed Saviour^p, that he did not subsist by a distinct

ⁿ Vid. D. Bull. Def. Nic. §. 2. cap. 9. and Dr. Waterland in his first and second Defense, frequently; particularly second Defense, p. 347, &c.

^o D. Hieron. de script. Eccl. cap. 71.

^p Euseb. E. H. l. 6. c. 33. Cave ad an 230. Bul. J. E. C. cap. 3. §. 4.

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 had any Divinity of his own, but that of
 the Father only⁹⁹. His heresy seems to have
 been mixed up of those of *Artemon* and
Noëtus, but was so doubtfully express'd,
 that when a synod was conven'd to consi-
 der it, *Origen*, to whom the chief ma-
 nagement of that affair was committed,
 was forced to use some art to discover the
 true meaning of his propositions; after
 which he easily convinced him of his er-
 243. ror, and brought him back to the confes-
 sion of the catholick faith^r.

A few years after the death of *Origen*,
 258. arose *Sabellius*, in *Africa*, the disciple (as
 some^f have reported) of *Noëtus*, but to
 be sure a strenuous assertor and propagator
 of his heresy; which from him has ever
 since been denominatèd the *Sabellian*.
 The nature of the argument alledg'd by
 him and his partisans, plainly shews that
 the Church at that time believed a *consub-*

⁹ Κατ' ἰδίαν ἕστας περιγραφῆν, the literal translation is by a proper difference of substance: but this, as the word is now used, had been no heresy. Therefore *Beryllus* must have used the word ἕστας to mean the same with ὑπόστασις, as was done by some others of that age. Vid. *Vales.* ad loc. p. 128.

⁹⁹ That the Godhead of the Father and the Son is one, is catholick doctrine. But *Beryllus* must have meant that our Saviour is not himself properly and essentially God, but only by participation. Vid. *Valesij* annot. ubi supra.

^r *Euseb.* ut supra. Cave ut sup. & vol. 2. p. 60.

^f *Philastr.* de hæres. cap. 54. *D. Aug.* de hæres. cap. 41.


stantial Trinity, or that each of the three persons is truly God: Which they pretended not to oppose by disowning their Divinity, but only by asserting them to be nothing else but three names of one and the same *hypostasis*. For thus they state the question: *ἓνα θεόν ἔχομεν ἢ τρεῖς θεοὺς; Are we to have one God (say they) or three Gods?* A question, which had been plainly impertinent in them, if each of the three persons were not confessedly divine!

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They were quickly opposed by that book of *Novatian*, which is still extant, upon the subject of the *Trinity*: wherein the author has demonstrated, with great strength of argument and scripture evidence, the real distinction of the three persons. This, with respect to the Holy Ghost, was abundantly sufficient, without entering into the particular proofs of his divine power and excellency; there being no hereticks in those days who acknowledg'd his Personality, and yet disputed his Divinity. And as far as *Novatian's* controversy lay with the *Sabellians*, the same had been sufficient likewise with respect to the Son; since those hereticks acknowledged a divine nature in Christ, and only denied his personal distinction from the Father. But for-

: Epiphani. hæc. 62. §. 2. p. 514.

SERM. III. asmuch as there were other heresies relating to the person of Christ, some which denied the reality of his incarnation, as the *Simonians* and *Marcionites*; and others, which affirm'd him to be man only, without any personal union of the Divinity, as the followers of *Ebion* and *Artemon*, he thought it for his purpose to insert a reasonable antidote against them both. The first he overthrows in few words^u, as being both less plausible, and by this time, without question, less in vogue. But the other he confutes by a large induction of testimonies from the sacred oracles^w, attesting Christ to be properly and truly God, subsisting from all eternity. Now this point being as much denied by the *Arians*, as it was by those more ancient hereticks, it follows that the *Arians* would have been equally detested by the ancient Church, and confuted in a manner by the same arguments^x. As to the unity of the divine nature, which was the capital objection of the early hereticks^y, *Novatian's* sense seems in the main to be the same^z with that of the catholick writers of those times, tho' his expression is perhaps more

^u Cap. 10.

^w Cap. 11, &c.

^x Bul. J. E. C. c. 3. §. 9.

^y Novat. Cap. 30, &c.

^z Vid. Bul. Def. fid. Nic. sect. 4. c. 4. §. 4.

confused and inaccurate^a, whilst he attributes the title of *one God* to the Father, as unoriginate, yet still consider'd as fountain of the Deity, communicating the divine substance to the Son, and therefore plainly consubstantial.

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The poison however of *Sabellianism*, being first broach'd at *Ptolemais*, a city of *Pentapolis* in *Africa*^b, was greedily imbibed, not only by the people, but some bishops of that country, insomuch that the Father was declared to have taken on him human flesh, and there were hardly any in those parts had the honesty or courage to make mention in their Churches of the Son of God^c. *Dionysius*, who had formerly been *Origen's* pupil, was at that time *Patriarch* (I beg leave to use a term which did not obtain its peculiar acceptation till a good while afterwards) *Dionysius*, I say, was at that time *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*: and he inherited so much of the zeal and spirit of his master, that he could not see such corruption of the christian doctrine prevailing within his jurisdiction, without contributing his utmost efforts to discourage and restrain it. To this end he wrote

^a See D. Waterl. second Def. p. 124, 125, 145.

^b Euseb. E. H. l. 7. c. 6.

^c Vid. Athanas. de sent. Dionys. §. 5. p. 246, 247. Ed. Bened.

them

SERM. III. them several epistles^d, asserting the real
 and necessary distinction between Father
 259. and Son, of which he gave some account
 in another letter to *Sixtus* or *Xystus* at
 that time Bishop of *Rome*^e. But, as it
 often happens in the heat of controversy,
 he let drop some expressions not sufficient-
 ly guarded against the other extreme^f.
 This quickly exposed him to the jealousy^g
 of the Orthodox as well as the *Sabellians*,
 and drew on their complaints against him
 262. to his namesake *Dionysius*, the successor of
Xystus in the *Roman* See. The Patriarch
 263. of *Alexandria* defended himself at large a-
 gainst their accusations, to the entire satisfac-
 tion of his namesake, and the synod assem-
 bled under him, on this occasion. He urged
 that his accusers had not quoted his words
 entirely, nor in the sense wherein he meant
 them^h, as was plain from the many express
 confessions he had interspersed of the ca-
 tholick faithⁱ; that whilst he consider'd
 the Son as cloath'd with human flesh, it
 was under that view that he mention'd

^d Euseb. & Athanas. ut supra.

^e Euseb. ibid.

^f Πόημα κ' γενητόν εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μήτε ἕ φύσει ἰδίον, ἀλλὰ ξένον καὶ ἑστίαν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ πατρί. Athanas. §. 4. p. 246.

^g Athanas. de sent. Dionys. §. 13.

^h §. 14 p. 253.

ⁱ §. 15, 16. p. 253, 254.



those allusions which intimated a substantial difference between him and his Father, in order to induce the *Sabellians* to a readier acknowledgment of their personal distinction; but that he had likewise enlarged more fully upon others, having express'd their *consubstantiality* under the allusions of a man and his son, the plant and the seed, the fountain and the rivulet; their *coëternity*, by terming the Son a ray of the Eternal Light, coëval with the Father, as light is with the sun; their *inseparable conjunction*, their *indivisible unity of substance*, by most expressly asserting it of all the three divine persons, so *extending* (as it were) *the Unity without division to a Trinity*, and *collecting again or gathering up that Trinity without diminution into Unity*^k: that, finally, tho' he had nowhere used the word *ὁμοῦσι* as not reading it in Scripture, yet he had laid down the full sense and import of it in these strong kind of expressions, which his ad-

^k Ἀπαύγασμα ὃ ἐν φωτὸς αἰθέρου, πάντως καὶ αὐτὸς αἰδίος ἐστίν· ὅτι καὶ αἰεὶ τοῦ φωτός, δῆλον ὡς ἐστίν αἰεὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα· εἰ ἐστίν ἡλικίᾳ, ἐστίν αὐγή· ἔτι μὲν ἡμεῖς εἰς τε τὴν τριάδα τὴν μονάδα πλατύνομεν ἀδιαίρετον, καὶ τὴν τριάδα πάλιν ἀμείωτον εἰς τὴν μονάδα συγκεφαλαιώμεθα· καὶ ἡ ἀνθρωπείαν γοῆν παρεβέβηκεν, δῆλον ὡς ἔσαν ὁμογενῆ· καὶ ἡ καὶ φυτὸν ἔπειτα ἀπὸ σπέρματος, ἢ ἀπὸ ρίζης ἀνελθόν, ἕτερον εἶναι· καὶ πάντως ὁμοφύεις, καὶ ποταμὸν ἀπὸ πηγῆς ρεόντα. Athanas. de sent. Dionys. §. 15—18.

SERM. III. versaries had not been so fair as to represent¹.


From this charge which was brought against so great a Patriarch, and the reception which it found at *Rome*, so far as to be examined by a publick synod^m; from hence, as well as from the earnest apology he made for himself, we may have leave to collect these two things; namely, (1.) that the doctrine of the Church was at that time manifestly opposite to the scheme which was afterwards espoused by *Arius*: since otherwise the Patriarch's unguarded expressions could not have given such matter of scandal and offence, nor have occasion'd his brother Bishops to have called upon him for so large a vindication. (2.) That the word *ὁμοῦσι* was at that time used by the Catholicks in this controversy, and they who rejected it were thought blameable in the judgment of the Church: for it made part of the charge against him, that he denied the *consubstan-*

¹ Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆτο ὁμοῦσιον φησὶ μὴ εὐρηκέναι, μηδ' ἀνεργασκέναι ποῦ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν, ἀλλὰ γε τὰ ἐπιχειρήματα μου τὰ ἐξῆς, ἀσσιωπήμασι τῆς διανοίας ταύτης ἐκ ἀπαόδει. Athanas. de sent. Diony. §. 18. p. 255. -- Εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν λέξιν ταύτην εὐρον ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν τὸν νοῦν συναγαγῶν, ἔγνων ὅτι υἱὸς ἂν καὶ λόγος ἔξ ἑνός ἂν εἴη τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς. §. 20. p. 257. vid. & Athanas. de decr. syn. Nic. §. 25. p. 231. & de synod. Arim. & Seleuc. §. 44. tom. 1. pag. 2. p. 758.

^m Vid. Labbé & Cossart. concil. ad an. 263. & Cave hist. it. vol. 2. p. 62.

tralityⁿ; and it was in answer to this charge, that the Patriarch thought himself concern'd to shew, that he had taught the same doctrine which was meant by that word, tho' he had hitherto declined the express use of the word itself.

Indeed there is no doubt but that word had been so used and applied long before the time of *Dionysius*. We find it in the book^o which is, falsely indeed, ascribed to *Mercurius Trismegistus*, but was certainly written not long after the age of the Apostles^p. *Tertullian's Unius Substantiæ* seems to be nothing else but a translation of it^q. And the ancient apologists for *Origen*, as well before the council of *Nice*^r, as after it^s, do expressly assert it to have been found in his works. Nay, and *Eusebius* himself^t, who had much better op-

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ⁿ Ὑπεροῦθι ὡς ποίημα καὶ γενητὸν λέγων τὸν υἱὸν μὴ ὁμοῦσιον τῷ πατρὶ. Athanas. de decr. syn. Nic. §. 25.

^o Ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος— ἠνώσθη τῷ δημιουργῷ νῶ, ὁμοῦσιος ἦν. Mercur. Trismegist. in Pimandr. cap. 1.

^p Vid. Petav. dogm. Theol. de Trin. l. 1. c. 2. §. 3, 4.

^q Tertul. ad. Prax. cap. 2.

^r Quæ utraq; similitudines manifestè ostendunt communionem substantiæ esse Filio cum Patre: aporrhæa enim ὁμοῦσιος videtur, &c. Origen apud Pamphilum in apologia tom. 5. Ed. Ben. p. 236. inter opera Hieron.

^s Patrem & Filium unius substantiæ, quod Græcè ὁμοῦσιον dicitur, designavit. Ruffin. de adulterat. libr. Origen. ibidem pag. 250.

^t Ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν πλῃλαιῶν τινὰς λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγγραφέας ἔγνωμεν, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ θεολογίας, εἰ τῷ ὁμοῦσιου συγκρησαμένους ὀνόματι. Eusebii epistola apud Socratem. E. H. l. 1. c. 8. versùs finem.

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portunity than we of looking into ancient books, assures us he had seen this word used by some learned and eminent bishops and writers among the ancients, to express the one Divinity of Father and Son. A word it was admirably fitted to guard against the heresies in both extremes: for as it manifestly overthrows the *Arian* cause, by asserting an equality of nature; so if rightly understood, it clearly destroys the *Sabellian*, since none but persons really distinguish'd can be properly esteem'd *consubstantial* to each other^u.

It should likewise be observ'd, that in opposition to this heresy there was a clause inserted in the creed of *Aquileia*^w, and possibly in some others^x, to confess the Father's being *invisible* and *impassible*, and consequently not that very person, who being cloath'd with human flesh made his appearance in *Judea*, and suffer'd for the sins of men.

It is not to be admir'd if in the warmth of this dispute, and before the use of terms came to be accurately fixed and settled,

^u Ἡ αὐτὴ ἢ ἡ φωνὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σαβελιῶν κακὸν ἐπανορθοῦται· ἀναίρει ἢ τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς ὑποστάσεως, καὶ εἰσάγει τελείαν τῶν προσώπων τὴν ἔννοιαν· ἔ ἢ αὐτὸ τί ἐστὶν ἐαυτῷ ὁμοῖσιον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἕτερον. D. Basil. Epist. 300.

^w Vid. Ruffin. in Symb. ad calc. Cyprian. & Suicer. in voce σύμβολον.

^x Erasmi. in resp. ad censur. Theol. Paris.



the most catholick writers should sometimes exprefs themselves in such manner as may seem to strain the point too much the other way, especially if judged of by the standard of modern use and acceptation. This was observable a little afterwards in the writings of that second *Origen*, *Pierius* the Presbyter and Catechist of *Alexandria*, who asserted the Father and Son to be *two substances* and *two natures*¹, as well as yet later in *Methodius* the Bishop of *Tyre*, and no friend to *Origen*, who affirm'd them to be *two powers*². And yet as *Photius*, who was never guilty of too much tenderness in censuring the ancients, has found no fault with that expression of *Methodius*, but rather intimates his orthodoxy from some other passages³, so he expressly declares, in the behalf of *Pierius*, that the whole scope of the context shew'd his faith in this matter to be pious and catholick, whilst he meant no more by the words *nature* and *substance*,

265.

290.

¹ Apud Phot. cod. 119. *Pierius* is sometimes referr'd to the year 283. (vid. Cave Hist. lit. ad eum annum.) But his succeeding *Dionysius* in the government of the school at *Alexandria*, makes it more reasonable to place him in 265. See Mr. Dodwel's *Appendix to his Dissertations upon Irenæus*. p. 488, 508, &c. item Cave Hist. lit. vol. 2. p. 58, 59.

² Method. apud Phot. Cod. 235.

³ Ibid. & Cod. 237. vid. Bull. Def. fid. Nic. sect. 2. c. 13. §. 9, 10. and sect. 3. c. 4. §. 7.



than others did by *Hypostasis*^b. So little reason have our modern *Arians* to boast of these writers as patrons of their heresy^c!

It is added indeed by *Photius*, that with respect to the Holy Ghost the opinion of *Pierius* was more dangerous, in that he made him to be inferior in glory to the Father and the Son^d. Had we but *Pierius's* doctrine in his own words, I make little doubt it might be easy to defend him against the charge of heresy: for as we are well acquainted with the severity of that critick in censuring the ancients, so there seems little ground to imagine that he whose doctrine was catholick in respect of the Son, should in those days labour under any grievous error relating to the Holy Ghost; and the inferiority he speaks of was probably no other than that *æconomical* subordination, which the ancients have constantly supposed in the Trinity, and which implies not any inferiority of nature, but of order only^e.

^b Περὶ μὲν πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ εὐσεβῶς προσθεύει· πλὴν ὅτι οὐσίας δύο καὶ φύσεις δύο λέγει· τῷ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως διόμαλι, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τε τῶν ἐπομένων καὶ προηγούμενων τοῦ χωρίου, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, καὶ οὐχ' ὡς Ἀρεία προσανακειμένοι χρώμενος. Photius *ibid*.

^c Vid. Sandii. Nucl. Hist. Eccl. l. i. p. 201. Ed. 1669.

^d Περὶ μὲν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπισφαλῶς λίαν καὶ δυσσεβῶς δογματίζει, ὑποθεσθέναι ὅδ' αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ ἀποφασκεῖ δόξης. Photius *ubi supra*.

^e Vid. D. Bull. Def. fid. Nic. sect. cap. 13. §. 2.

The case of *Theognostus*, another *Alexandrian* writer of those times, and *Pierius's* successor in the government of that school^f, is somewhat different. He is produced by *Athanasius*^g, as an illustrious witness to the catholick doctrine. And it is confessed by *Photius*^h, that in some part of his work he has treated orthodoxly of the nature of the Son. 'Tis true, he charges him with grievous errors in other parts, and such as were afterwards the distinguishing doctrines of the *Arian* heresy. But unless we would suppose so great an author, in one and the same work, to be guilty of the grossest contradictions, we must admit of the solution which *Athanasius*ⁱ has given, and which *Photius*^k himself could not entirely disown, that those heretical doctrines were only proposed in the way of disputation, but that *Theognostus's* own opinion was that which

^f Vid. Dodwel Append. ad Dissert. in Iren. p. 488, & 511. Cave Hist. lit. vol. 2. An. 282.

^g D. Athanas. de decr. syn. Nic. § 25. p. 230.

^h Ἐν τῷ ἐσθίμῳ — εὐσεβέστερόν πως περὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων διαλαμβάνει, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῷ τέλει τοῦ λόγου, περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ. Phot. Biblioth. cod. 106.

ⁱ Ὁ μὲν οὖν θεόγνωστος, τὰ πρότερα ὡς ἐν γυμνασίᾳ ἐξετάσας, ὑπερον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν τίθει. οὕτως εἴρηκεν. Athanas. ubi supra.

^k --Ἐἴτε ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ δυσσεβείᾳ ἐαλακῶς, εἴτε (ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι) ἐκδιασάμενος τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀπολογία, ἐν γυμνασίας λόγῳ καὶ οὐ δόξῃ ταῦτα προτιθείς. Phot. ut supra.



followed, entirely agreeable to the catholic faith¹.

263.

But however these writers be capable of just defense, yet it must be owned, that the great zeal which was shewn in that age against the *Noëtian* and *Sabellian* heresies, did actually give rise to two different errors, into which the men of less caution and discernment were very apt to decline. They are both expressly pointed out by *Dionysius* of *Rome*, in a letter written, most probably, ^m at that time when the affair of his namesake at *Alexandria* lay before the synod; a noble fragment whereof is preserv'd among the works of *Athanasius*. He takes notice there were some who overthrew the doctrine of the Church, by cutting and dividing the *Monarchy* or divine Unity into *three powers, three separate hypostases, foreign to each other*, which was the same thing, in his account, as saying *three Gods*ⁿ: Whereas the *Trinity is* (as it were)

¹ See Bp. Bull, Def. fid. Nic. sect. 2. cap. 10. §. 7, 8.

^m Athanas. de sent. Dion. §. 13. p. 252. See Dupin's History of Ecclesiastical Writers, vol. 1. p. 174.

ⁿ --Διαιρούνας, καὶ κατατέμονους, καὶ ἀναιρούοντας τὸ σεμνότερον κήρυγμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν μοναρχίαν εἰς τρεῖς δύναμεις τινάς, καὶ μεμερισμένους ὑποστάσεις, καὶ θεότητας τρεῖς. — εἰ ἢ τρεῖς Θεοὺς τρέπον τινὰ κηρύττουσιν, εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ἕνας, ἀλλήλων παντάπασιν πεχωρισμένους διαιροῦντες τὴν ἀγίαν μονάδα. Dionys. Rom. apud Athanas. de decr. syn. Nic. §. 26. p. 231.

gather'd up into one Divinity, by referring the second and third persons to the first as their head and origine, with whom they are essentially united°. He takes notice there were others, (and he blames it as a grievous blasphemy,) who thought them to be not only separate in substance, but even inferior in nature, esteeming the Son, and by consequence the Holy Ghost, to be no other than created Beings^p: which was afterwards the very scheme espoused by *Arius* and his followers. These dangerous extremes made it necessary for him and other Fathers of the Church to use the greater caution in their manner of expression, that they might not by drawing back from one heresy, give advantage to another equally pernicious. The method therefore which he took was not to deny that there are three hypostases, but to maintain that they are not ξέναι, that they are not κεχωρισμέναι, by no means *separated* or *divided* from each other, but perfectly

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° Ἡρώδης ἡ ἀνάγκη τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὅλων τὸν θεῖον λόγον· ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν ἢ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐνδαιτυνῶδες δεῖ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· ἦδη ἢ καὶ τὴν θεῖαν τριάδα εἰς ἓνα, ὡσπερ εἰς κορυφὴν τινα, τὸν θεὸν τῶν ὅλων τὸν παντοκράτορα λέγω, συγκεφαλαιουῶς τε καὶ συνάγωγας πᾶσας ἀνάγκη. Ibid.

^p Οὐ μείον δ' ἂν τις καταμέμφοιτο καὶ τῆς ποιήμας τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι δοξάζοντας, καὶ γεγονέναι τὸν Κύριον, ὡσπερ ἐν τι ὄντως γεγονένων, νομίζοντας ——— βλάσφημον ἐν οὐ τὸ τυχόν, μέγιστον μὲν ἔν, χειροποίητον τρόπον τινα λέγειν τὸν Κύριον. Idem. ibid. & P. 232.

join'd

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join'd together by unity of essence. This is evident from that epistle of Pope *Dionysius* already mention'd, which may well be understood to express the sentiments of the whole *Roman* synod, that this way the divine *Trinity*, and the holy doctrine of the *Unity* might be jointly preserv'd.

254.

The like caution is observable in the creed of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* Bishop of *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*, which declares the *Trinity* to be *perfect*, (and therefore really distinct,) but yet *not divided in glory, eternity or power*; to have *nothing* in it that is *servile or created, nothing superinduced or adventitious, nothing which formerly did not exist and was brought into it afterwards*: forasmuch as *the Son was never wanting to the Father, nor the Spirit to the Son*, but the *Trinity* is always *unalterably and invariably the same*.

There are many arguments to convince us of the genuineness and authority of this creed of *St. Gregory*: I don't mean as

Ρ Οὕτω γὰρ ἔν καὶ ἡ θεία τριάς, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον κήρυγμα τῆς μοναρχίας διασώζοιτο. Idem. *ibid.* p. 232.

Ἡ τριάς τελεία, ὁλοκλήρη καὶ ἀϊδιότητι καὶ βασιλείᾳ, μὴ μεριζομένη, μηδὲ ἀπαλλοτριωμένη, ἕτε ἔν κτίσόν τι ἢ δοῦλον ἐν τῇ τριάδι, ἕτε ἐπίσρακτον, ὡς πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ὑπάρχον, ἕτερον ἢ ἐπεισελθόν· ἕτε ἔν ἐνέλιπε ποτὲ υἱὸς πατρὸς, ἕτε υἱῶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' ἄτρεπτος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος ἡ αὐτὴ τριάς αἰεί. Opera Greg. Thaum. p. 1. Edit. Par. 1622. sumpt. e vitâ Greg. Thaum. per Greg. Nyss. in oper. tom. 3. p. 546, 547. Edit. Par. 1638.



to the method of its being taught him by revelation, (tho' that may be well attested too^r, and will not seem incredible to those who shall consider how highly this great person was distinguish'd by the *Charismata*^s, or extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost,) but I mean as to the certainty of its having been taught by St. *Gregory* to his Church of *Neocæsarea*, and continued from his time till towards the conclusion of the fourth century. St. *Basil* was a native of that city; and he speaks with great assurance, that the faith which he profess'd, which is well known to be no way different from *Athanasius's*, was the same he had been taught in his infancy, in the very words of that most holy *Gregory*^t: whose memory was so exceeding precious among the people of that place, that no length of time could wear it out, or prevail for the admission of any form or usage different from his prescriptions^u. From hence it follows, that the creed as

^r Greg. Nyssen ut supra. See also *Cave's Life of him*.

^t Vid. præter alios Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 29. _____

^u Πίστεως δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας τίς ἂν γένοιτο ἐναργετέρα ἀπόδειξις, ἢ ὅτι τραφέντες ἡμεῖς _____ ἐδιδάχθημεν τὰ τοῦ μακαριστάτου Γρηγορίου ῥημίαια. Basil. Epist. 75.

^v Τοῦτου μέγα ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις τὸ θαῦμα, καὶ νεαρὰ καὶ αἰὲ πρόσφατος ἡ μνήμη ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐνιδρύται, οὐδενὶ χρόνῳ ἀμαυρωμένη· οὐκοῦν οὐ πράξιν τινα, οὐ λόγον, οὐ τύπον τινα μυστικῶν, παρ' ὃν ἐκείνοις κατέλιπε, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέθηκαν. Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 29.

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well as the doxology, which was used in the Church of *Neocæsarea*, in the time of *St. Basil*, must have been the same that they had received from *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and agreeable to the *Nicene* faith. And *Gregory Nyssen*, the brother of *St. Basil*, is express, that this was the very creed by which that people had been instructed to that very time, and preserv'd from all heretical pravity, appealing for the truth of it to a copy which was carefully preserv'd of *Thaumaturgus's* own hand writing^w. To all which it may be added, that some part of it is quoted by *St. Gregory Nazianzen*^x, as taken from a wise man in the former age, and therefore of good authority, and the whole is acknowledg'd by *Ruffinus*^y for the genuine creed of *Thaumaturgus*.

It has indeed been objected of late^z, that if this were really his creed, it seems

^w ---Δι' ἧς μυσταγωγεῖται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὁ ἐκεῖνος λαός, πάσης αἰρετικῆς κακίας διαμείνας ἀπειρατός. — παρ' οἷς αὐτὰ τὰ χαράγματα τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης χειρὸς εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν διασώζεται. *Greg. Nyssen. in vitâ Greg. Thaum. inter opera tom. 3. p. 546, 547.*

^x *Greg. Naz. Orat. 40. p. 668. tom. 1. and in another place, Orat. 37. p. 609. Elias Cretensis (vol. 2. p. 978.) supposes him to mean Thaumaturgus, under the character of τις τῶν μικρῶν πρόσθεν θεοφύλων. The passage there quoted runs much in the style of his Creed, but is said by Elias to be taken from a book called his Apocalypse: and it is no wonder he should keep the same style in other writings.*

^y *Ruffin. transl. Euseb. H. E. l. 7. c. 25.*

^z *Whitby Disquis. modestæ in prefat. p. 18, &c.*


wonderful

wonderful *St. Basil* should not have made some more express mention of it, in that epistle particularly, which was written with design to vindicate his memory against the charge of heresy. But when it is consider'd that *St. Basil* wrote that epistle to the Church of *Neocæsarea*, where the matter was well known and understood, a short hint of it may be judg'd sufficient to his purpose, under the title of the *words of Gregory*, or the *tradition of Gregory*, without any more express citation produced in form^a. At least, it must be most unreasonable, from this negative argument, to reject *Gregory Nyssen's* account as spurious or interpolated, and that so early as to be received for genuine by *Ruffinus*^b, and inserted in his history without any hesitation.

But notwithstanding all this great man's caution in steering between both extremes, he had the misfortune, in the fourth century, to be appeal'd to as the patron of them both, and alledg'd by different persons in defence of the opposite tenets of *Sabellius* and *Arius*. But *St. Basil*, than whom no man was better acquainted with his character and writings, has rescued his

^a ---Τῆ παραδόσει τῆ μεγάλης γρηγορίου. *Basil. Epist.* 64. ---Τὰ τῆ μακαριστάτης γρηγορίου ῥήματα. *Epist.* 75.

^b *Ruffinus* indeed makes no mention of its being taught by revelation; but seems rather to have understood it as *Gregory's* composition.

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263. Such was the state of the *Trinitarian* controversy after the middle of the third century. But soon after *Sabellius*, it ought to be remembred, there arose *Paulus Samosatenus*, the Bishop of *Antioch*, and the first Bishop of the Christian Church who stands charged as an Heresiarch, except *Beryllus* of *Bostra*^d, who was quickly reclaim'd from his errors by *Origen*, and had no ecclesiastical censures actually denounced against him.

It is not easy, at this distance of time, to give a perfect account of the whole scheme of this *Paul* of *Samosata*. The synodical epistle of the council of *Antioch*, of which we have an extract in *Eusebius*^e, charges him with denying his God and

^b Basil. Epist. 64. See also Bishop Bull Def. fid. Nic. sect. 2. cap. 12. §. 6.

^c Petav. Dogm. Theol. de Trin. l. 1. cap. 4. §. 11. Whiston's Prim. Christ. vol. 4. Append. p. 44.

^d Vid. Euseb. E. H. l. 6. c. 33. See before, p. 123, 124.

^e --Τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κείμεν ἀρνησάμενον. ἀρνησάμενος αὐτοῦ κακίας. ψαλμοὺς ἢ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἰησοῦν χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς δὲ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέραν ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματαις

and his Lord, terms his heresy, ἀρνοσιθεῖα κακία, and assigns this as the proof, that he deny'd Christ to have come down from heaven, and asserted him to have sprung from beneath; prohibiting therefore any hymns to be sung to his honour in the Church of *Antioch*, whilst at the same time he impiously substituted others to celebrate himself. From hence they conclude him fit to be ranked among the followers of *Artemon*, who soon after the beginning of this century had asserted Christ to be a mere man^f. And from hence, as well *Eusebius*^g, who lived but little after him, as St. *Augustine*^h, who was later by a century, have made no scruple to represent him as the reviver of the heresy of *Artemon*, and teaching to think meanly of Christ as of a common man. But yet there may be some doubt whether he actually denied the divine nature in Christ,

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εις εαυτον—— ψαλμαδεῖν γυναῖκας παρασκευάζει—— τὸν μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ βούλεται συνομολογεῖν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθῆναι—— λέγει ἰησοῦν χριστὸν κάτωθεν—— τῷ ᾧ ἡ Ἀρτεμῶ οὗτος ἐπισελλέτω, καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἀρτεμῶ φρονούντες τούτῳ κοινωνεῖτασαν. Euseb. H. E. l. 7. c. 30.

^f Ἀρτέμανος—— ἀίρεσιν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον γένεσθαι τὸν σωτήρα φάσκουσιν. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. c. 23.

^g Ἦν αὖτις ὁ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων Παῦλος καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνανεώσαος πεπειράται. Euseb. ibid. Ταπεινὰ καὶ χαμαιπετῆ περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ φρονήσαντος, ὡς κοινῷ τὴν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γενομένου. lib. 7. cap. 27.

^h Ista hæresis aliquando cujusdam Artemonis fuit, sed quum defecisset, instaurata est a Paulo. D. August. de hæres. cap. 44.

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But to say the truth, by comparing all accounts togetherⁿ, I should rather imagine he agreed so far with *Sabellius* as to confess no more than one person in the Godhead, notwithstanding the pains a learned man has taken to shew some difference between them^o, and that the Λόγος

ⁱ Learned men are much divided in their opinions about this epistle. But see what is said for it by Mr. Thirlby, in his Defence of the Answer to Mr. Whiston, p. 48, &c.

^k "Ουτε γὰρ ὁ λόγος λύεται ὑπὸ ἑαδύων, μὴ γένοιτο ἀλλ' ὁ ναὸς τοῦ λόγου. Quest. 3. Pauli Samosatensis in epistolâ Dionysii Alexand. apud Labbé & Cossart. Concil. tom. 1. col. 860.

^l Ἐλθέντα ἢ τὸν λόγον καὶ ἐνοικήσαντα ἐν ἰησοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἔντι. Epiphani. hæc. 65. §. 1.

^m Νεστόριος τῶν Σολερῶν νομῶτων σπάσας τοῦ Σαμοσατίως Παύλου. κ. τ. λ. Phot. Epist. 35.

ⁿ Vid. Tilliem. tom. 4. in *Paul. de Samosates*, §. 2.

^o Vid. Garner. Differt. 1. de hæresi & libris Nestorii c. 4. §. 3. ad calc. oper. Marii. Mercat. p. 307.

he spake of was either Λόγος *περσοεικός* SERM. III.
 (as the *Greeks* express it) and not *εσικώδης*;
 not a divine person substantially existing,
 but only a divine influence, since *Eriphanus*^p is express that he denied him to be
 the personal or substantial Son of God,
 and believed him to be no otherwise in
 God, than as a thought is in the heart of
 man; or else (as *Athanasius*^q states it) that
 his personal existence began at *Nazareth*,
 and was separate from God, being no o-
 therwise before all ages than according to
 divine *predestination*, or fore-appointment
 of his future being. This made a mate-
 rial difference between him and *Nestorius*^r,
 but it justly rank'd him with *Artemon*,
 and afterwards (as *Philastrius*^s and *St. Au-*
gustine^t observe) it was copied by *Photinus*.

^p Ἐν θεῷ ἡ αἰεὶ ἔντα τὸν αὐτῆ λόγον, ἔ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῆ, ὡς
 περ' ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καρδίᾳ ὁ ἰδιῶ λόγος, μὴ εἶναι ἢ τὸν υἱὸν τῆ θεῆ
 ἐνυπόστατον, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῶ τῶ θεῷ. Eriphan. ut supr.

^q Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατεύς, θεὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου ὁμολογεῖ, θεὸν ἐκ
 ναζαρέτ ὀφθέντα, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τῆς ὑπάσεως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐληκότα, καὶ
 ἀρχὴν βασιλείας παρεληφότα λόγον ἢ ἐνεργὸν ἐξ ἕραν ἔ σοφίαν
 ἐν αὐτῷ ὁμολογεῖ τῷ μὲν περιορισμῷ πρὸ αἰῶνων ὄντα, τῇ ἢ ὑπάσεσι
 ἐκ ναζαρέτ ἀναδειχθέντα· ἵνα εἰς εἶη, φησὶν, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντα θεὸς ὁ
 πατήρ. Athanas. contr. Apollinar. l. 2. § 3. p. 942.

^r Nestorius circa verbum Dei, non quidem ut Paulus sentit,
 qui non substantivum sed prolatitium potentiae Dei efficax
 verbum esse definit. Marius Mercator in epist. de discrim.
 Pauli & Nestorii in init. vid. & eund. de duodec. anathemat.
 Nestorii. n. 19. item Fabricii annotat. in Philastr. de hæres.
 c. 64.

^s Philastr. cap. 65.

^t D. Aug. de hæres. cap. 44, 45.

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Saint *Hilary* v intimates, that he receiv'd the word *ὁμοούσιον*, but in an ill sense, meaning to represent the Father and Son as one and the same person w. But this has been usually reckon'd a mistake of *Hilary*, since *Athanasius** and *Basil* y, who seem to be more competent witnesses of this matter, have assured us, not that he allow'd the word *ὁμοούσιον*, but that he disputed against Christ's divinity from the impossibility of his being *consubstantial*; having first explain'd that word

v Malè homoousion Samosatenus confessus est: sed nunquid melius Ariani negaverunt? Hilar. de synod. adv. Arian. cap. 86.

w And so Sandius, Nucl. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. p. 182, &c. Constant. likewise follows Hilary's account. Vind. vet. cod. confirm. par. 4. c. 4. p. 343.

x Τῷ παύλῳ σοφίζεσθαι τε φέλονται, καὶ λέγονται, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γέγονεν ὁ χριστὸς θεός, οὐκ ἔν ὁμοούσιον ἐστὶ τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ἀνάγκη τρεῖς ἑστίαι εἶναι, μίαν μὲν προγεννημένην, τὰς δὲ δύο ἐξ ἐκείνης. Athanas. de synod. Arim. de Seleuc. §. 45. tom. 1. par. 2. p. 759. Ed. Ben. ὁ λέγων ὁμοούσιον τρεῖς λέγει, ἑστίαν τινὰ προϋποκειμένην, καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης γεννημένας ὁμοούσιαι εἶναι. ——— ἐάν ἔν ὁ υἱὸς ὁμοούσιον ἢ τῷ πατρὶ, ἀνάγκη προϋποκεισθαι αὐτῶν ἑστίαν ἐξ ἧς ἔγεννήθησαν, ἔ μὴ εἶναι τὸν μὲν πατέρα, τὸν δὲ υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρους ἀδελφούς. §. 51. p. 764.

y Ἐφασαν ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ὁμοούσιαν φωνὴν παρεῖσαν ἔνοιαν ἑστίαι τὴ καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς τε καταμεριδιεῖσαν τὴν ἑστίαν παρέχειν τῆ ὁμοούσιαν προσυγοῦσαν τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν διηρέθη. Τῷτο δὲ χαλκοῦ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νομισμάτων ἔχει πῖνα λόγον τὸ διανόημα, ἐπὶ θεοῦ δὲ πατρός, ἔ θεοῦ υἱοῦ, ἔ καὶ ἑστίαι πρεσβύτερα, ἐδ' ὑπερκειμένη ἀμφοῖν θεωρεῖται. ——— Τὶ ὅτι ἂν γένοιτο τοῦ ἀγεννήτου πρεσβύτερον; ἀναρρεῖται δὲ ἐκ τῆς βλασφημίας ταύτης ἔ ἡ εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν πῖσις ἀδελφῶν ὅτι ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἐξ ἑνὸς ὑφεσῶτα. D. Basil. Epist. 300.

in a wicked and absurd sense: He took it grossly and corporeally, just as those things are reckon'd *consubstantial*, which are made out of the same common pre-existing substance, as different pieces of money made of the same mass of metal; so that here are three different things supposed in this notion of *consubstantiality*; viz. a pre-existing substance, and two distinct beings produced out of it. Which notion, if applied to the Godhead, would not only take away the mutual relation of Father and Son, but effectually destroy the eternity of both. And this seems to be the true reason why the council of *Antioch* refused the word, not because it taught an equality of nature, but because it had been misapplied to infer a division of substance, and beginning of existence^a.

There were indeed two^b councils holden at *Antioch* upon this occasion, at the first of which *Firmilian* of *Cæsarea* presided; and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, though hinder'd from being present by his age and infirmities, (which carried him off during the session of that council,) yet he sup-

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^a See this farther stated by Bishop Bull, Def. fid. Nic. sect. 2. cap. 1. §. 9, 10, 11, 12. Thirlby's Answer to Whiston's Suspicions, p. 104, &c. Second Review of Whiston's Doxologies, p. 24, &c.

^b Tillemont (tom. 4. in Paul de Samosates §. 4.) supposes three.

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plied his absence by his letters, bearing testimony to the truth which *Paul* had disobey'd. The heretick, however, behaved himself with so much cunning and sophistry, and dissembled such an inclination to the catholick side, that tho' his errors were condemn'd, yet there was no sentence pass'd upon himself, in hopes he might be reduced to better sentiments ^c.

270.

Before the next council (which fate five years afterwards) *Firmilian* was dead. But *Malchion* the Presbyter of *Antioch* attack'd the heretick with so much learning and dexterity, that he stript him of every disguise, and expos'd him to the council with all the filth and deformity of his opinions; which was presently follow'd by his deposition from the See of *Antioch*, and the nomination of *Domnus* to succeed him^d, the council having first declared their catholick sentiments, in an epistle signed by six of the principal Bishops then assembled, concerning Christ's being *God* in *substance* and *hypostasis* ^e. Where those words seem to be used as equivalents, however sometimes distinguish'd by the writers of this century.

^c See Euseb. H. E. l. 7. c. 28, 30. juxta init.

^d Euseb. H. E. l. 7. c. 29, 30.

^e Σοφίαν κὲ λόγον κὲ δύναμιν Θεοῦ πρὸ αἰώνων ἔντα, ἔ παραγενώσθαι, ἀλλ' ἕστῃ κὲ ὑποστάσει Θεόν. Epist. Hymenæi, &c. in Concil. Labbe & Coffart, ad an. 266. tom. 1. col. 845.

The crafty advantage which that heretick made of the word $\delta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma$, gave occasion to its being dropt by that council, and for that reason, probably, by other catholick writers, in those parts especially where this crafty abuse of it was known and understood. And this might be a good reason, if there were no other, why in the creed of *Lucian*, the Presbyter of *Antioch*, (if it be truly his, which is doubted by *Sozomen*;) we find no mention of the word $\delta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma$, which made the *Arians* in the next century boast of him^f as a patron of their cause, altho' the proper divinity of the Son of God be otherwise sufficiently express'd^g, and nothing that may fairly rank him among the patrons of the *Arian* heresy.

There is indeed some ground to suspect, that this *Lucian* did at first side with his heretical Bishop and countryman *Paul* of *Samosata*^h, deceiv'd (it is probable) by his sophistical pretences, and imagining his meaning at bottom to be orthodox. For which reason he is said

^f Sozomen. H. E. l. 3. c. 5.

^g ---Εἰς ἓνα κύριον ἰησοῦν χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, θεόν, δι' ὃ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· τὸν γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, ὅλον ἐξ ὅλου, μόνον ἐκ μόνου, τέλειον ἐκ τελείου· ἀτρέπτὸν τε ἔ ἀναλλοίωτον, τὴν τῆς θεότητος, ὁσίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως, ἔ βαλῆς, καὶ ὁῤῃς τῆ πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα.

Luciani Symbolum apud Socrat. H. E. l. 2. c. 10.

^h Vid. Tillemont. t. 5. in *S. Lucien d' Antioche. & in not. 1.*

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to have been separated from the communion of the Church, under the three succeeding Bishops of *Antioch*. And if it were during that time that *Arius* and his associates were bred up under him, they had but little reason to boast of their Tutor as they did, or glory in the title of *Collucianists*. If he were really in the same sentiments with *Paul*, the creed which was produced under his name in the fourth century, could not have been drawn up by him at that time, but rather after his restoration to the communion of the Church, in which he had the honour to suffer as a martyr under *Maximine*.

312.

His creed, it was acknowledg'd, as well as some other writings of that time, made no mention of the word $\delta\mu\omega\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$: yet was not that word entirely laid aside in all places. For *Pamphilus*, who lived no farther off than *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and was assisted in his apology by *Eusebius*, has shewn his own orthodoxy in the beginning of the fourth century, by asserting that of *Origen* from this argument, that he taught that the Son is $\delta\mu\omega\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, or of *one substance* with the Fatherⁱ.

309.

It was not long after the deposition of *Paul* of *Samosata*, that the *Manichean*

ⁱ Pamphili apolog. pro Orig. inter opera D. Hieron, tom. 5. Ed. Ben. p. 236.



heresy began to grow considerable, which besides denying the reality of Christ's bodyⁱ, seems to have espoused the *Sabellian* principle, by representing Father, Son and Holy Ghost as *one God*, under *three names*^k, abusing to that purpose, it is probable, the term of *consubstantiality*^l, tho' still they very inconsistently separated the divine persons in a manner more agreeable to the *Arian* system^m. But as their scheme contain'd likewise a collection of the most detestable abominations of the heathens and the worst of hereticks, they will deserve to be consider'd rather as a sect of Pagans than of Christians, and need not detain us in any longer searches or enquiry after them. The like may be said of the *Priscillianists*, when rightly understood, a sort of hereticks that arose towards the conclusion of the next century, and whom (as nearly re-

ⁱ D. Aug. Serm. 116. tom. 5. col. 578. Ed. Ben.

^k Igitur nos Patris quidem Dei omnipotentis, & Christi Filii ejus, & Spiritus Sancti, unum idemque sub *triplici appellatione* colimus numen. Faustus *Manicheus* apud August. contra Faust. l. 20. c. 2.

^l Nunquam dicere ausi sunt Patrem & Filium nisi unius esse substantiæ. D. Aug. Serm. 12. Ed. Ben. *aliàs* de diversis 16. vid. & Phot. Cod. 179.

^m Thus Faustus (apud Aug. l. 20. c. 2.) assigns them different places and operations: from whence St. Augustine (cap. 12.) thus expostulates with him: Cur enim sub *triplici*, ac non potius sub *multiplici*, non *appellatione* tantum, sed re, si quot nomina, tot personæ sunt? --- Aut quomodo unum numen, si diversa opera?

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sembling the *Manicheans*ⁿ in their principles) I choose just to mention in this place, that I may be excused the taking any distinct notice of them afterwards.

Thus far we have seen the doctrine of the Church with relation to the ever-blessed *Trinity*, and the several heresies by which it was attacked before the rise of *Arius*. And had the ancient liturgies been transmitted down entire, it might here have been an useful labour to have made such observations upon them, that the worship of the Church might come in to the better illustration of her doctrine, and the language of distinct Churches might appear consistent and harmonious. But in the lamentable shipwreck and loss of ancient writings, it cannot be denied that most of the publick forms of worship have been utterly destroyed^o, and the rest so miserably injured by the corruptions and interpolations of later times, that it may oftentimes be difficult to distinguish what is genuine and original, from that which is thrust in and of a later date.

ⁿ August. de hæres. cap. 70. Tillem. tom. 8. Les Priscillianistes, §. 1.

^o Renaudotius (in collect. liturg. orient. tom. 1. p. 9. dissert. de liturg. orient. origin. cap. 2.) is of opinion, that the Eastern Churches had not their liturgies committed to writing, before the time of St. Basil in the fourth century.

In this case therefore, the best evidence that can be brought, is from the scatter'd accounts which the writers of those times have left, who are the fittest witnesses of the worship, as well as of the doctrine of the Church. As the Father was constantly acknowledg'd for the *fountain* of the Deity, and never represented as acting in *subordination* to the other persons; who, on the contrary, were always consider'd as *subordinate* to him, and sustaining their respective offices in the work of our redemption. From hence it is no wonder if the prayers of the Church should generally be address'd to the person of the Father, and make suit for the graces of the Holy Ghost to be given thro' the merits of Christ; no wonder if its praises should be likewise offer'd up through the prevailing name and merits of the same Redeemer, and in virtue of the sanctification of that blessed Spirit plentifully poured out. We acknowledge the plain footsteps of this worship to appear thro' all antiquity; and the Church has deservedly continued it to this day. Let our adversaries make the most of this concession. A *real* distinction, and *certain* subordination of the persons may justly be concluded from it, but nothing against the inseparable Union, and proper Divinity of all the three. Nay, rather such are the perfections implied in those

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those transcendent operations which are here ascribed to them, as cannot, in the eye of candid readers, but conclude for their Divinity^p. And indeed this point seems capable of being carried higher still; and those phrases do sometimes require to be so explain'd as to imply their unity of nature, no less than the distinction of their persons; that as the Son derives his essence from the Father, so the worship which is paid the Father, can be offer'd only thro' the Son; *i. e.* so as to take the Son in its way to him, and consequently honour both in the same act of worship^q. All which may likewise be said to be done *in* the Holy Ghost, whilst he is consider'd as the *band of unity*, and honour'd as a person substantially united with the other two^r.

Yet

^p Vid. Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 8. ὡσεὶ ἡ, δι' ἡ, φωνή, ὁμο-
λογίαν τῆς προκαταρκτικῆς αἰτίας ἔχει ἡ τῶν προσόντων διέξοδος,
τῆς μεγίστης δοξολογίας ἐς: πλήρωσις. cap. 23.

^q --Per Spiritum quidem [ad] Filium, per Filium autem ascen-
dere ad Patrem. Iren. l. 5. c. 36. p. 337. Ed. Ben. Μήτε ἀπὸ τὸ τι-
μιᾶν τὸν πατέρα νομίζειν, ἐν τι τῶν δημιουργημάτων τὸν υἱὸν ὑποπτεύσω-
μεν, ἀλλ' εἰς πατῆρ δι' ἐνὸς υἱοῦ προσκυνεῖσθω, καὶ μὴ μεριζέσθω ἢ προσ-
κύνησις. Cyril. Catech. 11. p. 143. Oxon. §. 6. Μία γὰρ ἐστὶν
ἡ θεότης, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ μίαν τιμῆν, καὶ μίαν ἐστὶν προσκύνησις, ἢ ἐν
υἱῷ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ γνωσθῆναι τῷ πατρὶ. Athanas. Orat. 3. p. 555.
§. 6. See also Dr. Waterland's Defense of Queries, p. 280,
281. and Second Defense, p. 398.

^r Ἐγὼ ἧ ἐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς Φάβιου ἀτιμωτέρας εἶναι διανοίας παρασα-
τικῆν τὴν, ἐν, συλλαβῆν, ἀλλ' ὑγιᾶς ἐκλαμψανομένην, πρὸς τὸ μί-

Yet neither are we without witnesses that some parts of the worship of the Church were immediately directed to each person, and in terms the most express and particular. Of the Son there can be no question; this being plainly the purport of those hymns which were mention'd by *Pliny*, in the time of *Trajan*^f, alledg'd by *Caius* the *Roman* Presbyter, (or whoever else was that anonymous writer in *Eusebius*^g, that confuted *Artemon*;) and prohibited lastly in the Church of *Antioch* by *Paul* of *Samosata*^h, as inconsistent with his heretical opinions. Not to mention now the many examples of such worship to be found among the ancient writers, and their express testimonies as to the practice of the Church in this particular! There is only one passage in a piece ascribed to *Origen*^w, which expressly disclaims the invocation of the Son: but it is so contrary to *Origen* himself in other

γισον ὕψος ἀνάγειν τὰς διανοίας, ὅπως καὶ, ἀντὶ τῆς σὺν, πολλαχῆς
 κειμένω, αὐτῆν τετηρήκαμεν. Basil de Spir. Sanct. c. 25. Ὁντος ἧ
 τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν πατρὶ καὶ πατὴρ ἐν υἱῷ, ἐνόηται καὶ δυνάμει πνεύματις.
 Athenag. legat. §. 9. p. 38. Oxon. Bull sect. 2. c. 3. §. 13.
 Petav. l. 7. c. 12. §. 8. —

^f Plin. lib. 10. epist. 97. Vid. & Tertul, Apol. c. 2. and
 Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 33.

^g Euseb. H. E. l. 5. c. 28.

^h Idem. l. 7. c. 30.

^w Origen. περὶ εὐχῆς, cap. 50. p. 48. Edit. Oxon. εἰδὲν τῶν
 γεννητῶν προσευκτέον ἐστίν, εἰδὲ αὐτῶ τῶ χειρῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῶ Θεῶ
 τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ πατρὶ. κ. τ. λ.

places,

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places^x, and to his own testimony in that very book concerning the practice of the Church^y, as well as to the whole stream of antiquity besides, that it must be concluded, either *that* book is none of *Origen's*, or at least it is one of those which have suffer'd corruption. The *Arians* themselves are content to admit the invocation of the Son: only they attempt to distinguish it from that of the Father, as an inferior kind of worship due to him as Mediator; and this they take to be meant by *cataphrestical* worship, in a certain passage of *Origen*^z, which has been explain'd to so much better purpose by some learned men^a, that it must be most unreasonable to lay stress upon a single (and at least doubtful) passage, in opposition to many others that are clear on the contrary.

And as the Son, so likewise the Holy Ghost was acknowledged by the primitive Church, for the proper and undoubted

^x Vid. Annotat. ad loc. in Edit. Oxon. p. 56. item: D. *Waterland* ubi supra.

^y Τῆ Θεοῦ Δεῖ χριστοῦ συνδοξολογημένον, ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι συνομνυμένον. Orig. περὶ εὐχῆς. p. 145, alias 134.

^z Δειπόμεθα ἢ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἐνδοξόμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ εὐχαριστήσομεν, καὶ προσδύόμεθα ἢ, ἐὰν δυνάμεθα κατακτείνῃς περὶ προσδυχῆς κυριαλεξίας καὶ καταχρήσεως. Orig. contra Celsum lib. 5. p. 233.


^a Bp. Bull, Def. fid. Nic. sect. 2. cap. 9. §. 15. Dr. *Waterland's* Defense of Queries, p. 260, 261. and Second Defense, p. 398, &c. See also p. 371, &c.

object of divine worship. It was the necessary result and consequence of the primitive doctrine, concerning his inseparable union and coequality in nature with the Father and the Son. It must be owned indeed, that as the graces wrought in us by that blessed Spirit, who is represented in Scripture to be sent or given by the Father and the Son, were the chief matters of petition offer'd up by the Church; so 'tis natural to imagine their prayers for such graces should be personally directed to the giver, rather than to him who is the gift. This looks more expressive of that mysterious *æconomy*, under which the method of our redemption is described to us. But yet as they were not bound in every expression to refer to that *æconomy*, so they did not fail in some part of the publick offices, to pay their devotions directly and personally to the Holy Ghost, as at other times they easily understood him to be included in the one God: insomuch that *Justin Martyr* and *Athenagoras* assert it as the practice of the Church in their time, to worship and adore not only the Father and Son, but the *Prophetick Spirit*^b. They express'd this more particularly in their *hymns* and *doxologies*, and

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^b See the passages in the foregoing Sermon, p. 65, 66, 67.

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^c Δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς βαπτίζεσθαι μὲν ὡς παρελάβομεν πιστεύειν ἢ ὡς βαπτίζομεθα· δεῖξάσθαι ἢ ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν πατέρα, καὶ υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. D. Basil. Epist. 78.

^d Παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβυτέρων τύπον καὶ κανόνα παρεληφότες. κ. τ. λ. Dionys. Alexandr. apud Basil. de Spir. Sancti. cap. 29.

^e See above, p. 140.

from

from the time that the Gospel was first preached among them^f. And however the liturgies they used be now either lost or much corrupted, yet it may be some satisfaction to observe, that in all the remains we have of them, whether transmitted to us by Catholicks or Hereticks, as that in the *Constitutions*, which was probably made use of by the Church of *Antioch*^g, and has been transmitted to us through the hands of *Arians*; that which bears the name of Saint *James*, and was used by the Church of *Jerusalem*^h; that which bears the name of St. *Mark*, made use of by the Church of *Alexandria*ⁱ; those which were compiled by St. *Basil*, St. *Chrysostom*, and others; the various liturgies in use among those who favour'd the *Nestorian* or *Eutychian* heresies^k, and who therefore cannot well be suspected of partiality towards any known innovations of the Catholicks: I say it may be some

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^f --- Ἡν ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀνεπιτηδεύτου συνθησίας ταῖς ἀδιασφόροις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐναπομείνασαν εὐσεβῶν. D. Basil. de Spir. Sanct. c. 27. --- ἐθ' πάσης μνήμης ἀνθρωπίνης περὶ αὐτῶν κατηγγέλη τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. c. 19.


^g See Dr. Comber of liturgies, p. 110, 111.

^h Vid. Comber, p. 96. vid. Euseb. Renaudot. Dissert. de Orig. liturg. orient. p. 25.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 26.

^k Consult Renaudotius's Collection of Liturgies. It may be added, that the same Doxologies appear in the Æthiopic Edition of Apostolical Constitutions, as publish'd by Ludolfus, in his Comment. ad hist. Æthiopic. p. 324.

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 satisfaction to observe, that in all these remains and imitations of ancient liturgies, we have the clearest examples of that form of doxology, which ascribes equal glory to the Holy Ghost, with the Father and the Son. And indeed, the very name of *Holy Ghost* was by the ancients¹ understood to imply such a natural and essential holiness, as cannot comport with the precarious condition of a creature, and is therefore itself an implicit or virtual *doxology*. But as this question has been upon another occasion^m explained and stated more at large, and I may perhaps be obliged to take farther notice of it hereafter, I shall dismiss it for the present, and conclude with that form of praise which I take to be so justly defensible.

Now to God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, three persons in the Unity of the same eternal Godhead, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

¹ Natura Spiritus Sancti, quæ sancta est, non recipit pollutionem. Naturaliter enim vel substantialiter sancta est. Si qua autem alia natura sancta est, ex assumptione hæc vel inspiratione Spiritus Sancti habet ut sanctificetur: non ex suâ naturâ hoc possidens sed accidens; propter quod & decidere potest quod accidit. Origen. apud Pamphil. in Apolog. inter opera D. Hieron. tom. 5. Ed. Ben. col. 231.

^m In the Seasonable Review of Mr. Whiston's Account of Primitive Doxologies, and the Second Review; both printed in the year 1719.



SERMON IV.

Preach'd FEB. 6, 1723-4.



WE were got down as low as SERM. IV.
 the beginning of the fourth ~
 century, in our enquiries after
 the sense and tradition of the
 Church, with relation to the
 doctrine of the *Trinity*. From thence-
 forth the outward state of the Church ap-
 pear'd with a quite different face. The
 bloody persecution which was begun by
Dioclesian and *Maximian*, had continued
 for some time under *Maxentius* and *Max-*
imin, till they were both subdued by *Con-*
stantine the Great, and both parts of the
313,
 M empire

SERM. IV. empire became subject to one who was himself a professor of the christian faith. The Christians, after that, had Churches not only built and beautified^a by publick authority, and at the publick expence, but enriched and adorned with many costly gifts; and the Bishops, however mean in their appearance, were treated with much honour and respect, and thought fit to be consulted by the Emperor himself^b. And tho' *Licinius*, who was brother-in-law to *Constantine*, and his colleague in the empire, very soon laying aside that regard he either really bore or had pretended to the cause of Christianity^c, did at first more covertly, for fear of *Constantine*, and afterwards more openly, abuse his power^d to distress the *Eastern* Churches, insomuch that as far as *Egypt* and *Libya* they were forced to hold their assemblies with secrecy and caution^e: yet the victory which *Constantine* obtained over him did soon put an end to his persecution, and restored the Church to a flourishing condition thro' the whole empire.

^a Euseb. H. E. l. 10. c. 2. & de vitâ Constant. l. 1. c. 42. Socrat. H. E. l. 1. c. 3. Theodorit. H. E. l. 1. c. 2.

^b Vid. Euseb. ut supra.

^c Euseb. H. E. l. 10. c. 8. Sozom. l. 1. c. 2, 7.

^d Vid. Till. tom. 5. in La perfec. de l' Eglise d' Orient. Sous l' Emper. Licinius.

^e Socrat. ut supr. Sozom. H. E. l. 1. c. 2.

But ah the mischief which came in and encreased as fast as ease and prosperity! The Devil, who saw his idol temples in most places shut up, his images demolish'd; his sacrifices prohibited, and his votaries apace embracing Christianity, began now to contrive how he might uphold his kingdom by another method, and bring that very evil into the Church, which he could no longer maintain out of it; that since he could not now persuade men to worship creatures under the notion of gods, he might however prevail with them to consider and to worship the Creator himself under the notion of a creature^f. And, which made the case yet more deplorable, the Bishops of the Church themselves were not unanimous, as formerly, in declaring their detestation of such great impiety; but some, even of them, were found to patronize the hereticks the rest had censured, and sometimes they had interest enough to draw in the civil powers to take their part against the Catholics.

The See of *Alexandria* being made vacant by the martyrdom of *Peter* in the time of the tenth persecution^g, his immediate suc-

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^f Πολλὲς εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἐπανήγαγε πλάνην, ἢ τὴν κτίσιν πάλιν προσκυνεῖσθαι παρασκευάσας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν συνταχθῆναι τῇ κτίσει κατασκευάσας. Theodor. H. E. l. i. c. 2.

^g Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 8. c. 13.

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cessor *Achillas* did not long survive him: after whom *Alexander*, who had been distinguish'd by his zeal for Christianity, was worthily advanced to the Patriarchal Dignity^h. *Arius* at that time was one of the Presbyters of *Alexandria*, and so puff'd up with an opinion of his own merit, that he thought himself slighted in having a brother set over his head, and disdain'd to see the highest station in that Church supplied by any other than himself. This envy and ambition brought on a fatal resolution to oppose his Bishop: and because he could find nothing exceptionable in *Alexander's* life and conduct, he had no handle left but to quarrel with his doctrineⁱ. And this he did in a most weighty and important article. For whilst *Alexander* stedfastly adhered to the catholick doctrine, that the *Son is of one substance with the Father*^k, and the object of the same worship^l: *Arius*, on the contrary, was bold and daring in his blasphemies, that there was a time when the Son was not, that he was a creature, and made out of nothing^m; that he is mutable in his nature,

^h Theodoret. ut supra.ⁱ Ibid.^k ---Τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ὁμοούσιον λέγοντ^ς. Theod. hæ. fab.

l. 4. c. 1.

^l Ὁμοούσιον ἔλεγε τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν ἔχειν τῷ γεγεννηκότι θεῷ. Theod H. E. l. 1. c. 2.^m Ὁ ἵ Ἀρειὸς ἄντικρυς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μαζόμενος, κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα προσεγόρευεν· καὶ τὸ ἦν πότε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν προσεπέθη. Ibid.

and

and (like the created angels) *might have fallen into sin*ⁿ: that being united to the human flesh, he supplied the place of the human soul, and consequently must be liable to sufferings and pain^o, tho' consider'd as the Λόγος or Word of God.

These two last articles seem to go a step farther than ever any heretick had gone before: and in respect of them *Sozomen's* remark may be true^p, that no one before him had ever dared to advance such positions in the Church. But for the main of his heresy, that the Son was *created in time, and out of nothing*, and not from all *eternity begotten, or subsisting of the substance* of the Father, we have seen ^q he had some forerunners in the third century, who are plainly struck at in that fragment of Pope *Dionysius*, which is preserv'd among the works of *Athanasius*. Nay, considering that the natural tendency of all his assertions, was to destroy the Son's proper and essential Divinity, it was not without reason that his Bishop censured him as a reviver of the heresies of *Ebion*,

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ⁿ Καὶ αὐτεξουσιότητα κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς δεκτικὸν ὑπάρχειν. Soz. l. 1. c. 15. Socrat. l. 1. c. 9. vid. & c. 6.

^o Athanas. advers. Apollinar. l. 2. tom. 1. par. 2. pag. 942. Ed. Ben.

^p Sozom. ut supra.

^q See the foregoing sermon, p. 136, 137:

SERM. IV. and *Artemon*, and *Paul of Samosata*¹; it being all one in the account of the ancient Church, what other nature they ascribed to him, so long as they refused to acknowledge his divine.

317. 'Tis likely he might vent his blasphemies at first in private, and wait till he had gain'd a competent number of disciples to espouse them², or at least might dispose them by degrees, till he should find a proper occasion to declare his principles. And at length a publick conference of *Alexander* with his Clergy gave him the desired opportunity of publishing his heresy. The Bishop had been somewhat curiously treating of the doctrine of the *Trinity*: and in his catholick method of explaining it had asserted the inseparable *unity of substance*³: condescending, however, (as the matter at least was afterwards represented⁴ to *Constantine*) to ask the opinion of his Presbyters then present, upon the sense of every text he had produced. This gave *Arius* the handle to charge him with *Sabellianism*, and to set up himself as a patron of the opposite extreme, by avow-

¹ Vid. *Alexandri epist.* apud *Theodorit.* H. E. l. 1. c. 4.

² See *Fleury*, l. 10. p. 79. as cited by *Tillemont*, *Memoires*, tom. 6. *Les Ariens*, sect. 3.

³ *Socrat.* H. E. l. 1. c. 6.

⁴ *Cap.* 7.

ing those blasphemous positions already mentioned. The Patriarch had so much esteem for the parts and abilities of his Presbyter, that he incurr'd the displeasure of some zealous Catholicks, by allowing him the liberty of disputation^w; he endeavour'd for some time to reclaim him by milder admonitions^x, writing monitory letters for that purpose, with the consent and approbation of the *Alexandrian* Clergy; but when he appear'd incorrigible, it was necessary to proceed to greater severity, and therefore he and his adherents were by a council of an hundred Bishops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, not only degraded from their orders in the Church, but likewise anathematized and cast entirely out of it^y.

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Arius, after this, thought it his interest to apply to other Bishops, and, under the specious pretence of desiring to be reconciled to *Alexander*, he labour'd with his

^w Sozom. l. i. c. 15.

^x Theod. H. E. l. i. c. 2.

^y Socrat. l. i. c. 6. The first rise of *Arianism* is pretty obscure. Montfaucon (*in vitâ Athanasii*. vid. & ejusd. *animadv.* 5. *in vit. Athanas.* in collect. nov. Patr. Græcor. tom. 2.) places the beginning of *Arius's* heresy in the year 319, and supposes that the year following *Alexander* wrote monitory letters to reclaim him, and convened a synod of *Alexandrian* and *Marcotic* Presbyters and Deacons to concur in those letters: proceeding to excommunication with his council of Bishops, Ann. 321. But this seems not to leave room for the letters that followed to the beginning of *Licinius's* persecution. And therefore it seems better to place the beginning of *Arianism* with *Petavius* in 317. Dogm. Theol. de Trin. l. i. c. 7.

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utmost diligence to strengthen his interest against him^a. His endeavours wanted not a good degree of success; and among the chief of his patrons was *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who not only received him to communion, but used his interest with other Bishops to the same purpose^b.

Mean while neither was *Alexander* negligent, on the other hand, to justify his conduct to other Churches. He wrote to his brother Bishops, to represent the obstinate impiety of this heretick, and complain of the encouragement he found from some Bishops, and particularly from *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*^c. This, however it might lay restraint upon some^d, yet did not hinder others from being active in his interest; a council being then convened under *Eusebius* in *Bithynia*, to declare for the sentiments of *Arius*, and write to other absent Bishops for their concurrence, and for adding their endeavours with *Alexander* to restore him^e; and another soon afterwards in *Palestine*, where the assessors granted leave to him and his adherents, to gather congregations in their respective dioceses,

^a Vid. Alexandr. epist. in Theodor. H. E. l. 1. c. 4.

^b Cap. 6.

^c Socrat. l. 1. c. 6. Theod. l. 1. c. 4.

^d Epiphan. hæc. 69. §. 4.

^e Sozom. H. E. l. 1. c. 15.

advising them however to submit to *Alexander*, and use their utmost endeavours to maintain peace and communion with him^f. And to this time we may refer that attempt of *Arius*, which is mention'd by *Theodorit*s, to change the *Doxology* from giving glory to *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost* together, into that other form, which did not so directly overthrow his heresy, *Glory be to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghost*. Not that this latter form had never been made use of by persons of the most orthodox principles! There is no doubt it had, and in a sense perfectly agreeable with the catholick faith^h. But then the other form had been used too, and it was *Arius's* meaning to leave it out entirely, and use none but that which appear'd less opposite to his principles.

Thus far we may suppose matters to have risen, during the time that *Licinius* either had or dissembled a regard to Christianity: who keeping his court at *Nicomedia*, gave the greater opportunity to *Eusebius*, the Bishop of that place, to promote the cause of *Arianism*, and particularly (as it seems)

^f Sozom. H. E. l. 1. c. 15.

^g Δοξάζειν τὰς ἑξαπατηρικούς διδάξας τὸν πατέρα, ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. Theod. har. fab. l. 4. c. 1.

^h See the foregoing sermon, p. 153. as also the seasonable Review, and second Review of *Whiston's* Doxologies.

SERM. IV. to prepossess the Empress *Constantia* in fa-
 320. vour of itⁱ. But when *Licinius* had
 323. thrown off his disguise, and persecuted o-
 penly the christian name, expressly forbid-
 ding any councils to assemble, there was
 probably but little progress made on either
 side, till his defeat by *Constantine* restored
 the Churches of the *East* to peace and
 prosperity^k.

324. *Constantine* being then at *Nicomedia*,
 was much concern'd at the account of
 these unhappy differences, and writing both
 to *Alexander* and *Arius* upon the subject,
 he sent *Hosius* the celebrated Bishop of
Corduba in *Spain*, to make a more exact
 enquiry into the merits of the cause^l. The
 result whereof seems^m to have been (tho'
 we have not any clear account of the mat-
 ter) that *Hosius* in council approved the
 conduct of the Patriarch, and ratified the
 sentence he had denounced against the he-

ⁱ *Constantia* the wife of *Licinius*, and sister of *Constantine*, was, according to *St. Jerom*, perverted by *Arius*, but probably not without the help of his friend and patron *Eusebius*, in whose city she resided, and who is said to have entertained *Arius* at his house. *Arius*, ut orbem deciperet, sororem principis ante decepit. *D. Hieron. advers. Pelagian. epist. 43. ad Ctesiphon. col. 477.*

^k *Euseb. de vitâ Constant. l. 2. c. 19, &c. Socrat. H. E. l. 1. c. 4.*

^l *Euseb. de vit. Constant. l. 2. c. 63, &c. Socrat. l. 1. c. 7. Sozom. l. 1. c. 16.*

^m *Philostorg. l. 1. c. 7. Confer. Tillemont. tom. 6. in S. Alexandre D'Alexandrie. §. 10.*



retick, at least that at his return he satisfied the Emperor of the reasonableness of it. *Arius* had great indignation at this treatment; yet neither by letters nor by conference, neither by gilding his heresy nor by disowning it, could he prevail with *Constantine* to shew him any countenance: who both perceiving the craft, and confuting the notions of this pestilent deceiverⁿ, thought it time to call a general council^o for securing the peace of the Church against the endeavours of that restless incendiary, who was not to be otherwise reclaim'd. The city of *Nice* in *Bithynia* was pitch'd upon by the Emperor, as the most proper place for the meeting of this council; and that the Bishops might be enabled to repair to it from all parts with more convenience, *Constantine* himself was pleased to furnish them with all fit accomodations for the journey^p.

When the Council was assembled, which consisted of three hundred and eighteen Bishops^q, collected from all parts of the

ⁿ See *Constantine's letter to Arius*, in *Geladius Cyzicen. Act. Concil. Nic. l. 3. the genuineness whereof is defended by Tillemont, in the fifth note upon his history of the Arians, p. 502. of Mr. Deacon's translation.*

^o *Euseb. vita Const. l. 3. c. 5, 6.*

^p *Euseb. ibid. Theodorit. H. E. l. 1. c. 7.*

^q *The number of the Bishops is related with some variety; but most authors agree in this number, or thereabouts. See Tillemont's second note upon the Council of Nice, p. 665. of Mr. Deacon's translation.*

SERM. IV. christian world, besides Priests and Deacons without number^r; the first business was to deliberate about the particulars of that faith which was deliver'd to the Church^f, and then conferring with *Arius* himself, to require at his own mouth an open declaration of his real sentiments^r. The heretick stood to his assertions with such boldness and obstinacy, as fill'd the venerable Prelates with horror and astonishment, and at once convinced them of the necessity there was to anathematize such impious blasphemies^u. Yet there wanted not some to patronize him^w, who tho' they chose to abstain from the broadest and most offensive of his expressions, and could speak pretty much in the same phrase that had been used among the Catholics, yet they sufficiently discover'd their meaning to agree with his, and that they only perverted the catholick language to speak the sense of heresy. St. *Athanasius*, though at that time no more than a Deacon of *Alexandria*, yet for the repu-

^r Euseb. de vit. Constant. l. 3. c. 8.

^f Ruffin. H. E. l. 1. aliàs 10. c. 2, 5. Sozom. H. E. l. 1. c. 17, 19.

^r Ruffin. l. 10. c. 5. confer Sozom. ut supra.

^u Vid. Athanas. epist. encycl. ad episc. Ægypt. & Lyb. p. 283. Edit. Ben. tom. 1. Socrat. H. E. l. 1. c. 9. Theod. H. E. l. 1. c. 9.

^w Socrat. l. 1. c. 8. Theod. l. 1. c. 7.

tation of his parts and skill in this controversy, had an honourable place assigned him in the council^x, and with great dexterity exposed the sophistry of those who pleaded on the side of *Arius*^y.

At this time we find that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* presented the council with a form of a creed, which he says was the same he had profess'd at his baptism, had receiv'd from the Bishops that were before him, and had both believed and taught thro' the several stations he had filled in the Church^z. This creed agrees pretty much with that which was made use of in the Church of *Jerusalem*^a, and explain'd in the catechetical lectures of *St. Cyril*^b. It professes a belief in the Son, as being *God of God*, and *begotten of the Father before all worlds*^c. And therefore it is no wonder, if (as *Eusebius*^d affirms) the council had nothing to object to it. And yet if this were the same creed^e which *Theodorit* observes to have been proposed by *Eusebius* of *Nico-*

^x Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. p. 381.

^y Ruffin. l. 10. c. 14. Socrat. l. 1. c. 8. Theod. l. 1. c. 26.

^z Theod. l. 1. c. 12.

^a Vid. D. Bull. Jud. Eccl. Cath. cap. 6. §. 5.

^b Cyril. Hierof. Catech. 4, &c.

^c ---Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ--- πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς
γεννηθένον. Euseb. Epist. apud Theodorit. H. E. l. 1. c. 12.

^d Ibid.

^e Vid. Montfauc. in vit. Athanas. p. 9.

SERM. IV. *media*, and the other favourers of *Arius*, we are told the council tore it in pieces as soon as it was read, and judged it to be a spurious and corrupt confession^f. But perhaps both accounts may be consistent enough; when it was first offer'd by *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, the craft and sophistry of the *Arians* might not be well understood, and therefore the other Bishops might approve of the creed, as taking its phrases in their ancient simplicity. But when in the process of their debates it appear'd that the favourers of *Arius* had given a new meaning to the ancient expressions, the council might well refuse to accept this form at their hands, and reject it with the utmost indignation.

It was at first the intention of the council to declare the catholick faith in the words of Scripture, and in the most plain and simple manner of expression^g. But the malignity of *Arianism* was not to be so restrain'd. Its patrons could apply the phrase, to overturn the sense of Scripture, and knew how to reconcile the most approved expressions with the most execrable blasphemies. They knew how to acknow-

^f --^Δ Ην ἀναγνωθεῖσαν εὐθείας διέρηξαν ἅπαντες, νόθον κὶ κίεθλον ὀνομάσαντες. Theodor. H. E. l. 1. c. 8.

^g Athanas. de decr. Syn. Nic. §. 19. & ad African. §. 5. item Theod. H. E. l. 1. c. 8.



ledge that the Son was *God*, and yet understood not that term to imply the same nature with the Father, but only to be a title of honour conferr'd on him^h at the free pleasure and *appointment* of the Father, tho' in a more excellent and peculiar sense than any other enjoy'd it. They could say that he was *true* or *very God*, and yet mean by it no more than this, that he was truly dignified in such manner by the Fatherⁱ. They could go on, that he is *God of God*, without attributing to him any higher privilege than the Scripture has attributed to the whole creation, when it says that *all things are of God*^k.

They could say moreover, that he is *begotten of God*, and yet not suppose any

^h Tribuunt Christo Dei nomen, quia hoc & hominibus sit tributum. Hilar. contra Auxent. col. 1266. Ed. Bened.

Deinde dicis interdum Deum Christum: sed ita dic Deum verum, ut plenitudinem ei paternæ Divinitatis assignes; sunt enim qui dicuntur Dii, sive in cælo, sive in terra. Non ergo perfunctorie nuncupandus Deus, sed ita ut eandem divinitatem prædices in Filio, quam Pater habet. Ambros. de fide l. 3. c. 16. *alias* 7. vid. & Euseb. contra Marcel. de Ecclesiast. Theologiâ. l. 1. c. 10.

ⁱ 'Εἰ ἃ καὶ Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν λέγουσι τὸν υἱόν, οὐ λυπεῖ· γενόμενος γὰρ ἀληθινός, ἀληθινός ἐστιν. Apud Athanas. ad Afr. §. 5. & Theod. H. E. l. 1. c. 8. Fatentur verè Dei Filium, quia sacramento baptismi, verè Dei Filius unusquisque perficitur. Hilar. contra Auxent. col. 1266.

^k 'Οἱ περὶ εὐσέβειον διελάλεον ἀλλήλοις συνθάμεθα καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσμὲν—— πᾶ ἃ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Athanas. & Theod. ibid. πάντα ἃ ἐκ Θεοῦ. Euseb. Nicomed. apud Theod. H. E. l. 1. c. 6.

SERM. IV. communication of the divine substance, because the term *generation* is sometimes put figuratively, and applied not only to men, but even to inanimate creatures, as when God is said to have *begotten the drops of dew*^l. Nay, they could say he was *begotten before all worlds*, without understanding either his *eternal* generation or existence, so long as they supposed him to be produced into being before the creation of the heavens and the earth, and in order to create them^m. They could confess him to be the *brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person*; they could term him the *Word, the Power and Wisdom* of the Father, and yet understand all this in so low a sense as might be applicable to creaturesⁿ, and no real argument of a natural equality. The grand point plainly was this, to bring them to a confession of the

Ἴει ὃ τὸ γεννητὸν αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι ὑπόφασιν τινα παρέχει, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρικῆς αὐτὸν γεγονότα, καὶ ἔχειν ἐκ τῆς τῆς παντότῃ τῆς φύσεως, γινώσκοντα ὡς οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον τὸ γεννητὸν εἶναι φησὶν ἡ γραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνομοίων αὐτῶ κατὰ πάντα τῆ φύσεως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων φησὶν οὐκ ἐγέννησεν καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις φησὶ, πῶς ὁ τετοκῶς βάλῃς δρόσον. Euseb. Nicom. ut supra.

^m Ante tempora & sæcula confitentur, quod de Angelis atque diabolo est non negandum. Hilar. contra Auxent. col. 1261. Ed. Ben.

ⁿ Vid. Athan. de decr. syn. Nic. ad Afric. & Theod. H. E. l. 1. c. 8.

Son's having the same nature and substance, the same infinite powers and perfections with the Father. None of the terms hitherto mention'd were sufficient for that purpose, for tho' they fairly carried that meaning in their just and obvious import, yet the *Arians* and their favourers had sophistry enough to elude them, by their evasive explications. The council therefore thought fit to explain his generation to be *of the substance of the Father*, which *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* had expressly denied before the assembling of the council^o. But alas! the subtle hereticks do some of them seem to have learnt afterwards, to understand no more by this, than they had done by his being *begotten of the Father*; not that the divine substance was really communicated, but only that the Father himself was the author of his being^p. The council proceeded to distinguish between *generation* and *creation*, and asserted

^o ---'Ουκ ἐκ τῆς ἑσίας αὐτῆ γεγονός, καθόλου τῆς φύσεως τῆς ἀγεννήτης μὴ μετέχον, ἢ ὄν ἐκ τῆς ἑσίας αὐτῆ, ἀλλὰ γεγονός ὁλοκληρῶς ἕτερον τῆ φύσεϊ καὶ τῆ δυνάμει, πρὸς τελείαν ὁμοιότητα. τῆς πεποιητότ^o γενόμενον. Euseb. Nicom. ut supra.

^p Eusebius of Cæsarea (apud Theodor. H. E. l. i. c. 12.) gives this as the exposition of the council, Τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἑσίας ἀδελωτικὸν εἶναι τῆ ἐκ μὴν τῆ πατρὸς εἶναι, ἔ μὴν ὡς μί^o ὑπάρχειν τῆ πατρὸς. And no doubt that exposition is capable of a very sound sense, it being certain that the substance of the Godhead is not divided. But if we compare it with what Eusebius of Nicomedia had asserted in the last citation, there will be reason to believe that the Arians took a handle from it to explain away the meaning of the article.

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the Son to be *begotten* but *not made*: and the *Arians* were ready at distinguishing too, and thought the Son was said to be *begotten*, because he was produced by the Father himself, immediately in an extraordinary manner; whereas all other things are said rather to be *made* or *created*, because they were produced by the Son as the minister or instrument of the Father, and all after one uniform manner⁹. By this means indeed the common people were preserv'd orthodox, whilst they took these phrases, quite down to St. *Hilary's* time^r, in their old catholick meaning, and not in that fraudulent acceptation which some of their pastors had devised, to conceal their heresy under the veil of catholick expressions.

And what then was to be done with such fallacious and sophistical antagonists? The meaning of the council in those ex-

⁹ Κατὰ ταῦτα ὅτι καὶ τὸ, γεννηθέντα ἔποιηθέντα καταδέξαμεθα, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ποιηθέντα κοινὸν ἔφασκον εἶναι τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων ἀφ' τοῦ υἱοῦ γενομένων, ὧν ἕδεν ὅμοιον ἔχειν τὸν υἱόν. Euseb. Cæsariens. apud Theodorit. H. E. l. 1. c. 12.

^r Et hujus quidem usque adhuc impietatis fraude perficitur, ut jam sub Antichristi sacerdotibus Christi populus non occidat, dum hoc putant illi fidei esse quod vocis est. Audiunt Deum Christum; putant esse quod dicitur. Audiunt Filium Dei; putant in Dei nativitate inesse Dei veritatem. Audiunt ante tempora; putant id ipsum ante tempora esse, quod semper est. Sanctiores aures plebis, quam corda sunt sacerdotum. Si Deum verum Ariani prædicant Christum, Deum sine fraude confessi sunt: Quod si Deum dicunt, & negant verum; tribuunt nomen & adimunt veritatem. Hilar. contra Auxent. col. 1261.

pressions



pressions was well known and understood: but that laid no restraint on these evasive disputants, who seem to have acted upon that principle, which has been openly avow'd by their successors in our days, that they were at liberty to subscribe any article of religion, in that sense wherein they thought it reconcileable to Scripture, however different from the known and avow'd sense of the compilers. A maxim of the most pernicious consequence, as being really destructive of all truth and common honesty^f! Yet there was one word, which might plead the authority of ancient use, that seem'd hardly capable of being perverted to any sense consistent with the *Arian* hypothesis. This therefore the *Nicene* Fathers thought proper to insert in their explication of the catholick faith, and accordingly declared the Son to be *ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ*, *consubstantial with the Father*^g. And there was the greater reason to hope for success from this explication, because it appear'd from a letter of *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, produced in council, that he was most averse to the acknowledgment of that character, as no way reconcileable to his scheme^h.

^f See Dr. Waterland's two Treatises of the Case of Arian Subscription.

^g See the Nicene Creed in the Councils, Historians, &c.

^h Vid Ambr. de fid. l. 3. c. 15. (aliàs 7.) col. 518. Ed. Ben.

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The meaning of that word has been so clearly proved^w, to denote the Son's having as much the same nature with the Father in respect of his Godhead, as he had the same nature with us in respect of his humanity, that I need not take pains to prove it in this place. Not that they meant hereby to insinuate (as some modern writers^x have unfairly concluded) that these two Persons and the Holy Ghost are no otherwise united than as three men are in the same *species*, or three friends in *good will*, (which had been downright *Tritheism*;) but that they had certainly the same nature and essential attributes; which was the grand point that the *Arians* denied, and the *Catholicks* thought themselves concern'd to assert against them by the term $\delta\mu\omicron\varsigma\omicron\iota\varsigma$. And then for their inseparable unity and *communion of substance*, tho' that be catholick doctrine too, and an easy consequence of the other, when it is first understood that there is but one God; yet this not being the point that was formally debated in the council, where both sides were agreed that the supreme Godhead is but one, I take

^w See Bp. Bull Def. fid. Nic. sect. 2. cap. 1.

^x Curcellæ. Instit. relig. Christ. l. 2. c. 22. §. 9. & in Quatern. dissertat. diss. 1. §. 70, &c. Cudworth's Intellectual System, p. 605, &c. Le Clerc's *Additions to Dr. Hammond in the English Translation*, p. 622. ad 1 Joh. v. 6.

that

that to be the reason why we have no direct determination upon this head.

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Of all the three hundred and eighteen Bishops that were present, there were but seventeen who did not readily subscribe to this character of the Son of God^y. And even among them the greatest part were quickly satisfied^z: in which number we may suppose *Eusebius of Casarea* to have been one, who declared himself to acquiesce in the explication of the council, and wrote a letter to his diocese on purpose to explain the ground of his proceedings, wherein he acknowledges that word to be supported by the authority of some eminent Bishops, and other writers of former times^a. But still *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, and four more with him, stood out with greater obstinacy^b. The argument upon which they seem to have laid greatest stress, was much like the old fallacy of *Paul of Samosata*^c; namely, the absurdity of supposing God the Father and the Son, to stand related either as parents and their children, or as the root and its branches, or as two vessels made of the same mass of gold;

^y Ruffin. H. E. l. 1. aliàs 10. c. 5. Sozom. l. 1. c. 20.

^z Ruffin. & Sozom. ut supra.

^a Theodor. H. E. l. 1. c. 12. Socrat. l. 1. c. 8. p. 26.

^b Socrat. ut supra. p. 23.

^c See the foregoing Sermon, p. 146, 147.

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one of which they thought must needs be implied in the notion of *consubstantiality*^d. But this capital objection the council removed, (as we learn from the letter of *Eusebius* abovementioned,) by declaring that they meant not by this to suggest any *division* or *alteration* of the divine *essence*, which is utterly incapable of it, but only to exempt the Son from being *like the creatures* in any respect, altogether resembling, as to his nature or substance, the Father who begat him.

Another objection urged after the council, and perhaps in it, was, that this word is *unscriptural*, and that it is unreasonable to bind men to such forms of confession, as are express'd in any other but the words of Scripture^e. But of all men in the world, there were none could manage this objection with a worse grace than the *Arians*, who had not only visibly eluded the sense of Scripture, by perverting its words to a different signification, but had themselves introduced a multitude of terms not used in Scripture, as particularly that

^d Ἐπεὶ ἡδ' ἔφασαν ὁμοῦσιον εἶναι, ὃ ἕκ τινος ἐστίν, ἢ κατὰ μερισμὸν, ἢ κατὰ ρεύσιν, ἢ κατὰ προσβολήν· κατὰ προσβολήν, ὡς ἐκ ριζῶν βλάστημα· κατὰ ἣ ρεύσιν, ὡς οἱ πατρικῆς παῖδες· κατὰ μερισμὸν ἣ, ὡς βόλις χρυσίδες δύο ἢ τρεῖς· κατ' ἑδὲν ἣ τέτων ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός· Ἀφ' αὐτοῦ εἰ συγκαταπέθεαζ τῇ πίσει ἔλεγον. Socrat. H. E. l. i. c. 8. p. 23.

^e Vid. Athanas. ad African. §. 6. tom. i. par. 2. pag. 396. Edit. Ben.

favourite word ἀγέννητος, *unmade* or *unbegotten*^f; not to mention others which were contrary to Scripture, as well in the sense as in the phrase^s. It was this sort of conduct that forced the Catholics to the use of such terms as might secure the sense of Scripture, and preserve the doctrines of our holy religion in their genuine purity^h.

Lastly, it was likewise objected by the *Arians*, and the plea at first looks plausible, that this very term δμοῖσις had been rejected by the council of *Antioch*, in the foregoing centuryⁱ. But the replies to this were various: In the first place, it is certain the word had been in use before the

^f Καὶ αὐτοὶ ᾧ, ἐπερ ἄρα δύνανται, ἀποκρινέσθωσαν πῶς ἔυρον τὴν ἄγραφον ταύτῃ λέξιν, ἢ ποία διανοία τὸν θεὸν ἀγέννητον λέγῃσι. Ath. de decr. syn. Nic. §. 28. p. 234. *It was observ'd before (see p. 51.) that the words ἀγέννητος and ἀγέννητος, were at first used indifferently, to signify uncreated; and the Ancients had no word that answer'd to the sense of unbegotten. But at length, in opposition to the Sabellians, who asserted genitum ex virgine Patrem, the Father was declared to be ingenitus. Vid. Vigil. Tapsenf. Dialog. publish'd under the name of Vigil. Trident. inter opera Cassandri. p. 474. Neither of the terms are in Scripture, but the Arians were fond of both.*

^g Καὶ ὁ γογγυσμὸς αὐτῶν ὅτι ἄγραφοι εἰσιν αἱ λέξεις, ἐλέγχεται παρ' αὐτῶν μάταις, ἐξ ἀγράφων ἀσέβησαντες ἄγραφα ᾧ τὸ, ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων, καὶ τὸ, ἦν πότε ὅτε ἐκ ἦν. Athan. ad Afric. ut supra.

^h See the first Sermon, p. 16—19.

ⁱ Οἱ τὸν Σαμοσατέα κατακρίναντες ἐπίσκοποι, γράφοντες εἰρήκασιν μὴ εἶναι ὁμοούσιον τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ. Athan. de syn. Arim. & Seleuc. §. 45. tom. 1. par. 2. p. 757.

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council of *Antioch*, and therefore it could be no more blameable in the *Nicene* Fathers to admit a word which the *Antiochian* Fathers set aside, than it was in those *Antiochians* themselves to disuse a word which the Fathers before them had allowed^k. In the next place, the occasions were manifestly different. The council of *Antioch* was assembled against *Paul* of *Samosata*, who utterly denying any nature in Christ, wherein he personally subsisted before his conception according to the flesh, it was easy to censure and guard against his heresy, without using a word which he was known to interpret in a wicked and absurd sense: whereas the council of *Nice* was assembled against *Arius*, who tho' he brought down the Son to the condition of a creature, inferior, for that reason, in nature to the Father; yet he acknowledged his personal subsistence before the world, and his superiority in nature to all the things that were created by him. So that there was need of some higher expression in this case than the other, to import his equal dignity of nature with the Father and Creator of all: and nothing was found

^k 'Εἰ περ' ἔν μὲμφεται τις τοῖς ἐν νικαίᾳ συνελευθῶσιν, ὡς ἐρηγήσει παρὰ τὰ δοξάντα τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, ὁ αὐτὸς μὲμφαιτ' ἂν ἐκείτως ἐ τοῖς ὁ, ὅτι μὴ τὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐφύλαξαν. Ibid. §. 45. p. 758.

to answer this purpose so effectually as the term *ὁμοούσιον*¹. In the last place 'tis observable, that though some of the favourers of *Arius* in the council, would have put the same absurd construction upon the word^m, which *Paulus Samosatenus* had done formerly, yet the generality of them gave it up, when the council had expressly declared against any such absurd and impious design in itⁿ.

Upon the whole matter, this word was inserted in the creed drawn up by *Hosius*^o, as the securest fence against the *Arian* prevarications: and the article of the Son's

¹ 'Εἰ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν συνόδων οἱ πατέρες διαφόρους ἐμνημόνευσαν περὶ τῆ ὁμοουσίας, ἔ χρη πάντως ἡμῶς διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὰς, ἀλλὰ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐρευνᾶν, καὶ πείτως ἐυρήσομεν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν συνόδων τὴν ὁμοούσιον. — Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Σαμοσατεύς ἐφρόνη, μὴ εἶναι πρὸ μακρίας τὸν υἱόν, τῆς ἐνεκεν οἱ τότε συνελθόντες καθεῖλον μὲν αὐτὸν, καὶ αἰρετικὸν ἀπέφηναν, περὶ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας θεότητος ἀπλῆστερον γραφόντες, ἔ κατενόησαν περὶ τὴν τῆ ὁμοουσίας ἀκρίβειαν. — ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ περὶ εὐσεβίου καὶ Ἀρειοῦ, πρὸ κρίνων μὲν εἶναι τὸν υἱόν ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐκ θεῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ κτίσματα, τῆς χάριτος οἱ ἐν νικαίᾳ συνελθόντες, θεωρήσαντες τὴν πανουργίαν τῶν ἔτω φρονούντων, καὶ συναναγνόντες ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, λευκότερον γραφόντες ἐξήκασι τὸ ὁμοούσιον, ἵνα καὶ τὸ γνήσιον ἀληθῶς ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας τῆς οὐσίας, ἔ μηδὲν κοινὸν ἔχη πρὸς τῆτον τὰ γενητέ. ἢ γὰρ τῆς λέξεως ταύτης ἀκρίβεια, τὴν τε ὑπόκρισιν αὐτῶν, ἐὰν λέγωσι τὸ ἐκ τῆς θεῶν ῥητὸν, διελέγχει, ἔ πάσαις αὐτῶν πᾶσι πιθανότητας, ἐν αἷς ὑφάρπάζουσι τὰς ἀκρίβειας, ἐκβάλλου πάντα γὰρ δυνάμεθ' ἑσφίξεσθαι ἔ μεταποιεῖν, ὡς θέλωσι, ταῦτ' ἅπαντα μόνον τὴν λέξιν, ὡς διελέγχεσαν αὐτῶν τὴν αἴρεσιν, διδάσω ἢ οἱ πατέρες, ὡς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι κατὰ πάσης ἀσεβοῦς ἐκνοίας αὐτῶν ἔγραψαν. Ath. syn. §. 45. p. 759, 760.

^m See above, p. 181, 182.

ⁿ Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. i. c. 8. Theodorit. l. i. c. 12.

^o Athanas. Hist. Arianor. ad Mon. §. 42. p. 369.

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Divinity being thus far explain'd, the council thought it not necessary to enlarge much upon other matters; but tho' they did in general confess their belief in the *Father* and the *Holy Spirit*, as being number'd together in the same Divinity^p, yet that seems rather to have been because their belief in the *Son* was not compleat without it^q, than for the sake of stating such particular doctrines as were not then the subject of the debates before them^r. After all, they concluded with a particular censure of the most offensive blasphemies of *Arius*^s: and it is observable that of the five Bishops who had hitherto countenanced his cause, there were only two that durst stand out against so great a majority, the rest subscribing at once to the

^p Τὸ ἢ πιστεύομεν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἶρηται, ἀλλὰ ἡ πίστις εἰς τὸν Θεόν, Ἐἰς ἓνα κύριον ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ——— καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ——— εἰς μίαν θεολογίαν, καὶ εἰς μίαν ἑνωσιν θεότητος, Ἐἰς μίαν ὁμοουσιότητα, εἰς τρία τέλεια, μίαν ἢ θεότητα, μίαν οὐσίαν, μίαν θεολογίαν, μίαν κυριότητα, ἀπὸ τοῦ πιστεύομεν καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ πιστεύομεν. Epiph. hæc. 74. §. 14. prope fin.

^q See Bp. Bull Jud. Eccl. Cath. cap. 6. §. 3.

^r Ὁ ἢ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος λόγος ἐν παραδρομῇ κείται, οὐδεμίαν ἐξεργασίας ἀξιοθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ μηδέπω τότε τοῦτο κενιῆσθαι τὸ ζήτημα. Bas. Epist. 78. Οὐ γέγονε ἢ τότε περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἢ ζήτησις, πρὸς ᾧ τὸ ὑποπίπλον ἐν καιρῷ καὶ καιρῷ αἰ σύνοδοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ποιῶνται. Epiph. hæc. 74. p. 904. De Ario tunc, non de Origene questio fuit: de Filio, non de Spiritu Sancto. Confessi sunt quod negabatur; tacuerunt de quo nemo quærebatur. D. Hieron. ad Pammach. & Ocean. Epist. 41. alias 65.

^s See the conclusion of the Nicene Creed in the Councils and Historians.

confession

confession of faith, and the anathema's annexed to it^t. Indeed their conduct afterwards^v gives too much reason to think they did not subscribe upon conviction, or with a true christian simplicity of heart, because they continued, sometimes more openly, and at other times in secret, to promote the very doctrines they condemned^w, insomuch that *Philostorgius* himself has charg'd them with subscribing *fraudulently*, and for fear of banishment, intending no more than a like substance, whilst they subscribed to the same substance^x.

The result of all was this, that the *anathema* which *Alexander* had denounc'd upon *Arius* and his associates, was confirm'd by the sentence of the council, and those two Bishops who stood by him to the last were concluded in the same censure^y. The confession which had now been drawn up, was every where received as an authentick exposition of the catholic faith, tho' it does not appear to have

^t Theodorit. l. 1. c. 7. vid. & Athanas. de decr. syn. Nic. p. 210. §. 3.

^v Ath. de decr. syn. Nic. §. 4. p. 211.

^w --- Ἰπέρβλις Ἐ οὐκ εἰλικρινῶς. Theodor. ibid. τότε μὲν λεληθότως, τότε ἡ προφανῶς τὰς ἀποψηφιδεῖσας πρεσβεύσασι δόξας. Euseb. Antiochen. apud Theodorit. l. 1. c. 8.

^x Πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον μετετάξατο, δόλων μὲν — καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὁμοιωσῆς φωνῇ ὑποκλέψαντες. — Ἐυσέβει, ὑπέγραψας, ἵνα μὴ ἐξοριθῆς. Philostorg. Epitom. l. 1. c. 9, 10.

^y Socrat. H. E. l. 1. c. 8. Theod. l. 1. c. 8.

been

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been either design'd by the council, or any where strictly used as the *baptismal* creed. The *anathematisms* added in the conclusion of it, and the omission of those articles which in other creeds use to follow the confession of the Holy Ghost, are a sufficient proof that it could not be designed for the recital of *catechumens* at their baptism^z. And accordingly it is sufficiently evident, that the *Western* creeds (as those of *Rome* and *Aquileia*, mention'd by *Ruffinus*^a, and the *Jerusalem* creed explained by *St. Cyril*^b to his catechumens) were continued in the administration of that sacrament. But yet we are not without reason to believe, that as *Arianism* prevail'd most in the *East*, so those *Eastern* Churches which remain'd uncorrupt, did by degrees insert the *Nicene* explications, and particularly the term *ὁμοούσιον*, into their creeds respectively; from whence (as I may have farther occasion to take notice hereafter) the *Nicene* creed is refer'd by the *Constantinopolitan* Fathers, and by others after them, as *accommodated to the use of baptism*.

As new heresies broke out, there was the like necessity of guarding against

^z Vid. Bull. Jud. Eccl. Cath. cap. 6. §. 2, 3.

^a Ruffin. in præfat. ad expof. Symb. inter opera D. Cyprian. Oxon.

^b Vid. Cyril. Hierof. Catech. 6, &c.

them; and therefore it is observable, that in the form produced by *Epiphanius*^c, near fifty years after the council of *Nice*, it was not only added to the acknowledgment of the Son's incarnation, that he was *incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary*, in opposition to the *Apollinarian* heresy, which denied Christ's flesh to be *consubstantial* with ours, or taken from the substance of the blessed Virgin: but likewise the article of the Holy Ghost (in opposition to the *Pneumatomachi*) was farther explained by declaring him to be the *Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, and who with the Father and the Son together is worshiped and glorified*. Which were such material explications, that the council of *Constantinople* thought fit to retain 'em in their creed, which is in a manner the same with this of *Epiphanius*.

But to return to *Nice*, the sentence of the council pronounc'd against *Arius* and his associates, was follow'd by another of the Emperor, whereby the excommunicate persons were condemn'd to banishment^d, that they might be debarr'd the society of their countrymen, whom the Church had

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373.

381.

^c Epiphan. in Ancorat. §. 120.

^d Socrat. H. E. l. 1. c. 8. p. 23. Ruffin. l. 10. c. 5.

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judg'd unworthy to remain in her communion. Soon after which, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nice*, being found to continue their countenance and protection to the *Arian* cause, to communicate with those whom they had anathematized, and concur in those wicked sentiments which they had condemn'd by their subscriptions; they were both subjected to the same penalty of exile by the Emperor^e, they were actually deposed (as we learn from *Athanasius*^f) and had successors ordain'd to their Sees; tho' history is silent as to the council by which this was done.

328. But such was the good nature and credulity of *Constantine*, that these men by their usual artifices, easily imposed upon him, and brought him to such a full persuasion of their agreement with the *Nicene* faith, that in about three years time^g they were not only recall'd from banishment, but restored to their Sees, which had been fill'd with other Bishops in their absence, and to a considerable degree of interest at court^h. Their thorough attachment to the cause of *Arius*, and their ha-

^e Theodorit. H. E. l. 1. c. 19, 20. Philostorg. Epit. l. 1. c. 10.

^f Ath. Apol. contra Arian. §. 7. p. 129.

^g Philostorg. l. 2. c. 7.

^h Socrat. l. 1. c. 14, 23. Theod. l. 1. c. 20. *in fine*.



tred of *Athanasius*, who had so vigorously withstood them in the council, and was now advanced to the See of *Alexandria*ⁱ, made them watchful of every opportunity to carry on their old designs, and defeat the decisions of the council^k.

In the mean time one who wish'd well to their designs, and whom *Constantia* had upon her death-bed recommended to the Emperor^l, did so far prevail upon the easy credulity of *Constantine*, by complaining that *Arius* had been misrepresented, and differ'd nothing in his sentiments from the *Nicene* Fathers^m, that the indulgent Emperor recall'd him from his banishment, and required him to exhibit in writing a confession of his faithⁿ. He did it in such terms, as tho' they admitted of a latent reservation, yet bore the appearance of being entirely catholick^o, and therefore not only gave satisfaction to the Emperor, but even offended some of his own followers, who from that time forth separated from him^p. The discerning *Athanasius* was not

330.

ⁱ Socrat. l. 1. c. 15. Theod. l. 1. c. 20.

^k Socrat. l. 1. c. 23.

^l Ruffin. H. E. l. 10. c. 11. Socrat. l. 1. c. 25. Sozom. l. 2. c. 27.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Socrat. & Sozom. ibid.

^o We have the form both in Socrates and Sozomen, as above cited.

^p Ruffin. H. E. l. 10. c. 25.

SERM. IV. *so* easily imposed upon as *Constantine*, but being well assured of the heretick's prevarication, was resolute in refusing to admit him to communion, whom the *Nicene*
 330. council had so openly condemn'd.

This therefore was the time for the favourers of *Arius* to use their interest at court, and their sophistry in councils, to represent the most zealous of the Catholics as downright *Sabellians*, and relapsing into that heresy of which their forefathers had express'd the utmost abhorrence^r. And unfortunately it happen'd, that the manner in which some Catholics opposed the present heresy, gave but too plausible a handle for such calumnies. It is observable that the council of *Nice* had made no express determination concerning the word *εἰς*, whether in the Godhead there be one only, or else three hypostases. And as that word is differently understood, either in the abstract to denote the divine substance it self, or in the concrete to denote *substance* with its propriety, or as it is *personalized*; both assertions may be true. In the latter sense it had been taken by some Fathers of the third century, who asserted three hypostases in opposition to *Noetus* and *Sabellius*^f; and so

^g Socrat. H. E. l. 1. c. 27.

^r C. 23.

^f See the foregoing Sermon, p. 120, 137.

it continued to be taken in the fourth SERM. IV! century, by many^a who were far enough from admitting either the *Tritheistick* notion of three *co-ordinate* principles, or the *Arian* device of three *hypostases*, not only *divided* from each other, but *different* in kind. Yet since it had in this manner been abused, to make them entirely distinct and separate beings, there were some Catholics thought better to take it in the other acceptation, and assert, that in the Godhead there is but one *hypostasis*^b. And to carry the matter against *Arianism* as high as possible, they interpreted the word *ὁμοῦσι*^c in such a sense as seemed to strip it of all guard against *Sabellianism*, whereas that word was plainly levell'd a-

^a Vid. Athanas. ad Antiochen. §. 5. p. 773. *item* Basil Epist. 391. p. 1171.

^b Ὑπόστασι μὴ λόγον, ἡγούμενοι ταυτὸν εἶναι, ἐπεὶ ὑπόστασι καὶ οὐσίαν. Ἄλλ' τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν υἱόν, ἔστι τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς φύσεως μίαν ἢ θεότητα, καὶ μίαν εἶναι τὴν ταύτης φύσιν πιστεύομεν. *Orthodoxi quidam apud Athanas. Epist. synod. ad Antiochen. §. 6.*

^c 'Tis certain the Arians who had formerly objected against the word *ὁμοῦσι* as dividing the Godhead, came at length to object against it on the other hand, as destroying the personality. Frustra autem verbum istud propter Sabellianos declinare se dicunt. Ambros. de fide l. 3. c. 15. (alias 7.) col. 519. tom. 2. Ed. Ben. This was probably owing to some Catholics straining it beyond or besides its original design. With which St. Basil charges Marcellus, (Epist. 78.) Ὅπως γε καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐτέλημεν ἀσεβῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, καὶ ψιλὸν αὐτὸν ἐξηγούμενον λόγον, ἐκείθεν [nempe ex symbolo Nicæno] προφασισμαδὶ τὰς ἀεχμὰς εἰληφέναι τοῦ ὁμοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν κακῶς ἐξηγούμενον.

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gainst both extremes^d. This gave the subtle adversaries of the truth the handle for that charge of *Sabellianism*: and I make no question it prevail'd with some of orthodox principles to join with them, for fear of falling into the opposite impiety. And thus, it seems, that many who agreed in their sentiments of things, came to dispute about words; which the historian^e aptly compares to mens *fighting in the dark*, uncertain where their blows will light, whether upon friends or enemies.

The *Latins*, who had no other way of rendring the word ὑπόστασις, but as they did the word εἶσα, namely, by the word *substantia*^f, thought it necessary to join with those who allowed but one hypostasis, lest they should seem to admit of three *substances*, contrary to the standing doctrine of the Church. But when *Athanasius*, by his travels into the *West*, as well as by his conversation with the Catholics of both sides in the *East*, was fully satisfied that this was merely a dispute about words, and that both sides did really acknowledge the same distinction in the God-

^d Recte ergo ἁμοῦσιον Patri Filium dicimus, quia verbo eo & personarum distinctio & naturæ unitas significatur. D. Ambros. ut supra. See also above, p. 132.

^e Socrat. H. E. l. 1. c. 23.

^f Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. p. 395. vid. & Suicer. in vocibus εἴσα προσωπον, ὑπόστασις.

head, he so successfully explain'd the matter in a council held at *Alexandria*^g, that from henceforward the Churches of the *East*^h and the *West*ⁱ, in their synodical epistles to each other, condescended to make use of either stile, and explain'd three persons by three *hypostases*, as terms synonymous. Yet after all the *Latins* adhered to the word *person* among themselves; and tho' most of them^k allow'd the meaning of the *Greeks* to be orthodox, yet St. *Ferom*, a good while afterward, speaks not without some warmth to Pope *Damasus* of this application of the word *hypostasis*^l: having taken his notions (as it seems) from *Antioch*, where he heard and was ordain'd by *Paulinus*^m, and where there subsisted a party for a long time which could not perfectly reconcile themselves to that way of expression, tho' they did at first submit to the explication of

^g Athanas. ut supr. §. 5, 6.

^h Theod. l. 4. c. 8.

ⁱ Lib. 5. cap. 9.

^k Vid. Hilar. de synod. col. 1170, 1172. Edit. Bened. item D. August. de Trin. l. 7. c. 4. §. 7, 8.

^l Tota sæcularium literarum schola nihil aliud hypostasim, nisi usiam norit. Et quisquam, rogo, ore sacrilego tres substantias prædicabit? Hieron. Epist. 14. ad Dam. Ed. Bened. tom. 4. par. 2. col. 20. alias Epist. 57. Ita & Faustinus in fide Imperatori Theodosio missâ A. D. 384. Miramur autem catholicos illos probari posse, qui Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti tres substantias confitentur.

^m Vid. D. Cave Hist. lit. ad an. 378.

SERM. IV. the *Alexandrian* council held by *Athanasius*ⁿ.

330.

The *Arians*, as was said, and the *Eusebians*, could not fail to make their advantage of such divisions: and the first who felt their rage was the great *Eustathius* of *Antioch*. He lay under the imputation, which we have mention'd, of *Sabellianism*^o. But the *Arians* not being yet willing to try their strength upon this cause, loaded him with other crimes of an immoral nature, which tho' not made out by any competent proof, and after all notoriously confuted, yet answer'd the end which they propos'd, and serv'd for a pretence to deprive him of his bishoprick, by a council which was called at *Antioch*^p. There was a quick succession of seven *Arian* Bishops in that Church^q: and tho' a party of the Catholics adhered to their true Bishop *Eustathius*, who continued (as far as he had opportunity) to exercise his office with zeal and resolution, even when driven into ba-

^o Athanas. ut supr. p. 777. Epiphan. hæc. 77. §. 21.

^p Socrat. H. E. l. 1. c. 23, 24.

^q Sozom. l. 2. c. 19. Theod. l. 1. c. 21.

^r First Paulinus of Tyre, and then Eulalius. Philostorg. l. 3. c. 15. after him Euphronius, and next Placentius or Flaccillus, Theod. l. 1. c. 22. Then Stephen whom the Arians deposed for his enormities, and then Leontius. Athanas. Histor. Arianor. ad Monachos §. 4. p. 347. Theod. l. 2. c. 9, 10. And lastly, Eudoxius, Socrat. l. 2. c. 37.

nishment :



nishment^r: yet the greater part of them were mixed by the *Arians*, influenced, it is probable, with the specious cry of *Sabellianism*, with which it was usual at that time to blacken the *Eustathian* party, upon account of their asserting one *hypostasis*, whilst they, in return, were not wanting to accuse those who spake of three *hypostases* as declining into *Arianism*^t, for which they seem'd to have the fairer handle, when they saw them joining their devotions with profess'd *Arians*^t. For in the time of *Leontius*, which was about the middle of the fourth century, altho' the Clergy of *Antioch* were very much corrupted by the influence of *Arian* Bishops, yet the majority of the people still continued orthodox^u: and however the dispute about *Doxologies*^w, and the ordination of *Aëtius*,

348.

^r Vid. Chrysof. tom. 1. orat. 51. in Eustath. Antiochen.

^t Ἐἶτα σαβελλιανισμὸς ἐνταῦθα, ἐπεσέθη τοῖς τρισὶ προσώποις, καὶ Ἀρειανισμὸς ταῖς τρεῖσιν ὑποστάσεσι τὰ τῆς φιλονεικίας ἀναπλάσματα. Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. p. 396.

^u Theod. l. 2. c. 31. Philostorgius represents them as communicating with the Arians in prayers, hymns and consultations, and almost every thing but the Eucharist. Philost. l. 3. c. 14.

^w Theodor. l. 2. c. 24.

^w Philostorgius (l. 3. c. 13.) pretends that Flavianus did now first introduce that form of Doxology, which ascribes equal glory directly to the three persons. But the truth is, both forms had antiquity to plead. The Arians liked one best, and the Orthodox the other, and used them accordingly in publick. Soz. l. 3. c. 20. Leontius was too timorous to decide the matter, and therefore mumbling over the Doxology to himself, pronounced only the last

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360.

Aëtius, had like to have provoked *Flavian* and *Diodorus* to leave *Leontius's* communion, yet it seems they did not actually separate, but continued in subjection to the *Arian* Bishop*. Thus was there a grievous schism between the *Eustathians* and the other Catholics: and tho' after the death of *Eustathius*, and translation of *Eudoxius* to *Constantinople*, *Meletius* a catholic Bishop was appointed to succeed at *Antioch*, by a council holden in that city, which consisted chiefly of *Arians*, yet he, after a month's continuance, was so little acceptable to those who had promoted him, that they got him banish'd by *Constantius*, and the *Arian Euzoius* was thrust into his room^y.

From this time therefore the *Antiochians* were split into three separate communions. Those Catholics who before had submitted to the *Arians*, did now refuse to join them, and adhered to *Meletius*^z. And yet such was the jealousy between them and the *Eustathians*, that one side aspersing the other as *Sabellians*, and they in return looking

words [for ever and ever] in the hearing of the people. See Theodorit as above, and the Second Review of Mr. Whiston's Account of Doxologies, p. 85, &c.

* Vid. Theodor. l. 2. c. 24, 31.

^y Philostorg. l. 5. c. 5. Theod. l. 2. c. 31.

^z Theodor. ibid.

upon



upon them as favourers of *Arianism*^a, (not merely for their doctrine of three *hypostases*, but because *Meletius* himself had been ordain'd, and the generality of his adherents baptised by *Arians*^b) there could be no effectual method of accommodation found between them, neither during the three banishments, nor at the different restorations of *Meletius*, nor indeed of a good while after his death: but the *Eustathians*, who had procured the ordination of *Paulinus* by *Lucifer* of *Cagliari*, continued to have a Bishop of their own, and a distinct communion, till the succession of *Alexander* to the See of *Antioch*, after the beginning of the fifth century^c. Not to mention now that the *Apollinarians* likewise had for some time a Bishop in this city, and a different communion from all.

362.

417.

I was willing to state this affair of the Church of *Antioch* all at once, that it might give no interruption in the sequel

^a Vid. Theod. ibid. & l. 3. c. 5. & l. 5. c. 3, 24. Yet the Arians themselves charged Meletius with being a Sabellian. Theod. l. 2. c. 31. As Paulinus was now ordain'd Bishop of the Eustathians in opposition to Meletius, so was Evagrius afterwards in opposition to Flavian. And this occasion'd for some time an unhappy misunderstanding between the Eastern and the Western Churches. Theod. l. 5. c. 23.

^b Socr. l. 2. c. 44. l. 5. c. 5. Soz. l. 7. c. 3.

^c Theodor. l. 3. c. 5. l. 5. c. 35. 1

SERM. IV. of this discourse. But to return to *Arius*:
 he being rejected, as was said, by *Athana-*
 332. *sus*, began to raise disturbances at *Alex-*
andria^d, the blame of which was easily
 thrown upon the Patriarch by *Eusebius* of
Nicomedia and his partisans, whose inter-
 est at court was very considerable. Many
 calumnies were raised to blacken the Pa-
 triarch's reputation, which however ab-
 surdly laid, or ill supported, had such ef-
 fect with the credulous (though catholick)
 Emperor, that after a council meeting
 without effect at *Cæsarea* of *Palestine*^e,
 he appointed the council, which was cal-
 led for the dedication of the Church of
 335. *Jerusalem*, to meet first at *Tyre*, and con-
 sider the cause of *Athanasius*^f. Where,
 although the Patriarch did sufficiently con-
 front their evidence, and disprove their al-
 legations, yet the favourers of *Arius* had
 interest enough to procure his deprivation
 at that time^g, and soon afterwards his ban-
 nishment^h, by pretending to the Emperor
 a new crime of hindring the exportation
 of corn from *Alexandria*ⁱ.

^d Socrat. H. E. l. 1. c. 27.

^e Sozom. l. 2. c. 25.

^f Socrat. l. 1. c. 28. Sozom. l. 2. c. 25. Theodor. l. 1.

c. 30.

^g Vid. Theod. ibid. Socrat. l. 1. c. 32.

^h Theod. l. 1. c. 31.

ⁱ Socr. l. 1. c. 35. Theod. l. 1. c. 31.

When the first of these points was gained, there could be no great difficulty in restoring *Arius* to communion. But being now obliged to adjourn to *Jerusalem*, for the dedication of the Church which *Constantine* had built^k, the business of *Arius* was reserved till then, and carried (as it seems) without much opposition^l. The Catholics who were present, might be probably intimidated by the credit which the friends of *Arius* had gained with the Emperor by their gross equivocations. Or some of them, perhaps, might be imposed upon in the same manner as the Emperor himself. Yet some, we are inform'd, withdrew^m from their assembly; and *Marcellus* in particular, the Bishop of *Ancyra*, was so offended with their proceedings both at *Tyre* and *Jerusalem*, that he refused to communicate any longer with the abettors of such wickedness, or even to join with 'em in their present dedicationⁿ. This could not fail provoking them to work his downfall: they represented it as a contempt of the Emperor's authority; and remembering that he had lately

^k Socrat. l. 1. c. 33. Sozom. l. 2. c. 26. Theod. l. 1. c. 31.

^l Socrat. *ibid.* Sozom. l. 2. c. 27.

^m As Paphumius Bishop in Thebais, and Maximus of Jerusalem. Sozom. l. 2. c. 25.

ⁿ Cap. 33.

SERM. IV. written a piece against the *Arians*, in which he made use of some expressions perhaps not duly guarded against other heresies, they made this the foundation of a charge against him, as a reviver of the *Paulian* or *Samosatenian* heresy^o. This was thought ground enough to get him deposed and excommunicated by the next council at *Constantinople*, where *Basil* of *Ancyra* was appointed to succeed him^p; and tho' after the death of *Constantine* he returned to his See, yet the favourers of *Arianism* quickly expell'd him again, and forced him to fly for refuge to the *Western* Churches.

Eusebius of *Cæsarea*, in his books written professedly against him, treats him as a *Sabellian*^q. And he had the misfortune to be so esteem'd by many of the most orthodox among the *Greek* Fathers, and some among the *Latins*, as well as by the generality of the learned in these latter ages^r. But I have often wonder'd, they should so easily give credit to this accu-

^o Sozom. *ibid.* Socrat. l. 1. c. 36.

^p Socrat. l. 2. c. 42. Sozom. *ut suprà*.

^q Eusebii contra Marcellum libri duo; speciatim lib. 2. cap. 2. item de Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ contra eundem libri tres, speciatim lib. 1. cap. 1, 5, 14, 15, 16, 17. lib. 2. cap. 1, 4, 5, 11, 15, 24. & lib. 3. cap. 4.

^r See the sentiments of all stated by *Tillemont*, tom. 7. in *Marcel d' Ancyre*.



sation of the *Arian* faction, with whom nothing could be more familiar than to fasten this slander on the Catholicks. 'Tis certain his case was more favourably judg'd of at that time, as well by some in the *East*^t, as generally in the *West*, where after a distinct examination of the passages excepted against in his book against the *Arian Asterius*, and a view of that confession of faith he had presented to Pope *Julius*^t, he was honourably acquitted by the councils of *Rome*^v and *Sardica*^w, and was thereupon restored to the possession of his Bishoprick^x. Even *Hilary* himself, tho' he charges him with heresy, yet he thinks that charge could never be maintain'd from any thing which he has said in his book against *Asterius*, but from something else which had pass'd in his discourses after the time of his acquittal by those councils^y. It must be own'd, that as *Mar-*

^t Ἐλέγετο ἢ πρὸς τινῶν ταῦτα ὡς ἐν ζητήσῃ εἰρηῶς Μαρκέλλω, καὶ ὡς ὁμολογημένα ἀπεθελῶς καὶ αὐτῶ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν εὐσεβίον. Sozom. l. 2. c. 33.

^v Vid. Epiphan. hæc. 72. §. 1, 2.

^w Vid. Julii epist. synod. apud Athanas. in Apolog. contra Arianos §. 32. p. 150. Ed. Ben. item Hist. Arianor. ad Monach. §. 6. Hilar. frag. 2. §. 6.

^x Vid. Epist. Synod. Concil. Sardic. apud Athan. in Apol. contra Arianos §. 47. p. 165.

^y Sozom. H. E. l. 2. c. 33. vid. & Athanas. & Hilar. ut supra.

^z Hilar. frag. 2. §. 21. col. 1299. Ed. Ben.

SERM. IV. *cellus* had join'd with that party of Catholics which admitted but one *hypostasis*^z, and had perhaps been too loose and unguarded in his expressions upon that subject, this naturally raised the jealousy of the other party, which was improved to such heights by St. *Basil*^a, and other great men of that time, that even *Athanasius* himself, who had maintain'd a long and intimate friendship with him, was drawn into some doubt of his orthodoxy^b, and almost persuaded to renounce his communion^c, when *Marcellus*, not long before his death, averted the storm, by sending him a clear confession of his faith, entirely agreeable to the sentiments of the *Eustathian* Catholics^d.

But to return to the history of *Arius*: whilst his opposers were thus run down, as has been said, his ends were yet far from being satisfied. After the decision of

^z Vid. Montfauc. in dissert. de Marcello præfixâ tomo secundo novæ collect. Patrum Græcorum. Item Montacutii annot. in Euseb. advers. Marcel. p. 6, 7. Edit. Paris 1628.

^a Vid. Basil. Epist. 52, 74, & 293.

^b Epiphan. hæc. 72. §. 4.

^c Hilary (frag. 2. ut supra.) will have it that Athanasius did actually refuse Marcellus's communion, before the rise of Photinus: And Tillemont (in not. ad Marcel. tom. 7.) agrees that he did so before his death. But for the contrary, see Montfauc. on's Dissertation above cited.

^d Vid. Legat. Marcel. ad Athanas. in Montfauc. Nova collect. tom. 2. . .



that *Eusebian* council in his favour, and the banishment of *Athanasius*, he made no doubt of being acknowledg'd and receiv'd by the Church of *Alexandria*. But in that he found himself disappointed. The people of that Church were too sensible of the loss of their good Patriarch, and the disturbance which had already risen from this incendiary, to admit him into their communion^e. The Emperor, upon this, summon'd him to *Constantinople*, where, upon his delivering in a confession of faith, in terms less offensive than his first propositions, but still in an evasive and uncatholick sense, and appealing withal to the searcher of hearts as the witness of his integrity, or the avenger of his falsehood, the indulgent Emperor was so far imposed upon by his prevarication, that he either himself enjoind, or at least the *Eusebians* depending on his favour, had threatned *Alexander* the Bishop of that Church with force and violence, in order to get *Arius* admitted the next day to his communion^f. The good Patriarch was resolute against compliance; and that very evening the

^e Socrat. l. 1. c. 37. Sozom. l. 2. c. 29.

^f Socrat. l. 1. c. 38. Sozom. l. 2. c. 29, 30. Theodorit. hær. fab. l. 4. c. 1. Athanas. ad Serap. de morte Arii §. 2. p. 341. *item*. Epist. Encycl. ad Episc. Ægypt. & Lyb. §. 19. p. 289.

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336.

hand of Providence did visibly interpose to put an end to the contention, and took away the perfidious heretick who had betray'd the doctrine of Christ, by a death answerable to his who formerly betray'd his person, in that he *burst asunder in the midst, and his bowels gushed out* §.

337.

The *Arian* faction however continued to prevail much at *Constantinople*; and tho' upon the death of *Alexander*, the Catholics had strength enough to elect *Paul*, an orthodox Bishop, to succeed him, yet his banishment was quickly procured; however it came to pass that *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, who greatly desired to be substituted in his room^h, could not get it effected at that timeⁱ. The death of *Constantine* in the mean time occasion'd such a division of the empire between his sons^k, that whilst the *Western* Churches under *Constans* and the younger *Constantine*, enjoy'd a perfect peace and tranquility^l, the *Eastern* were grievously afflicted by *Constantius*, who being thoroughly imposed upon by *Arian* stratagems, did openly oppose the *Nicene* faith, and proved a most furious perse-

§ Vid. Authores supra laudat.

^h Athanas. Hist. Arianor. ad Monachos. §. 7. p. 348.

ⁱ Vid. Tillem. tom. 7. in S. Paul de Constantinople.

^k Vid. Socrat. l. 1. c. 38.

^l Socrat. l. 2. c. 2.

cutor of the Church of Christ^m. It is doubted indeed by some whether he meant the same thing with *Eusebius* and the restⁿ; but it is certain his actions tended wholly to their interest, and to abolish and extirpate Orthodoxy wherever his authority could reach.

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It would be tedious to explain the manifold divisions, which after this arose among the *Arians* themselves, the various councils which were holden by them, the different forms of confession which were drawn up, some more openly asserting the blasphemies of *Arius*, others by no means disclaiming them, and none of 'em professing the whole faith of the Church, but leaving some reserve or subterfuge for their impiety.

————— *facies non omnibus una*
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum^o.

The beginning of *Constantius's* reign was too much invol'd with other diffi-

^m Vid. omnes istius ævi scriptores.

ⁿ Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. 3. contra Julian. p. 63, &c.) expresses a great opinion of *Constantius's* integrity and good meaning. And more plainly speaking of his favour to George of Alexandria, he has these words, Οικειῶται ἡ τὴν βασιλείας ἀπλό- τητα· ἔτο γὰρ ἐγὼ καλῶ τὴν κερδοτητα, ἀδελφεὺς τὴν εὐλάβειαν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰ δεῖ ταληβὲς εἰπεῖν, ζῆλον μὲν ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἐκατ' ἐπίγνω- σιν. Orat. 21. in laud. Athanas. p. 385.

^o Ovid Metaph. l. 2.

culties,

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338.

339.

340.

342.

culties to hinder his concurrence with his brethren in recalling *Athanasius* and the other Bishops from their banishment^p. But the *Eusebians* (who appear'd more and more favourable to the *Arian* principles) had too much power in the *East* to permit them to be long in quiet. The Bishop of *Constantinople* was again removed by the decree of a synod, and *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* was actually install'd his successor^q. They not only revived the old calumnies against *Athanasius*, but added new ones to them, and having by the authority of a synod at *Antioch* placed another in the See of *Alexandria*, in opposition to *Athanasius*, they ventured to spread their calumnies in the *West* by sending accusations, against him and the other deprived Bishops, to Pope *Julius*^r, who in full council^s acquitted them from all their calumnies, and treated them as innocent persons^t, after a just examination into their accounts of themselves, as well

^p Athanas. Hist. Arianor. ad Monach. §. 8. p. 349.

^q Socrat. l. 2. c. 7. Soz. l. 3. c. 4. Tillem. tom. 7. in S. Paul de Constantinop.

^r Athanas. Hist. Arianor. ad Monach. §. 9.

^s Athanasius went to Rome in 339, according to Tillemont, (tom. 8. S. Athanase §. 34.) but in the year of Gregory's intrusion, 341, according to Montfaucon, in vit. Ath. p. 39.

^t Vid. Julii Epist. synod. apud Athanas. Apol. contra Arian. §. 32. p. 150.

as the testimony of the *Alexandrian* synod with respect to *Athanasius*. SERM. IV:
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Mean while *Eusebius* and his partisans, instead of attending at this *Roman* council which themselves had desired, resolved to adhere to that which they had lately held at *Antioch*<sup>u</sup>, where laying aside *Pistus*, who was the *Anti-bishop* beforementioned, they appointed *Gregory* to take the bishoprick of *Alexandria*<sup>w</sup>. This was quickly followed by the death of *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, who was now in possession of the See of *Constantinople*<sup>x</sup>. Upon his death, the *Arians*, who had placed him there about three years before, in opposition to *Paul* the lawful Bishop, took care to supply his place with another of the same sentiments, and proceeded to ordain *Macedonius* as his successor<sup>y</sup>. This created much disorder and confusion in the city, between the opposite followers of *Paul* and *Macedonius*, till at last the secular power interposed, and carried it with violence in favour of the latter<sup>z</sup>. About the same time deputies were sent to *Constans* the *Western* Emperor, to lay before him

340.

341.

342.

339.

<sup>u</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 8.

<sup>w</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 10. Sozom. l. 3. c. 5, 6.

<sup>x</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 12.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.

<sup>z</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 13, 16. Sozom. l. 3. c. 7, 9.

SERM. IV. the confession of faith, which was agreed on by these *Eastern* hereticks<sup>a</sup>. But *Constans* was the more confirm'd in the ill opinion he had conceiv'd of them, and perceiv'd their prosecutions of the catholick Bishops to be perfectly malicious<sup>b</sup>.

Such was the state of the Church, with relation to this controversy, towards the middle of the fourth century, when the rise of *Photinus* first, and then *Macedonius*, gave it a different turn, of which I purpose to lay a fuller account before you, when God shall grant us another opportunity together.

*To whom, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,  
be all honour and glory, now and  
henceforth for evermore. Amen.*

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<sup>a</sup> Athanas. de synod. Arim. & Seleuc. §. 25. p. 737. Socrat. l. 2. c. 18. Sozom. l. 3. c. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Sozom. *ibid.*





# SERMON V.

Preach'd MARCH 5, 1723-4.



WE have seen the beginning and increase of *Arianism* in the fourth century, tho' somewhat disguised and palliated by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and his partisans; we have seen what encouragement they found from the *Eastern* Emperor *Constantius*; whilst the Churches of the *West*, under his brother *Constans*, did peaceably and uniformly retain the ancient profession of the catholic faith.

Before the middle of this fourth century, there was some disturbance in the *Eastern* parts of *Europe*, occasion'd by



SERM. V. *Photinus* the Bishop of *Sirmium* in *Illyricum*. He had been brought up under *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*<sup>a</sup>, and had so establish'd his reputation as an orthodox Divine, that his promotion to this bishoprick gave an universal satisfaction<sup>b</sup>. The heresy, which he advanced after this, is not constantly represented by the ancients in one and the same manner, he being sometimes said to have revived the heresy of *Sabellius*<sup>c</sup>, at other times that of *Ebion*<sup>d</sup>, or *Paul* of *Samosata*<sup>e</sup>, and at other times, lastly, to have advanced the same heresy which was afterwards espoused by *Nestorius*<sup>f</sup>. And no doubt there was something in his scheme which concurr'd with every one of these heresies. He deny'd any real distinction of persons in the Godhead<sup>g</sup>; and so far he agreed with *Sabellius*. But he deny'd withal the personal union of the divine and human nature<sup>h</sup>, and so he dif-

<sup>a</sup> Hilar. fragm. 2. §. 19. col. 1295. Ed. Bened. Socrat. H. E. l. 2. c. 18. Sulp. Sev. l. 2. c. 52.

<sup>b</sup> Vincent. Lirinens. commonit. cap. 16.

<sup>c</sup> Hil. frag. 12. Theod. hæz. fab. l. 2. c. 11.

<sup>d</sup> Hil. de Trin. l. 7. §. 3. col. 916. D. Hieron. de script. Eccles. c. 107.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Epiph. hæz. 71. §. 1, 2.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Mar. Mercat. tom. 2. p. 128, 312, 313. Garner. dissert. de Nestorio. Tillemont. *Les Ariens* §. 37.

<sup>g</sup> Vincent. Lirin. cap. 17.

<sup>h</sup> Photinus — a Sabellio quidem in unione dissentiens. Sulp. Sev. sacr. Hist. l. 2. c. 53.



fer'd from the *Sabellians*, (who carried this union so high that they were term'd *Patripassians*;) and agreed rather with *Nestorius*. Yet in this he differ'd likewise from *Nestorius*, that he did not acknowledge the eternal Word, to be a person distinctly subsisting from the Father<sup>i</sup>, but only the divine virtue or power of the Father himself, inspiring or acting upon *Jesus*, which seems rather to fall in with the heresy of *Paulus Samosatenus*<sup>k</sup>, and differs not much from those of *Ebion* and *Artemon*, who consider'd *Jesus* as no other in nature than a mere man.

Altho' his doctrine was immediately receiv'd with detestation and horror by men of learning and penetration, yet such was the popularity he had acquired by his ready parts and dexterity, that the censures pass'd upon him by the catholick Bishops<sup>l</sup> had so little outward effect, that he continued in possession of his bishoprick<sup>m</sup>, till

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<sup>i</sup> Epiphan. hæc. 71. §. 4. Sozom. l. 4. c. 6. Socrat. l. 2. c. 19.

<sup>k</sup> See Serm. III. p. 145.

<sup>l</sup> *Either in the council of Sardica, A. D. 347. Epiph. hæc. 71. §. 1. or rather in another held the same year at Milan. Hilar. frag. 2. col. 1296 Ed. Ben. (see Tillemont's History of the Arians, note 39, 40.) but certainly in another council held either at Sirmium, or at Milan, A. D. 349. Hilar. ut sup. vid. & annotat. ibid.*

<sup>m</sup> Hilar. frag. 2. §. 21. col. 1299.

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some years afterwards the favourers of *Arianism* themselves were so offended at the grossness of his positions, that they deposed him in a council held in his own city of *Sirmium*<sup>n</sup>, and confuted him in a solemn disputation<sup>o</sup>. He seems not to have had many followers in the *East*, where by the time of *Theodorit* his heresy was perfectly extinguish'd<sup>p</sup>. But in the *West* they were excepted, by *Gratian* the Emperor, from that indulgence or toleration, which was, at his entrance upon the empire of the *East*, allowed to most other sects that called themselves Christians<sup>q</sup>. And this might give ground for the council of *Aquileia* to complain of the assemblies which they held in *Sirmium*, contrary to law<sup>r</sup>. And we find some little mention of them afterwards<sup>s</sup>, unless it should be said that the *Arians* are sometimes<sup>t</sup> design'd under the name of *Photinians*, because the Catholics made little difference between those heresies which debas'd the Son of God to the condition of a creature, whatever sort of creature they might make of him.

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<sup>n</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 29.      <sup>o</sup> Cap. 30. versus finem.

<sup>p</sup> Theodor. hax. fab. l. 2. c. 11.

<sup>q</sup> Socrat. H. E. l. 5. c. 2. Sozom. l. 7. c. 1.

<sup>r</sup> See Tillemont's History of the Arians. §. 47.

<sup>s</sup> Sidonius Apollinar. l. 6. Epist. 12. Concil. Labbe tom. 2.

p. 1270, 1271. tom. 4. p. 1013.

<sup>t</sup> Tillemont. Hist. of the Arians, §. 47.

In the mean time, whilst the affair of *Photinus* was depending, we learn that *Constans*, the orthodox Emperor of the *West*, used the interest he had with his brother *Constantius*<sup>v</sup>, for the calling of a general council: which met accordingly at *Sardica*<sup>w</sup>. The great appearance of the *Western* Bishops, together with *Athanasius* and the rest who were excluded from the *East*, soon convinced the *Arianizers* that they could not here insult as they had done in *Asia*, and therefore they withdrew by night to *Philippopolis*, under the Jurisdiction of *Constantius*, and there held a separate assembly of their own<sup>x</sup>, in which they fallaciously assumed to themselves the stile and title of the council of *Sardica*<sup>y</sup>. The consequence was this, that the two councils acted in direct opposition to each other. The deposition of *Athanasius* and the rest was reversed at *Sardica*, and anew confirm'd at *Philippopolis*<sup>z</sup>. The chiefs of each council were anathematized by the other<sup>a</sup>, and the state of the Church appear'd then in the utmost disorder.

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<sup>v</sup> Athan. Apol. ad Imperat. Const. §. 4. p. 297. Ed. Bened.

<sup>w</sup> Athanas. Apolog. contra Arianos. §. 36. p. 154.

<sup>x</sup> Hilar. frag. 2. §. 7. col. 1288. Socrat. l. 2. c. 20. Soz. l. 3. c. 11.

<sup>y</sup> Hil. frag. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Hilar. Socrat. & Sozom. ut supra.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. vid. & de Concil. Sardic. Athanas. in Apologia contra Arianos.

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*Constans* the *Western* Emperor, who had occasion'd the calling of this council, was not to be thus eluded, but sent expressly to his brother *Constantius*, to demand the restoration of those deprived Bishops whom the council had acquitted; with which demand the *Eastern* Emperor was not in a condition to refuse compliance<sup>b</sup>; or perhaps he might relent a little upon account of that *Arian* treachery, which had lately been detected at *Antioch*. Certain it is, he used repeated instances with *Athanasius* to hasten his return to his bishoprick, which was now facilitated by the death of the intruder<sup>c</sup>.

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But it was not long that the Church was permitted to enjoy such full prosperity. The death of the Emperor *Constans*, and the defeat of *Magnentius* afterwards,

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put *Constantius* in possession of the whole empire, and so left him at liberty to oblige the *Arians*, and to oppress the Catholics, not only in the *East* (as he had hitherto done) but likewise in the *Western*

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parts of the world. A council was quickly convened at *Arles*, where the assessor, by manifold injuries and open violence,

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by manifold injuries and open violence,

<sup>b</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 22, 23. Sozom. l. 3. c. 20. vid. & Tillem. Memoires tom. 8. S. *Athanasie* §. 54.

<sup>c</sup> Montf. vit. Athanaf. p. 44. & Athanaf. Apol. contr. Arian. p. 170, &c. Tillem. S. Athanaf. §. 56.

were forced to condemn St. *Athanasius*, and renounce his communion<sup>d</sup>; and *Paulinus* Bishop of *Treves*, for daring to oppose it, incur'd both deposition and banishment<sup>e</sup>. The council of *Milan* follow'd within two years afterwards, where when the *Arians* insisted upon a confirmation of the same sentence against *Athanasius*, (which was now the standing test of their party) the Catholics pleaded the necessity of subscribing first and settling the confession of faith, before they proceeded to the censure of particular persons. The *Arians*, who knew that would too easily expose their designs, found means to adjourn the council to the Emperor's palace<sup>f</sup>; and then partly by imposing on the other Bishops with false pretences<sup>g</sup>, and partly intimidating them with the Emperor's authority<sup>h</sup>, they not only procured a confirmation of the same sentence<sup>i</sup>, but likewise a formal declaration of the *Arian* principles, which they publish'd in the form

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<sup>d</sup> Athanas. Apol. ad Imperat. Constant. §. 27. p. 312. & Hil. ad Const. l. 1. §. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Hilar. frag. 1. §. 6. col. 1282. Athanas. Apol. de fuga §. 4. p. 322. & Hist. Arianor. ad Monachos. §. 33. p. 363.

<sup>f</sup> Hilar. ad Const. l. 1. §. 8. col. 1222. Sulp. Sev. l. 2. c. 55.

<sup>g</sup> Ruffin. H. E. l. 10. c. 20.

<sup>h</sup> Athanas. Hist. Arianor. ad Monach. §. 33. p. 363.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. præter supra dict. Hilar. ad Constant. l. 1. col.

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So that now came on the time for the *Arians* to propose their heresy without disguise or artifice<sup>m</sup>. They had hitherto equivocated in the various forms of confession, which were drawn up by them, and tho' they had persecuted the zealous professors of the *Nicene* faith, yet they did it under pretence of fictitious crimes of quite another nature, and excepting *Marcellus*, chose rather to accuse them of immorality than heresy. But now the mask was taken off, *Constantius*, by their instigation, appear'd openly in the interest of *Arianism*<sup>n</sup>, and exerted his imperial authority to establish and confirm it<sup>o</sup>. The

<sup>k</sup> Sulp. Sev. l. 2. c. 55.

<sup>l</sup> Athanas. in locis supra citat.

<sup>m</sup> Tillem. Hist. of Arians, §. 51.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Lucifer. ad Constant. pro Athanas. l. 2. in magna Biblioth. Patr. Edit. Col. Agrip. 1618. tom. 4. p. 143.

<sup>o</sup> Lucifer de non conven. cum Hæret. p. 159. & moriendum pro Filio Dei. p. 179. &c.



consequence of which was a most grievous persecution, described at large by the writers of those times<sup>p</sup>, in the course of which the zealous Catholics labour'd under heavy oppressions; such as were wavering or weak in the faith, were drawn into apostacy; and even some who had stood the shock of diverse severe trials, yet yielded after all to the violence of the temptation, as the famous *Hosius* of *Corduba* in *Spain*, unwilling to endure the fatigues of banishment in the extremity of old age<sup>q</sup>, and Pope *Liberius* himself, too cagerly desirous of being restored to his Pontificate<sup>r</sup>.

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In the mean time it ought to be remember'd, that St. *Hilary* Bishop of *Poictiers*, and several other Bishops of the *West*, particularly in *Britain* and *Gaul*, had distinguish'd themselves with an uncommon zeal<sup>s</sup>, and tho' some of them, e'er this, were driven into banishment, (as St. *Hilary* in particular, who by his residence in the *East* acquired such a perfect insight in-

<sup>p</sup> Vid. præter alios Athanas. Hist. Arianor. ad Monach. §. 31, &c. & Lucifer. ut supra.

<sup>q</sup> Some have doubted of the truth of this fact. But they seem to act most reasonably, who only excuse it as the effect of dotage. — nimium seculi sui amantem. Hilar. de synod. §. 87. col. 1201. — nisi fatiscente ævo (etenim centenariorum major fuit, ut S. Hilarius in epistolis refert) deliraverit. Sulp. Sev. l. 2. c. 54.

<sup>r</sup> Hilar. frag. 6. §. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>s</sup> Hilar. de synod. §. 2, 3.

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to the state of this controversy, as gave the greater value to his writings upon that subject) yet their Churches seem generally to have retain'd the ancient faith, and rejected the *Arian* communion. All parts indeed of the *East* as well as *West*, furnished some eminent examples<sup>t</sup> of such as openly professed the truth, or at least chose rather to spend their lives in solitude than be tempted to renounce it<sup>u</sup>. In *Egypt* it kept better footing<sup>w</sup>, than in most other parts of the *East*, till forcing *Athanasius* again to fly for shelter to the deserts<sup>x</sup>, the *Arians* thrust *George* of *Cappadocia* into the See of *Alexandria*<sup>y</sup>, who carried *Arianism* so high, as even to insist upon the re-ordination of all those Bishops in his Province, who had been formerly ordain'd by *Catholicks*<sup>z</sup>, and bring those, who had the courage to be orthodox, under the greatest oppressions<sup>a</sup>. So that whilst matters were managed in this manner, there was good ground for *Epiphanius's* suspicion, that the generality of those who com-

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Athanas. Apolog. ad Constan. §. 32. p. 316.

<sup>u</sup> Athan. Hist. Arianor. ad Mon. §. 20. p. 355.

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. §. 78. p. 391.

<sup>x</sup> Athan. Apol. ad Constan. §. 32. p. 316. See also Dr. Cave's *Life of Athanasius*. sect. 10.

<sup>y</sup> Sozom. l. 3. c. 7. & l. 4. c. 10.

<sup>z</sup> Athanas. Apol. ad Constan. §. 31. p. 315.

<sup>a</sup> See *Cave's Life of Athanasius*, sect. 10.



plied with the iniquity of the times, did it rather upon secular motives than any real conviction<sup>b</sup>.

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The state of the Church was no better at *Constantinople* and the country adjoining, where *Macedonius* having usurp'd the See (after the deposition of the catholick Patriarch, who quickly died in banishment,) and being withal supported by the Emperor's authority, carried on the persecution with the utmost rage and violence, disguis'd under the specious colour and appearance of law, not only demolishing the Churches of the Catholicks, and driving them out of the very towns, but even adding the farther penalties of tortures, confiscation and banishment, and sometimes even dragging them by force to his assemblies<sup>c</sup>.

The hereticks, who were thus far agreed in oppressing and pulling down the Church, after that business was done, and *Arianism* every where triumph'd over Orthodoxy, began now to subdivide among themselves, and spend their fury upon one another. There were some of those who disliked the term  $\delta\mu\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , that yet were willing to come as near it in sound as possible, and therefore asserted

<sup>b</sup> Epiphan. hæc. 69. §. 12. p. 736.

<sup>c</sup> Socrat. H. E. l. 2. c. 27, 38. Sozom. l. 4. c. 2, 20.

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the Son to be ὁμοῖσι<sup>Q</sup>, or of like substance with the Father<sup>d</sup>. This term is said to have been first used by *Macedonius*<sup>e</sup>, but was quickly embraced by many others of that party<sup>f</sup>; and indeed the same thing in effect had been long ago advanced by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, at the first rise of *Arius*: from whose manner of expressions we may judge what sort of similitude it was that they intended; namely, such only wherein it is possible for the highest and most excellent creature to resemble his Creator<sup>h</sup>.

Yet even this expression approach'd too near the Catholics for some of the more rigid *Arians* to digest it. A *likeness in substance*, or (as it was sometimes<sup>i</sup> express'd) a *likeness, κατὰ πάντα, in all things* they thought to be, as it really is, too high a character for any creature. *Aëtius*, who had first been a Deacon in the Church

<sup>d</sup> Sozom. l. 3. c. 18. vid. & Suicer. Thef. Ecclef. in voce ὁμοῖσι<sup>Q</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Ὁμοιούσιον ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμοῖσις προσεπενήθησε. Theodor. hæc. fab. l. 4. c. 5.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Epiphan. hæc. 73. §. 1. p. 845.

<sup>g</sup> ——— Ὁκ ἐκ τῆς ἰσίας αὐτοῦ ——— ἀλλὰ ——— ἕτερον τῆ φύσει καὶ τῆ δυνάμει, πρὸς τελείαν ὁμοιότητα Διθεωσίας τε καὶ δυνάμειος τοῦ πεποιηκότ<sup>Q</sup> γενόμενον. Euseb. Nicomed. in Epistolâ ad Paulinum Tyri apud Theodorit. H. E. l. 1. c. 6.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Ruffin. H. E. l. 10. c. 25.

<sup>i</sup> Theodor. H. E. l. 2. c. 6. & hæc. fab. l. 4. c. 5. Philostorg. l. 4. c. 8. vid. & Suicer. in voce ὁμοῖσι<sup>Q</sup>.

of *Antioch*<sup>k</sup>, was now the favourite of *George of Alexandria*, and openly declared<sup>l</sup> for that doctrine which had been taught by *Arius* and his partisans at the beginning, not merely that the Son is ἐτερέσιον<sup>m</sup> of another substance, but that he is ἐξ ἑκ ἑντων made out of nothing, and as their mock council at *Philippopolis* had already<sup>n</sup> declared, ἀνόμοιον τῷ πατρὶ, unlike to the Father: which tho' it were sometimes understood of an unlikeness in substance, without denying a resemblance of attributes, yet it seems at first to have been proposed by him, and it was afterwards explain'd by his followers<sup>p</sup>, when they had gain'd the ascendant, as intending an entire dissimilitude in all respects<sup>q</sup>, unlike in will and attributes, as well as essence or substance.

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<sup>k</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 35.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. item Sozom. l. 4. c. 12. vid. & Epiphani. hæc. 76. §. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Suicer. in voc. ὁμοίσιον & ὁμοιόσιον.

<sup>n</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 20.

<sup>o</sup> Ἀνόμοιον τὸν υἱὸν — καὶ οὐ ταυτὸν εἶναι τῇ θεότητι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. Epiph. hæc. 76. §. 2. p. 914. μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ὁμοιότητα κατ' οὐσίαν. Harmenop. de sectis sect. 13. citante Suicero ubi supra.

<sup>p</sup> Οὐκέτι ἐπικρύπτοντες, ἀλλὰ ἀναφανδὸν λέγοντες, ὅτι κατὰ πάντα ἀνόμοιον ὁ υἱὸς τῷ πατρὶ, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν. Socr. H. E. l. 2. c. 45.

<sup>q</sup> Παντελῶς ἀνόμοιον τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ὁμοιον. Athanas. de synod. Arim. & Seleuc. §. 31. p. 748. — dissimilem per omnia Patri. August. de Hæres. cap. 54.

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This was *Arianism* in perfection; and tho' the principle was, doubtless, entertain'd by many others before *Aëtius*, yet being now more openly avow'd, its votaries were formed into a distinct sect, from their chief leader called *Aëtians*, and from the nature of their doctrine *Exucontians*<sup>r</sup> and *Anomæans*<sup>f</sup>, till afterwards, when *Eunomius* grew more considerable, by being advanced to the episcopal dignity, and industriously propagating this pernicious heresy, they were from him more generally term'd *Eunomians*; tho' sometimes from their subdivisions into different parties, and other special circumstances, they had yet more discriminating appellations<sup>t</sup>. The grand argument of *Aëtius* (who, for his bold disputings<sup>v</sup> about sacred mysteries, was surnamed the *Atheist*) was the same which has ever been the capital topick of all *Arians*; namely, the Father's being *self-existent*, or *unoriginate*<sup>w</sup>; which was urged to destroy all similitude of substance be-

<sup>r</sup> Because they said the Son was ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων. Præter Authores supra laudat. Vid. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. in voce ἐξουcontioi.

<sup>f</sup> Suicer in voce ἀνόμοιοι.

<sup>t</sup> In voce εὐνόμοιοι.

<sup>v</sup> Vid. Socrat. & Sozom. ubi supra.

<sup>w</sup> Φάσκει ἡ — ὅτι οὐ δύναται τὸ ἀγέννητον ὁμοιον εἶναι τῷ γεννήτῳ. Epiph. hæc. 76. §. 6. p. 918. Ita & Eunom. apud D. Basil. contra Eunom. l. 1. p. 10, 20, 26. Ed. Paris. 1618.



tween him and the Son, who was begotten and derived from him.

This reasoning, however conclusive upon *Arian* principles, was nevertheless easily answer'd by the Catholicks<sup>a</sup>, who observ'd, that the characters of *begotten* and *unbegotten*, *self-existent* and *derived*, do not necessarily imply any diversity of *essence*, but rather an equality of *nature*, in which they are distinguish'd by this different mode of their *existence*, these being the characters of *personality*, and not of *substance*. But yet the fallacy was so successfully urged by *Aëtius* at that time, and it had indeed so much force, wherever the main grounds of *Arianism* were admitted, that he got his doctrine not only

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ratified at *Sirmium*<sup>b</sup>, in that impious confession which is recited by *Athanasius*<sup>c</sup>, and *Hilary*<sup>d</sup>, but farther confirm'd sometime afterwards by a synod held at *Antioch*, where being more particularly supported by *Eudoxius*, who had now got possession of that See, and *Acacius* of *Palestine* in *Cæsarea*, he had the satisfaction of seeing the terms  $\delta\mu\omega\acute{\sigma}\iota\varsigma$  and  $\delta\mu\omega\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$

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<sup>a</sup> Basil. *ibid.* p. 19. August. *de Trin.* l. 5. c. 3, 6. Damascen. *de fid. orthodox.* l. 1. c. 9. & l. 4. c. 7. *vid.* & *comment. ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 30.

<sup>c</sup> Athan. *de synod.* p. 744.

<sup>d</sup> Hilar. *de synod.* §. 11. col. 1156, &c.

equally condemn'd<sup>e</sup>. They argued afterwards against both from the same reason which the other *Arians* had urged against one; namely, that they are not to be found in Scripture<sup>f</sup>; and were for dropping the word *substance* altogether, tho' they consented to acknowledge the Son *like the Father according to the Scriptures*<sup>g</sup>. By which they meant no more than our present *Arians* do by subscribing to articles in such a sense as is agreeable to Scripture; which was bringing the point down to their own notions and interpretations of Scripture, and so made their doctrine (as *Nazianzen*<sup>h</sup> complains) variable with every wind, capable of fitting the grossest contradictions, and resembling a picture, which is made to look towards every spectator.

From henceforth we are to look upon *Basil of Ancyra* and his associates, who asserted the *ἡμιόμοισιν*, to be no other than *semi* (or half) *Arians*, as *Epiphanius*<sup>i</sup> expressly calls them, because they did not run into the broader blasphemies of *Arius*;

<sup>e</sup> Sozom. H. E. l. 4. c. 12.

<sup>f</sup> Athan. de synod. §. 36, 37. p. 751, 752.

<sup>g</sup> Athan. ut supra.

<sup>h</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. p. 386. vid. & annot. Eliæ Cretens. p. 789.

<sup>i</sup> Epiph. hæc. 73. p. 844, 845.

tho' to speak strictly that name seems to be more properly restrain'd to a distinct branch of their sect which sprung from them afterwards<sup>k</sup>. These *Semi-arians* were active enough in their endeavours to suppress this growing boldness of the *Anomæans*. They immediately condemn'd them in a synod at *Ancyra*<sup>l</sup>, and drawing up a declaration of *anathemas* against them, they sent a deputation from their own body to *Constantius*, then at *Sirmium*<sup>m</sup>, where they obtain'd to have their confession sign'd by such Bishops as were about the court; among whom were some who had before this declared themselves for the opposite party<sup>n</sup>, and soon afterwards drew up another confession which plainly favour'd it, with the addition only of one softning clause, that the Son was *like the Father in all things according to the Scriptures*<sup>o</sup>, where tho' this phrase [*in all things*] was (in their sense of it) explain'd away by the other, yet they insert'd it purely to ob-

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<sup>k</sup> Vid. Suicer. in voce 'Ανόμοιοι.

<sup>l</sup> Epiph. hæret. 73. §. 10. p. 856. Hilar. de synod. §. 11. col. 1158.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. præter supra laudat. Sozom. l. 4. c. 13.

<sup>n</sup> Hilar. de synod. §. 27. col. 1167. Sozom. l. 4. c. 15.

<sup>o</sup> Ὁμοιον τῷ γενήσαντι αὐτον πατρι κατα πῖς γραφαις. ὁμοιον ἢ λέγομεν τον υἱον τῷ πατρι κατα πάντα ως κη δι ἀγρα. γραφῆ λέγασί τε και διδάσκασι. Ath. de syn. §. 8. p. 721, 722.

SERM. V.  lige the Emperor<sup>p</sup>, who so far favour'd the *Semi-arians* at this time, as to write to *Antioch* for the deposition of *Eudoxius*<sup>q</sup>, and consent to the banishment of *Aëtius*, *Eunomius*, and other heads of the *Anomæan* faction<sup>r</sup>.

359. After this it was agreed to have two councils called, one at *Rimini* in *Italy* for the *Western* Bishops; the other for the *Easterns* at *Seleucia* in *Cæle-Syria*. The council of *Rimini* consisted of more than four hundred Bishops of the *West*, who notwithstanding the endeavours which had been hitherto used to draw or drive them into *Arianism*, did yet generally agree to condemn the *Arian* heresy, deposing them that patronized it, and ratifying the confession which had been formerly drawn up at *Nice*<sup>s</sup>. The *Arians* however had proposed a different confession: and both sides sent their deputies to notify the matter to the Emperor. The catholick deputies being young and unexperienced persons, did not conform themselves to the

<sup>p</sup> Athanas. de synod. Arim. & Seleuc. §. 8. p. 722. Epiphanius likewise intimates their insincerity. Hilar. 73. §. 15. p. 862.

<sup>q</sup> Sozom. l. 4. c. 14.

<sup>r</sup> Philostorg. lib. 4. cap. 8.

<sup>s</sup> Athan. de synod. Arim. & Seleuc. §. 9. p. 722. & ad African. §. 3. p. 893. Hilar. frag. 7. col. 1341. Socrat. l. 2. c. 37. Sozom. l. 4. c. 17.



discreet directions which the council gave them<sup>t</sup>, but partly by the ill usage they received, and partly by the false pretences of the *Arians*, they were seduced to revoke all that had been done at *Rimini*, to communicate with those whom the council had condemn'd, and to sign a new confession, in which the word *substance* was entirely omitted<sup>v</sup>, and the Son only declared (agreeably to the fallacy already mention'd) to be *like the Father according to the Scriptures*.

This conquest being made over the deputies, *Constantius* quickly sent his orders for the other Bishops of the council to concur with them<sup>w</sup>; who having at first withstood the proposal, did yet yield at last, partly thro' fear of banishment, and other oppressions, and partly for want of understanding either the terms or the transactions of the *East*<sup>x</sup>, (which were artfully misrepresented to 'em, as if barely dropping the word *substance* would have restored the peace of the Church,) but especially in consideration of the offer which

<sup>t</sup> See their directions, apud Athanas. de synod. Arim. & Seleuc. §. 10. p. 724. & § 55. p. 768. Confer. Sulpic. Sever. Hist. Sacr. lib. 2. c. 57.

<sup>v</sup> Athanas. ad African. §. 3. p. 893. Hilar. frag. 8, 9. col. 1346, &c. Sulpic. Sever. Hist. sac. l. 2. c. 59.

<sup>w</sup> Ath. de syn. §. 30. p. 747.

<sup>x</sup> Rufin, l. 10. *aliis* 1. c. 21.

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was made them by the opposite party, to join with their *anathemas* against the principal blasphemies of *Arius*, and to reject the word *ἀνόμοιαι*, as well as *ἐμὸς αἷμα*. I say, influenced by these motives, many of the most distinguish'd Catholicks were drawn into a compliance, and both sides imagin'd the decisions of the council to have favour'd them<sup>2</sup>. Yet after this such deputies were dispatch'd to the Emperor to give account of their proceedings, as made no scruple of communicating with the *Anomæans*<sup>a</sup>, who made such advantage by this concurrence, that they even forced the *Semi-arians*, however zealous for a *likeness of substance*, to subscribe the confession of *Ariminum*, and so, in effect, to give up the doctrine for which they most contend'd<sup>b</sup>.

Such was the unhappy result of the council of *Ariminum*. But they who had been thus over-reach'd in the council, could not long afterwards continue under the mistake. The *Arians* quickly boasted<sup>c</sup> of

<sup>2</sup> D. Ambros. de fid. l. 3. c. 16. alias 7. col. 1519. Edit. Bened. D. August. in opere imperfecto contra Julianum. l. 1. c. 75, 76. tom. 10. col. 919. Ed. Bened. D. Hieron. in Luciferian. tom. 4. par. 2. col. 300. Ed. Bened. Sozom. l. 4. c. 19. Sulpic. Sev. ut supra.

<sup>a</sup> Hilar. frag. 10. §. 2. col. 1350. confer. annotat. ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Hilar. contra Constan. §. 15, 26. col. 1250, 1256. Soz. H. E. l. 4. c. 23.

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. in Luciferian. tom. 4. par. 2. col. 300.

their

their treacherous conquest: and *the whole world* (as St. *Jerom*<sup>d</sup> speaks) both *grieved* and *was surprized to find itself become Arian* unawares. The catholick Bishops, who were absent or not consenting, expressly declared themselves against this criminal compliance<sup>e</sup>, and disown'd the communion of the compliers. And the greatest part of them that had concurr'd, did afterwards become sensible of their weakness and indiscretion, either actually shunning, or at least bewailing their misfortune to be thus entangled in, the *Arian* communion<sup>f</sup>.

Whilst these matters were agitated in the *West*, it ought to be remembered that the *Eastern* Bishops were sitting at *Seleucia*. Among them indeed the majority were *Semi-arians*, and from the aversion they had conceived against the *Anomæans*, seem almost to have become Catholics, approving of the council of *Nice* in every thing but the word *ὁμοούσιος*, and (if *Theodorit* be right) defending even that, afterwards, before the Emperor<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Ingemuit totus orbis, & Arianum se esse miratus est. Hieron. in Lucif. ut supra.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Hilar. frag. 11. col. 1353, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Hieron in Luciferian. vid. & Hilar. frag. 12, 13.

<sup>g</sup> Athanas. de synod. Arim. & Seleuc. §. 12. p. 726. Hilar. contra Constan. §. 12. col. 1248. Socrat. H. E. l. 2. c. 39.

<sup>h</sup> Theodor. H. E. l. 2. c. 27.

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Yet certain it is, the *Anomæans*, tho' deposed<sup>i</sup> by the council, did so cunningly play their part both at *Seleucia* and *Constantinople*, (deserting *Aëtius* their leader, and dissembling their real sentiments, rejecting the term ἀνόμοι<sup>Q</sup> as well as ὁμοιόμοι<sup>k</sup>, and acknowledging a *likeness*, tho' not of *substance*; so cunningly (I say) they play'd their part,) that they turn'd the edge of the Emperor against the *Semi-arian* faction<sup>l</sup>, and meeting with the first deputies of the council of *Rimini*, drew them into that compliance which was mention'd before, and which was quickly followed by the general concurrence, first of the *Western*, and after of the *Eastern* Bishops.

360. Whilst things ran thus smoothly on the side of the grosser *Arians*, among whom *Acacius* of *Cæsarea* appear'd now to be chief, we are not to wonder, if they held another council at *Constantinople*<sup>m</sup>, where giving up *Aëtius* to banishment and the Emperor's displeasure<sup>n</sup>, they managed other

<sup>i</sup> Athan. ubi supra Socrat. l. 2. c. 46.

<sup>k</sup> Athanas. de Synod. Arim. & Seleuc. §. 29. p. 746. *When Hilary charged them with inconsistency for rejecting both these terms, they replied that he was like the Father, but not like God: which answer encreasing his surprize, they went on, that he was begotten by his will, but not of his substance.* Hilar. contra Constan. §. 14. col. 1249, 1250.

<sup>l</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 41. Theod. l. 2. c. 27.

<sup>m</sup> Socrat. ibid. Sozom. l. 4. c. 24.

<sup>n</sup> Sozom. ibid.

matters as they pleased themselves, deposing the chiefs of the opposite party<sup>o</sup>, not under pretence of heresy, but crimes of another kind, filling up their Sees with such men as they approved<sup>p</sup>, and rigorously exacting subscriptions to the creed of *Rimini*<sup>q</sup>; but with this addition expressed, that no mention should be made either of *substance* or *hypostasis*<sup>r</sup>. But whether it were that they mistook their men, or that *Acacius* proved false to the cause which he appear'd to espouse, the effect ought to be ascribed to the good Providence of God, who for preserving his truth in this time of general apostacy, provided that among the new-promoted Bishops there might be some who proved zealous assertors of the catholick cause<sup>f</sup>: tho' there were others who were no less plainly *Anomæans*, as *Eudoxius* who was translated to *Constantinople* in the room of *Macedonius*<sup>t</sup>, and *Eunomius* promoted to the See of *Cyzicus*<sup>u</sup>, who asserted the *Anomæan* doctrine with such freedom and boldness that

<sup>o</sup> Sozom. *ibid.* Socrat. l. 2. c. 42. Philostorg. l. 5. c. 1.

<sup>p</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>q</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. p. 387. Sozom. l. 4. c. 26.

<sup>r</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 41.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Philostorg. l. 5. c. 1. & de *Acacio*, vid. Epiphani. *hæc.* 73. §. 28. p. 876.

<sup>t</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 43. Sozom. l. 4. c. 26.

<sup>u</sup> Theodor. l. 2. c. 27.

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he incurr'd the displeasure of the Emperor<sup>w</sup>, and being deposed by a synod from his Bishoprick<sup>x</sup>, was afterwards condemn'd to various banishments<sup>y</sup>, and deserving from henceforth to be consider'd as the head of a distinct heresy, he grew so audacious in propagating his impieties, as not only to rebaptize both Catholicks and *Semi-arians*<sup>z</sup>, but even to alter the form of baptism which Christ has instituted, and prescribe it to be administer'd among his followers *In the name of the uncreated Father, and of the created Son, and of the sanctifying Spirit, created by that created Son*<sup>a</sup>. So inconsistent did he think the ancient Form of baptism, with his own novel and most execrable blasphemies!

There is no doubt but both the sorts of *Arians*, all this while, were heretical in the article of the *Holy Ghost*, as well as of the *Son*, it being hard to imagine that they who deny'd the proper Divinity of the second Person, should acknowledge that of the third<sup>b</sup>. But yet it is observable, that hitherto there had been little or no men-

<sup>w</sup> Cap. 29.<sup>x</sup> Ibid.<sup>y</sup> See Tillemont's History of the *Arians*, §. 99.<sup>z</sup> Philostorg. lib. 10. cap. 4.<sup>a</sup> ——— Ἀνακατήχησι ἢ αὐτὸς εἰς ὄνομα Θεοῦ ἀκτίστου, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα υἱοῦ κεκτισμένου, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα πνεύματος ἀγιαστικοῦ, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κεκτισμένου υἱοῦ κτιζόντων. Epiphani. hæc. 76. §. 6. p. 992.<sup>b</sup> Vid. Athanas. Epist. 1. ad Serap. §. 2. p. 649.

tion made of that matter, in their publick disputes, neither the hereticks seeming to oppose, nor the Catholicks to defend it, insomuch that the council of *Nice* it self was content in general terms to profess a belief in the *Holy Ghost*, without proceeding to any more distinct explication of that article<sup>c</sup>. But in the time of *Athanasius's* solitude, there were some who pretended to detest the *Arian* heresy in respect of the *Son*, but ventured even to exceed it in respect of the *Holy Ghost*, asserting him to be not only a *Creature*, but *one of the ministering Spirits*, that differ'd from the holy Angels only in degree<sup>d</sup>. This gave the ground for *Athanasius's* epistles to *Serapion*, upon that subject, in which he ranks these hereticks with the *Arians* themselves, and reckons their blasphemy against the *Holy Ghost*, to be an implicit denial of the *Son's* Divinity. And now that *Macedonius* and his *Semi-arian* brethren, were deprived of their Churches, and for asserting the *likeness of Substance* between Father and Son,

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<sup>c</sup> Vid. Epiph. hæc. 74. sub fin. Basil. Epist. 78. & Hieron. Epist. 41. alias 63.

<sup>d</sup> ——— Αεγόντων αὐτὸ μὴ μόνον κτίσμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν πνευμάτων ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ βαθμῶς μόνον αὐτὸ διαφέρειν τῶν ἀγγέλων. Athanas. ad Serap. Epist. 1. §. 1. p. 648. Coustant. supposes thāt Epistle to have been written in 360, or 361. Vindic. vet. cod. confirmat. par. 2. c. 4. p. 77. and that the hereticks there meant were no other than the Macedonians.

SERM. V. were looked upon as little different from the *Homoïsiens*, they quickly shew'd a wide disparity between them, by adopting the notion of these pretended Catholicks, and whatever *likeness* they might assert of the second Person to the first, (in which point they pretended to split the difference, and keep a just medium between the Catholicks and *Arians*;) yet they wholly disclaim'd it in the third, esteeming him to be a *created* and *ministring Spirit*, entitled to those characters which the Scripture gives to Angels, but not to any which might argue his Divinity <sup>f</sup>.

This Sect, who from the doctrine they espoused were called *Pneumatomachi*, or fighters with the Spirit, and from their chief leader, *Macedonians*, had soon after an opportunity of encreasing their numbers, when upon the death of *Constantius* 361. he was succeeded in the empire by *Julian* the apostate, who thinking at once to ingratiate himself by an act of popularity <sup>g</sup>, (which at the same time reflected upon the memory of his predecessor,) and to destroy the christian faith by encouraging the schisms and disputes of its profes-

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Sozom. l. 5. c. 14.

<sup>f</sup> Socrat. l. 2. c. 45. Sozom. l. 4. c. 27. vid. & D. Basil. Epist. 78. 80, 141. aliósq̄ue passim.

<sup>g</sup> Socrat. l. 3. c. 1. Theod. l. 3. c. 4.



fors<sup>h</sup>, began his reign with recalling them who had been sent into banishment, and admitting all, whether Catholicks, *Semiarrians*, *Eunomians* or *Photinians*, to the enjoyment of equal liberty or license<sup>i</sup>. And though his policy succeeded but too well with such persons as were weak in the faith, and more inclined to follow secular motives than those of truth and piety<sup>k</sup>, yet the event did not entirely come up to his expectations. For when the restraints of secular force were taken off, and neither party of hereticks had any advantage above the Catholicks, the latter clearly recover'd ground, the belief of a *consubstantial Trinity* was openly profess'd in a council held by the great *Athanasius* at *Alexandria*<sup>l</sup>, the human soul of Christ was asserted, in opposition to the *Apollinarian* doctrine which was lately started, and the meaning of those who maintain'd either one or three *hypostases*, was candidly explain'd, and shewn to be consistent. Then many who had fallen, thro' weakness or inadvertency, were ready to retract their error, and subscribe to the *Nicene* confes-

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<sup>h</sup> Sozom. l. 5. c. 5. Ammian. Marcellin. l. 22. c. 5. p. 301. Edit. Vales.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Authores supra citat.

<sup>k</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 3. p. 75.

<sup>l</sup> Socrat. l. 3. c. 7. Athanas. Epist. ad Antiochen. tom. 1. p. 773. §. 5, 6, 7. Conc. tom. 2. p. 609, &c. Lable.

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tion; as we may reasonably collect from the general concurrence of all Churches<sup>m</sup>. And those heroick confessors, who had weather'd out the hardships of the *Arian* persecution, thought it but necessary, after so general a confusion, to receive them as brethren, upon these conditions, and restore them not only to catholick communion, but likewise to their respective stations in the Church. Upon which account St. *Athanasius*, in the name of his council, wrote that celebrated letter to the Church of *Antioch*<sup>n</sup>, which met with opposition from *Lucifer* of *Cagliari* and his partisans, who were so over-rigorous in refusing to admit the Bishops of this character, that when they found themselves over-ruled, they even forsook the communion of the Church, and form'd that schism which bore the name of *Luciferian*<sup>o</sup>.

Yet in the *East*, it must be own'd, and particularly in *Hellespont* and lesser *Asia*, the *Macedonians* likewise gain'd ground<sup>p</sup>, by the return of their Bishops, and the *Eunomian* heresy (which had now spoke too

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Athanas. ad African. §. 1. p. 891. & ad Jovian. §. 2. p. 781.

<sup>n</sup> Athanas. tom. ad Antiochen. tom. 1. par. 2. p. 770, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Hieron. advers. Luciferian. tom. 4. par. 2. col. 302. Ed. Ben.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Sozom. l. 4. c. 27. & l. 5. c. 14.

broadly to be misunderstood) lost credit in proportion as the other advanced.

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But the gentleness of *Julian* being only disguise, it quickly gave way to a severer persecution. His natural temper was fierce and cruel, and his artificial lenity might furnish out a plausible pretence for treating them with greater violence, with whom the gentler methods of persuasion had been found ineffectual<sup>9</sup>. He began the persecution in his own court, and pursued it in his army<sup>r</sup>, and then carried it on against the Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks<sup>t</sup>, that they being not only stript of their privileges, but in many places driven from their churches, the people might have none to exercise religious offices<sup>t</sup>, and so the very knowledge of Christianity might by degrees be lost among them. Nor did the people themselves entirely escape his violence. Tortures and exile, imprisonment and death in various shapes, were the lot of many persons of different condition; and tho' he always used some other pretence in excuse of his severities, that he might at once avoid the odious name of a *persecutor*, and take from them the honourable titles of *Confessors* and *Mar-*

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<sup>9</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 3. p. 74.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid p. 75.

<sup>t</sup> Sozom. l. 5. c. 15.

<sup>u</sup> Of this persecution, see Tillemont, tom. 7.

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363. His reign was but short, and that of *Jovian* his successor was still shorter. So that as the first could do but little injury to the catholick cause, the latter could do it little service. Yet as he plainly countenanced those who espoused the council of *Nice*, (tho' with such temper and mildness as had not been used by the *Arians* to-

<sup>u</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 3. p. 72.

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. p. 87, &c.

<sup>x</sup> Orat. 4. p. 114.

<sup>y</sup> Theod. H. E. l. 3. c. 8.

<sup>z</sup> Sozom. l. 6. c. 4.

wards the Catholicks) so there were two councils held, the one by *Athanasius* at *Alexandria*<sup>a</sup>, the other by *Meletius* at *Antioch*<sup>b</sup>, which openly confess'd the *consubstantiality*, and admitted the *Nicene* creed. Only it is observable, that in this last (in which *Acacius* himself, and some others of his party were consenting) the manner of expression seems chiefly to be levell'd against the *Anomæans*, and there is no express mention made of the *Holy Ghost's* Divinity; whereas the other plainly strikes at all the branches of *Arianism*, and explains the *Nicene* creed as joining the *Holy Ghost* with the Father and the Son, and acknowledging but one Godhead of the holy *Trinity*.

*Jovian* was immediately succeeded by *Valentinian*, who contenting himself with the *Western* empire, committed to his brother *Valens* the government of the *East*<sup>c</sup>. This made a wide difference between the state of those two parts of the empire, in respect of religion: for the two brethren, however join'd in interest, and Confessors alike in the reign of *Julian*, were yet opposite in principle, the latter being, soon after his advancement to the empire, se-

364.

<sup>a</sup> Theodor. H. E. lib. 4. cap. 2, 3.

<sup>b</sup> Socrat. l. 3. c. 25. Sozom. l. 6. c. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Socrat. l. 4. c. 2, 4. Sozom. l. 6. c. 7.

duced to the profession of heresy, by the persuasion of his Empress, and the artifices of *Eudoxius*<sup>b</sup>: so that Orthodoxy flourish'd in the *West*, under the countenance of *Valentinian*, and *Arianism*, except in very few places, (as particularly at *Milan*, where *Auxentius*, by his gross prevarications, had but too much imposed upon the Emperor's credulity<sup>c</sup>;) seem'd to be utterly extirpated: whilst in the *East* the case was much otherwise, where heresy gain'd ground, being supported by *Valens*; and the Catholics were, on the other hand, exposed to grievous outrages and persecutions. For such, we may observe, was the true difference between them, that Orthodoxy could subsist by its own light and evidence; and as it was not to be utterly conquer'd by oppression, so it always prevail'd when outward force was set aside: whereas *Arianism*, on the other hand, could be no otherwise supported but by force and manifest oppression.

In the beginning of the reign of *Valens*,

<sup>b</sup> Theodor. l. 4. c. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Maimbourg. Histoire de l'Arianisme l. 5. p. 55, &c. It may however be observ'd, that *Auxentius* was censured by a council at Rome, in the year 370; and the damage he had done was in some measure repaired, by the succession of St. Ambrose to the See of Milan, in the year 374. Vid. Cave Hist. lit. in utroque vol.

the *Macedonians*, and the grosser *Arians*<sup>d</sup>, had each of 'em their respective synods, in which the first adhered to the confession of *Seleucia*, and the other to that of *Rimini*. But the Emperor being prepossessed in favour of the *Arians*, proceeded to persecute the *Macedonians*, in common with the *Catholicks*; which resemblance of circumstances made the former think of strengthening their interest, by joining with them in communion. To this end they sent deputies to the *Western Bishops*, to testify their readiness to receive the word  $\delta\mu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , and subscribe to the *Nicene* confession<sup>e</sup>. There seems some reason to suspect that they did not (at least not all of them) consent to this in a sense entirely catholick, since not only *Eustathius* of *Sebastia* (who was one of these deputies) did afterwards reject the  $\delta\mu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , and assert only a likeness of substance<sup>f</sup>, (which appear'd likewise to be the general sense of the *Macedonian* party in the council of *Constantinople*g,) but they did in this very embassy explain the one phrase by the other, and assert them to be terms of equal im-

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<sup>d</sup> Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Socrat. l. 4. c. 12. Sozom. l. 6. c. 10, 11.

<sup>f</sup> Καὶ ὁμοίαν ὁμοιον. D. Basil. Epist. 82. p. 913, 914.

<sup>g</sup> Socrat. l. 5. c. 8. Sozom. l. 7. c. 7.

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portance<sup>h</sup>. Which is the same explication wherein *Acacius* himself had not long before subscribed it in the council of *Antioch*<sup>i</sup>, and which the council of *Illyricum*<sup>k</sup> did some few Years afterwards expressly condemn, as insincere and evasive. But at this time, it is probable, the *Western* Bishops being not well skill'd in the proprieties of the *Greek* language, nor in all the niceties of the *Eastern* disputes, might not perceive the latent artifice, nor suspect them of equivocating, when they offer'd their subscription.

It was observ'd before<sup>l</sup>, that the *Nicene* confession was less explicit upon the article of the *Holy Ghost*, as a point which had not been openly debated at the time when that creed was compiled. So that the *Macedonians* did with less difficulty retain their heresy in respect of the Holy Ghost, at the same time that they subscribed to the *consubstantiality* of the Son; and whether it were that this improvement of their heresy was not yet understood in the *West*<sup>m</sup>, or whether it was not thought proper, in that time of confusion, to reject any who

<sup>h</sup> Μηδέν τε διαφέρειν τοῦ ὁμοούσιου τὸ ὅμοιον. Socrat. l. 4. c. 12.

<sup>i</sup> Socrat. l. 3. c. 25.

<sup>k</sup> Theodor. l. 4. c. 8.

<sup>l</sup> See above, p. 186.

<sup>m</sup> See Tillemont. Memoires Ecclesiastiques tom. 6. en Les Ariens. §. 109.

would



would acquiesce in the general expressions of the creed upon that article; yet so it was, that the subscription of these deputies was accepted, and themselves admitted to communion.

At their return into the *East*, this news was joyfully receiv'd by the catholick Bishops, who were then sitting at *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*<sup>n</sup>; and perhaps the union had been compleated, if, whilst the *Arians* prevented the design'd council at *Tarsus*, the *Macedonians* themselves had not (many of 'em) dissented from the proposed accommodation, and judg'd it necessary to make express profession of nothing farther than a *likeness of substance*<sup>o</sup>. So that from henceforth the *Macedonians* appear to be split into two different parties; the one which owned not any proper Divinity either of the Son or Holy Ghost; and the other, which embraced the confession of the council of *Nice*, but yet differ'd from the Catholics, (like those nameless hereticks in *Athanasius* a few years higher) in their explication of that article which related to the *Holy Ghost*, either plainly asserting him to be a meer creature, or at least refusing to acknowledge his Divinity <sup>p</sup>.

367.

<sup>n</sup> Sozom. l. 6. c. 12.<sup>o</sup> Ibid.<sup>p</sup> Vit. Greg. Naz. p. 17.



These last were most properly the *Semiarrians*<sup>9</sup>; agreeing with the Catholics in respect of the second person, and with the *Arians* in respect of the third<sup>r</sup>. And the council of *Nice*, having nothing expressly levell'd against their tenets, gave them an advantage above the other hereticks, inso-much that they imposed upon several well-meaning people, and drew some into their sect whom *Nazianzen* commends, not only as being orthodox in respect of the Son, but likewise blameless in their lives and conversations<sup>f</sup>. But the Catholics soon found it necessary to guard against the poison of their heresy. *St. Athanasius*, in both his synodical epistles already mentioned, is very full and express in asserting the Divinity of the Holy Ghost<sup>r</sup>. And from the writings of *St. Basil* and *Gregory Nazianzen*, we see what care was taken afterwards to preserve the people from this dangerous contagion.

370.

And now, above all times, the question of *doxologies* seems to have been agitated with most warmth and vehemence. For as *Arians* and *Macedonians* were all agreed in denying the Divinity of the *Holy Ghost*,

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. in voce *ἁγιαστος*.

<sup>f</sup> Greg. Naz. orat. 44. p. 710, 711.

<sup>r</sup> Athanas. Epist. ad Antiochen. & ad Jovian. ut supra.

they could not fail to object against that form of *doxology*, which ascribes *glory* to him in conjunction *with the Father and the Son*. The clamours which they raised on that account in *Cappadocia*, gave occasion to that excellent treatise of *St. Basil* upon this subject<sup>u</sup>, wherein he has defended his conduct, as well by plain authorities of Scripture, as by the ancient usages and practice of the Church.

Amidst all this corruption of the *East*, there was a remnant escaped. The people in subjection to the See of *Alexandria*, seem generally to have adhered to the doctrine of their great *Athanasius*, who being now in the decline of life, had been obliged only to a short retirement, and after that was permitted, whilst he lived, to sit down in quiet<sup>w</sup>, and govern his affectionate Church of *Alexandria*. Mean while *St. Basil's* endeavours were not without effect in *Cappadocia*. And in the Church of *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*<sup>x</sup>, the true faith was preserv'd, by their strict adherence to those forms and usages which had been long before prescribed by *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. There was moreover some rem-

367.

<sup>u</sup> D. Basil. de Spiritu Sancto ad Amphiloichium.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Montfauc. in vit. Athanas. p. 84, 85.

<sup>x</sup> Greg. Nyss. in vit. Thaumaturg. t. 3. p. 546, 547. Basil de Spir. Sancto, cap. 24.

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 W  
 nant of the Catholicks in the other provin-  
 ces, notwithstanding the rage and barbarity  
 of *Valens*, whose cruelties reached not only  
 to banishment, but death, and seem'd even  
 to vie with the outrages of heathen perse-  
 cutors.

370. The great St. *Basil's* promotion, in this  
 time of violence, to the metropolitical  
 See of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, was provi-  
 dentially design'd for the confirmation of  
 those who adhered to the *Nicene* faith:  
 which he studiously endeavour'd, not only  
 by his earnest exhortations to those under  
 his own jurisdiction; but likewise by his  
 reasonable letters of advice to other  
 Churches; in which the rage of persecu-  
 tion had been more violent, and deprived  
 them of their proper Pastors. Yet this  
 must be observed, that he was so far  
 forced, in his popular discourses\*, to yield  
 to the iniquity of the times, as to forbear  
 speaking out in so many words that the

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\* I have designedly said [in his popular discourses:] for  
 we have undoubted instances of his calling the Holy Ghost God in  
 the most express terms upon other occasions. Thus, l. 5. contra  
 Eunom. p. 113. Θεὸς ἄρα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνε-  
 ρείας τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ. And so again, in his 141<sup>th</sup> Epistle,  
 which was written by way of Apology to his own Church of Cæ-  
 sarea, he has these words, p. 925. Δείον ὁμολογεῖν τὸν πατέρα, θεὸν  
 τὸν υἱόν, θεὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Again, p. 933. ---Τὸ πνεῦμα  
 ἰσοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ. And after many instances of  
 their being join'd together, he infers, p. 934. Θεὸς ἐν τῷ πνεύματι  
 τὸ ἅγιον.

*Holy Ghost is God*, at which the hereticks about him were most apt to take exception: but he forbore it, not for fear of suffering in the cause of truth, being ready (as his whole conduct shew'd) to quit, not only his bishoprick on that account, but even life it self thro' various tortures, but meerly to prevent their taking that handle to thrust another into his See who might promote the cause of heresy. In the mean time he was careful to assert the very same doctrine in terms equivalent<sup>y</sup>, to back it with the clearest arguments of Scripture, and even to enforce it from the concessions of his very adversaries, as reckoning our salvation to depend, not on the use of the word, but the belief of the thing; upon which he was ready to explain himself more fully to as many as consulted him; though even thus he did not escape the censure of some severer Catholics<sup>z</sup>.

Such was the condition of the *Eastern Church*, whilst the Churches of the *West* profess'd the catholick doctrine with the greatest peace and security: and it seems

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<sup>y</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 20. funebr. in Basil. p. 364, 365.  
*See more of this matter in the Preface.*

<sup>z</sup> Greg. Naz. Epist. 26. & D. Basil. Epist. 73.

SERM. V. to have been during this state of things<sup>a</sup>,  
 375. that the Bishops of *Illyricum*, supported by  
*Valentinian's* authority, and concern'd at  
 the reports they heard of the *Macedonian*  
 heresy, asserted in council the *consubstan-*  
*tiality* of the *whole Trinity*, rejected that  
 explication which abused the word  $\delta\mu\omega\acute{\sigma}\iota\varsigma$   
 it self, as implying no more than a  
*likeness of substance*, deposed such among  
 themselves as were heretical, in respect ei-  
 ther of the Son or Holy Ghost, and wrote  
 to the Churches of the *East*, to encourage  
 their return to, or perseverance in the true  
 faith<sup>b</sup>. Which was seconded by a letter of  
 the Emperor *Valentinian* to the same pur-  
 pose, and his express prohibition of any  
 farther persecution of the Orthodox<sup>c</sup>.  
 Wherewith 'tis probable his brother *Va-*  
*lens*, whose name is join'd in that letter,  
 must necessarily have complied, if the  
 375. death of *Valentinian*<sup>d</sup> had not soon left  
 him at liberty to continue his barbarities,  
 till the *Gothick* war, a few years afterwards,  
 obliged him to forbear, and put an end to  
 378. his persecution first, and soon after to his  
 life<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See Tillemont, Note 86. *sur les Ariens*.

<sup>b</sup> Theodor. l. 4. c. 7, 8, 9.

<sup>c</sup> Cap. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Socrat. l. 4. c. 31. See Tillemont. *les Ariens*. §. 128.

<sup>e</sup> Socrat. l. 4. c. 35, 38. Sozom. l. 6. c. 39; 40. Theod.  
 l. 4. c. 36.

By this time we may observe the *Apollinarian* heresy was grown considerable, so called from the junior *Apollinaris*, Bishop of *Laodicea*, who was a person of great parts and learning, and had been highly esteem'd among the Catholicks<sup>f</sup> as a sufferer for the truth, and a strenuous asserter of a *consubstantial Trinity*: tho' as he delighted to shew his parts rather by arguing from human reason, and pretended demonstrations, than from the authority of holy Writ<sup>g</sup>, he is charged with declining sometimes towards *Arianism*<sup>h</sup>, by asserting different degrees of dignity between the three persons; and at other times towards *Sabellianism*<sup>i</sup>, by confounding their personal proprieties with one another. But the point in which he most unhappily innovated, was the mysterious doctrine of the *Incarnation*. He was apprehensive that the Catholicks, by teaching that the entire manhood was united with the Deity, did really divide Christ into two, and by that means introduce a creature-worship, or the wor-

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<sup>f</sup> Epiph. H. 77. §. 24. Basil Ep. 293. p. 1018.

<sup>g</sup> Basil Ep. 74.

<sup>h</sup> Theod. H. E. l. 5. c. 3. & de hær. l. 4. c. 8.

<sup>i</sup> Basil Ep. 59. & 293. & Theod. de hær. ut sup.

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ship of a man who carried God within him<sup>k</sup>. For this reason, rather than give way to this imaginary danger of two persons, he chose to assert no more than one nature<sup>l</sup>; and to make out this, he maintain'd sometimes that the body of Christ was no otherwise animated than by the Deity, though at other times he allowed him to have had a sensitive soul<sup>m</sup>, or such as is common to all animals, yet still denying him such as is properly human or rational, and supposing all the intellectual faculties to be supplied by that *fulness of the Godhead which dwelt in him*. Nay, he went on to teach, or at least he gave a handle for his followers to believe, that the flesh of Christ it self was not taken from the blessed Virgin (for which reason they refused to call her the *Mother of God*) but that he brought it with him from heaven<sup>n</sup>, that it is indeed *consubstantial* with the Deity<sup>o</sup>, being either a portion of the divine *Word converted* into that form, or else so mixed with the divinity as to have its *substance* alter'd and become *divine*<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Greg. Naz. Orat. 52. p. 748, 749.

<sup>l</sup> Apollinar. in Eulog. apud Phot. cod. 230. p. 850.

<sup>m</sup> Ruffin. H. E. l. 11. *aliàs* 2. c. 20.

<sup>n</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 51. p. 738.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Athanas. ad Epict. §. 2. p. 902.



The horrid consequences chargeable upon this doctrine were obvious and unavoidable. In the first place, it frustrated the scheme of our redemption, by denying that the Son of God assumed that part of our nature which is most considerable, I mean the reasonable or human soul, which chiefly stood in need of his salvation<sup>q</sup>. And then it either blasphemed the nature of God<sup>t</sup>, by representing it as *passible* and exposed to sufferings, since that, according to this notion, was the soul which actuated Christ's human body<sup>†</sup>, and consequently suffer'd with it, (which however it might suit the *Arian* scheme of a created *Λόγος*, and for that reason had been little consider'd in the *Arian* controversy<sup>‡</sup>, yet was it by no means tolerable in *Apollinaris*, who pretended to confess a *consubstantial Trinity*;) or else it must imply the very body of Christ to be *impassible* and immortal<sup>u</sup>, and consequently represent all that is said of Christ's sufferings and death

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Eulog. in Phot. ut supra. Leont. Byzant. de script. suppos. in fraud. Apollinar. p. 1035. in tom. 4. Bibl. Patr. Paris 1624.

<sup>q</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 51. p. 740.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Athanas. contra Apol. l. 1. §. 2. & de incarn. p. 923.

<sup>†</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 46. p. 722.

<sup>‡</sup> Orat. 51. p. 740.

<sup>u</sup> Athanas. ibid. & ad Epict. p. 906. §. 7.

SERM. V. to be merely fantastick and imaginary w.  
 'Tis true, *Apollinaris* himself did upon occasion reject and anathematize these notions of the divine nature being *passible*, and the body of Christ *consubstantial* with the Deity x. But they were clear consequences of his other assertions, and were accordingly acknowledg'd by his followers, of whom the antients have reckoned up three different sects, some adhering chiefly to one part of this scheme, and others to another z.

360. These notions seem to have been spread  
 362. in some measure before the death of *Constantius*: but *Apollinaris* himself was so far from declaring for them openly, that he had his deputies concurring in that very council which condemn'd them at *Alexandria* a, in the reign of *Julian*. After

w Greg. Naz. Orat. 14. p. 221.

x Leont. de Scrip. suppos. p. 1033.

y Theod. de hæc. l. 4. c. 9.

z Non Deum tantum dicimus Christum, sicut hæretici Manichæi; nec hominem tantum, sicut hæretici Photiniani; nec ita hominem, ut aliquid minus habeat, quod ad humanam certum est pertinere naturam, sive animam, sive in ipsâ animâ mentem rationalem, sive carnem non de sæminâ sumptam, sed factam de verbo in carnem converso atque mutato; quæ omnia tria falsa & vana hæreticorum Apollinaristarum tres partes varias diversâsque fecerunt. D. August. de dono Perseverantia prope fin. tom. 10. col. 858. Edit. Bened. vid. & Epiphani. hæc. 77. §. 20, &c.

a Vid. Athanas. ad Antiochenf. p. 776. Tillemont. tom. 7. Les *Apollinaristes*, §. 7.

this *Athanasius* labour'd to oppose them with great earnestness, but without making any mention of their proper author<sup>b</sup>. After the death of *Athanasius*, tho' some began to accuse *Apollinaris* as the abettor of these sentiments, yet there were others could hardly give credit to the accusation<sup>c</sup>; neither Pope *Damasus*, nor the council held under him at *Rome*, whilst they condemn'd the tenets, took the freedom to charge them upon any author<sup>d</sup>; and tho' *Epiphanius* mentions him<sup>e</sup>, yet he does it very tenderly, and instead of denominating the sect after him, chuses to describe the persons of such sentiments by the name of *Dimeritæ*, as believing only one part of the doctrine of the incarnation: against whom therefore, as well as against the *Macedonians*, some of those expressions were very clearly levell'd, which are inserted in those creeds or forms of confession, which are produced by *Epiphanius*<sup>f</sup>. But at length, when he had form'd his schism openly, and ordain'd Bishops of his

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<sup>b</sup> Athanas. de incarnat. contra Apollinar. *It is to be observ'd that Apollinaris's name is put in the title of these books by another hand, but does not appear in the books themselves.*

<sup>c</sup> St. Basil speaks doubtfully, Epist. 59, 82.

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Roman. Labbe tom. 2. p. 897.

<sup>e</sup> Epiphani. hæc. 77. §. 2, 24.

<sup>f</sup> In Ancorat. versus finem.

- SERM. V. own party, he was not only disclaimed<sup>f</sup>  
 by the Catholicks of *Asia* and *Egypt*, but  
 expressly censur'd by a council held under  
 Pope *Damasus* at *Rome*<sup>g</sup>, whose sentence  
 378. was immediately confirm'd by another  
 council held at *Alexandria*<sup>h</sup>; and soon af-  
 ter by a third in his own neighbourhood  
 at *Antioch*<sup>i</sup>. Notwithstanding which, he  
 380. had the confidence, two years after that,  
 to expect that the See of *Antioch* should  
 be put into the hands of his party by *Theo-*  
*dosius*: when being disappointed of his  
 claim, he persisted in his heresy with greater  
 obstinacy, which drew on the censures of  
 381. the general council of *Constantinople*, but  
 left the seeds of many fatal divisions for  
 the following centuries<sup>k</sup>.
378. But to return to the empire upon the  
 death of *Valens*: *Gratian* and *Valentinian*  
 the younger, who had succeeded to the  
 378. *West*, upon the death of their father, were  
 now in possession of the whole empire<sup>l</sup>;  
 the latter of whom being too young for  
 action, the whole burden lay upon the  
 former, who began his reign with as large

<sup>f</sup> D. Basil. Epist. 74, & 293.

<sup>g</sup> Concil. Labbe tom. 2. col. 899. Sozom. l. 8. c. 25.

<sup>h</sup> Ruffin. H. E. l. 11. *alias* 2. c. 20.

<sup>i</sup> Concil. Labbe tom. 2. col. 900.

<sup>k</sup> Theod. H. E. l. 5. c. 3, 4.

<sup>l</sup> Socrat. l. 5. c. 2. Sozom. l. 7. c. 1. Theodor. l. 5. c. 1.

a step as could well be made immediately in favour of the Catholicks; namely, with calling back the exiles, and granting an indulgence to all sects and parties, except the *Manichæans*, *Photinians*, and *Eunomians*<sup>m</sup>. He soon found it necessary to divide the burden of his government; and committing the empire of the *East* to *Theodosius*, he contented himself (as his father had done) with that of the *West*<sup>n</sup>: where hoping with more ease to destroy the small remains of heresy, he thought it not needful to grant the same indulgence he had done in the *East*, but utterly forbid the hereticks, of whatever denomination, either to dispute in publick the matter of their tenets, or hold their separate assemblies<sup>o</sup>.

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*Theodosius* was no less diligent to effect the reformation of the *East*; and laying to heart how he might purge the capital city of *Constantinople*, (where *Demophilus*, about eight years before, had succeeded to *Eudoxius*, so that it had now been in the hands of the *Arians* for near forty years,) he concurr'd with the general desire of the Catholicks, that *Gregory Nazian-*

<sup>m</sup> Suidas in voce Γεωργίου. Socrat. & Sozom. ut supr.

<sup>n</sup> Socrat. ibid. Sozom. l. 7. c. 2. Theod. l. 5. c. 6.

<sup>o</sup> Cod. Theodos. 16. tit. 5. l. 5. vid. comment. Gothofred. ibid.

SERM. V. *zen* might be placed in that See<sup>p</sup>, who, pursuant to the appointment of the late council of *Antioch*, had been greatly helpful to them in settling their affairs, and confirming them in the profession of the catholick faith. His instalment in this great See, was solemnly approved and ratified in the first session of the general council, which met quickly after in that city; but  
 378. finding it was like to be a matter of much odium and contest, he prudently resign'd it again<sup>q</sup>, and the council thought fit to make choice of *Nectarius* in his room<sup>r</sup>.

381. The Emperor in the mean time published his laws to restrain the hereticks from holding their congregations in the towns or cities<sup>t</sup>; so that however busy they might be in fomenting divisions, and declaring for separate assemblies<sup>t</sup>, they were like to do less mischief, when they were forced to go out of town, than if their places of worship had been nearer at hand.

After so long and grievous a confusion as the Churches of the *East* had under-

<sup>p</sup> Socrat. l. 5. c. 6. Sozom. l. 7. c. 3. Theod. l. 5. c. 8. vid. & Cave Hist. Lit. vol. 1. ad an. 370. & vol. 2. in concil. Constantinop. ad an. 381. and life of Greg. Naz. sect. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>q</sup> Socrat. l. 5. c. 7. Sozom. l. 7. c. 7. Theod. ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Socrat. l. 5. c. 8. Sozom. l. 7. c. 8. Theod. l. 5. c. 8, 9.

<sup>t</sup> Cod. Theodof. 16. tit. 5. l. 6. p. 117, 118. Edit. 1665.

<sup>u</sup> This seems to be hinted at in the conclusion of the synodical epistle of the council of Constantinople. Theodor. l. 5. c. 9.

gone since the death of *Constantine*, there could be no better expedient for restoring peace and order, than to convene a free and general council of the *Eastern* Bishops, besides that of the *Western* Bishops, who met at *Aquileia*. They assembled therefore at *Constantinople*, to the number of an hundred and fifty, who were ready and disposed to re-establish the ancient and catholic doctrine of the Church<sup>u</sup>. They had little grounds to expect, that they who had been most forward and active to promote the cause of *Arianism*, would ever be prevail'd with to come into any terms of accommodation with them. But they had better hopes of the *Macedonians* or *Pneumatomachi*, who seeming (some of them) to be orthodox in respect of the second person of the *Trinity*, and others only doubtful, in respect of the third, and having in the late time of distress even solicited an union with the Catholics, were supposed to be less desperately bent upon their error, and were therefore invited<sup>w</sup> to be present at this council. Six and thirty of their Bishops came accordingly, but instead of coming over altogether, they even retracted their former accommodation, and declared themselves in a better

381.

<sup>u</sup> Socrat. l. 5. c. 8.<sup>w</sup> Ibid.

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disposition to embrace *Arianism*, than admit of the *Nicene* confession\*. After their departure to confirm their party in the same sentiments, the first business of the council, with relation to the faith, was to re-establish that confession which the hereticks rejected, and be somewhat more express against the modern innovations of the *Apollinarians* and *Pneumatomachi*.

It has been mention'd more than once, that the *Nicene* creed concluded with a bare profession of *belief in the Holy Ghost*, without any farther explication of that article, or the addition of any other after it; it being not the design of its compilers to draw up a compleat declaration of faith, but only to explain that important article of the Son's Divinity, which the *Arians* at that time contested. Not that we are to suppose there was no creed in the Church which proceeded farther than this! There were other forms, which had been anciently made use of in the several Churches (admitting of some variety in the expression, but agreeing in their main scope or design) which it was not the meaning of that august council to set aside or abolish; and accordingly it was observ'd †, that

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‡ Socrat. l. 5. c. 8.

† See serm. 4. p. 188.



they continued afterwards in use in those Churches respectively. The *African*<sup>z</sup> and *European*<sup>a</sup> creeds in general (which certainly were not longer than the *Eastern*) are well known to have express'd some other articles after that of the *Holy Ghost*, as *the catholick Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and everlasting life*<sup>b</sup>. And it is no less certain that the *Eastern* creeds express'd the same articles, as may appear from that of *Jerusalem*, explain'd by St. *Cyril* to his Catechumens<sup>c</sup>, that of *Antioch*, or some other *Eastern* Church, preserv'd among the *Constitutions* called *Apostolical*<sup>d</sup>, and that propos'd by *Arius* and *Euzoius*, as taken

<sup>z</sup> — Necessariò adjicitur Ecclesiæ mentio. Tertul. de Bapt. cap. 6. — In quem enim tingeret? In pœnitentiam? — In peccatorum remissionem? — In semetipsum? — In Spiritum Sanctum? — In Ecclesiam? ibid. c. 11. — Dicunt, credis remissionem peccatorum, & vitam æternam per sanctam Ecclesiam? Cypr. Epist. 69. vid. & Ep. 70. Edit. Oxon.

<sup>a</sup> De Romano & Aquileiensi symbolo. Vid. Ruffin. expos. in symbol. Apost. inter opera D. Cypriani Oxon. Only observe, that the article of everlasting life, was not then inserted in the Roman Creed.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. D. Bull. Jud. Eccl. Cath. cap. 6. §. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 18.

<sup>d</sup> — Εἰς πνεῦμα — ἐνεργήσαν — ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τῶ μὲλλοντος αἰῶνος. Const. Apost. l. 7. c. 41.

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from the ancient forms<sup>e</sup>. Some of which however are more exprefs as to the *Unity of the Church Catholick*<sup>f</sup>, and the necessity of *baptism*, as the means of *remission*<sup>g</sup>: and if they may not all be re-ferr'd, in every one of those articles, to the apostolical age it self, yet surely no one would contend to bring them lower than the second century, when the *Valentinian* and other *Gnostick* heresies gave manifest occasion for inserting them<sup>h</sup>. Against the same hereticks, who asserted the *Holy Ghost* and the *Paraclete* to be distinct from one another, and both of them to be distinguished from the inspirer of the ancient Prophets<sup>i</sup>: against these, I say, it was undoubtedly, that some of those same ancient creeds inserted this character of the Holy Ghost, or something to the same purpose, that he is *the Paraclete who spake by the Prophets*<sup>k</sup>.

All

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<sup>e</sup> 'Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων— ὡς πάντα καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία καὶ αἱ γραφαὶ διδάσκουσιν. *Arii symbol.* *apud Soerat. H. E. l. 1. c. 26.*

<sup>f</sup> Μίαν ἐκκλησίαν. *Arius & Cyrillus ut supra.*

<sup>g</sup> Καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετεταγίας. *Cyrl. Hierof. Cat. Myst. 1. §. 6.*

<sup>h</sup> Vid. *D. Bull. Jud. Eccl. Cath. c. 6. §. 10, &c.*

<sup>i</sup> See the second Sermon, p. 66.

<sup>k</sup> 'Εἰς ἓν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸ παρεκλήστον, τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. *Cyrl. Hierof. Catech. 16.* 'Εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,

All these articles therefore, which were already, and had been long, settled and received in the several Churches, the Fathers who were assembled at this second general council, thought fit to annex to that confession of faith<sup>1</sup> which had been drawn up at *Nice*. But because the *Apollinarian* heresy was now greatly increased, which not only disown'd Christ's being possessed of a *reasonable* or human *soul*, but even denied Christ's flesh to be of the same kind with ours, or taken from the *substance* of his Mother, nay asserted (some of 'em) its being *consubstantial* with the Deity: it was thought but necessary that some more express declaration should be added in opposition to such dangerous absurdities. And therefore what the *Nicene* creed had more concisely express'd, that he *came down*,

τρεῖσι τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ ἐνεργῆσαν ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶν ἁγί-  
οις, ὕπερον ἢ ἄποσαλῆν, ἔ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. κ. τ. λ. *Confit. Apost.*  
l. 7. c. 41.

<sup>1</sup> They inserted likewise from ancient creeds this explication of the Son's generation, that it was *πρὸ πάντων αἰῶνων*; which phrase, however it had been abused by the Arians to another sense, was understood to include the Notion of Eternity. And as they made these additions, so they omitted some clauses of the *Nicene* creed, as having their sense sufficiently express'd in others. Such were, (1.) Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, which is included in what follows, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ. (2.) Τάτε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ, which is included in what went before, δι' ἃ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο. And (3.) Τρεῖσιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, which is included in the celebrated clause ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί. Vid. *Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles.* in voce *σύμβολον*.

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and was incarnate, and was made man, was now explain'd by inserting that clause from the shorter creed of *Epiphanius*, which had been lately levell'd against this new heresy, that he *came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man*; which is still more fully explain'd in their synodical epistle<sup>m</sup>, where they profess to retain the doctrine of our Lord's incarnation uncorrupt, not esteeming him to be without soul or mind, nor representing the dispensation of the flesh to be any way imperfect, but acknowledging the whole, that as before all ages he subsisted the perfect Word of God, so for our salvation in these latter days he became perfect man.

And so again, since the doctrine of the Holy Ghost's Divinity was now impugned by another sort of hereticks, who agreed so far with the Church as to confess him the *Paraclete* mention'd in the Gospel, and the same who had spoken by the ancient Prophets, the *Constantinopolitan* Fathers very rightly judg'd that this part of the creed which had hitherto sufficed to guard against the *Gnostick* heresy, ought now to be more directly pointed at the *Pneumatomachi*. For this reason it was,

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<sup>m</sup> Theod. H. E. l. 5. c. 2.

that

that instead of the name of *Paraclete*, they inserted (again from the same creed of *Epiphanius*) those other more august characters, that he is *the Lord and giver of life*, that he *proceedeth from the Father*, and *with the Father and the Son together is worshiped and glorified*<sup>n</sup>. They ascribe to him the divine name and nature, when they call him *Lord* in that high and eminent sense which answers to the incommunicable name of *Jehovah*. They ascribe to him the divine power and operations, when they represent him as the author and *giver of life*; whether natural, and that as well at first in the creation, as hereafter in the resurrection; or else spiritual, by his inward and sanctifying graces, by the transforming and renewing of our minds. But then, that they might preserve the divine *Unity*, they were careful to teach, not that he is *αὐτῆς*, or *God of himself*, but that he (as well as the Son) has the divine essence *communicated* or derived to him. In respect of this *communication*, as the Son is said in Scripture to be *begotten* of the Father, so likewise is the Holy Ghost said to *proceed* from him.

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<sup>n</sup> ——— Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸν κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ σινοδοῦσαζόμενον. Vid. Conc. Constantinop. ex Edit. Labbe tom. 2. col. 954.

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This therefore is the expression retain'd here in the creed, and this being sufficient to guard against that charge of *Tritheism*, which the *Macedonians* were apt to urge against them<sup>o</sup>, (not considering that the same arguments which vindicated them from *Ditheism*, would vindicate the Catholics from *Tritheism* likewise;) I say, this being sufficient for the present purpose, they did not descend to that question which in after-ages was improved to such a breach between the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches; whether he *proceeds from the Son* as well as from the Father, but went on to assert that equality of honour and *worship* which the hereticks denied, when they excluded him from their *doxologies*, that *with the Father and the Son together he is worshiped and glorified*.

As this council of *Constantinople* was not immediately acknowledged by all Churches for a general council<sup>p</sup>, so there is reason to believe that the explications of their creed were not universally inserted in the creeds of all Churches. The *Western* Churches still stuck to their ancient forms, and in the Church of *Alexandria* the *Nicene* creed seems still to have con-

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Greg. Naz. Orat. 37. p. 600.

<sup>p</sup> See Dupin fourth Cent. Conc. of Constant. A. D. 383.

<sup>q</sup> Steph. de Altimura (i. e. Le Quien) in Panoplia sect. 11. c. 3. §. 8.

tinued without the new explications, since the council of *Ephesus* (at which St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* presided) not only makes mention of no other, but expressly forbids<sup>r</sup> any enlargement or addition to it: which tho' perhaps it might strictly intend to exclude nothing else but the addition of new or inconsistent doctrines, yet seems<sup>f</sup> withal to imply, that they had not at that time receiv'd any farther explication of the old ones. And in the council of *Chalcedon*<sup>t</sup>, though the *Constantinopolitan* explications were admitted, yet we may justly conclude from the behaviour of the *Egyptian* Bishops, that they had not hitherto been used to them. There had likewise been a creed lately compiled at *Antioch*, agreeable to that of *Nice*, which being approved of in this very council of *Constantinople*, might probably be used by many of the *Eastern* Churches. But whatever be said of this variety of forms, yet the perfect harmony which is observed between the several Churches, in delivering their notions of the matter contain'd in them, will not suffer us to doubt but that they all agreed in the doctrine taught by these explications, and understood their re-

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<sup>r</sup> Conc. Ephes. par. 2. Act. 6. p. 363. Bin.

<sup>f</sup> Le Quien ut supr. §. 9. &c.

<sup>t</sup> Conc. Chalç. Act. 1. p. 57.

SERM. V. *pective* creeds in that very sense which the *Constantinopolitan* fathers had more fully express'd.

Whilst these determinations were making by the council, the Emperor added the sanction of his penal laws, not only excluding the hereticks from the churches  
 381. already built, but even forbidding them to build new ones, whether in town or out of it<sup>u</sup>. These laws do not at first appear to have been strictly executed: but as if *Theodosius's* design had been rather to keep the hereticks in awe, than really oppress them, he was severe upon none besides *Eunomius*, (nor upon him constantly,) leaving the rest to hold their respective communions without disturbance<sup>w</sup>; till at last *Amphilochius* the Bishop of *Iconium* used pressing and repeated instances to get him to restrain their assemblies<sup>x</sup>; where-  
 383. upon the same laws were renew'd<sup>y</sup>, as  
 388. likewise again some years afterwards<sup>z</sup>, when he was marching against *Maximus*, who had usurp'd the *Western* empire upon the death of *Gratian*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Cod. Theod. 16. tit. 5. l. 8. p. 123. Edit. 1665.

<sup>w</sup> Socrat. H. E. l. 5. c. 20.

<sup>x</sup> Sozom. l. 7. c. 6. Theod. l. 5. c. 16.

<sup>y</sup> Cod. Theodof. 16. tit. 5. l. 11. p. 126. & l. 12. p. 127  
& l. 13. p. 129.

<sup>z</sup> L. 14. p. 130. vid. Comment. Gothofred.

<sup>a</sup> Sozom. H. E. l. 7. c. 13.





From this Emperor therefore, and the general council under him, we may date the downfall of *Arianism* in the *East*, after it had stood for about fifty years, reckoning from the time of the deposition of *Eustathius*; or little more than forty, from the death of *Constantine*. And all this while by what methods had it been supported? Namely, by various artifices and disguises contrived to impose upon the Emperors, by using the power they obtained in that manner with utmost rage and violence, by manifold calumnies and slanders invented to asperse the Catholics, and by perpetual alterations and changes in their own principles, varying their creeds (as 'twere) with every wind, whilst the Catholics stuck all along to the confession of *Nice*.

But whilst heresy seemed thus to be almost rooted out of the whole empire, and having lost the support of secular power, dwindled by degrees into small and inconsiderable parties, it was most unhappily translated into the barbarous nations of the *North*. It happen'd near the conclusion of the reign of *Valens*, that his transactions with the *Goths*, or rather their own necessities, brought *Ulphilas* the *Gothick* Bishop to his court<sup>b</sup>, who having formerly

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<sup>b</sup> Sozom. H. E. l. 6. c. 37.

SERM. V. subscribed the confession of *Rimini*, tho' inadvertently<sup>c</sup>, was now, whether thro' conviction, or for secular ends, persuaded to embrace the fashionable heresy, and declare for open *Arianism*<sup>d</sup>. The reputation he had gain'd among his countrymen by his great abilities, and the specious pretences he made use of to 'em, that the contest was not about the essence of religion, but merely a strife about words, and made subservient to ambitious purposes, were the unhappy means of seducing the generality of them into the same delusion<sup>e</sup>, from whom it quickly spread to other *Northern* nations<sup>f</sup>. This in the next century became the ground of the revival of *Arianism* in the *West*, when upon the spreading of the *Goths* and *Vandals* through *Gaul*, *Italy*, *Spain* and *Africk*, they brought their heresy into those parts as the companion of their conquering arms, and triumph'd over the faith of the empire, together with its civil liberties. But a more particular notice of that matter will fall within the compass of the next discourse.

*Now to God the Father, &c.*

<sup>c</sup> Sozom. *ibid.* Socrat. l. 2. c. 41.

<sup>d</sup> Sozom. *ut supra.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* & Theodor. l. 4. c. 37.

<sup>f</sup> Jornand. *de orig. & rebus gestis Gothorum*, c. 25. p. 646. Edit. Grotian. *vid.* & Grotii *Prolegom. ad Histor. Gothor.* p. 30.



# SERMON VI.

Preach'd APRIL 2, 1723-4.



THE two last discourses did so far set forth the rise, the progress, and the downfall of *Arianism*, that there is little farther notice to be taken of it in the *East*. The doctrine which came not from God, could never gain any considerable ground, when unsupported by man: and however many under *Arian* Emperors had, either thro' ambition or cowardice, concurr'd with reigning iniquities, yet now, since those secular motives were set aside, their numbers were extremely  
SERM. VI.  
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reduced,

SERM. VI. reduced, and the catholick cause flourished under the countenance of *Theodosius* and his successors, without the execution of such sad severities as their predecessors had used for the support of heresy. The *Arians*, 'tis true, continued for some time to hold their meetings out of town, and even to sing their hymns within the city gates, and in their publick processions, as appears by the practice at *Constantinople*, in the time of *St. Chrysostom*<sup>a</sup>; where, by reason of some disorders in the state, (and particularly from the *Gothic Arians* in the reign of *Arcadius*;) they kept longer footing than in other places; but as they daily decreased and grew less considerable, so even they that remain'd did in some sort reform their system, and abstain from the grosser kind of blasphemies<sup>b</sup>.

But when the doctrine of the *Trinity* was so well established, and had outstood the shock of such long and earnest opposition, that he who is the father of all lies and heresy could no longer draw men to an open denial of their Saviour's *Divinity*, as he had long since been baffled upon the subject of the *incarnation*: he now again attempted to evacuate or frustrate the confession of both; on one hand, by dividing

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<sup>a</sup> Socrat. H. E. l. 6. c. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Socrat. l. 7. c. 6.

and separating these two natures in such manner, that the weakness of the one might not be properly united with the power of the other; on the other hand, by so blending and confounding them together, that the properties of neither might remain distinct. These opposite heresies, which chiefly exercised the *Eastern Writers* of the fifth and sixth centuries, do so far affect the *Trinitarian controversy*, that they ought not to be wholly overlooked, and yet are so far removed from the main question concerning it, that they may well be stated in a summary way, without descending so minutely to particulars, as was requisite upon the *Arian* scheme.

It was in the reign of the junior *Theodosius*, and after *Nestorius's* promotion to the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, that *Anastasius*, a Presbyter of that Church, did in a publick sermon caution his hearers against calling the blessed Virgin *θεοτόκος*, or the *Mother of God*; not in the same sense as the *Apollinarians* had declared against it formerly, <sup>b</sup> who denied Christ to have received his body from the substance of the Virgin; but upon quite different grounds, namely, because that she having no other than the human nature, it was impossible that God should be born of her<sup>c</sup>.

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<sup>b</sup> See the foregoing Sermon, p. 252.    <sup>c</sup> Socrat. l. 7. c. 32.

SERM. VI. Many of the clergy and people of *Constantinople* were startled at this doctrine, as disapproving the language of the ancient fathers, relapsing into downright *Judaism*, and implying Christ to be no more than man<sup>d</sup>.

*Nestorius* was a man of good parts and ready utterance, but of a fierce and resolute temper, heighten'd by an immoderate conceit of his own abilities, and not conducted by any considerable degree of learning, or knowledge of antiquity<sup>e</sup>. It is suggested that *Anastasius*, who was entirely his creature, had taken this doctrine from him as its author and patron<sup>f</sup>; and it is certain he was so far from disallowing it in his Presbyter, that he openly defended it himself, and by his management in this controversy made it easily appear, that it was not merely a quibble about words, but however there might be some on both sides who were only to blame for their inaccuracy of expression; (from whence the historian compares them to people fighting in the dark, as injudiciously affirming and denying the very same things<sup>g</sup>;) yet for his own part he seems to have really

<sup>d</sup> Vid. eofd. ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Socrat. ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Evagr. ut supra.


<sup>g</sup> Καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν νεκρομαχίᾳ καθεστῶτες, οὐκ ἔτι ταῦτα ἔλεγον οὐκ ἔτι ἄλλα, συγκρατηθῆντά τῃ ἀνταυτῶν, καὶ ἠρῶντο. Socrat. H. E. l. 7. c. 32.

disown'd that strict and *hypostatical* union of two natures in Christ, which the Catholics asserted. 'Tis likely there were some of the same sentiments before, unawares, perhaps, betray'd into them in the heat of their dispute with the *Apollinarians*. 'Tis certain at least, that the *Apollinarians* charg'd them as the common opinion of the Catholics<sup>h</sup>. But now they were more openly avow'd and maintain'd by *Nestorius*. He acknowledg'd the *Divinity* of the *Word*, but seems to have understood its *indwelling* in Christ no otherwise than as the Holy Ghost dwelt in the ancient Prophets. From hence he speaks of Christ as a *man bearing God within him*<sup>i</sup>, which is known to be the character of other holy persons; and somewhat more than intimated that the blessed Virgin could no otherwise be deem'd the *Mother of the Word*, than her cousin *Elizabeth* might be term'd the Mother of the Holy Ghost, with whom her son the Baptist was filled from his mother's womb<sup>k</sup>. He refused to call

<sup>h</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 52.

<sup>i</sup> ---Μη θεός ἀληθῶς, θεοφόρος ἢ μάλλον ἀνθρώπος ἦν ὁ χριστός. Nestor. apud Cyril. Alex. advers. Nest. l. 1. c. 2. p. 10. tom. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς προκηρύσσεται παρὰ τῶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων, ὅτι πληθύνεται τὸ βρέφος πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἐν κοιλίᾳ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἔχων, ἕως ὅ ῥομακαρίου βαπτιστὴς ἀπεπέκτετο. πῖ ἔν καλεῖς τὴν Ἐλισάβετ πνευματοτόκον; Nestor. apud Cyril. Alex. l. 1. advers. Nestor. c. 5. in tom. 6 p. 19.

SERM. VI.  him *God*, who was but a child of two or three months old<sup>1</sup>, and express'd himself in so irreverend a manner, that at first he was suspected to have espoused the sentiments of *Paul of Samosata*<sup>m</sup>, and to have confess'd no other but the human nature in Christ<sup>n</sup>. When upon farther explications he appear'd to acknowledge the *Divinity* of the *Word*, he yet seem'd in such manner to separate it from the *humanity*, as would really destroy the mystery of the *incarnation*, representing the blessed Virgin to be *χειστόβκος*, or the *Mother of Christ*<sup>o</sup>, tho' not of God; which was in effect to say that the *humanity* alone is *Christ*; or in other words, that Christ is not truly God, but only conjoin'd with the *Word* of God as with another person<sup>p</sup>. For that reason he declined the use of those expressions which do most strongly import the indissoluble *hypostatick* union of both, and chose rather to represent it by such inferior descriptions, as might put little difference between him and a Prophet emi-

<sup>1</sup> --- Ἐφη Νεστόριος, τὸν γενόμενον διμηνιαῖον, καὶ τριμηνιαῖον, ἔκ τινος θεοῦ ὀνομάσασαί μιν. Socrat. l. 7. c. 34. Evagr. l. 1. c. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Conc. Eph. par. 1. §. 13.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Socrat. l. 7. c. 32.

<sup>o</sup> Nestor. Epist. ad Cyril. in concil. Eph. par. 1. §. 9.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Evagr. l. 1. c. 2. & Cyril. ut sup. vid. & l. 2. c. 8. p. 50.



nently inspired<sup>9</sup>. So that according to his state of the matter, there should be two different Sons, one begotten of the Father from all eternity, and another born of a Virgin in the fulness of time<sup>r</sup>. For tho' he pretended to acknowledge only one Christ, one Lord, and one Son, yet he plainly meant this of an unity of dignity, and not of person or *hypostasis*, that the humanity was so far exalted by this conjunction with the *Word*, that these names or titles were promiscuously attributed to 'em both<sup>t</sup>. Which evasive construction was so gross and abominable, that when afterwards he would have consented to accept the term Θεοτόκος, the Church could not be satisfied with his prevaricating submission<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> See Mr. Reeve's Notes upon the Commonitory of Vincentius Lirinensis, p. 295.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Vinc. Lirin. adv. hæc. c. 17.

<sup>t</sup> Ἐπάγαγε μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ τῆς συναφείας ἀξίωμα, ὅτι πᾶν δὺν ἢ ἀυθεντία κοινὴ ὅτι πᾶν δὺν ταυτὸν τὸ ἀξίωμα πᾶν φύσει μινυσῶν, ὁμολόγει τὴν τῆς ἀξίας ἐνότητα. Nestor. apud Cyril. l. 2. c. 5. p. 44. Διαίρεσις ἐκ ἑστὶ τῆς συναφείας τῶ ἀξιώματι, τῆς υἰότητος, — τῆς ἰ Θεότητι καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος ἐστὶ διαίρεσις — ἢ ἦ ἔχομεν δὺν χριστὺς, ἐδὲ δὺν υἱὸς — ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ εἰς ἑστὶ διπλῆς, οὐ τῆ ἀξία, ἀλλὰ τῆ φύσει. Ibid. cap. 6. — Ἐπειδὴ ἔχει ἐκείνη συνήπται τῶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι υἱῶ τῶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συναφθέντι, οὐ δυναται κατὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς υἰότητος διαίρεσιν δέξασθ' κατὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα φημί τῆς υἰότητι, οὐ κατὰ τὰς φύσεις. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς λόγος ὀνομάζεται, ἐπειπερ ἔχει τὴν συναφείαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν χριστὸν διηκεκῆ καὶ οὐκ ἑστὶ τὸν Θεὸν λόγον ἀνευ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος πρῶξαι τι ἀπηρελῶται ἦ εἰς ἄκραν συναφείαν, οὐκ εἰς ἀποθέωσιν. cap. 8.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. 7. c. 34.

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The serious Catholicks were griev'd in earnest to see men indulge such wanton speculations about those mysteries which the Angels themselves can never fathom. But when such explications were given out as could not consist with the catholic doctrine of redemption, it was necessary for them to oppose 'em, and declare with what strictness and propriety they believ'd the *hypostatical* union of two natures in Christ. They carried this so far as even to term it *ένωσις φυσική*, a *natural union*<sup>u</sup>, to assert the doctrine of one incarnate nature, and to explain this matter from the similitude of soul and body, which by virtue of their personal union are reckon'd to make but one man<sup>w</sup>. From hence they concluded, that as the actions of the body are attributed to the soul, so might what happened to Christ's human nature, be justly attributed to the divine *Word*, insomuch that God the *Word* might be said to have been born, to have suffer'd, to have died for us<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> --- Ένωσις χριστού --- κατ' ενοχον π'ν καθ' ένωσιν φυσικήν. Cyril. Anathem. 3.

<sup>w</sup> Μία ηδ' ηδη νοείται φύσις μετά την ένωσιν η αυτου ταυ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη, καθάπερ άμελι και εφ' ημών αυτών νοαίτ' αν ειπέτως άνθρωπος ηδ' εις άληθώς συγκείμενος εξ άνομίαν πραγμάτων, ψυχης δη λέγω και σώματος. Cyril. adv. Nestor. l. 2. p. 31.

<sup>x</sup> Γεγέννηκε ηδ' [παρθένο] σαρκικώς σάρκα γεγονότα τον εκ θεου πατρος λόγον. Cyril. Anath. 1. --- Τον του θεου λόγον παθόντι σαρκί, και εσαρκωμένον σαρκί, και θανάτῃ γενσάμενον σαρκί. Anath. 12.

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This gave the handle to *Nestorius* and his friends to charge the Catholicks with reviving the heresy of *Apollinaris*, with supposing Christ's Divinity to supply the place of the *human* or reasonable soul, with representing it therefore as subject to passion and infirmity, which can have place in none but a created nature; and indeed with utterly destroying the distinction of two natures, by mixing and confounding their properties together <sup>y</sup>.

The more judicious Catholicks did easily explain themselves to avoid all these absurdities. They confess'd the perfection of Christ's *Manhood* as well as his *Divinity*, and asserted the *personal* union of the Λόγος, not merely with an human body, but with a body and reasonable soul together <sup>z</sup>. They confess'd the divine *Word* to retain its natural diversity <sup>a</sup>, and when they

<sup>y</sup> Εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν συνάγει συγχέων τὰς φύσεις, φυσικὴν τὴν θεϊκὴν ἑνώσιν ἀποκαλῶν. Orientalium object. ad Anath. 3. Cyrilli, ejusdem Apologiæ insert. tom. 6. p. 164. Οὐ γὰρ ἐφύλαξε τὸ ἀπαρῆς τῆς θεϊκῆς φύσεως ὁ εἰπὼν, ἔπαθε σαρκί, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔφη, ἢ μετὰ σαρκὸς παθεῖν· καὶ ἔν μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἔπαθε, παθητὸς ὁμολογήσεται. eorund. object. ad Anath. 12. p. 195.

<sup>z</sup> Τὸ ἔπαθεν τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ σῶμα, φαιμέν ἐμψυχῶσθε ψυχῆ λογικῆ. Cyril. advers. Nestor. l. 2. p. 31.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐτέρα μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον ἢ σὰρξ, κατὰ γε τὴν τῆς ἰούδας φύσεως λόγον, ἕτερα δὲ πάλιν οὐσιαστικῶς ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου φύσις. Ibid. Οὐ συγχέων τὰς φύσεις, ἢ ἀνακρινῶν τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλ' ὅτι σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος μετεσχηκῶς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, εἰς δὲ πάλιν καὶ ἕτως ὁ υἱὸς νοεῖται καὶ ὀνομάζεται. l. 2. c. 6. p. 45.

SERM. VI. *spake of a natural union, and one nature incarnate, they meant that this Word, which had always been divine, and had the Divinity as its ἰδίᾳ φύσις, its proper nature, did in time assume the human nature to the strictest union with himself<sup>b</sup>; so that they were as truly one from the first moment of conception, as the soul and body are in us<sup>c</sup>; that it was the very person or ὑπόστασις of the Word, which took in the human nature to so strict a conjunction with himself, that the flesh which he put on was properly his own flesh, and might in that respect be term'd divine, as the flesh of a man is term'd human<sup>d</sup>; which did not*

<sup>b</sup> Δύο μὲν φύσεις ἠνώθεον φασκέντες, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἑνωσιν, ὡς ἀνθρωπίνης ἢ δὴ τῆς εἰς δύο διατομῆς, μίαν εἶναι πιστεύομεν τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ φύσιν, ὡς ἐνός, πλὴν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος καὶ σεσαρκωμένου. Cyril. ad Acac. Meliten. in conc. Eph. par. 3. §. 35. Εἷς γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ δίχως σαρκὸς ὁ κατὰ φύσιν ἰδίαν ἔχει σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος. Cyr. adv. Nest. l. 2. c. 6. p. 45. Ὁυ συγκέσθης τὰς φύσεις, ἔτε μὴν ἀλλήλαις αὐτὰς ἀναφέροντες-- φυσικὴν φασκέντες τὴν ἑνωσιν· ἀλλ' ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων ἀνομοίαν, θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, τὸν ἑνα γενέσθης κρείσσον καὶ υἱόν καὶ κείριον διαδέξασθαι πάντα χωρῶν. Apol. adv. Orient. ad Anath. 3. p. 167.

<sup>c</sup> Ὡσπερ ἢ εἰ τις τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτείνῃ, οὐχ' ὡς αὐτὸν περὶ μᾶλλον ἰδιωτικῶς ἀνθρώπου, κατηγορεῖτ' ἀν' εἰκότας, ἀλλ' ἕνα καὶ μένον, καὶ ἐννοοῖτο τυχερὸν εἶναι ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, καὶ τῶν ἐλλήλοις συμμέσθης ἢ φύσις ἀν' εἰη οὐχ' ἢ αὐτὴ μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ θεοφόρος· ἔτω πάλιν ἐπὶ χριστοῦ νοητέον· οὐ γὰρ τοι διπλοῦς ἐστὶν ἀλλ' εἷς τε καὶ μόνος κύριος καὶ υἱός, ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος, οὐ δίχως σαρκὸς. l. 2. c. 6. p. 45.

<sup>d</sup> ---Μίαν ὑπόστασιν τὴν τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην --- ἡμῶν καὶ ἢ θεότατα γενέσθης φασκέντες τοῦ λόγου τὴν σάρκα, θεῖαν ἢ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ· εἰ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος σὰρξ ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη λέγεται πὶ τὸ κρεῖσσον ἔτι καὶ θεῖον ἐστὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος. l. 2. c. 8. p. 51.

destroy

destroy the distinction of the natures, but only preserv'd the unity of person<sup>e</sup>. However, since this mention of *one nature* had furnish'd such a handle for cavil, and was perhaps the least to be justified from ancient precedents, it quickly grew into disuse among the Catholicks, and it became rather the language of the Church to acknowledge *two natures* in *one person* or *ὑπόστασις*, agreeably to that confession of *John* Bishop of *Antioch*<sup>f</sup>, which was approved of by *St. Cyril* himself. Lastly, they believed the divine nature to be perfectly *impassible*<sup>g</sup>, and when they maintain'd that *God* was born and suffer'd, they only meant that he was born and suffer'd *according to the flesh*<sup>h</sup>, in that human body

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<sup>e</sup> Οὐχ ὡς τῆς πᾶν φύσεων Διαφορῆς ἀνησημένης Διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀποτελεσασῶν ἢ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν τὸν ἕνα κύριον ἰησοῦν χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν, θεότητος τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, Διὰ τῆς ἀφράσεως καὶ ἀπορίτης πρὸς ἐνότητα σιωδρομῆς. Cyril. ad Nestor. in Conc. Ephes. par. 1. §. 8.

<sup>f</sup> Δύο γὰρ φύσεις ἕνωσις γέγονε· διὸ καὶ ἕνα χριστὸν, ἕνα υἱὸν, ἕνα κύριον ὁμολογοῦμεν. Joan. Antioch. Epist. ad Cyril. in Conc. Ephes. par. 3. §. 30, 34.

<sup>g</sup> Τίς ἔτιως ἐμφανήτους, ὡς τῆς ἀνωτάτω πασῶν οὐσίας τὸ ἔμπαθες καθορίζει; ——— ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς θεὸς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπος, ἀπαθὴς μὲν τὸ γεῆκον εἰς τὴν τῆς θεότητος φύσιν, παθητὸς ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, πὶ τὸ ἀτοπον, εἰ τὸ παθεῖν πεφυκῆτι λέγεται παθεῖν, τῷ παθεῖν οὐκ εἶδοτε μεμενηκὸς ἀπαθῆς. Cyril. advers. Orient. ad Anathem. 12. p. 197, 198.

<sup>h</sup> Ἐτερον ἢ τὸ σαρκὶ παθεῖν λέγεσθαι, καὶ ἕτερον ὁμοίως τὸ παθεῖν λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ τῆς θεότητος φύσει. Ibid. p. 198. vid. & ipsa Anathem. 1. & 12.

which

SERM. VI. which was properly *his own*<sup>i</sup>; so that tho' he could suffer nothing in his *divine* nature, yet suffering in his *human*, it was *he* that suffer'd, since that character is plainly *personal*, in which the two natures, however different in their properties, must never be divided<sup>k</sup>.

The doctrine of *Nestorius* having quickly cross'd the sea, to *Alexandria*, St. *Cyril*, who was then Patriarch, became the most zealous and industrious of his opposers: who, after other ineffectual attempts for his recovery, digested the heresy of *Nestorius*, and the catholick doctrine opposed to it, into twelve heads or *chapters*, denouncing his *anathemas* against those who should assert the one, or impugn the other<sup>l</sup>. These *anathemas* were ratified in a council held at *Alexandria*<sup>m</sup>, and were then sent to *Nestorius* to be subscribed by him, in order to prevent their concurrence in that sentence of excommunication which Pope *Cælestine* had already denounced in another council held at *Rome*<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> Όταν τῶν σαρκὶ λέγεται παθεῖν, οὐκ αὐτὸς εἰς ἰδίαν φύσιν νοεῖται παθεῖν, καθὼ θεὸς εἶναι ἰδιοποιούμενος ἢ μᾶλλον τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ γὰρ γέγονε τὸ ἐναθεῖν αὐτῷ σῶμα. Cyril. *ibid.* p. 197.

<sup>k</sup> Ὁ τῆς ἐνώσεως λόγος, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ μὲν τὴν διαφορὰν, ἐξίσησι ἢ τὴν ἀξίωσιν. Cyril. *adv. Nest.* l. 2. c. 6. p. 45. *vid.* & c. 8. p. 50.

<sup>l</sup> See these Anathematifms, with his explication and defense of them, in the sixth tome of his works.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Conc. Ephes. par. 1. §. 26.

<sup>n</sup> *Ibid.* §. 18, 19.

*Nestorius* the mean while was so far from subscribing these *anathemas* of *Cyril*, that he drew up others of equal number in opposition to him<sup>o</sup>. Nor was he without some friends and abettors of considerable name and character. *John*, who was at that time Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *Theodorit* the Bishop of *Cyrus*, had been educated with him in their youth<sup>p</sup>, and they retain'd such an esteem and value for their schoolfellow, that however they detested the heresies which were laid to his charge, yet they really believ'd him to be innocent, and to retain a sense or meaning which was altogether catholick; notwithstanding they would gladly have advised him to be less scrupulous of that expression of the *Mother of God*, which they thought was easy to be justified by ancient authorities, and the meaning of which they imagined that *Nestorius* himself was willing to allow<sup>q</sup>. On the other hand, they suspected *St. Cyril's anathematisms*, as really advancing another heresy, by seeming to avoid this; as describing this mysterious union in terms so strong and emphatical, that they could no way

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<sup>o</sup> Vid. duodecim capitula blasphem. Nestor. inter opera Marii Mercat. par. 2. p. 116, &c. Edit. 1673.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Cave Hist. lit. an. 423 & 427.

<sup>q</sup> Conc. Ephes. par. 1. §. 25. Joan. Antioch. ad Nestor.

SERM. VI. avoid that odium of *Apollinarianism*, or  
 some other absurd mixture of two natures  
 into one, which *Nestorius* had charged  
 upon them<sup>r</sup>. These being men of interest  
 and reputation, their opinions were pretty  
 generally receiv'd among those Bishops  
 who were subject to the Patriarch of *Anti-  
 ocb*<sup>t</sup>, and who in a more peculiar sense are  
 term'd the *Eastern* Bishops, by way of  
 contradistinction to those of *Egypt* and  
 the lesser *Asia*. By this encrease of par-  
 ties, headed by such potent Patriarchs, the  
 differences naturally ran high, and both  
 sides thought it was high time to consult  
 the Church's peace, by applying to *Theo-  
 dosius*, for the interposition of his imperial  
 authority, to call a general council, which  
 was appointed accordingly to meet at *E-  
 phesus*<sup>r</sup>.

It had been happy for the Church, if  
 all the Bishops could have met together,  
 by the day the Emperor appointed. But  
 after several days waiting for the *Eastern*  
 Bishops, who were reckon'd favourable to  
 431. *Nestorius*, the council was open'd at last  
 without them, upon the arrival of two of  
 their number, who gave assurances of their

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Cave ut supra.

<sup>t</sup> See the objections of the *Easterns* to St. *Cyril's* Anathe-  
 matisms, in the sixth tome of his works.

<sup>r</sup> Conc. Ephes. p. 1. §. 31, 32. Evagr. l. 1. c. 3.



consent to their entering upon business<sup>u</sup>. *Nestorius*, after three citations, refusing to appear, and detaining a small party with him, the council (which consisted of about two hundred Bishops) proceeded to examine his writings, and those of Pope *Cælestine* and *St. Cyril* against him; after which they censured and deposed *Nestorius*, and ratified the doctrine of his opposers as primitive and catholic<sup>w</sup>. The *Eastern* Bishops, upon their arrival, resented what was done, and holding a separate assembly by themselves, presumed even to pronounce a sentence of deprivation against *St. Cyril*, and *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*<sup>x</sup>. The differences by this means rose to a great height, and continued for some years. Mean while *Nestorius* was actually dispossessed of his See, and another consecrated in his room<sup>y</sup>. And as matters came to be reflected on with more coolness and candour, the *Eastern* Bishops in the end grew generally satisfied with *St. Cyril's* explications, and desirous of his communion<sup>z</sup>. They were more hardly brought to anathematize the person of *Nestorius*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> See Dupin in the Council of Ephesus, fifth century.

<sup>w</sup> Conc. Ephes. Act. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. in Act. conciliabuli vid. & Evagr. H: E l. 1. c. 5.

<sup>y</sup> Socrat. l. 7. c. 35.

<sup>z</sup> Conc. Ephes. par. 3, c. 27, 28, 30.

<sup>a</sup> Dupin ut supra.

SERM. VI. Yet even this was submitted to by most of them<sup>b</sup>, and *Theodorit* himself, who stuck out for many years, did yet at last consent to it in the council of *Chalcedon*<sup>c</sup>. So little reason is there to suspect, that *Nestorius* met with hard usage, or was misinterpreted<sup>d</sup>, when his cause was not only determined by a numerous council, but given up at last by the greatest of his friends<sup>e</sup>.

It is no wonder if, in the heat of such a controversy, some, who meant to espouse the catholick cause, should oppose the prevailing heresy with such vehemence, as not to be enough cautious of the contrary extreme, and by the manner of their expression (at least) to give a handle to other men, to advance another heresy directly opposite. Thus if *St. Cyril*, who was a man of judgment and good sense, knew how to guard his expressions, and keep within the bounds of catholick propriety, yet 'tis to be fear'd there might be others so weak or inadvertent, as to imagine that the *Godhead* itself is *passible*<sup>f</sup>. This was

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.      <sup>c</sup> Vid. Conc. Chalced. Act. 8. p. 274. Bin.

<sup>d</sup> See Bishop *Burnet* upon the second article.

<sup>e</sup> See Mr. *Reeves's* Notes upon *Vincentius Lirinensis*, pag. 280, 294.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. *Cave*, ad an. 431. charges *Acacius of Melitene* with asserting this before the Emperor; but if so, 'tis certain he corrected his notion afterwards, for he asserted the contrary, both in the council (Act. 1. p. 181. Bin.) and in (par. 3. §. 7.) his homily.

directly

directly the heresy of the *Apollinarians* §, and it may be some excuse for the *Eastern* Bishops in charging St. *Cyril* with that heresy, if this inaccuracy of some of his supporters had given but too plausible a ground for it.

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And if this were nothing more than inaccuracy in some at that time, yet afterwards it came to be maintain'd with greater obstinacy, when in order to maintain this paradox of a *passible Divinity*, the *Godhead* was sometimes supposed to be *converted into flesh*, or so mixed up at least with *human* nature, as to retain no properties distinct. Nay, and the flesh of Christ it self was thought to be of a different kind of *substance* from ours, either brought with him from heaven (as the *Apollinarians* had used to suppose) or at least created anew, and not properly taken from the *substance* of his mother.

There was an Abbot at *Constantinople*, *Eutyches* by name, who had strenuously asserted the doctrine of the Church against *Nestorius*<sup>h</sup>, but in the heat of controversy had strained the matter to the other ex-

§ See the foregoing sermon, p. 253, 254.

<sup>h</sup> See this acknowledg'd in *Flavian's letter to Leo*, n 6. par. 1. and in *Pope Leo's letter to him at the beginning of the Council of Chalcedon*.

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treme, and was at length accused<sup>i</sup> of advancing the principles already mention'd. *Flavian*, who at that time was Patriarch of *Constantinople*, thought it a matter which deserv'd the animadversion of a synod. Accordingly he cited the Abbot to appear<sup>k</sup>, who as he declined it either with obstinate refusals or dilatory excuses, so he imposed upon the messengers who came to him with equivocating accounts of his faith, professing to adhere to the decisions of the councils of *Nice* and *Ephesus*, yet not without such a reserve as might (if he were pinch'd) evacuate that profession<sup>l</sup>, and refusing to acknowledge two natures in Christ, tho' united hypostatically<sup>m</sup>, under pretence of a mighty scrupulousness to determine any thing about the nature of

<sup>i</sup> Besides the original Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, see this whole matter stated in the fifth tome of Dupin, and more briefly by Dr. Cave, H. L. vol. 2. p. 169.

<sup>k</sup> The Acts of this Constantinopolitan Synod are recited in the first Act of the Council of Chalcedon.

<sup>l</sup> Ετοιμον γὰρ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἔφασκε ταῖς ἐκθέσει τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν τε ἐν νικαίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἐφέσῳ τὴν σύνοδον ποιησαμένων συντίθεσθαι, καὶ υπογράφειν ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις αὐτῶν ἀμολόγει· εἰ δὲ περὶ τύχοι τί παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τισὶ λέξεσιν ἢ ἀσφαλεῖν ἢ ἀπλανῆναι, τὸ μὴ ἔχειν διαβάλλειν, μηδὲ καταδέχεσθαι· μόνος δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἐρευνᾷν, ὡς βεβαιωτέρας ἕσας τῆς τῶν πατέρων ἐκθέσεως. Act. 3. Constant. recitari. in Act. 1. Conc. Chalced. p. 79. Binus.

<sup>m</sup> Τὸ ἕκ δύο φύσεων ἐνωθειῶν καθ' ὑπόθεσιν γεγενῆσθαι, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἰησοῦν χριστὸν, μήτε μεμαθηκέναι ἐν ταῖς ἐκθέσει τῶν ἁγίων, μήτε καταδέχεσθαι, εἰ τύχοι τί αὐτῷ τοιοῦτο ὡς εἴ τις ὑπαναγιγνώσκουσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ πᾶσι θεῖας, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἀμείνονας εἰκαυτῆς τῶν πατέρων διδασκαλίας. Ibid.

his God<sup>n</sup>. He utterly denied his having ever maintained that the *flesh* of Christ came down from heaven; he allowed him to have taken it from the blessed Virgin, but very inconsistently refused to own its being *consubstantial*, or of the same kind with ours<sup>o</sup>: appealing for this to the *Nicene* creed, which mentions no other *consubstantiality* besides that with the Father<sup>p</sup>. So that instead of supposing the *Godhead* to be *converted into flesh* (as his doctrine has usually been represented, and as several of his followers most probably understood it, in imitation of their fore-runners in heresy the *Apollinarians*<sup>q</sup>) he seems rather to have supposed that the *flesh* itself was *deified*<sup>r</sup>, and made not by way of appropriation, but *substantially*, divine.

<sup>n</sup> Μη γενέσθω εἰπεῖν ἐμὲ, ὅτι δύο φύσεων τὸν χριστὸν, ἢ φυσιολογεῖν τὸν θεὸν μου. Act. 6. Constant. *ibid.* p. 87.

<sup>o</sup> Προσεπέθη ὅ, ὅτι λοιδορίας τινός, ὡς ἔφη, λεχθείσης καὶ αὐτῷ, ὡς αὐτῷ εἰρηκτότος ὅτι γε δὴ ἐξ ἑρανῶ τὴν σάρκα ὁ θεὸς λόγῳ κατενόησεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀνεύθυνε τυγχάνει τῆς τοιαύτης λοιδορίας— καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἀμολόγη τέλειον θεὸν εἶναι καὶ τέλειον ἀίθρατον τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ τῆς παρθένου μαριίας, μὴ ἔχοντα σάρκα ὁμοῦσιον ἡμῶν. Act. 3. Const. p. 79.

<sup>p</sup> Ἐφη ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης εὐτυχῆς, τὸ μάθημα πᾶς ἔχει; ἔφη— ἰωάννης, ὅτι περὶ τὸ μάθημα ἔχει, ὁμοῦσιον τῷ πατρὶ μένον. ἀντιπίθησιν ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης εὐτυχῆς, λέγων, ἕτας ἐν ἔχει ὡς αὐτὸς, ἵπειδὴ κατὰ ἕτας ἔχω ἕτερον τι ἐκ ἐπίταμειν ἐν τῇ ὑπόθεσει. Act. Const. in Conc. Chal. Act. 1. p. 105. Bin.

<sup>q</sup> See the fifth sermon, p. 252, 254.

<sup>r</sup> See Dr. *Waterland's* Critical History of the *Athanasian* Creed, chap. 7. p. 105.



When at last he was prevailed with to appear before the council, he persisted in much the same declarations, except that he consented to acknowledge Christ's flesh *consubstantial* with ours, in consideration that the council declared it so to be<sup>f</sup>. But then he refused to concur in *anathematizing* those who taught the contrary, under pretence that in so doing he must *anathematize* many of the Fathers<sup>t</sup> and ancient Catholicks, whose doctrine was the same with that of which he had been accused. This was in effect to own that he still continued of the same mind, and consequently that the submission he had promised to their synodical determination upon that question, must be feign'd and hypostatical, and (as he scrupled not to own) a matter of necessity rather than of choice, which was such a sort of submission as the synod had utterly disclaim'd<sup>u</sup>. This therefore,

<sup>f</sup> Έως σήμερον εκ εἶπον τὸ σῶμα τῆ κυρίας, καὶ θεῶ ἡμῶν ἰμοῦσιον ἡμῶν, τὴν ἣ παρεῖνον ὁμολογῶ εἶναι ἡμῶν ἰμοῦσιον, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῆς ἰσακαῶθη ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. — Act. 7. Constant. p. 91. εἰ ἣ δὲ εἶπεν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, Ἐ ὁμοῦσιον ἡμῶν, Ἐ τῆτο λέγω.

<sup>t</sup> Ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος εἶπε· δεῖ σε σαφῶς ὁμολογῆσαι, Ἐ ἀναθεματίσαι πᾶν τὸ ὑπεραντίον τῶν νῦν ἀναγνωσέντων δογμάτων. Ἐυτυχῆς πρεσβύτερος εἶπεν· εἶπον τῇ ὁσιότητι ὑμῶν, ὅτι πρὸ τῆτο ἐκ ἔλεγον· νῦν ἣ ἐπειδὴ τῆτο διδάσκει ἡ ὁσιότης ὑμῶν, λέγω, καὶ ἀκολυθῶ τοῖς πατράσιν· ἔτε ἣ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ἔυρον σαφῶς τῆτο, ἔτε οἱ πατέρες εἶπον πάντες· ἐάν ἣ ἀναθεματίσω, καὶ μοι εἶν, ὅτι τὰς κατῆρας μου ἀναθεματίζω. p. 92.

<sup>u</sup> Ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἄρχιεπίσκοπος εἶπεν· ἐκῆν καὶ ἀνάγκη, ατὰ

therefore, together with his persisting in the assertion of *two natures* before incarnation, and but *one* afterwards<sup>w</sup>; whereas the Catholicks could neither allow the *human* nature of Christ to have ever subsisted separately from the *divine*, so as that there might be *two natures* before incarnation, but to have been assumed by it in the very moment of conception, nor again the properties of either to have been alter'd or confounded, so as that after incarnation there should be but *one*<sup>x</sup>: These things, I say, together convinced the Patriarch and his synod of the heretical pravity that reign'd within him, and gave ground for denouncing their *anathemas* against him<sup>y</sup>.

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Their sentence was ratified, and the actions of their synod found to have been truly represented, after a fresh examination by another synod at *Constantinople*<sup>z</sup>; and

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κατὰ γνώμῳ, τὴν ἀληθῆ πίσιν ὁμολογεῖς, Ἐυτυχῆς πρεσβύτερος εἶπεν ἄρτι κύρι' ἔτως ἔχω. — ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος εἶπεν ἐκ ἡμεῖς καινοτομῶμεν, ἀλλ' οἱ πατέρες ἐξέθεντο. Ἐ καθὼς ἡ ἐκτεθεισα πίσις παρ' αὐτῶν ἔχει, ἔτως πισύοντες, τῆτοις ἐμμειῖναι ἀπαντας βελομεθα, κ' μηδὲνα καινοτομεῖν. Ibid. p. 91, 92.

<sup>w</sup> Ὁμολογῶ ἐκ δύο φύσεων γεγενῆσθαι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως μετὰ ἧ τὴν ἑνωσιν μίαν φύσιν ὁμολογῶ. p. 92.

<sup>x</sup> Θαυμάζω τὸν ἔτως ἀλλέκοτον, ἔτω διετραμμῆνῳ ὁμολογίαν, — ὅποτε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐσιν ἀσεβῆς τὸ λέγειν, ὡς ἐκ δύο φύσεων πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ὁ μονογενὴς ἐσιν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡσπερ ἐσιν ἀβέμιτον τὸ Διδωκαίου, ὡς μετὰ τὸ τὸν λόγον σάκεος γενέσθαι μία ἐν αὐτῷ φύσις ἐσιν. Leonis Papæ Synod. Epist. ad Flavian in Act. 2. Concil. Chalced. p. 165.

<sup>y</sup> Act. 7. Constant. in Act. 1. Chalced. p. 93.

<sup>z</sup> P. 95. Evagr. l. 1. c. 9.

SERM. VI. Pope *Leo* by his synodical and other letters, commended the zeal of *Flavian*, expressing his concurrence with him in the doctrine of *two natures hypostatically united*, and his condemnation of the scheme of *Eutyches*<sup>a</sup>.

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Yet after all, the heretick was too stubborn to submit: his friends made application for the Emperor's assistance<sup>b</sup>; and *Theodosius*, by I know not what unhappy misconduct, whether influenced by his courtiers, (among whom *Eutyches* had a considerable interest, but *Flavian* had none) or really fearing that the Catholics might relapse into *Nestorianism*, did so far in fact yield to the request, as to order another council to be called at *Ephesus*, in which *Dioscorus*, who had succeeded *St. Cyril* in the Patriarchate of *Alexandria*, was appointed to preside<sup>c</sup>.

449.

The *Egyptians* had learnt from *St. Cyril* to have the utmost abhorrence of *Nestorianism*, and they stuck with such rigour to the strictest of his expressions, as hardly to admit of those guards and explications by which *Cyril* himself had fenced his doctrine against the opposite extreme. There

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Epist. Leonis supra citat. p. 161, &c. præter alias in prima parte concilii.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Dupin vol. 4. p. 224.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Theodos. Epistolas in Act. 1. Concil. Chalced. p. 43, &c.



was besides this a standing emulation between the See of *Alexandria* and that of *Constantinople*. Upon both accounts *Discorus*, in this council (which has the opprobrious title of the *felonious council*<sup>d</sup>) did openly espouse the cause of *Eutyches*, and proceeded with such partiality and violence, as even to compel the assessors, under the awe of a military force, not only to absolve him, upon his presenting the *Nicene Creed*, and persisting in the same professions he had made at *Constantinople*, but even to depose *Flavian* from his Patriarchal See, who died soon after of the injuries he had received<sup>e</sup>.

He had appeal'd however to a general council both of the *Eastern* and the *Western* Bishops<sup>f</sup>: and tho' all the applications which were made to *Theodosius*, could not prevail with him to consent to such a council, or to disapprove of that which had been done at *Ephesus*<sup>g</sup>, yet upon his death, which happen'd quickly afterwards, *Valentinian* the surviving Emperor of the *West*, and *Marcian* who succeeded in the

450.

<sup>d</sup> Σύνοδος ληστρική. Concilium latrocinale.

<sup>e</sup> Prater Act. hujusce synodi Ephesin. in Act. 1. Conc. Chalced. recitat. vid. Evagr. H. E. l. 1. c. 10.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Dupin, p. 227.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. de hac re varias ad Theodos. epistolas, cum ejusdem responsionibus in prima parte Concil. Chalced. num. 19, &c.

SERM. VI. *East*, concurr'd in the appointment of a general council, which assembled at *Chalcedon*<sup>h</sup>.

451.

There all that had been done, both at *Constantinople* and at *Ephesus*, was carefully review'd. It was discreetly observ'd that *Eutyches*, by proposing his creed in the terms of the first general council, which was held long before the rise of the *Apolinarian* heresy, had craftily evaded that explication which was made by the second general council, upon the article of our Saviour's *incarnation*<sup>i</sup>. In the first it was express'd in few words, that he *came down, and was incarnate, and was made man*, which however liable to be perverted by an heretical subtlety, not then foreseen, had yet the very same<sup>k</sup> meaning, which was afterwards more fully express'd by the *Constantinopolitan* Fathers, that *he came down from heaven, and was incarnate by*

<sup>h</sup> Vid. *varias hac de re epist. in Concil. Chalced. par. 1. num. 33. &c.*

<sup>i</sup> Δολιγῶς προσέταξε τὴν ἐν νικαῖα τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων σύνοδον---- Ἀπολλινάριου ἢ δέχεται τὴν ἐν νικαῖα ἁγίαν σύνοδον, κατὰ τὴν δικεῖαν παρανομίαν ἐκλαμψάνων τὸ ρητόν—— οἱ ἢ ἅγιοι πατέρες οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸ ἐσαρκῶθαι ὃ εἶπον οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν νικαῖα πατέρες, ἐσαφῆσαν ἕποντες ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. Conc. Chal. Act. 1. p. 57.

<sup>k</sup> Τέτοις καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπεισὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἐνοούτας τὸ σαρκωθῆναι ἢ ἐνανθρωπήσαι δηλοῦ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον. κ. τ. λ. Cyril. Alex. Epist. ad Nestor. recitat. in Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. p. 60.

the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man; in opposition to the doctrine of the *Apollinarians*<sup>1</sup>, who pretended that he brought his *body* from heaven, and did not first *come down* in order assume it of the *substance* of the blessed Virgin<sup>m</sup>. In vain then did *Eutyches* alledge the first and third councils, whilst he skipt over the second; which however it might satisfy the *Egyptians*, who disclaimed any additions to the *Nicene* confession<sup>n</sup>, yet the majority of the council would not be satisfied, unless that were receiv'd with the explications of the council of *Constantinople*. He had indeed confess'd that Christ's *body* was not brought from *heaven*, but he cared not to be explicit in declaring whence it was<sup>o</sup>; and altho' when he was urged and interrogated closely, he might pretend (as we have seen) to own that Christ derived his *substance* from his Mother, yet that look'd more like an extorted declaration than his genuine sentiment, since he still disown'd Christ's body to be of the same kind or substance with ours.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐδέξατο ἡ προδήκας παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, διὰ τὴν ἕνοιαν τὴν κακὴν Ἀπολλινारीσ. κ. τ. λ. p. 57.

<sup>m</sup> See the foregoing sermon, p. 252, 254.

<sup>n</sup> Ὁι Ἀιγύπτιοι, ἔ οι σὺν αὐτοῖς εὐλαβείσασιν ἐπίσκοποι, ἐξεδήσαν ἕδεις δέχεται προδήκω, ἕδεις μείωσιν. Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. p. 57. See the foregoing Sermon, p. 267.

<sup>o</sup> Concil. Chalced. p. 58.

So that upon the whole, the council thought it proper, as well to confirm the deposition of *Eutyches*, as moreover to depose *Dioscorus* and the principal of his adherents, to anathematize the heresies that had been anathematized by the three former general councils, and to ratify the same doctrine which they had already declared; not only the creed as stated first at *Nice*, and afterwards enlarged at *Constantinople*, but likewise the *anathematisms* and explications of *St. Cyril*, approv'd of by the council of *Ephesus*, more particularly his synodical epistles to *Nestorius* and to the *Eastern* Bishops; and withal to subjoin a more express declaration against the doctrine of *Eutyches* as well as *Nestorius*, by subscribing to Pope *Leo's* late synodical epistle to *Flavian*, and annexing to all this ample paraphrase upon the doctrine of the incarnation<sup>p</sup>, that *we confess one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead, and the same perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man, the same consisting of a reasonable soul and body, consubstantial with the Father as touching the Godhead, and the same consubstantial with us as touching the manhood, in all things like unto us without sin: begotten of the Father, as to his Divinity, before the worlds,*

<sup>p</sup> Concil. Chalced. Act. 1.—5. vid. & Evagr. H. E. l. 2. c. 4, 18.

but the same in the last days born according to his humanity, of Mary the Virgin and Mother of God, for us and for our salvation: one and the same Jesus Christ, the Son, the Lord, the only Begotten, acknowledged in two natures, without mixture, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably (the difference of natures being in no wise destroy'd by this union, but rather the propriety of each nature preserved, and concurring in one person or hypostasis) not as parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same only begotten Son, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ, as both the former Prophets have taught concerning him, and Christ has taught us himself, and the Creed of the Fathers has deliver'd to us.

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Such was the result of the fourth general council assembled at *Chalcedon*. And now the Church seeming to have conquer'd every possible heresy that could be formed with relation to the *Trinity* or *Incarnation*, the terms of this controversy admitted but little variation afterwards, and the confessions which were drawn up in several parts of the Church, were form'd upon the foot of those which were already establish'd. Mean while it may be worth our observing, that these councils made no addition to the faith, nor assumed any authority

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thority to coin new doctrines, but only to express more fully what had always been believed, as new heresies arose which required more explicit declarations. At first it might suffice to make such a general profession of christian faith at baptism, as might testify, in the candidates for baptism, their sincere renunciation of *Pagan* idolatry or *Jewish* superstition, and their embracing the doctrine of the Gospel. But when this profession was it self abused to cover impious heresies, particularly with relation to the Son of God, the second person confessed at baptism, it then became necessary to explain themselves more fully, and shew that they did not acknowledge Christ in the sense of the hereticks, but according to the catholick doctrine and exposition of the Church.

From hence it came to pass that the creeds of the *Eastern* Churches, where such heresies abounded most, were larger upon that head than the *Roman* and other *Western* creeds, which had less occasion to insert such explications. Yet even they were not sufficient to guard against the *Arian* subtleties; and therefore the council of *Nice* inserted a few words, not then newly invented, but taken from catholick and ancient authors, for the better securing of the ancient faith. The *Nicene* creed concluding with the article of the Holy Ghost, and then subjoining its *anathemas*,



is a sufficient argument that it was not meant to set aside the other creeds, but only to explain them with relation to the doctrine of the *Trinity*, or to speak more strictly, the Divinity of Christ. Accordingly the several Churches after this retained their former creeds, (as appears from the creed of *Jerusalem* explained by St. *Cyril*, and the *Western* creeds in general,) and only understood their sense to be more fully explain'd by the council of *Nice* upon the article of the Son's Divinity. But when *Arianism* was still found to spread and encrease, it seems as if those *Eastern* Churches which remain'd uncorrupt, did insert the *Nicene* explications into their creeds respectively, from whence the *Constantinopolitan* fathers speak of the *Nicene* creed, not only as the *most ancient*, (being but a fuller declaration of the sense of the *Eastern* creeds, in respect of the *Trinity*) but likewise as *accommodated* to the office of *baptism*, which must argue it not to be used by it self (for then the articles after the *Holy Ghost* would be omitted) but rather incorporated with the baptismal creed, by having its explications (as was said) inserted in their proper place 9.

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9 Ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν νικαῖᾳ ——— κυρωθείσης ——— ἐν μολίς ποτὲ πρεσβυτάτῃ τε ἔσαν, καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῷ βαπτίσματι. — Epist. Synodic. Concil. OEcumen. Constantinop. apud Theodorit. H. E. l. 5. c. 9. vid. Annot. Valesii.



The *Macedonian* and *Apollinarian* heresy gave occasion afterwards to more enlargement, and there were two other forms drawn up in the time of *Epiphanius*, and prescribed by the Church to *catechumens*, for a surer guard against the subtleties of both<sup>r</sup>. As these creeds were still but explanatory of the ancient doctrine, and the first of them which is the more concise<sup>s</sup>, excepting what was inserted in opposition to these new heresies, was nearly express'd in the same terms with the *Nicene*, he made no scruple to mention *it* as the *Nicene*, and even *Apostolical*<sup>t</sup>. From hence the council of *Constantinople* took their creed, which therefore in like manner is generally term'd the *Nicene*, and having in it those other articles after the *Holy Ghost* which the council of *Nice* omitted, it seems to have obtained in many Churches, tho' not in all, and is alledged as the common baptismal creed, not only by *Basiliscus*<sup>u</sup>

476.

<sup>r</sup> Epiphani. in Ancorat. §. 120, 121.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. §. 120.

<sup>t</sup> Καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ πίστις παρεδόθη ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως, ἀπὸ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων ὑπὲρ τριακοσίων δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν. Ibid. Similiter Petrus Mongus καὶ Acacium apud Evagr. l. 3. c. 17.

<sup>u</sup> --- Τὸ σύμβολον τῶν τῆς ἁγίας πατέρων τῶν ἐν νικαίᾳ πόλεως μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκκλησιασθέντων, εἰς ὃ ἡμεῖς τε καὶ πάντες ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν πιστεύσαντες, ἐσαπείσημε. Basiliscus in Epist. Encycl. apud Evagr. l. 3. c. 4.



and Zeno<sup>w</sup> in the fifth century, but by the following councils of Tyre<sup>x</sup>, Jerusalem<sup>y</sup>, and Constantinople<sup>z</sup>. It was about the conclusion of the fifth century that it began to be received into the daily offices of the Church. The first example was set by the *Eutychians*, who pretending to adhere to the *Nicene* creed without the additions at *Constantinople*, did first introduce it both in the Patriarchal See of *Antioch*<sup>a</sup>, and then in *Constantinople* itself<sup>b</sup>. From hence the practice seems to have spread it self throughout the *Eastern* Churches, the *Catholicks* reciting it with the *Constantinopolitan* insertions, as the *Eutychians* did without them: in imitation of which, about an hundred years after the like publick use of the *Constantinopolitan* creed was prescribed in the *West*

circa  
490.

589.

<sup>w</sup> --- Συμβόλις τῶν τῆ ἀγίας πατέραν, ὅπερ ἐθεόλογασαν οἱ μνημονεύοντες ῥ' ἅγιοι πατέρες — καὶ πάσας ἡ οἱ λαοὶ τοῦ σωτηριάδος ἀξιόμοροι φωτισματῶ, αὐτὸ καὶ μόνον παραλαμβάνοντες βαπτίζονται. Zenonis henotic. apud Evagr. l. 3. c. 14.

<sup>x</sup> Ἐν αὐτῷ [Symbolo Niceno] βαπτισθέντες καὶ βαπτίζοντες. Epist. Synodic. Concil. Tyrii in Act. 5. Concil. Constant. sub Agapet. & Menna. p. 738. Bin.

<sup>y</sup> Τῶν ἐν νικαία — ἐκτεμένων τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον, εἰς ὃ εὐαγγελιστῶν ἐ βαπτίζομεν. Epist. Synodic. Concil. Hieros. ibid. p. 735.

<sup>z</sup> Similia habentur in Epist. Synod. Concil. Constantinop. eodem anno. Ibid. p. 726.

<sup>a</sup> 'Tis said of Petrus Fullo, the Eutychian Bishop of Antioch, that he order'd ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι. Theodor. Lector. lib. 2. p. 566.

<sup>b</sup> By Timothy an Eutychian likewise, p. 563.

by

SERM. VI. by the council of *Toledo*<sup>c</sup>, tho' it seems not to have obtained at *Rome* it self till a considerable time afterwards<sup>d</sup>.

The rise of the *Nestorian* and *Eutybian* heresies had made it necessary for the general councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon* to be more explicit upon the doctrine of the *incarnation*, in which they were imitated by most of the confessions that were afterwards drawn up, tho' I do not find that their explications were ever inserted in the publick offices.

It is easy to observe from this short view of the case, how the subtleties of heresy have occasion'd some variation in the stile of the Church, without altering her doctrines; and if our adversaries can see ground for any part of such variation, with respect to the *Nestorians* and *Eutybians*, they must excuse us, if we judge it to be no less reasonable, with respect to the *Arians* and *Pneumatomachi*.

After the council of *Chalcedon*, the several parties continued to pursue the schemes they had espoused; and some who did not think fit to reject the council absolutely, yet took the liberty to express some dissent from it as to three arti-

<sup>c</sup> Conc. Toled. 3. can. 2. in caranz. p. 360. Edit. Duac. 1679.

<sup>d</sup> Le Quien. Panopl. sæc. 11. c. 4. §. 22.



cles, called the *three chapters*; which became the ground of grievous contentions, especially in the reign of *Justinian*, who very plainly countenanced those who condemn'd the *three chapters*, and persecuted with great violence those that defended 'em<sup>e</sup>. To this day the *Eastern* sects are chiefly reducible to three, in proportion to that threefold division which was then in the Church. And accordingly they have had their distinct Patriarchs<sup>f</sup>, the Catholics for the most part in all the ancient Churches<sup>g</sup>, the *Nestorians* at *Muzal* in *Mesopotamia*<sup>h</sup>, which probably supplies the place of the ancient See of *Antioch*; and the *Eutychians* sometimes in all, but more constantly at *Alexandria*<sup>i</sup>. Tho' which side should have the actual possession, depended in good measure upon the disposition of the Emperor, and other incidental circumstances. The Catholics were they

<sup>e</sup> Victor. Tunun. ad Calc. Euseb. Chron. Edit. Scalig. p. 10, &c. vid. & Cave H. L. in conspect. sæc. 6.

<sup>f</sup> See Dr. Smith's Account of the Greek Church, pag. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Only it should be observed, that for some ages the Patriarchal See has been removed from Antioch to Damascus, still retaining the old style of Patriarch of Antioch. Brerewood, chap. 16. Smith, p. 5.

<sup>h</sup> See Brerewood's Enquiries touching the diversity of Languages and Religions. c. 19.

<sup>i</sup> See Brerewood, chap. 21, 22, 23. only in the later ages it is to be observed that their Alexandrian Patriarch has used to reside at Grand Cairo, and the Antiochian in Mesopotamia.

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As the cause of *Nestorius* had been chiefly favour'd by those who were subject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, 'tis likely his heresy might have pretty much footing in those parts, from whence it spread farther *Eastward*, in the seventh century, by the countenance (as is conjectured) of *Cosroes* King of *Persia*, who strove to promote this sect among the Christians, out of mere opposition to the Emperor *Heraclius*, who was engaged in the *Eutychiean* interest<sup>l</sup>.

The *Cophiti* or *Egyptians*, on the other hand, and the *Ethiopian*s or *Abyssenes*, besides several monasteries as well as some other persons of figure throughout the *East*, had express'd such an hearty aversion for *Nestorianism*, that they declined into the

<sup>k</sup> From the Hebrew מלך, or the Syriac ܩܘܪܝܢܐ, which signifies a King; (vid. Niceph. H. E. l. 18. c. 52. Brerewood's Diversity of Religions, ch. 16. Hottinger. Hist. Orient. l. 2. c. 2.) or more immediately from the Arabic word الملوك secta Regia. vid. Golij Lexicon.

<sup>l</sup> Paulus Diaconus Histor. Miscel. l. 18. quoted by Brerewood, cap. 19.

other extreme; and tho' some of 'em made no scruple to condemn the person of *Eutyches*, yet withal they rejected the council of *Chalcedon*, and espoused the cause of *Dioscorus*, so that they are all looked upon as persons of *Eutychian* principles<sup>m</sup>. At first they were called *Monophysitæ*, from their doctrine of one nature only<sup>n</sup>; and *Acephali*, from their being destitute of any Head or Patriarch<sup>o</sup>; nay, it is said by *Nicephorus*, without any Bishops to preside over them, which is meant of them more peculiarly who stood out against the comprehensive scheme of the Emperors *Zeno* and *Anastasius*, who were neither for approving nor condemning the council of *Chalcedon*<sup>p</sup>. But in the sixth century, as their numbers were greatly increased under the favour of some succeeding Emperors, so the wantonness of their heresy took various turns<sup>q</sup>, which gave ground to various other appellations<sup>r</sup>.

Sometimes, in consideration that Christ suffer'd on the cross, their doctrine of the

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Evagr. H. E. lib. 3. Brerewood, c. 21, &c.

<sup>n</sup> Niceph. Callist. H. E. l. 18. c. 45. vid. & Suicer. in voce *Μονοφυσίται*.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Niceph. ibid. & Suicer. in voce *Ἀκεφαλοι*.

<sup>p</sup> Evagr. H. E. l. 2. c. 14, 20, 22, 30. & Niceph. l. 18. c. 45.

<sup>q</sup> *Ἴν' ἑνὶ δωδεκίμῳ ἑκταῖς διελθὺν ἔσονται, ἐξ ὧν πολλὰ μιλία ἡρῆσεων πύλλυραντ.* Niceph. l. 18. c. 45.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Cave Hist. lit. in conspectu secul. 6.

SERM. VI. *unity* of nature led them to maintain that the *Deity* it self is *passible*; which is downright *Apollinarianism*; and from thence they had the name of *Theopaschites*<sup>f</sup>. And this was carried to such extravagance as to insert a clause in the hymn called *Trisagium*<sup>t</sup>, which seem'd to imply either that the whole *Trinity* had suffer'd, or at least the *Holy Ghost* together with the *Son*, or else that he who suffer'd was a fourth person distinct from either of the three. The two last of these absurdities were particularly urged by Pope *Felix*, who earnestly inveighed against that innovation, as destroying the doctrine of *consubstantiality*, and by consequence introducing a plurality of Gods, since that which is mortal, and that which is immortal, could never be esteem'd *consubstantial*<sup>u</sup>. At other times being convinced that the *Godhead* cannot suffer, the same doctrine of *unity* led them to deny that even the *humanity* of Christ endured any pain, or was subject to the common infirmities of *human na-*

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Suicer. in voce Θεοπάσχισται.

<sup>t</sup> Ἀγίου ὁ Θεός, ἁγίου ἰσχυρός, ἁγίου ἀθάνατος. To this some Eutychians subjoin'd, ὁ σωπασθὲς δι' ἡμᾶς, particularly Petrus Fullo of Antioch. Niceph. Calist. l. 15. c. 28. & l. 18. c. 51. If this be referr'd to all the three, it seems to mix Sabellianism with the Eutychian scheme. But otherwise it infers Polytheism.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Papa Felicis Epist. Monitor. ad Petrum Fullonem Antiochenf. primum hujusce additamenti Authorem. in Caranza sum. Concil. p. 305.


ture; which came near to the ancient heresy of the *Simonians*, that his body was merely *phantastick* and imaginary; and from thence they had the name of *Aphthartodocetæ*<sup>w</sup>. They who held the opposite opinion, that his body was subject to infirmity, were therefore called *corrupticolæ*<sup>x</sup>; and some of them carried the point so high as to maintain<sup>y</sup> that, in consequence of that change or mixture which they taught, the *divine Word* it self had lost its omniscience; and from thence they had the name of *Agnoetæ*<sup>z</sup>. *Joannes Philoponus* was an eminent philosopher of the sixth and seventh centuries: he fell into *Eutychianism* upon this false principle that *nature* and *hypostasis* have but one *idea*; and when the Catholics argued against him from the instance of the *Trinity*, where there are three *hypostases* in one nature or *essence*, rather than quit his former heresy, he advanced a new one, that the three *divine persons* are three *natures* or *substances*, being no otherwise than specifically one; from whence he and his followers

<sup>w</sup> Niceph. l. 17. c. 29. l. 18. c. 45. Eavagr. l. 4. c. 39. Suicer. in voce Αφθαρτοδοκῆται.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Cave Hist. lit. ad an. 535.

<sup>y</sup> Victor. Tunun: Apione 5 Cos. p. 8, 9.

<sup>z</sup> Cave ibid. Suicer. in voce Αγνοῦται. Danæus in August. de hæres. cap. 93.

SERM. VI.  have the name of *Tritheists*<sup>a</sup>. Lastly, the controversy was put upon this issue, whether the properties of the two *natures* were not so confounded, as that Christ had but one *will* remaining in him? The *Eutychians* in general asserted it; from whence they had the name of *Monothelites*<sup>b</sup>: and this was the prevailing heresy of the seventh century, when not only the Emperor *Heraclius*, but Pope *Honorius* himself declined into it<sup>c</sup>. And to what other extravagances might they not have run, if God, in his just judgment against the manifold impieties of those who called themselves Christians, had not suffered the followers of *Mahomet* to meet with most prodigious successes, to the great diminution, and since that to the utter overthrow, of the *Eastern* Empire, and the grievous oppression of those who had so wantonly abused their former prosperity<sup>d</sup>.

But since I am upon this subject, I ought not to omit, that as these appellations were taken from the nature of the doctrine *they* profess'd, so there were some others taken from the names of those who

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Cave *ad an.* 601. Suicer. *in voce* τριθεΐτας. Niceph. l. 18. c. 46, 47.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Suicer. *in voce* θελήματα. n. II. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Cave *in conspectu* secul. 7. & *ad an.* 626.

<sup>d</sup> See Brerewood, ch. 25. *versus* finem.



were the chief asserters and propagaters of it. The *Aphthartodocetæ* were term'd *Julianists*, from *Julian* Bishop of *Halicanassus*, a chief leader of their sect<sup>e</sup>; as on the other hand, the *Corrupticolæ* were termed *Severians*, from *Severus* of *Antioch*<sup>f</sup>; and *Theodosians* from *Theodosius* of *Alexandria*<sup>g</sup>. But the most prevailing name for the whole body of *Eutyrians*, and which sticks by 'em to this day, is that of *Jacobites*, from one *Jacob* or *James* a *Syrian* by birth<sup>h</sup>, and as some relate<sup>i</sup> a disciple of *Severus*.

'Tis possible that some weak persons among them might conceive a catholick meaning under an inaccurate and uncatholick phrase; their doctrine might be found, whilst they discover'd want of judgment and right apprehension in their manner of expressing it. This at least has been alledg'd in behalf of the present remains of them in some parts, who profess indeed to acknowledge but *one nature* in Christ, to adhere to *Dioscorus*, and reject the council of *Chalcedon*; but then at the

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<sup>e</sup> Niceph. H. E. l. 18. c. 45. Victor. Tunun. Apion<sup>g</sup> Col. p. 8. Edit. Scalig.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Cave in conspectu secul. 6. & ad an. 513.

<sup>g</sup> Cave ad an. 535.

<sup>h</sup> Niceph. H. E. l. 18. c. 52. See also Brerewood, ch. 21.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Hottinger. Histor. Oriental. lib. 2. cap. 2.

SERM. VI.



same time they reject *Eutyches* too, they confess the properties of the *Divinity* and the *humanity* to remain perfectly distinct, altho' after union they make but *one nature*<sup>k</sup>. So that they seem to take the word *nature* in a sense different from us; and had *Eutyches* of old confess'd such a distinction of properties, I persuade myself he had not incur'd the censures of the council of *Chalcedon*.

It may now be time to take our leave of the *East*, where there has been little heard of *Arianism*, from the time of *Theodosius* the great. But it ought to be remember'd, that the *Gothic* nation, which had been tainted with that heresy in the reign of *Valens*<sup>l</sup>, had some troops employ'd, after the division of the empire between the sons of *Theodosius*, to support the private interests and ambition of their respective favourites<sup>m</sup>. This threaten'd at first a revival of *Arianism* at *Constantinople*; and when, after many ravages committed, the *Gothick* army residing in those parts was entirely defeated<sup>n</sup>, the next attempt of those that remain'd under the command of *Ala-*

<sup>k</sup> See Brerewood, ch. 21, 22, 24, 25. in fin. vid. & Ludolfi Hist. Æthiop. l. 3. c. 8. confer. & ejusdem commentar. n. 88, &c.

<sup>l</sup> See the foregoing sermon, p. 269, 270.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Zosim. Hist. lib. 5. pag. 292. Edit. Oxon.


<sup>n</sup> P. 322.

rick was made upon the *Western* empire<sup>n</sup>. Whereupon it would be tedious to recount the various entercourses of the *Romans* with the *Goths* and other barbarous nations, whether in *Spain*, in *Italy* or *Gaul*, and with what various success they were dispatch'd, sometimes in alliance, and other times at variance; sometimes defeated, and at other times victorious. The particulars of these affairs will be better learnt from larger histories; whilst we attend only to such circumstances as may instruct us in the turns and revolutions of the *Arian* controversy.

There was an army in *Africk*, under the command of *Boniface*, which consisted both of *Roman* and of *Gothick* soldiers. The General himself was a man of catholic principles, and virtuous conduct, and, as appears by the letters of St. *Augustine*, honour'd with the intimate friendship of that catholic Bishop. But the *Gothick* part of his army being *Arians*, he could not be without some of the *Arian* Clergy to attend him, and particularly their Bishop *Maximin*, whose disputes with St. *Augustine*, in relation to the *Trinity*, gave occa-

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<sup>n</sup> There was some attempt before this made by the Empress *Justina* Mother of *Valentinian II.* But as it was hinder'd, by the care and vigilance of St. *Ambrose*, from having any considerable effect, at least from producing any alteration in the *Western* establishment, I have omitted the mention of it in this place.

SERM. VI.  sion to some of his valuable writings upon that subject.

But the *African* Church had a severer trial yet to undergo: The *Vandals*, who soon after the beginning of the fifth century<sup>o</sup> had, in conjunction with the *Sueves* and  
 409. *Alains*, possess'd themselves of *Spain*, and distress'd the Catholics of those parts, were, by the time that the *Nestorian* heresy  
 430. grew considerable in the *East*, become masters of great part of *Africa*<sup>p</sup>; invited  
 427. thither by *Boniface* himself, in whom his crafty rival at *Rome* had created an unreasonable jealousy, which put him upon courting a most fatal alliance with these Barbarians<sup>q</sup>. There were many of the *Alains* mixed among them, but they were all generally included in the name of *Vandals*<sup>r</sup>. And though King *Giseric*, who is reckon'd an apostate to *Arianism*<sup>s</sup>, for some time did not, in consequence of his truce with the *Romans*, attempt to obtrude any innovations on such of the Catholics

<sup>o</sup> Idat. Chron. Olymp. 297. p. 21.

<sup>p</sup> For the particulars of the African persecution, which are here but summarily related, see Victor. Vitenf. de perfec. Vandal. Procop. Vandalor. Hist. lib. 1. Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. l. 2. cap. 2, 3. Maimbourg Histoire de l'Arianisme l. 9. Ruinart. Hist. perfec. Vandal. præter Evagrium in hist. Eccles. l. 6.

<sup>q</sup> Procop. Hist. Vand. l. 1. p. 11. Ed. Grot.

<sup>r</sup> P. 18.

<sup>s</sup> Gesericus— ex Catholico effectus Apostata in Arrianam primus fertur transisse perfidiam. Isidor. Chron. p. 733. Edit. Grot. vid. & Idat. Chron. Olymp. 301. p. 22. ad Calc. Euseb. Chron.



as were under their protection; yet when he found himself settled in this new province, he endeavour'd, by confiscation and banishment, and all sorts of violence, to promote the cause of *Arianism*, and dispossessing those *African* Bishops who maintain'd the catholick faith within his territories, to fill their Sees with such as should oppose it. Which mischief extended yet farther, when *Giseric*, by surprizing *Carthage*<sup>t</sup>, and breaking faith with the *Romans*, had broke thro' the only restraint of his cruelty, that he might carry on the persecution with greater violence, and thro' a wider compass.

437.

439.

Not only the Clergy, but the people of *Africk*, made a noble stand in this day of adversity. But the troubles increased rather than abated: the *Vandal* King extended his conquest, and with that his persecution, to *Sicily*; 'till the Emperor *Valentinian* despairing of the recovery of *Carthage*, consented to a new peace, in which he agreed to divide the *African* provinces between himself and *Giseric*<sup>u</sup>. Thus again a part of *Africk* was rescued, whilst the rest continued to groan under the *Vandal* tyranny<sup>w</sup>. And tho' *Giseric* did, at the instance of the Emperor *Valentinian*, allow a catholick Bishop to reside at *Carthage*<sup>x</sup>,

440.

442.

454.

<sup>t</sup> Ruinart. Hist. Perf. Vand. par. 2. c. 5.

<sup>u</sup> C. 6. §. 1. — 4.

<sup>w</sup> §. 5.

<sup>x</sup> C. 6. §. 6.

- SERM. VI. yet the death of that Emperor, which followed in the same year, gave him a plausible handle for sacking *Rome* it self, in order to take vengeance of his murderers<sup>y</sup>.
- 455.
457. After which the death of the new Bishop of *Carthage*, and the visible declension of the *Western* empire, gave him such fresh courage in his barbarous pursuits, that instead of allowing any other Bishop to be chosen at *Carthage*, he carried on a most grievous persecution against the Catholics, not throughout *Africa* alone, but many other of the *Roman* provinces<sup>z</sup>: and notwithstanding the book which one of the *Moorish* Bishops had presented to him in defense of the faith, he still went on to increase the noble army of Martyrs, till, after a long and bloody reign, his life and his cruelties had one period; and he was
477. succeeded in the government of *Africk* by his son *Hunneric*.

His reign at first was mild and gentle, when allowing the Catholics to elect *Eugenius* to the Bishoprick of *Carthage*<sup>a</sup>, he

481. left them likewise at liberty to assemble in their churches publickly without disturbance. But the *Arians* immediately suggested to him the necessity of altering his measures<sup>b</sup>, and prevail'd with him not only

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<sup>y</sup> §. 8.

<sup>z</sup> §. 13.

: C. 7. §. 1.

<sup>a</sup> C. 7. §. 10, 12.


to retract the present favour and indulgence, but even to break out against the Catholicks with greater fury, than the Church had ever felt from any of its heathen persecutors.

The better to countenance his cruelties, there was a conference appointed to be held at *Carthage*, in which the Catholick Bishops should be obliged to give proof of their doctrine from the holy Scriptures. There was little good to be expected by conferring with persons so profoundly ignorant as the *Arian Vandals*, and that under the awe of a military force, and the terror of all kinds of cruelties. The Catholicks however appear'd, to the number of more than four hundred and sixty Bishops, with *Eugenius* at their head<sup>c</sup>; and tho' they saw their adversaries, instead of parties, were set up for judges, yet they presented an orthodox confession of their faith, with a particular view to the *consubstantiality*, and those invincible arguments by which it is supported. Instead of answers, they were receiv'd with noise and tumult, and *Hunneric* being easy to receive the representations of the *Arians*<sup>d</sup>, who charged the Catholicks with that tu-

484.

<sup>c</sup> Concil. Labbe tom. 4. col. 1141————8. ad an. 484. Ruinart. Hist. Persec. Vandal. p. 123, &c.

<sup>d</sup> See Hunneric's Decree in Labbe Col. 1138, &c.

SERM. VI.  multuous conduct of which themselves were guilty, made that the handle for carrying on his persecution with the greater violence, and either by exile, slavery or death, distressing them who had the courage to hold fast their integrity; amounting to well nigh four hundred Bishops; or about four thousand in the whole, taking in the clergy and laity of all degrees<sup>e</sup>.

The stupidity of these Barbarians made them little capable of conviction from any arguments that might be drawn either from Scripture or antiquity. And therefore God was pleased to work divers miracles, as well for the conviction of such as were not harden'd beyond all remedy, as for the greater support of his faithful servants under that severe trial to which they were exposed. Among the rest, there is none more considerable, than that of the clergy and inhabitants of *Typasa* in *Mauritania*; who when they could not be pre-

<sup>e</sup> Catholicos jam non solum sacerdotes, & euncti ordinis Clericos, sed & Monachos atque Laicos quatuor circiter millia exiliis durioribus relegat, & Confessores ac Martyres facit, Victor. Tunun. Chron. p. 4. ad calc. Euseb. Edit. Scalig.

Nam exulatis, diffugatisque plusquam 334 orthodoxorum episcoporum, ecclesiis eorum clausis plebs fidelium variis subacta suppliciis, beatum consummavit agonem. Marcel. Com. Chron. p. 45. Theod. & Venant. Coss. *But according to Sirmundus's account in Labbe, there were three hundred and seventy eight Bishops thus reckon'd, Corsica relegati 46. Hic relegati 302. Fugerunt 28. Passus 1, Confessor 1. vid. & Ruinart.*



vail'd with to profess *Arianism*, and be re-baptized, (as was the common practice of the *Arians* at that time,) but continued to celebrate the praises of Christ as *consubstantial* with the Father, had their tongues cut to the roots by the command of *Huneric*; and then, by a surprizing instance of God's good Providence, they were enabled to speak articulately and distinctly without their tongues, and so continuing to make open profession of the same doctrine, they became not only the preachers, but living witnesses of its truth.

I am not insensible that miracles have often been pretended in these latter ages, which may be justly called in question, as being both obscurely performed, and insufficiently attested. But this is related with such publick circumstances, and attested by such competent witnesses, that I see not how we can discredit it without shaking the whole faith of history, and rejecting all accounts of miracles besides the scriptural<sup>f</sup>. It was not the case of any single person, but a great number of the inhabitants<sup>g</sup> of a city well known in *Mauritania*.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Ruinat. Hist. Persec. Vandal. p. 370. & Baron. Annal. Eccles. ad an. Chr. 484.

<sup>g</sup> In Typasensi—Mauritaniæ majoris civitate—Dum sæ Civitati Arrianum Episcopum ex Notario Cyrillam ad perdendas animas ordinatum vidissent: omnis simul civitas, &c. — congregatâ illuc omni provinciâ. Victor. vitenf. de Persec. Vandal. l. 5. §. 6. ex Edit. Ruinat.

SERM. VI. It was not the wonder of a day or two, but this faculty of speech continued to the end of their lives, excepting only two persons of their whole number<sup>h</sup>, who, for the immorality of their practices, were punished by Divine Providence with the loss of that extraordinary favour, which had been bestowed on them for the orthodoxy of their faith<sup>i</sup>. It was not an obscure matter uncertainly reported from a corner of *Africk*, but many of these Confessors travell'd to *Constantinople* it self, where their case was examined by such as knew the world, and whose testimony leaves no ground for suspecting an imposture<sup>k</sup>.

*Procopius* of *Cæsarea*, who lived in their time, and was himself a Senator of *Constantinople*, speaks of it as a matter that was publick and well known in that place, and has left us his account of the fact under his own hand<sup>l</sup>. So likewise has *Aneas* of *Gaza*, who relates in his Dialogue, under the person of *Axithus*, with what curiosity he had examined into the truth of this strange fact, and open'd

<sup>h</sup> Gregory the Great mentions but one.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Evagr. H. E. l. 4. c. 14. Procop. p. 24.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Πολλῶν ἢ καὶ τῆς γλώσσης ἀπέτερον ἀπ' αὐτῆς φέρουγγον· οὐ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ περιόντες ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐχρῶντο ἀκραιφνῆ τῇ φωνῇ. Procop. Hist. Vandal. l. 1. c. 8. Edit. Par. 1662. tom. 1. p. 196. at in Edit. Latin. Grotian. p. 24.

their very mouths to make his observations with the more exactness<sup>m</sup>. They were seen there by *Justinian*, who was afterwards Emperor, and gave account how he had heard from themselves a relation of their own sufferings<sup>n</sup>. And *Marcellinus Comes*, who was *Justinian's* Chancellor, has left it likewise under his hand; that he saw 'em there himself, and has added this considerable circumstance, that one of the confessors treated in this manner had all his life time been dumb, until the execution of this barbarity<sup>o</sup>. Besides all which, we have *Victor Vitenfis*, an *African* Bishop and Confessor of those times, not only relating it as certain fact; but referring any one that doubted of it to *Constantinople*, where one of them was still living, and held in great reverence by the

<sup>m</sup> Æn. Gaz. de immortal. animæ in magna Biblioth. Patr. tom. 5. p. 640. Col. Agr. 1618.

<sup>n</sup> Justinian Cod. tit. 27. l. 1. Archelao Præfect. Prætor. Afric. Evagrius Scholasticus (H. E. l. 4. c. 14.) & Nicephorus Callisthus (l. 17. c. 11.) have by mistake ascribed this Constitution to the Emperor Justin.

<sup>o</sup> Nempe tunc idem vex Hunnericus, unius Catholici adolescentis, vitam a nativitate suâ sine ullo sermone ducentis, linguam præcepit excidi, idémque mutus quod sine humano auditu Christo credens fide didicerat, mox præcisâ sibi linguâ locutus est, gloriámque Deo in primo vocis suæ exordio dedit. Denique ex hoc fidelium contubernio aliquantos ego religiosissimos viros, præcisâ linguâ, manibus truncatis, apud Byzantium integrâ voce conspexi loquentes. Marcellin. Com. in Chron. Theodorico & venantio Coss. p. 45. Edit. Scaliger.

SERM. VI. whole court, and particularly by the Empress her self<sup>p</sup>. And so again *Victor Tununensis*, another *African* Bishop who lived soon after them, (as being both Bishop and Confessor in the reign of *Justinian*), alleges the testimony of the *royal city*, (i. e. *Constantinople*) where their bodies were interr'd<sup>q</sup>. Not to insist now on the authority of *Gregory the Great*, who had his account likewise from an ancient Bishop who had actually seen them<sup>r</sup>, and *Isidore* Archbishop of *Sevil*<sup>s</sup>, who was cotemporary with *Gregory*, and a person of too much learning and judgment to be deceived in so important a fact, which was not a century before him.

Though this miraculous event was not enough to soften the abandon'd *Hunneric*,

<sup>p</sup> —Linguas eis & manus dexteras radicitus abscidisset. Quod cum factum fuisset, Spiritu Sancto præstante, ita locuti sunt & loquuntur, quomodo antea loquebantur. Sed si quis incredulus esse voluerit, pergat nunc Constantinopolim, & ibi reperiet unum de illis, subdiaconum Reparatum, sermones politos sine ulla offensione loquentem: ob quam causam venerabilis nimium in palatio *Zenonis* Imperatoris habetur, & præcipuè Regina mirâ eum reverentiâ veneratur. *Vict. Vitenf.* l. 5. §. 6. Edit. *Ruinart.*

<sup>q</sup> —Quos confessores, quod linguis abscistis, perfecte finem adusque locuti sunt, urbs Regia atdestatur, ubi eorum corpora jacent. *Victor. Tunun. in Chron. Zenone Aug. Cos.* p. 4. Edit. *Scaliger. ad calcem Chron. Euseb. Amst. 1658.* vid. & pag. 12.

<sup>r</sup> *Greg. Mag. in dialog. l. 3. c. 32.*

<sup>s</sup> *Isidor. Hispal. Chron. p. 735. in Grotii Hist. Goth.*



yet his persecution soon after concluded with his life, when God was pleased to put an end to his days by such a loathsome disease as he has often chosen to take vengeance on the persecutors of his Church<sup>a</sup>. He was succeeded by his nephew *Gondamond*, who having been ill used by his uncle, is by some supposed, out of mere aversion, to have begun his reign with contrary measures, and recall'd the Catholics from banishment<sup>b</sup>. But however he might be a person of greater lenity than his predecessor, yet it can hardly be doubted, but that the *Arians* found means to carry on their persecution under him<sup>c</sup>. The third year of his reign was most probably the beginning of the relaxation<sup>d</sup>, when the great *Eugenius* of *Carthage* was actually recall'd from banishment. And then it was that some, who had yielded in the heat of persecution, and submitted to the *Arian* baptism, made their earnest application to be restored to the communion of the Church: which was thought but reasonable, by a synod held at *Rome*, under Pope *Felix*, upon their waiting such a

484.

487.


487.

<sup>a</sup> Victor. ut supr. Greg. Turon. Hist. l. 2. c. 3. Isidor. in Hist. Vandal. Chronic. p. 735. Edit. Grot.

<sup>b</sup> Isidor. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Procop. l. 1. p. 24. Ed. Grot.

<sup>d</sup> Ruinart. par. 2. c. 10. §. 4.

SERM. VI.  time of penance as might bear proportion to the different aggravations of their apostasy<sup>e</sup>. Yet still the Catholicks were not altogether free from the restraints of *Arian* tyranny. It seems not to have been till the tenth year of his reign, that he consented to a general restoration of their exiled Bishops, and opening of their Churches, at the humble request and instance of *Eugenius*.

494.

460.

467.

476.

Whilst this was the state of religion on the *African* side, it may be fit to take a short view of the affairs of *Europe*. The *Visigoth Arians*, who had been long in possession of a part of *Gaul*, did, after the expedition of the *Vandals* into *Africa*, extend their dominions thro' a part of *Spain*, and by their alliance with the *Suevish* colony settled in *Gallicia*, had seduced them to a profession of the same heresy<sup>f</sup>. Soon after this, in the reign of King *Euric*, the *Goths* enlarged their conquests, as well in *Spain* as in *Gaul*, to the great diminution of the *Suevish*, and the utter extinction of the small remains of *Roman* power in those parts<sup>g</sup>. The *Burgundians*, who in-

<sup>e</sup> See Pope Felix's Synodical Epistle in Binius, tom. 2. par. 1. p. 454. & in Labbe tom. 4. col. 1075. vid. & col. 1150.

<sup>f</sup> Marian. l. 5. c. 5. de rebus Hispan,

<sup>g</sup> Marian. ibid.


habited another part of *Gaul*, concurr'd with them in the profession of *Arianism*. And so did the *Heruli*, who, after the downfal of the *Roman* Empire, had made themselves masters of *Italy* under their King *Odoacer*. But their dominion had not long continued, when the *Arian Ostrogoths* wrested it out of their hands<sup>h</sup>, by that famous irruption which they made into *Italy*, under the command of the victorious *Theodoric*.

But in all these places, there was no such persecution raised against the Catholics as we have seen in *Africa*; except perhaps within the *Suevish* territories<sup>i</sup>, and for a short time among the *Visigoths*, in the latter end of the reign of *Euric*, who persecuted with great violence about the space of three years<sup>k</sup>, banishing some Bishops, imprisoning others, and putting others to death, without allowing new ones to be substituted in their room: so that the churches became desolate, and the true religion seemed in danger of being lost in those parts, for want of persons to administer in sacred offices. Excepting, I say, this *Gothic* persecution under *Euric*,

<sup>h</sup> Procop. Cæsar. de bel. Got. l. 1. p. 140. Edit. Grot.

<sup>i</sup> Marian. l. 5. c. 9.

<sup>k</sup> Sidon. Apol. l. 7. ep. 6. Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. l. 2. c. 25. Marian. l. 5. c. 5.

SERM. VI.  the Catholicks had, for ought appears, the use of the churches, and the liberty of celebrating divine worship according to the ancient rule. The Catholicks had their Bishops, and the *Arians* had theirs. Only it is certain that the countenance of the civil powers was on the side of heresy; so that *Arianism* might be term'd the reigning religion of the *West*, as *Eutychianism* was at the same time in the *East*, under the Emperor *Anastasius*. Our country of *Britain*, the mean while, was over-run with *Paganism*; and so was that part of *Gaul* which was inhabited by the *Franks*.

496. Whilst thus the whole christian world was subject either to hereticks or infidels, in some parts more heavily oppress'd, and in others indulg'd a little more liberty; at length there arose a light to the Church, in the midst of her obscurity, and some gleams of comfort darted in upon her, from a quarter from whence they might least have been expected. It was towards the conclusion of the fifth century, that *Clovis* King of the *Franks* or *French*, did with a great part of his people renounce the *Pagan* superstition, and embrace the faith of *Christianity*; the faith I mean in its true and catholick purity<sup>1</sup>, without the

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 31. Aimoin. de gest. Franc. l. 1. c. 16.





Corruptions of *Arians* or other hereticks, Which, happening at a time when all the other Princes in *Christendom* opposed the orthodox faith, did very probably give birth to that title of the *Most Christian King*, which has ever since been claim'd by his successors the Kings of *France*<sup>m</sup>.

About the same time the catholick doctrine gain'd some profelytes among the *Burgundians*, by means of a conference which had been held between the Catholick Bishops and the *Arians*, whilst King *Gondebald* himself could not entirely conceal his conviction, tho' for secular reasons he persisted to support *Arianism*<sup>n</sup>. But *Clovis*, who was then at war with the *Burgundians*, did soon after obtain such a conquest over 'em as put him in condition to give the catholick cause the countenance and sanction of a civil establishment. This was followed by another victory over *Alaric* and his *Visigoths* who were settled in *Gaul*<sup>o</sup>: And these victories obtain'd

499;

503;

507;

<sup>m</sup> Maignbourg. *Histoire de l' Arianisme*, livr. 10. p. 113, 114. See Selden's *Titles of Honour*, ch. 5. §. 3. *This is not the only ground assign'd, but I think it the most probable.*

<sup>n</sup> Collat. *Episc. cor. Rege Gundabal.* ex *Hist. Episc. Gall. Hieron. Vignerii Spicileg.* tom. 5. inter *Concil.* Edit. Par. 1671. Labbé & Cossart. tom. 4. col. 1318, &c. vid. & *Greg. Turon. Hist. Francor.* l. 2. c. 34.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. *Sigebert. Chron.* ad an. 509. *Greg. Turon.* l. 2. c. 37. *Aimoin.* l. 1. c. 20, 22.

SERM. VI. *by Clovis*, were afterwards compleated by his sons. From henceforth the *French* were in a manner entire masters of *Gaul*, extending their dominion as far as the *Pyrenean* mountains; insomuch that the whole country, from this nation of *Franks*, had afterwards the name of *France*: the inhabitants whereof being by this means rescued from the mischiefs of *Arianism*; what methods were taken for the support of Orthodoxy, and for gaining it the like success in *Africk*, *Italy* and *Spain*, I shall have farther occasion to lay before you in another discourse.

*Now to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three persons in the unity of the same eternal Godhead, be all honour and glory henceforth for evermore. Amen.*





# SERMON VII.

Preach'd MAY 7, 1724.



AFTER having seen the down-  
fal of *Arianism* in the *East*,  
and the various divisions of the  
Church afterwards, by the rise  
of the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian*

SERM.VII.



heresies: we went on to take a view of  
the Churches of *Europe* and *Africk*, with  
relation to the controversy now before us.  
Those parts, excepting a few years towards  
the end of *Constantius's* reign, had been  
but little infested with the *Arian* contagion,  
till about the conclusion of the fourth cen-  
tury, when the irruption of the *Goths* and  
*Vandals*, and other *Northern* nations,  
brought

SERM. VII. brought *Arianism* in as the companion of their conquering arms, and overthrew at once the religion of the empire, together with its civil liberties. Catholick Bishops there were still, and many of the ancient inhabitants continued to hold fast their integrity. But the *Arians* had possession of the Churches, and the countenance of the civil government; whilst the Catholicks at best were content with bare toleration, and sometimes labour'd under the heaviest oppressions.

496. The scene began to change when *Clovis* the *French* King was converted from Paganism to the Catholick Faith, and by his conquests obtain'd over the greatest part of *Gaul*, whether inhabited by *Goths* or *Burgundians*, restored the Catholicks of those parts to the protection of the civil powers, and left the government at his death to be shared among his four sons<sup>a</sup>. The remnant that was left of the *Burgundians*, did soon afterwards, by the example of their King *Sigismund*, embrace the catholick faith<sup>b</sup>, and after that were so entirely subdued as to become one people with the *French*<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Greg. Turon. Hist. Francor. l. 2. c. 43. & l. 3. c. 1; Aimoin. Hist. Franc. l. 2. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Maimbourg. Histoire de l'Arianisme, livr. 10.

<sup>c</sup> Greg. Turon. l. 3. c. 6. Ado Viennens. in chron. in mag. Biblioth. Patr. tom. 9. par. 2. p. 286. Aimoin. l. 2. c. 4.

The *Visigoths* indeed, who were now possess'd of a good part of *Spain*, and that part of *Gallia Narbonensis* which is now called *Languedoc*, persisted still in *Arianism*: but they likewise at last were so utterly defeated by the sons of *Clovis*<sup>d</sup>, that from thenceforward we may look upon *Arianism* as in a manner extinguished in *France* or *Gaul*, and very much weaken'd in *Spain*; whilst the *Catholicks*, who had always kept footing in those parts, were clearly recovering ground.

Mean while the *Ostrogoths* were masters of *Italy*; and King *Theodoric*, a person of great prowess and martial exploits, though entirely addicted for his own part to the *Arian* interest, yet gave the *Catholicks* so little disturbance, that they continued in possession of the See of *Rome* itself, with many and great privileges<sup>e</sup>, till at last being inform'd how the Emperor *Justin* had lately published a severe edict against the small remains of the *Arians* in the *East*, (who seem to this time to have continued a succession of Bishops at *Constantinople*, one of whom, *Deuterius* by name, had not many years since presumed upon a considerable innovation in altering the stated

SERM. VII.

505.

507.

531.


525.

circa

510.

<sup>d</sup> Greg. Turon. l. 3. c. 9, 10. Aimoin. l. 2. c. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Cochlæi vit. Theodoric. c. 9. p. 8e, &c.

SERM. VII.  form of baptism<sup>f</sup>: I say, *Theodoric* being inform'd of *Justin's* edict against this remnant of *Arians* in the *East*) he determined with himself either to procure a revocation of that edict, or else to make reprisals upon the Catholicks of *Italy* to the last extremity. To this purpose he obliged the Bishop of *Rome* himself to undertake an embassy to *Constantinople*<sup>g</sup>, whereby tho' he obtain'd his end in mitigating the Emperor's severity, yet he imprison'd the Pope at his return<sup>h</sup>, and loaded him with irons, for the zeal which he discover'd in the catholick cause<sup>i</sup>, and for envy that the catholick Emperor had treated him with so much respect<sup>k</sup>. After which his death did quickly put a period to his miseries, and *Theodoric* proceeded to appoint a successor by his own authority<sup>l</sup>. *Theodoric* survived him but a few months, when leaving the kingdom to his grandson of eight

§26.

<sup>f</sup> Δευτέρῳ τῶν ἀρειανῶν ἐπίσκοπος ——— ἐπεὶ ἐτέλμησεν ὡς ἐδάπτειεν· βαπτίζεται βάρβας εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, δι' υἱοῦ, ἐν αἰγίῳ πνεύματι. Theodor. Lect. Excerpt. l. 2. p. 562.

<sup>g</sup> Marcellin. Comes in chron. Filoxeno & Probo Coss. ad calc. Euseb. ex Edit. Scalig. p. 50, 51. Anastas. Biblioth. H. E. p. 57. Edit. Paris. 1649.

<sup>h</sup> Cochlæi vita Theodoric. c. 18. p. 142, &c. vid. & Anastas. Biblioth. de vitis Pontiff. Roman. in S. Joan. c. 54.

<sup>i</sup> Greg. Turon. de glor. Martyr. l. 1. c. 40.

<sup>k</sup> Marianus Scotus ad an. 524. Ado Vien. in chron. ad an. 519. in Mag. Bibl. Patr. tom. 9. par. 2. p. 286.

<sup>l</sup> Paul. Diac. Hist. Miscel. l. 15. c. 19. Anastas. ut supr. Marian. Scot. in Chron. ad an. 523.

years old, under the tuition of a prudent mother<sup>m</sup>, the affairs of *Italy*, as to the point of religion, continued for some years without any material alterations.

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496.

Whilst this was the posture of affairs in *Europe*, there fell out a very considerable change or revolution on the *African* side. The *Vandal* persecution which seem'd to be concluded in the time of *Gondamond*, was afterwards renew'd, tho' in a more artful way, and with less shew of violence, by his brother *Thrasimond*. The tortures and outrage of the former reigns he craftily forbore, and chose rather to conquer the *Catholicks* by an appearing mildness, and throwing only the weight of secular honours and advantages on the side of *Arianism*<sup>n</sup>. Thus much might be naturally expected. But he went on, as their *Bishops* were removed by death, to inhibit them strictly from ordaining any successors<sup>o</sup>, well knowing that this was an effectual way to stab the cause of *Orthodoxy*, and that natural death would in time leave their churches as destitute of *Pastors*, as the most furious persecution could have

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<sup>m</sup> Procop. de bel. Got. l. 1. p. 143. Edit. Grot.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Procop. de bel. Vandal. l. 1. p. 25. ejusd. Edit.

<sup>o</sup> Ferrand. Diac. in vitâ S. Fulgent. cap. 16. ante opera Fulgent.

SERM. VII. done P. But the Catholicks were aware of  
 this as well as *Thrasimond*, and in one  
 province at least resolved upon it as their  
 duty, to ordain Bishops in all the vacant  
 507. churches, without regarding the edict that  
 had been published to the contrary<sup>q</sup>. The  
 celebrated *Fulgentius* was one of the Bi-  
 508. shops ordain'd in this conjuncture<sup>r</sup>. But  
*Thrasimond*, who had only put on a dis-  
 sembled lenity, soon laid by his disguise,  
 and sending their Bishops into banishment<sup>s</sup>,  
 for the most part to the island of *Sardinia*,  
 indulged the *Arians* in committing various  
 sacrileges<sup>t</sup>: which, however they might  
 seem to be done without his command,  
 (who pretended all the while to the great-  
 est æquanimity, in admitting the people to

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Maimbourg. Histoire de l'Arianisme, l. 9. p. 162.

<sup>q</sup> Vita Fulgent. ut supr. vid. & Ruinart. Hist. Perfec. Vandal. par. 2. c. 11.

<sup>r</sup> Vit. Fulg. c. 17.

<sup>s</sup> Paul. Diac. Hist. Miscel. l. 15. c. 16. Sigeb. in Chron. ad an. 498. The number of these exil'd Bishops is variously reported: sometimes sixty, vit. S. Fulgent. c. 20. sometimes an hundred and twenty, Isidor. Chron. Vandal. p. 735. Ed. Grot. Victor. Tununenf. Chron. ad calc. Euseb. Chr. p. 5. 'Tis probable the first Author includes only the Bishops of the Province of Byzacium, whilst the rest take in the other Provinces. Some have encreas'd the number to two hundred and twenty, two hundred and twenty five, or two hundred and thirty; including perhaps such as were banish'd to other places besides Sardinia. Vid. Ruinart. Hist. Perfec. Vandal. par. 2. c. 11. §. 8——14. Yet Ado Vienneuf. in Chron. ad an. 492. speaks of two hundred and twenty as banished to Sardinia.

<sup>t</sup> Vit. S. Fulgent. c. 21, 25. Ruinart. ut supr. §. 21, 22.



offer their objections, and even fetching *Fulgentius* from *Sardinia*, in order to a conference,) were yet too plainly countenanced by his unreasonable bigotry, when, at the instigation of his *Arian* favourites, he quickly remanded back *Fulgentius* to his former banishment<sup>u</sup>. Which proceedings, in the end, were punished by his loss of a signal battel with the *Moors*<sup>w</sup>, and soon after with the death of *Thrasimond*.

*Hilderic*, the next King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, was of a different disposition. He recall'd the Bishops<sup>x</sup> whom *Thrasimond* had banished, and gave full liberty for the ordaining new ones, and holding synods<sup>y</sup>, the effect of which did quickly appear in the consecration of *Boniface* to the Bishoprick of *Carthage*, and the council that was holden under him. But this favourable Prince was not long permitted to enjoy that repose himself, which he so willingly indulged to others, but was in a few years deposed by the conspiracy of *Gilimer*, who after he had imprison'd him, with the

523.

525.

531.

<sup>u</sup> Procop. de bel. Vandal. l. 1. p. 26. Ed. Grot.

<sup>w</sup> Procop. de bel. Vandal. l. 1. p. 26, 27. Evagr. H. E. l. 4. c. 15. Niceph. Callist. H. E. l. 17. c. 11.

<sup>x</sup> Ruinart. p. 2. c. 12.

<sup>y</sup> Procop. Hist. Vandal. l. 1. p. 27. vit. S. Fulgent. c. 29. Victor. Tunnunenf. in Chron. ad calc. Euseb. Chr. pag. 7. Isidor. in Chron. p. 736. Ed. Grot. Concil. Labbe tom. 4. col. 1628, &c. ad an. 525.

SERM. VII. two Princes his brothers, usurp'd the throne to himself<sup>z</sup>.

*Justinian* had by this time succeeded his uncle *Justin* in the Empire of the *East*; and as he had maintain'd a perfect correspondence with *Hilderic*, he could not see him crush'd by the treason of his own people, without contributing his best endeavours for his rescue and enlargement<sup>a</sup>. When *Gilimer* therefore appear'd deaf to all proposals of accommodation in this matter, the Emperor prepared for war. There wanted not many popular arguments to dissuade him from it: the forces of the Empire had formerly experienced the stoutness of the *Vandals*, to their cost; since which the Empire had been weaken'd by the *Persian* war, and appear'd less capable of so great an undertaking. The *Vandals* likewise were judg'd to be very powerful by sea, whilst *Justinian's* forces had been only exercis'd in land-service. And which was more than all, the Emperor seem'd to run great hazards if the war should prove unsuccessful, and had little to expect from his success in it that would be worth the keeping. But notwithstanding all these plausible discouragements, the supreme Governor of heaven and earth, who meant

<sup>a</sup> Procop. de bel. Vandal. l. 1. p. 28.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. See him also for the other particulars.

by his means to root *Arianism* out of *Africa*, so directed his counsels against all human probability, that he sent over his army under the command of the celebrated *Belisarius*, who, in few days after his landing in *Africk*, made his entry into *Carthage* it self, and in a few months after that, entirely rescued the Churches of *Africk* from that *Arian* oppression which had lasted for a century and more. After which we find the catholick Bishops again meeting in council, under *Reparatus* then Bishop of *Carthage*, and labouring, as well by the indulgence of the Emperor, as by the advice of *Agapetus* Bishop of *Rome*, to secure the profession of the ancient faith<sup>b</sup>, by the restoration of wholesome discipline.

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534.

535.

It was about this time that the death of the young King of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy* made way for the succession of *Theodat*, who is represented as a person of no honour or probity, and capable of any wickedness<sup>c</sup>. He endeavour'd, by the interest of the Princess who had lately been Regent, and by whom his own accession to the crown had been facilitated, to secure his peace with the Emperor *Justinian*<sup>d</sup>:

534.

<sup>b</sup> Labbe ad an. 534. tom. 4. col. 1755, 1784, 1785, 1791, 1792. vid. & Ruinart. Hist. Persec. Vandal. par. 2. c. 12. §. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Procop. de bel. Goth. l. 1. p. 145, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Procop. p. 149, 150.

SERM. VII. and yet at the same time, to gratify the  
 ~~~~~  
 envy or revenge of some about him, he
 order'd her to be first confined, and after
 murdered^e.

Justinian, who had so lately made a suc-
 cessful war in *Africk* upon a like occasion,
 resolv'd now to enter upon *Italy*, and by
 taking vengeance on these murderers, to
 regain, if it were possible, the capital city
 of the Empire, with the countries in sub-
 jection to it. The successful *Belisarius*
 536. was the General employ'd on this occa-
 sion^f, who having first gain'd *Sicily*, as the
 governor of *Illyricum* on the other side
 had gain'd *Dalmatia*, he soon entred into
Italy; where tho' his progress was not so
 quick as it had been in *Africa*, yet in a few
 years the whole country yielded to his vic-
 torious arms, and desired to acknowledge
 him their King^g. But he being recall'd at
 540. that time by the Emperor^h, in order to do
 farther service in the *Persian* war, the *Goths*,
 tho' then reduced to a despicable number,
 resolv'd to fight under a King of their own,
 and attempt a recovery of the country they
 had lost. They succeeded so well in this
 design, at first under *Idibald*, but chiefly
 under his nephew *Totilas*, that in about

^e Procop. *ibid.* Jornand. de reb. Getic. c. 59.

^f Procop. *bel. Got.* l. 1. p. 152.

^g *Ibid.* l. 2. p. 299.

^h *Ibid.* p. 302.

ten years time they were again masters of *Italy*, and the Emperor found it necessary to send all the forces he could spare under the command of *Narses*ⁱ, in order to prevent the dishonour of losing the conquests he had made. One decisive battel determined the matter on the Emperor's side^k, when not only *Totilas* himself was lost, but the whole *Gothic* army sustain'd such damage as could never be repair'd. For tho' they ventured to hazard a battel the year following, yet that was rather done as desperadoes than as men hoping for victory; and the despicable remains of 'em after that, being now convinced that the hand of God was against them, made it their own offer to depart the Empire, upon this only condition, that they might have leave to carry their effects along with them^l.

It might have been observ'd that the country of *Provence* in the *South of France*, which had been seiz'd by the *Ostrogoths*, in the reign of *Theodoric*, was in the time of these convulsions surrender'd to the *French*, in order to engage their help against the Emperor. So that now all *France*, and *Italy*, and *Africa* being thus deliver'd from the encroachments of *Goths* and *Van-*

SERM. VII.

550.

552.

553.

ⁱ Procop. bel. Got. l. 4. p. 474.

^l Procop. bel. Got. l. 4. in fine.

^k P. 506.

SERM. VII.

dals, and thereby from *Arian* tyranny, there remain'd at this time no other part of the Empire but *Spain*, infested with that heresy, which was soon after rescued in a quieter manner, not by the conquest, but the conversion of their Kings.

The *Suevisb* colony which was settled in *Spain*, had been originally Catholics, till their unhappy alliance with the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, became the means of perverting them to *Arianism*¹. But not many
 560. years after the reduction of *Italy*, the descendants of those *Sueves*, among whom *Arianism* had now prevail'd somewhat better than a century, were likewise recover'd to the catholick faith, after the example of their King *Theodemir*, who not only
 563. made open profession of it himself^m, but
 569. encouraged their clergy to assemble in council for its better establishmentⁿ. The
 572. same proceedings were observed under his son, when the converts from *Arianism* were solemnly reconciled and received to the communion of the Catholick Church^o.

The conversion of the *Visigoths*, who were masters of the rest of *Spain*, was not

¹ See the sixth Sermon, p. 332.

^m Vid. Greg. Turon. de mirac. S. Martin. l. 1. c. 11.

ⁿ Marian. de reb. Hispan. l. 5. c. 9. Isidor. in chron. Suev. p. 739.

^o --- Sacro chrismate delibuta fronte, (eo ritû recipiebantur in ecclesiam Ariani) — Marian. de reb. Hist. l. 5. c. 12.

so quick and immediate. For tho' their King *Athanagilde* is said before this to have had a secret inclination to the catholick faith, and his two daughters, who were match'd in *France*, had made actual profession of it^p; yet for politick reasons he conceal'd his sentiments, and left *Arianism* at his death the establish'd religion of the *Goths*. The governor of that small remnant of *Goths* that were left in *Languedoc* was chosen to succeed him; but he affecting a more easy and quiet kind of life, made his brother *Leuvigilde* his partner in the kingdom, and committed the government of *Spain* entirely to him^q, who soon after, by his death, had the possession of the whole. He was a zealous *Arian*, and so was his Queen *Gosvinda*, which occasion'd a grievous persecution of the Catholics; when not only the hopes of wealth and honour, and whatever advantage is expected from a Prince's favour, but the terrors of exile, imprisonment and confiscation, and all kinds of violence, were employed to engage his subjects on the side of heresy^r. He had two sons, however,

SERM. VII.

554.

569.

571.

^p Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. l. 4. c. 27. Aimoin. Hist. Franc. l. 3. c. 4, 5.

^q Aimoin. l. 3. c. 17.

^r Greg. Tur. Hist. Fr. l. 5. c. 39. & de glor. Martyr. l. 1. c. 82. Isidor. in Chron. Goth. p. 727.

SERM. VII. by a former wife, who was a lady of catholic principles. The eldest of these being strengthen'd by an alliance with the family of *France*, soon declared himself on the same side; but for the defence of it was drawn into such behaviour towards his father as is not to be justified, and which ended in his utter overthrow^f. During this contest it was thought but necessary that the *Arians* should make some concessions to the Catholics; and therefore in a council assembled at *Toledo*^g, they forbade the re-baptizing of such Catholics as came over to them, which had been hitherto practised, and pretended to acknowledge the Son of God's equality with the Father, though this was but an instance of their gross prevarication, since they meant it not of a natural equality, but admitted such a latent reservation as might reconcile the catholic language with their most uncatholic opinions^h. But after that this contest had ended in the downfall and death of his son, the heretical King renew'd his persecution^w with the greater fury, and (which was more considerable) made such

^f Greg. Turon. ut supra. Marian. de reb. Hispan. l. 5. c. 12. Joan. Biclár. in Chron. ad calc. Euseb. Chr. p. 15.

^g Joan. Biclár. p. 15.

^h Marian. ut supra.

^w Aimoin. l. 3. c. 38. Marian. l. 5. c. 13.

advantage by a revolution which had lately happen'd among the neighbouring *Sueves*, that he added their part of *Spain* to the dominions of the *Gothick* Empire^x, and no doubt endeavour'd, in the heat of the present persecution, to force a people back to *Arianism*, who had generously return'd to the profession of the catholick faith.

And yet, that we may learn to admire and adore the unfathomable counsels of divine Providence, at this very juncture, when the catholick interest seem'd to be entirely sunk throughout the kingdom of *Spain*, and all things prosper'd on the side of heresy; at this very juncture it fell out that the catholick religion was most signally established, and *Arianism* in those parts universally extirpated. *Leuwigild* died quickly after this enlargement of dominion, but before his death was touched with a sensible remorse for having so outrageously oppress'd the Catholics, and stood out with such inflexible obstinacy, against a doctrine so abundantly confirm'd. He left orders in his will for recalling the Catholick Bishops he had banish'd formerly, and recommended the farther pursuance of this reformation to the serious reflexions

^x Isidor. in Chron. Suevor. p. 740.

^y Greg. Tur. l. 8. c. 46. Marian. l. 5. c. 13.

of his Son *Recarede*, who being well inclined already, began his reign with appointing a fair and impartial conference between the Catholick and *Arian* Bishops². The advantage in dispute was easily perceiv'd to lie on the side of the former; and this, added to the strong evidence by which it had been all along supported, left the pious King no longer room to deliberate, but push'd him on with a becoming eagerness to declare himself a Catholick.

He behaved on this occasion with such art and address, that there could be little difficulty to convince the body of his people, both in *Spain* and *Languedoc*, of the reasonableness of his proceedings, and consequently of their following his example^a. Some disturbance there was raised by insurrection and conspiracies; but they were soon discover'd and suppress'd, and the authors incapacitated for the pursuit of 'em either by death or banishment^b. But that the intended reformation might be settled on a solid and immoveable foundation,

² Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 15.

^a Recaredeus primo regni sui anno mense decimo catholicus, Deo juvante, efficitur, & sacerdotes sectæ Arrianæ sapienti colloquio aggressus, ratione potius quam imperio converti ad catholicam fidem facit, gentemque omnium Gothorum & Suevorum ad unitatem & pacem revocat. Ecclesiæ Christianæ. Joan. Abbas Biclair. in Chron. ad Calc. Euseb. Chr. Amst. 1658. p. 16. vid. & Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 15.

^b Greg. Tur. ut supra. Joan. Biclair. in Chron. ad calc. Euseb. Chr. p. 16, 17. Marian. l. 5. c. 14.

there was soon after a council assembled at *Toledo*^c, where, without noise or violence, without the awe and terror of a military force, the ancient faith was happily re-established, and after the example which had for some time prevail'd in the *East*, the *Constantinopolitan* creed was appointed to be solemnly recited^d in the common offices. And yet such temper there was shewn towards those who had intruded into the Sees of the exiled Bishops, that upon their embracing the catholick communion, they were allowed to enjoy the style and title of Bishops, altho' the exiles were restored to the possession of their Sees, and the exercise of jurisdiction; from whence we meet with some examples of the subscription of two Bishops, for the same See^e.

Whilst *France* and *Spain* were thus entirely reform'd from the *Arian* heresy, so entirely reform'd, that whatever other errors may have since crept in, yet this has never yet been able to recover its ground; it pleased God, in the unsearchable coun-

^c Marian. l. 5. c. 15. vid. & Concil. Toletan. 3. in tom. 5. Concil. Labbe col. 997, &c. vel in Caranz. summa Concil. p. 356. Edit. Duac. 1689.

^d Can. 2. Concil. Tolet.

^e Labbe, tom. 5. col. 1025.



sels of his Providence, to suffer *Italy* once more to fall a prey to *Arian* conquerors, and let in the enemies of Christ's Divinity to rival, or even to triumph over those, who adhered to the profession of the ancient faith.

553. The imperial General, who had expell'd the *Goths*, was thought the fittest person to be governor of *Italy*. But before he had enjoy'd that station fifteen years, he was, for avarice or male-administration, or perhaps thro' the envy and false suggestions of ill people, removed from that dignity, and another was appointed in his room^f.
567. His spirit was too great, or in propriety of speech too little, to be satisfied with retirement and privacy; and not having subdued his passions by the humble precepts of religion, he invited a barbarous people to revenge his wrongs, and sacrificed at once the religion and the quiet of the country to his own resentment^g.


The *Lombards* were a *Northern* people, for the most part *Arians*^h, who since their passing the *Danube*, had settled in *Pannonia*ⁱ. To these the discontented General

^f Vid. Paul. Warnefrid. *aliàs* Paul. Diac. de gestis Langobard. l. 2. c. 5. Anastas. Biblioth. de vitis Pontif. in Joan. 3. cap. 62.

^g Ibid.

^h Vid. Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 3. c. 28, 29, 30.

ⁱ Procop. de bel. Goth. l. 3. p. 387. Paul. Warnefr. seu Diac. de gestis Langobard. l. 1. c. 22.

address'd himself, inviting their entrance SERM. VII.
 into *Italy*, representing the weakness of 
 its present condition, the great ease and
 dispatch with which it might be subdued,
 and the little resistance that could be made
 against them^k. A people of a fierce and
 warlike genius could need but little invita-
 tion to such an enterprize; and accord-
 ingly King *Alboin* the next year entred 568.
Italy with a numerous army of *Lombards*
 and other Barbarians^l, who ravaged the
 country with a cruelty equal to their suc-
 cess^m, and, except *Rome* and *Ravenna*,
 and a few places more, did, in the com-
 pass of three years, or thereabouts, bring 571.
 all in subjection to themselvesⁿ, and give
 such a shock to the power of the Emperor
 in those parts, as he was never able to re-
 cover afterwards.

The *Lombards* after this divided the 574.
 country into five and thirty provinces,
 which were governed by so many of their
 chief Lords^o; and during this kind of
 government, which lasted but ten years,
 the greatest outrages were committed both
 upon the churches and the persons of the

^k Paul. Warn. l. 2. c. 5. vid. & Maimbourg.

^l Paul. Warn. l. 2. c. 6, 7.

^m Vid. Greg. Mag. l. 4. ep. 34.

ⁿ Paul. Warn. l. 2. c. 26.

^o Ibid. c. 32.

~
 to purchase its liberty at great expence^p, notwithstanding that many miracles are said to have been wrought for the conviction of these barbarous intruders^q.

584.

Perhaps their ravages had still continued, if the Catholicks had been the only sufferers: But as the state and dominion of the *Lombards*, which was now threatned by a war from *France*, was sensibly impair'd by the licentiousness of the times, and this partition of authority^r; they found it necessary to restore the monarchy for their mutual support, and so settle the government upon its former basis^s. To this

585.

end they placed *Autharis* upon the throne, who, besides his being next in descent from their last King, was possess'd of many of those accomplishments which are the proper ornaments of majesty^t. He quickly

^p Vid. Greg. Mag. l. 3. Epist. 34.

^q Vid. Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 3. c. 29, 37. Some indeed have objected against these Dialogues as none of Gregory's, because they are unwilling to give credit to the Miracles related in them. Yet Dr. Cave (hist. lit. ad an. 590.) allows it to be his work, charging him however with being too credulous in many cases, and admitting the book in some parts to be interpolated. He certainly wrote a book upon this subject; and where there is no other objection, but what arises from the miraculousness of the thing related, I see not why we should dispute the facts, unless it could be proved (as it most certainly cannot) that Miracles were ceased.

^r Vid. Greg. Turon. l. 4. c. 39. Paul. de Gest. Lang. l. 3. c. 8, 9.

^s Paul. Warn. de gest. Langob. l. 3. c. 16, 17.

^t Cap. 31. Aimoin. l. 3. c. 36.

brought their affairs into a better order, and in a while so routed and tired out the *French* army which was in those parts, that being at last greatly reduced, through the inclemency of weather, and the want of provisions, they were glad to retire out of *Italy*, and so eased the *Lombards* of their present apprehensions of danger from that quarter^u. In his time the *Italian* Bishops seem to have applied themselves with such zeal and earnestness to convert the *Lombards* from *Arianism* to the catholick faith^w, as did not want a good degree of success, that both sides might conquer in their turns, the one by force of argument, as the other had by force of arms.

589.

To put a stop to such proceedings, the King publish'd an edict to inhibit his *Lombards* the baptizing of their children in the catholick communion, and confine them to the *Arian* only^x. But the success of his scheme was providentially hinder'd by his death, which happen'd quickly afterwards: When dying without issue he left his Queen *Theudelinda*, a Lady of catholick principles, and so well esteem'd by the whole nobility, that they readily acknow-

590.

^u Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. l. 10. c. 3. Paul. Warnefr. l. 3. c. 30, 32.

^w Greg. Mag. l. 1. Epist. 17.

^x Ibid.

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ledged her their Sovereign, and consented that whomsoever she should chuse to be her consort, they would submit to as their King^y. *Agilulphus*, who was honour'd with this alliance, was himself an *Arian*; but as the catholick cause got ground apace among his people, partly by the discreet influence of Queen *Theudelinda*, and partly by the zeal and diligence of the *Italian* Bishops, enforced on both hands by the earnest application of *Gregory* the Great^z, who entred about this time upon the See of *Rome*: so it shortly happen'd that the King himself was added to the number of the converts^a, which could not but make the state of the Church to appear flourishing and prosperous, by the restoration of those honours and privileges which usually attend the favour of the civil powers^b.

591. The war however which ensued^c between the *Lombards* and the *Romans*, gave some interruption to the perfecting of their conversion, till at last such a peace^d was concluded as gave fresh opportunity for its completion. After which *Agilulphus* at

591.

592, &c.

604.

^y Paul. Warnefr. de gest. Langob. l. 3. c. 36. p. 826. Edit. Grot.

^z Vid. Greg. Mag. l. 1. Epist. 17.

^a Paul. Warnefr. l. 4. c. 6. p. 829.

^b Ibid.

^c Vid. Greg. Mag. l. 4. Epist. 29, 31. Paul. Warnefr. l. 4. c. 8.

^d Cap. 31.

his death left his son *Adaloaldus* of twelve years old, under the regency of the Queen *Theudelinda*^e. This lasted for ten years, during which the catholick cause met with all that success and countenance which might be expected from a Princess really religious^f. But at length a revolution happen'd in the civil government, when her son was set aside, and her son-in-law *Ariwaldus* placed upon the throne^g. He was an *Arian* by principle, but his Queen a Catholick; to whose influence it might probably be owing, that, excepting one unchristian act of violence^h, he suffer'd the Church to enjoy an undisturbed tranquillity; which was so far continued under his successor *Rotharis*ⁱ, and his son *Rodoaldus*^k, that though the *Arians* had their Bishops in most cities of *Italy*, yet the Catholicks had theirs too^l; and tho' they could not avoid the evil of separate communions, yet they had all the privilege which they could ask in the celebration of their own.

626.

638.

654.

^e Greg. Mag. l. 12. Epist. 7. Paul. Warnefr. l. 4. c. 43. p. 852.

^f Ibid.

^g Paul. ibid. & Aimoin. Hist. Franc. l. 4. c. 10.

^h Vid. Jonaf. de reb. gest. S. Bertolf. apud Baron. ad an. 626.

ⁱ Paul. Warnefr. l. 4. c. 43, 44.

^k Cap. 48, 49.

^l Cap. 44. pag. 853.

SERM. VII. But after the death of *Rodoald*, *Aribert* was King^m, who is reasonably presumed to have been a Catholickⁿ, and whose son 659. *Bertaride*, when he came to the crown, 673. was so very zealous in the catholick cause, and took such prudent measures for the conversion of his people, that by degrees, and without noise or violence, the *Arian* heresy seems to have been utterly extirpated^o among the *Lombards*, and the catholick religion was profess'd without interruption for about a hundred years, when 300. by the conquests of *Pipin* King of *France*, and his son *Charles* the Great, the very nation of the *Lombards* was entirely extinguish'd^p, and *Italy* (excepting what these conquerors had granted to the Pope) was for a while annex'd to the dominions of *France*, which gave occasion for reviving in *Charles* the Great the title of the *Roman* Emperor^q.

It was in his time that *Felix* the Bishop of *Urgel* in *Catalonia*, was consulted by *Elipandus* Bishop of *Toledo*, upon this question, Whether *Jesus-Christ*, as man, were the *adoptive* or *natural* Son of God?

^m Cap. 50. p. 857.

ⁿ Vid. Maimbourg. Histoire de l'Arianisme, l. 12. p. 329.

^o Vid. Paul. Warnefr. l. 5. c. 33, 34. &c.

^p Vid. Petav. Rationar. temp. l. 8. c. 7.

^q Ibid. cap. 8.

He answer'd, *adoptive*; and maintain'd his opinion by several writings dispersed not only throughout *Spain*, but *France* and *Germany*^r. This was thought to fall in with the *Nestorian* scheme, and revive the notion of two different sons^t. For which reason the council, which met at *Ratisbon* quickly afterwards, having first condemn'd the opinion^t, sent its author to *Rome*; where after Pope *Adrian's* concurrence with the sentence of the synod, *Felix* was induced to recant. But then at his return to *Spain*, he relaps'd into his former sentiments^u, encouraged by the resolution of his brethren in those parts, and particularly by a letter of *Elipandus*, written on purpose to defend them^w. This gave fresh occasion for the animadversions of Pope *Adrian*^x, who quickly opposed these innovations in a letter directed to the *Spanish* Bishops, which was accompanied by the general decision of the *Western* Church, in that famous council of *Frankfort*, which

792.

794.

^r See Dupin's Eighth Century, p. 150.

^t Vid. hujus rei histor. in tom. 7. Concil. Labbe.

^u Ibid. col. 1010, 1011. vid. & Dupin. ut supr. item Cave Hist. lit. vol. 2. p. 263.

^w Vid. annotat. Bini apud Labbe tom. 7. col. 1067. item Coustant. in vindic. vet. codic. confirm. par. 3. cap. 8. p. 215. præter opera Alcuini.

^x Vid. Concil. & Dupin ut supr.

^y Ibid.

opposed

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794.

799.

opposed at the same time, the growing practice of the worship of images, that had lately been establish'd in the *East*^z. And the decrees of the council, with respect to *Felix*, were enforced by letters from *Charlemaign* himself, directed likewise to the *Spanish* Bishops. But when all this was insufficient to reclaim *Felix* and his associates, there was another council holden at *Rome*^a under Pope *Leo* the third; and another the same year at *Aix*, where at the instance of *Charles* the Great, *Felix* was present again, and so effectually refuted by the dexterity of *Alcuin*, that he voluntarily renounc'd his error, and made an orthodox confession^b of his faith; tho' still the experience of his former inconstancy made it reasonable to prevent his returning any more to *Spain*, and oblige him to spend the remainder of his days at *Lyons*^c.

When thus the *Arian* heresy was universally extirpated, and there remain'd not,

^y Some of the popish writers, as *Surius* and *Binius* (inter conc. tom. 7. col. 1068, &c.) have denied that this Council of *Frankfort* did condemn the worship of Images. But *Sirmondus* (ibid. col. 1054.) and *Dupin*, (ut supra) not to mention our own *Dr. Cave*, have maintain'd the fact against them.

^z Concil. *Nicen.* 2. in tom. 7. Concil. *Labbe*.

^a Concil. tom. 7. col. 1149, &c. *Labbe*. *Dupin* ut supra.

^b Concil. tom. 7. col. 1151, 1152.

^c Vid. *Constant. vind. vet. cod. confirm.* par. 3. c. 8, 10, 18.

(that



(that we know of) any *Arian* communion upon earth, there was yet a fierce contest in *France*, with relation to this subject, which seem'd to be little else but a dispute about words. *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Rheims* being offended at an expression in the publick offices, namely, *Trina Deitas*, or *triple Godhead*, which he thought must have the same meaning with *three Godheads* or *three Gods*, took upon him to alter the expression to *summa Deitas*. This innovation gave offence to many; and *Ratram* in particular, and after him *Gothescalcus*, undertook to justify the expunged expression from any charge of *Tritheism*, as implying no more than that the Godhead, altho' *substantially* but one, is yet *personally* threefold, and as being therefore easily defended by the ancient style and language of the Church, whilst they who should scruple it, when thus explain'd, could hardly escape the imputation of *Sabellianism*. *Hincmar* was nevertheless resolute in his opinion, and wrote a large treatise upon this subject, not only for the clearing of himself, but to load his opposers with the odious charge of blasphemy. The matter all this while was chiefly (as I hinted) a dispute about words, and whatever be determined about *Hincmar's* altering the hymns of the Church, yet their notions on both sides, with re-

865.

867.

ward to the *Trinity*, appear to have been the same^d.

circa
862.

But about the same time, another question was more unhappily improved to divide and alienate the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches from each other. A question, which has so much relation to the *Trinitarian Controversy*, that it ought not to be wholly omitted in this place. The *creed* which had been establish'd by the second general council assembled at *Constantinople*, and which was now generally used in the common offices throughout the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches, had in such manner express'd the *procession* of the *Holy Ghost*, as to assert no more than this, that *He proceedeth from the Father*. This, in process of time, was enlarged or interpolated in the *Latin* Church with the addition of the word *filioque*: Which at the time when *Photius* was Patriarch of *Constantinople*, became the handle for so wide a breach of communion between the two Churches, as no length of time, nor declaration of their respective meanings, has yet been able to repair; and whilst both sides meant to advance the honour of the ever-blessed *Trinity*, yet each had the rash-

^d See this matter stated more at large by Coustant. vind. vet. cod. confirm. par. 4. cap. 2, ——— S. See also Dupin's Eccl. Hist. ninth Cent. c. 2. in fine.

ness to accuse the other of dishonouring (if not destroying) it^e. This appear'd by the debates upon this subject long after in the council of *Florence*^f, when the *Latins*, for asserting the *procession* of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father, were thought to introduce two causes or *principles*, and two *fountains* of the Deity, and to teach a compound, instead of a simple, act of *production*: Whilst on the other hand, the *Greeks*, for denying it, were charged with separating the divine substance from the person of the Son. And though in the process of their debates, the meaning of both was so far explain'd that they came to accommodation with each other in the council, yet the *Greek* Patriarchs after all, and others who were absent, refused to confirm the union, and so the breach between the two Churches remain'd as wide as ever.

Whoever considers the circumstances of those times, when this quarrel first broke out, will readily be apt to conclude, that this was rather a pretence greedily taken up, than any real ground of separation. The great usurpations and encroachments of the Bishop of *Rome*, which had been grow-

^e See Dr. Cave's Life of Greg. Naz. sect 5. §. 2.

^f Vid. Concil. Florent. Labbe tom. 13. Dupin Eccl. Hist. Cent. 15. ch. 3.

SERM. VII.



ing for two centuries and more, under that vainglorious character of *universal Bishop*^g, which *Gregory* the Great himself^h had so severely censur'd in the Patriarch of *Constantinople*; the increase and accession hereby made to those jealousies and emulations which had long subsisted between the Bishops of those great Churchesⁱ; and all this enflamed and heighten'd to the last degree, by the contests that arose about the particular case of *Photius*, and the right of jurisdiction over the *Bulgarians*^k: These were the great grounds of controversy; and the case of the *filioque* being thrown in at this time, when their minds were already so much exasperated against each other, That likewise was made a matter of accusation on one side, and a plausible handle for the widening of that breach which was opening before. Thus if the *Greeks* exclaim'd against this insertion of the *Latins* as a *diabolical device*, and *the greatest of all evils, adulterating the holy creed with spurious senses and unwritten expressions*^l; so on the other hand the

^g Cave Hist. Lit. Secul. 7. seu *Monothelit.* in conspectu sæculi.

^h Vid. *ibid.*

ⁱ Vid. Cave Hist. Lit. in *Leone primo Pontifice, Anatolio & Acacio Constantinop.* ad an. 440, 449, 471.

^k Cave Hist. Lit. sæcul. 9. in conspectu sæculi.

^l ---Τὸ ἱεὸν καὶ ἅγιον σύμβολον ——— νόθοις λογισμοῖς, καὶ παρεργάτοις



the favourers of the *Papal* claim have been no less severe upon the *Greeks*, but have proceeded even to ascribe the miseries which have since befallen 'em, to this cause; and particularly the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, upon the very festival of *Whitsunday*, which is sacred to the honour of the *Holy Ghost*^m.

1453.

It must on all hands be acknowledged, that this phrase was not originally inserted in the creed, as approved by the Fathers at *Constantinople*. But then the cause is likewise evident, that it was not rejected, but only never offer'd, as being a clause of which they had not any particular occasion in guarding against the heresies of those times. As for the doctrine it self, that it was then received in the Church may be easily demonstrated. Among the *Latins*, besides those who came after St. *Augustine*, whom some would suggestⁿ to have been the first author of this doctrine, we find it expressly asserted by St. *Ambrose*^o,

381.

ἡρώοις λόγοις, καὶ θράσους ὑπερβολῇ κηδελευέιν ἐπιχείρησαν ὥστε πᾶν τοῦ πονηροῦ μηχανημάτων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἕκ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ γε ἔκ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐκπορεύεσθαι καιρολογήσαντες. Phot. in Epist. Encycl. p. 51.

^m See Dr. Cave's *Life of Greg. Naz. sect. 5. §. 2.*

ⁿ Vid. Steph. de Altimura, i. c. Le Quien in *Panopliâ contra Græc. Centur. 11. cap. 4. §. 2.*

^o Spiritus Sanctus, cum procedit a Patre & Filio, non separatur a Patre, non separatur a Filio. D. Ambrose de Spir. Sanct. l. 1. c. 10, aliàs 11.

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and the same thing in effect advanced before him by St. *Hilary*^p, at that very time when his exile for the sake of the faith had obliged him to use the conversation of the *Greeks*, and so gave him the better opportunity to understand the doctrine of the *East* as well as of the *West* in this particular. And indeed the doctrine of the *Greek* Fathers themselves is express'd in a manner so agreeable to his, that their harmony with the *Latins* is from hence most evident, as to the matter of their faith, though there be some little variation in the form of the expression; which can be no wonder, when it is consider'd, that the point had not been hitherto debated or settled by any council. They interpret that text in which our Saviour says, *he shall take or receive of mine*^q, as importing that the *Holy Ghost* derives his essence *from the Son*. And even that other text which asserts his *proceeding from the Father*, was thought to imply as much, when taken in comparison with this, because *all things that the*

^p De Spiritu autem Sancto— qui Patre & Filio auctoribus confitendus est. Hilar. de Trin. l. 2. §. 29. col. 802. Edit. Bened. ---Et utrum id ipsum sit a Filio accipere, quod a Patre procedere. Quod si differre credetur inter accipere a Filio & a Patre procedere, certè id ipsam atque unum esse existimabitur, a Filio accipere, quod sit accipere a Patre. l. 8. §. 20. vid. & sequen.

^q Joh. xvi. 15.

Father hath are here declared to be the Son's⁹. SERM. VII.

From hence St. *Athanasius* made no doubt to assert that the Holy Ghost has the like order and nature with respect to the Son, as the Son has with respect to the Father^r, and advances upon that foot even to style the Son the fountain of the Holy Ghost^f. Which perhaps may give some light to that passage of *Ecclesiasticus*, which mentions the *Word of God* to be the fountain of wisdom^t, as wisdom on the other hand has already been observ'd^u among some ancient writers to be the denomination of the Holy Ghost. And to the same purpose St. *Basil*^w observes, that as *Christ* is the image of the invisible God, so the *Holy Spirit* is the image of the Son. From whence, it has been reasonably judg'd, some

⁹ Ἐκπορεύεται μὲν ἡ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος φωνήν, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἀλλοτρίου ἐστὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ πάντα ἃ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ πατρός· ἐκ τούτου αὐτὸς ἐδίδαξεν εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ πατὴρ ἐμὰ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τούτου εἶπον ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν. Cyr. Alex. adv. Theod. in Anathem. 9.

^r Τοιαύτως ἡ πάξις καὶ φύσις ἔχοντος τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, οἷον ὁ υἱὸς ἔχει πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. Athan. Epist. 1. ad Serap. de Spir. Sanct. §. 21. p. 669.

^f Οἶδε ἡ παρα τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ ἄντα τὸν υἱὸν πηγὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Athanas. de incarnat. contra Arianos. §. 9. p. 897.

^t Πηγὴ σοφίας λόγος θεοῦ. Eccles. i. 5.

^u See the second sermon, p. 70.

^w Ἐικὼν μὲν θεοῦ χριστός, ὡς ἐστὶ, φῆσιν, εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀορατοῦ. εἰκὼν δὲ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα. D. Basil. adv. Eunom. l. 5. p. 116.

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light may be derived to a passage of *Ire-
neus*^w, speaking of the *Son* as the *Off-
spring of God*, and the *Holy Ghost* as the
figuration of the Son. But upon this subject
speaks *Epiphanius* yet more expressly, that
as *Christ is believed to be from the Father,
God of God*, so is the *Holy Ghost believ'd
to be from the Son, or from them both, as
Christ has said, who proceedeth from the
Father, and, he shall receive of mine*^x. So
that he plainly understood as much by
the one expression as he did by the other,
namely, that the blessed Spirit is *substan-
tially derived from both persons*, since to
be or to exist from any person, must imply
(as the *Nicene* creed explains it in another
particular) a communication of the *sub-
stance* of that person^y. And therefore al-
tho' *Epiphanius* has sometimes used diffe-
rent *prepositions*^z, to preserve the *distinction*
of *persons* with the greater clearness;

^w Ministrat enim ei ad omnia sua progenies & figuratio
sua [leg. ejus] i. e. Filius & Spiritus Sanctus, verbum & sa-
pientia. Iren. adv. hæ. l. 4. c. 7. alias 17. vid. & Massuet.
annot. ad loc.

^x Ἐὶ ὁ χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς πισεύεται, θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ
πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ χριστοῦ, ἢ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων, ὡς φησὶν ὁ χριστός, ὃ
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ἔστι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήφεται. Epi-
phan. in Ancorat. §. 67. p. 70. Ita ἔσ' hæ. 74 §. 4. p. 891.
vid. & hæ. 62.

^y ---Γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, — τετίσιν ἐκ τῆς ἑσίας τοῦ πα-
τρὸς. Symbol. Nicen. vid. Le Quien. Panopl. Centur. 11.
cap. 4. §. 6.

^z ---Παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ. Epiph. Ancor. §. 73. p. 78.

yet

yet to shew he meant no more, he has elsewhere^a applied the same *preposition* to both, and consequently meant as much as the *Latin* Fathers could do by asserting him to *proceed from the Son* (*in terminis*) as well as *from the Father*. St. Cyril of *Alexandria* is no less full and express^b, and tho' he has not used the very word ἐκπορεύεται, yet he has plainly used another of the same import, which equally denotes *procession*^c, and his derivation of *substance from the Son*^d as well as *from the Father*. The same was very clearly implied and understood in that language which obtained so generally afterwards in the *Greek Church*, viz. that the Holy Ghost *proceeds and exists from the Father, by or through the Son*^e. *Theodorit* is perhaps the only one

^a — Τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀπὸ ἀμφοτέρων — παρὰ πατρός καὶ υἱοῦ. Epiph. Ancor. §. 70. 71. p. 75, 76. — Ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς θεότητος, ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ ἐνυπόστατον αἰὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Hæc. 62. §. 4. p. 515.

^b — Ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Cyril. Alex. sub Assert. 34. Thesaur. tom. 5. p. 344. Paris 1638.

^c — Πρόεισι ἢ ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, πρόδηλον ὅτι τῆς θείας ἐστὶν ἐσίας, ἐσιωπῶς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς προϊόν. Ibid. p. 345. vid. & Dial. 6. ad Herm. de Trinitat. p. 593.

^d — Ἀνάγκη τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἐσίας ὁμολογεῖν τοῦ υἱοῦ. Thesaur. p. 358.

^e Ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἐ μόνον ἐκπορεύεσθ λέγεται ἐκ πατρὸς δι' υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ δι' υἱοῦ εἶναι — συγχωροῦμεθ' αἰδίως ἐκ πατρὸς δι' υἱοῦ προϊέναι καὶ εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα. Georg. Scholar. five Gennad. adv. Latinos. apud Le Quien Panopl. Cent. 11. cap. 4. §. 13.



in all antiquity who expressly disallowed of every assertion of that kind; and it seems rather to have dropt from him in the heat of his dispute in the cause of *Nestorius*, before this question had been accurately stated and examined, than to have flowed from any sedate deliberation of his cooler judgment; since he himself allowed him to be the *proper Spirit of the Son*, and of *the same nature with him*^f.

589.

Thus far therefore we are clear as to the antiquity of this doctrine. But for its insertion in the *Constantinopolitan* creed, we can say nothing about it with any certainty, till towards the conclusion of the sixth century, when the council of *Toledo* assembled in the reign of *Recarede*, which appointed the recital of that creed in the publick offices, produced a copy of it for that purpose, with this clause expressly inserted g. From henceforth it will be reasonable to presume, that that interpolation was received in *Spain*. And in the eighth and ninth centuries, when the heresy of

^f Ἴδιον ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ, εἰ μὲν ὡς ὁμοφύεις καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπερευόμενον ἔφη, σιωπομολογήσομεν, καὶ ὡς εὐσεβῆ δεξομεθα τὴν φωνήν· εἰ δ' ὡς ἐξ υἱοῦ, ἢ δι' υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπάρξιν ἔχον, ὡς βλάσφημον τοῦτο καὶ ὡς δυσσεβὲς ἀπορίψομεν. Theodorit. advers. Cyril. in Anathem. 9.

^g ---Ex Patre & Filio procedentem, Concil. Tolet. 3. tom. 5. col. 1006. Labbe.

Felix and *Elipandus* gave occasion first to a large confession of faith inserted in the epistle of *Charles* the Great^h, and after to the publick recital of the same creed throughout the Churches of *France* and *Germany*, they kept to that form which had been so long received in the *Spanish* Churches, and acknowledged the *procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son*. This however met with great opposition from Pope *Leo* the third, who tho' far from disapproving of the doctrine itself, yet express'd a great dislike of any such alteration of the words of the creed, without the same authority of a general council, which had established it at first. For which reason he order'd it to be engraved both in *Latin* and *Greek* characters without that interpolation, and hung up in silver plates in *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, as a lasting monument to be left for posterityⁱ. By this means he kept the clause from being receiv'd at *Rome*; but as it was still continued in other parts of the *Latin* Church, and possibly introduced at *Rome* it self, in the time of Pope *Nicholas*^k;

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794.

809.

852.

^h Concil. Francoford. tom. 7. col. 1053. Walafrid. Strabo de rebus Eccles. cap. 22. citante Binio apud Labbe tom. 7. col. 1198. vid. Le Quien ut supr. §. 21.

ⁱ Vid. Cave Hist. lit. ad an. 795.

^k See Dr. Cave's Life of Greg. Naz. sect. 5. §. 2.

SERM. VII. this gave the handle for that objection of
 862. *Photius* already mentioned, which grew
 1053. stronger by the time that *Michael Cerularius* was Patriarch of *Constantinople* in the eleventh century, when the Pope's legates themselves were so little apprized of the origine of this insertion, that they took it to have been originally in the creed, and therefore made it an objection to the *Greeks* that they omitted this very clause in the recital of it¹.

We are now got down to those ages of the Church, in which learning was so far lost and decay'd, that there can be little wonder if some should fall into error, thro' defect of judgment, and others should be censured as erroneous, merely for want of being rightly understood. I hardly know which of these judgments to pass upon *Petrus Abelardus* in the twelfth century. He was a person learned, for his time, and much addicted to the study of philosophy^m. He seems indeed too far to have indulged his speculative genius, in the explication of religious mysteriesⁿ. And from hence he was accused of various heresies, as well by
 1120. St. *Bernard*, who was his cotemporary, as
 1140. by the two *Gallican* councils of *Soissons*

¹ Le Quien ut supr. §. 25.

^m Cave Hist. Lit. ad an. 1120.

ⁿ Vid. Abelard. introduct. ad Theolog. inter opera. p. 973. &c.

and *Sens*°. He was charged with favouring of *Arianism*, when he treated of the *Trinity*, of *Pelagianism* when he treated of *Grace*, and of *Nestorianism* lastly, when he treated of the *person* of Christ^p. He so far acquitted himself from all^q, either by more fully explaining what he had deliver'd more harshly and uncautiously before^r, or at least by acknowledging the catholick doctrine, in opposition to any errors in this point which his former works might contain^s, that he was soon after re-

° Cave *ibid. vid. & de hac re totâ Dupin Hist. Eccl. Cent. 12. cap. 7. ut & ipsum Abelard. in histor. calamitat. suar. inter opera cap. 9, &c.*

^p Cum de Trinitate loquitur, sapit Arium; cum de gratiâ, sapit Pelagium; cum de personâ Christi, sapit Nestorium. D. Bernard. ad Guidon. Epist. 192.

^q Vid. Abelard. Apolog. seu confess. fidei *inter opera* p. 330, &c. Ab his ipsum liberant, ejus qui supersunt libri, præcipuè apologia illa seu fidei confessio, quâ mentem suam perspicuè explicat, & hujusmodi objecta penitus diluit; & levissima planè sunt, & incautè potiùs & duriusculè quam falsò aut heterodoxè dicta, quæ in operibus ejus notant ipsi censores Parisienses. Verbo dicam, in hoc maximè peccasse videtur Abelardus, quod ad argutias Dialecticas, & insolentes quosdam Philosophiæ terminos dogmata Theologica, & summa quædam fidei Catholicæ mysteria revocare sit conatus. Notandum denique plura malefana dogmata ipsi afficta, ex aliorum libris hausta esse, quos ipse pro suis nunquam agnovit. Cave *Hist. lit. ad an. 1120.*

^r Vid. Cave & Dupin ut supra.

^s Nam quicquid sit de Resipiscentiâ & apologiâ, necnon de fidei confessione ad Heloissam (in quâ ὁμολοσίαν quidem Patris Filii & Spiritûs Sancti disertè satis profitetur [Abelardus] ac nec satisfactionem Christi, nec peccatum originis ita edisserit, ut omninò satisfaciat) manifestum certè est, &c. Calov. oper. Antifocin. vol. 2. p. 6. Q. 4. §. 6.

SERM. VII. reconciled even with St. *Bernard* himself, and obtain'd his absolution from Pope *Innocent* the second^t. And it ought withal to be remember'd, that several of the heresies which were so freely charged upon him, were taken out of a book of sentences which he utterly disown'd^u, and which was probably published by some other man under the colour of his name.

1147. Soon after this, one *Gillebert* Bishop of *Poictiers* is said to have advanced some monstrous paradoxes, with relation to the *Trinity*: But as he was quickly refuted and convinced by St. *Bernard*^w, and his heresy suppress'd by the censures of diverse synods, there can be little need to state it more at large in this place.

1150. It was about the middle of the same century, that *Peter Lombard*, the famed *Master of the Sentences*, who was first Professor of Divinity, and afterwards Bishop of *Paris*, introduced that method of *scholastick Divinity*, which grew into so high a reputation in the following century. There had been some preparatory steps

^t Vid. Cave ut supr. & opera Abelardi. p. 335, 337, 344.

^u Vid. Cave & Dupin & Abelardi apolog. item D. Bernard. Epist. 188.

^w Cave Hist. lit. ad an. 1115. Dupin Cent. 12. ch. 8.

made towards it before his time^x; and *Petrus Abelardus* in particular, whom we just now mention'd, had by his subtle disquisitions given the more immediate handle for those improvements, which *Lombard* came to make in his famous book of *the sentences*; where tho' he always endeavour'd to support himself by the authority of the Fathers^y, yet he had a particular regard to the work of *Abelardus*^z, and split his system into such refined and curious speculations, as furnished out the ground-work for those many and intricate perplexities, which employ'd the thoughts and study of the Schoolmen that succeeded him.

Mean while it ought to be remember'd that the *metaphysical* disquisitions of the master of the sentences, concerning the divine essence, consider'd abstractedly and without personal proprieties, that it is neither *begetting*, *begotten*, nor *proceeding*, those being personal characters, and not essential, met with some opposition from *Joachim* the Abbot of *Flora*, about the beginning of the next century; who, imagining this the way to introduce a *quaternity* instead of a *Trinity*, three which had some one of those characters, and a fourth

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1201.

^x V. Cave Hist. lit. in conspectu sæc. 13. Dup. Cent. 12. c. 15.

^y Dupin ut sup. vid. & præfat. ad opera D. Bernard. Ed. Par.

^z This is attested by Joan. Cornubiens. apud Andr. Quercetan. in annot. ad Abelard. p. 1159.

which

SERM. VII. which had neither, undertook to maintain, that however it might be said that the *three persons are of one and the same essence*, yet it cannot be said, on the other hand, that *the same essence is three persons*. So that he was not without some ground suspected of *Tritheism*, and understood to allow no other *Unity*, but such as is *collective* or *specifical*. Yet such was his modesty in proposing his notions, that I find no mention of any animadversions or censures pass'd upon him whilst he lived; and even after his death, when the council of *Lateran* condemn'd his opinions, and declared for the master of the sentences, they yet spared at the same time the memory of *Joachim*, and express'd a singular regard and esteem for him^a.

1215.

As the credit of *Lombard* was thus fully establish'd, the *scholastick* speculations could not but go on and encrease; and from henceforth the ancient simplicity, in which the christian doctrine had been stated, was almost wholly neglected, and the study of *Divines* was employ'd first to find out arduous and puzzling questions, and then to give 'em what they thought a

^a Vid. Concil. Lateran. 4. cap. 2. tom. 11. par. 1. col. 144, &c. item Dupin Eccles. Hist. 13 Cent. c. 4, 6. Cave Hist. lit. vol. 1. ad an. 1201. & vol. 2. *inter concilia* ad an. 1215.



satisfactory solution. It was not enough to wait till the boldness or the subtlety of hereticks should propose their objections against the receiv'd scheme of christianity, but they even loaded it with difficulties of their own discovery, that they might afterwards display their parts and skill in laying the *phantasm* they had rais'd themselves. I do not deny but a good use is to be made of their writings, if read with candour and judgment, and a sincere purpose of adhering to truth. But perhaps the same good uses might have been serv'd more effectually, if they had less indulg'd so inquisitive a genius; and, contenting themselves with reasoning about what we do comprehend, and appealing to divine testimony, for what we do not, they had forbore to run up the sublime mysteries of faith into curious and unedifying speculations. It is greatly to be fear'd, that by this method of proceeding they have furnish'd out matter for persons of unstable minds, or malicious dispositions, to *err concerning the faith*, and have flatter'd mankind with such a liberty of thought, as gives the greatest handle in nature for heresy and contradiction.

It would be needless to lay before you in particular how this subtlety of disputation perplexed the doctrines of the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*, as well as other articles

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of religion ; or at least spun them out into such fine metaphysical niceties as were wholly unintelligible to persons of a lower capacity, and unedifying (as to the substance and great ends of religion) even to those who pretended to a deeper penetration.

It may suffice to observe that this *scholastick* method of *Divinity* kept its reputation in some following centuries, till the many corruptions and abuses which had crept into the Church of *Rome*, during the darkness and obscurity of the middle ages, put some people upon looking back to Scripture and Antiquity, in order to find out some better rule than they observed at present, both in faith and discipline.

But as it rarely happens that what is wrong can be entirely rectified, but some ill people will take the opportunity to introduce abuses of another kind, and under the specious name of reformation, will presume to innovate and alter what is right, so at that time it fell out, that whilst there were some who exerted a laudable industry and zeal in correcting or reforming the corruptions of popery, there were others who attempted even to shake the foundations of Christianity it self, by playing that game over again which had been lost so many ages since, and reviving those very heresies which had oftentimes already been baffled and exploded. What steps they took

took for this purpose, and what progress they made, by what arts they have insinuated themselves, and by what means they have been defeated, how they have sometimes carried on their designs in secret, and at other times have lifted up their heads with greater boldness, are particulars which will be fit to be hinted to you in such manner as the time shall admit, at the next opportunity for our assembling together.

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Now to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three persons in the unity of the same eternal Godhead, be all honour and glory henceforth for evermore. Amen.





SERMON VIII.

Preach'd JUNE 4, 1724.



SER. VIII.



HAVING brought down our history of the *Trinitarian* Controversy as low as the time of the *Reformation*, when for several ages it had given but little disturbance to the Church; it must be own'd that it began now to revive with an unusual vehemence, and almost every heresy which had been crush'd by ancient councils, now lifted up its head anew with greater boldness.

I shall

I shall forbear to speak of *Capito*^a, *Cellarius*^b, and *Heizerus*^c, who are reckon'd among the first opposers of the doctrine of the Church in this particular, in regard their cause was more vigorously undertaken about the same time^d by *Michael Servetus*,

^a Vid. Sandii. Bibl. Antitr. p. 1. Histoire du Socinianisme, par. 2. ch. 1. *The charge against Capito is founded only on two particulars, (1.) that he wrote a Preface to some works of Cellarius; and, (2.) that he is mention'd with esteem by the Transylvanians, and other hereticks, as a person of their sentiments. But he is likewise mention'd with such esteem by Calvin, and others who were averse to the heresy, and particularly is reckon'd to have been misrepresented by Servetus, that there may be reason to doubt whether he ever gave sufficient ground for this charge against him.*

^b Sandius ut supr. p. 15. Hist. du Socin. ibid.

^c Heizerus was beheaded for heresy, ann. 1529. Sandius, p. 16. Hist. du Socin. ibid.

^d Beza (in vit. Calvin. prope init.) makes him to have propagated his doctrine for thirty years together, and in his 81st Epistle, p. 295. he makes it thirty years and more. Now as it is certain he was executed in 1553, (vid. Note sur l' Histoire du Socinianisme, p. 22.) if we take off thirty years from thence, that will carry us back to 1523. But Calvin himself, in his epistle to Sultzerus, (p. 70. Edit. Amst. 1667.) which was written that very year, allows but twenty years to the propagation of his heresy: which would carry us back no farther than 1533. Sandius (Biblioth. p. 7.) is for reconciling these accounts, by supposing the one to compute from the time when he first advanced these opinions, the other from the time when he first publish'd them in print. But as Calvin's computation is not altogether exact in the point of publication, (for Servetus's first book was publish'd in the year 1531,) so we can hardly maintain Beza's calculation, as to the beginning of his heresy, if the account given in the late History of Michael Servetus (p. 26) be true, that he was born but in the year 1509; for at this rate he must have set up for an Heresiarch at about fourteen years of age.

But against this, I confess, it may be urged, that Socinus (in resp. ad Vujek. cap. 2.) represents Servetus as a man in years at the time of his execution, and much older than Calvin (who was

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1528.

vetus, who being a *Spaniard* by birth, addicted first to the study of the civil law, and afterwards of physick, and hearing of the progress that was made by *Luther* and some others in reforming the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, applied himself to enquire into the nature of her doctrines, and among others pitched upon this article of the ever-blessed *Trinity*, as one of those doctrines that needed reformation; taking his hint, or at least his improvement of that matter, from the *Alcoran*, if we may depend on the account which a *Socinian* Historian gives concerning him^e. With this view he set up to perfect the work which was already begun: and from hence Popery was represented under the image of a magnificent temple, of which *Luther* la-

born in that very year 1509.) From whom the author of Histoire du Socinianisme (in his Notes, p. 23.) concludes that he could not be less than fifty five years of age, if not fifty seven.

Most probably neither Calvin nor Beza meant a strict calculation, and the truth perhaps may lie between them. For which reason I have pitched upon the year 1528: which, as it agrees well enough with Nicolas de la Fontaine, who in his petition preferr'd against Servetus, allows the space of twenty four years, or thereabouts, to the spreading of his heresy (History of Servetus, p. 90.) and with Servetus's account of leaving his own country about twenty four or twenty five years before his apprehension at Geneva, (ibid. p. 114.) so it may well consist with the report of the Pastors of Basil, who in their letter dated 1553, (inter Calvin. Epist. p. 72.) make mention how O'Ecolampadius had found him out twenty three years before, and foresaw that Servetus would give trouble to the Church.

^e Lubieniec. Hist. Reform. Polon. l. 2. c. 5. cited in the Hist. of Servet. p. 196. & Histoire du Socinianisme, par. 2. c. 3.

bour'd only to uncover the roof, *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* employ'd their engines for battering the walls, but it was the work of *Servetus* and those that followed him, to sap the very foundations^f.

His heresy is represented to have had something in it peculiar and unintelligible, but seems for the most part to have fallen in with the ancient heresies of *Sabellius* and *Paulus Samosatenus*^h, acknowledging a *Trinity of Persons* in no other sense than what those hereticks allow'dⁱ; namely, in the sense of theatrical character or manifestation only, and withal esteeming the Divine Word to be such an emanation from God, such a mere image or *idea* of Christ, as had no real existence before the world, but was in the end so really made flesh, that that flesh itself, instead of being *consubstantial* with ours, was *substantially* divine, as being taken from the *substance*

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1531.

^f Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 3.

^g See Hist. of Servetus, p. 28. Beza makes it a mixture of almost all heresies. Ecce in unico Serveto revocati sunt ab inferis Samosatenus, Arius & Eutyches—— Addere autem etiam istis licet Marcionis & Apollinaris delirium insanix proximum, adeo portentum illud fuit errorum omnium sceundum. Vid. Bez. Epist. 81. p. 294.

^h Vid. Calvin. refut. error. Servet. item Pastor. Basil. Bern. & Tigurin. inter Calvin. Epist. p. 72, &c. Beza in vit. Calv. ad an. 1558. Melanct. l. 1. Epist. 111. Hist. of Servet. p. 39. Sand. Biblioth. Antitr. p. 9.

ⁱ See Serm. 3. p. 119, 125, 144. Melanct. loc. Theol. fol. 153. 154. Edit. Witcb. 1601. Hist. of Servet. p. 92, 105.

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of God, and might in that respect be properly term'd the Word and Son of God^k. He was zealous in the propagation of his impious tenets for many years, and gave a handle for introducing such bold speculations in Divinity, as *Philip Melancthon*^l, one of the earliest *Reformers*, could not but apprehend might prove of dangerous and fatal consequence. And indeed it ought to be acknowledg'd, that as this became the means of seducing many from the ancient faith of the Church, so it could not fail of obstructing in great measure the progress of the *Reformation*, since many who could not well distinguish between the different spirit of those who had set up for reformers, would be apt to suspect all for the sake of a few, and so chuse to retain *Popery* with all its corruptions, rather than engage in a design which seem'd to wound *Christianity* in its most vital parts.

But yet withal it must be own'd, that this, which proved a hindrance to the *Reformation*, has help'd the more to strengthen and confirm the doctrine of the *Trinity*, even among those who are *reformed*. They who came off from *Popery* would natu-

^k Sandius ut sup. à libro Serveti de Trinitatis erroribus. *Ac.* 1531. See also Hist. of Servet. p. 134, &c. 199, 210.

^l Melan. l. 4. Epist. 140. Hist. Servet. p. 37.

rally be disposed to separate or cast off from the doctrine of Christ, whatever they could discover to have been super-added to it, either through the ignorance or knavery of men. Yet some things might possibly be overlooked thro' haste or want of due attention; or they might at least be suspected to yield too much to ancient prejudice in those points upon which they did not bestow a particular and distinct examination. So that if there had been no controversy moved about the doctrine of the *Trinity*, some busy people might have afterwards pretended that this was a matter over-looked at the *Reformation*, and which needed therefore still to be *reformed*. But when it is consider'd that the matter was at that time thoroughly canvass'd and debated, and that the most celebrated *Reformers* express'd the utmost abhorrence of any alteration in this doctrine, whilst the seducers, who opposed it were split into different and inconsistent schemes, and were forced to fix upon such a method of interpreting Scripture, as drove them to a thousand extravagancies, and has always ended in their shame and confusion; I say, when all this is consider'd, it will be judg'd no slight advantage to the orthodox scheme, no contemptible argument for its being a genuine and original doctrine of the Christian Religion.

SER. VIII. In the time of *Servetus*, we find mention of *Valdes*, a person of a noble family in *Spain*, and Secretary of State at *Naples*¹, who in like manner opposed the doctrine of the ever-blessed *Trinity*. From him it has been said that *Bernardinus Ochinus*, an *Italian* by birth, and (as some have related) the Pope's own confessor, receiv'd his principles^m. But whether he did immediately embrace his scheme with relation to the *Trinity*, or only in those points wherein he agreed with the *Reformers* of those times in rejecting the corruptions of *Popery*, it is at this distance very difficult to judge. It is allowed however, that he made no open profession of the former, whilst he staid in *Italy*. But being quickly forced to retire to *Geneva*, he is charged by some with having vented there the *Arian* heresy, and incurring for that reason the displeasure of *Calvin*, and the magistrates of that placeⁿ. Others have thought this improbable, because *Calvin*, after that, has mention'd him with such respect^o as is hardly consistent with any suspicion of so gross an heresy. And indeed, the great

¹ Sand. Biblioth. Antitr. pag. 2. Bayle Dict. in voce Valdes.

^m Sandius, ibid.

ⁿ Hist. du Socinian. par. 2. c. 4.

^o Quos [*Monachos*] Itali Bernardino Ochino, & Petro Vermilio opponent? Calv. de Scandal. inter tractat. Theol. p. 83. Amst. 1667.

esteem with which he was received in *England* in the reign of King *Edward*, whilst *Arianism* was held in the utmost detestation, may induce us to believe, that if he had any such notions he kept them to himself, and made no publick profession of them, till he was forced to retire out of this kingdom, in the reign of Queen *Mary*: and even then it seems as if he rather proposed them in the way of doubt and uncertainty, than as any fixed or settled notions of his own⁹.

But to return to *Italy*; the heretical principles which had been introduced by *Valdezso*, and perhaps secretly cultivated by *Ochinus*, did one way or other meet with such success, that there was quickly a club of more than forty persons of character and education, among whom *Lælius Socinus* was one, who were used to hold their assemblies in the country of *Venice*, and debate about matters of religion, and particularly concerning the doctrines

1546.

⁸ This agrees with *Beza's* account of the concealment of his principles, who calls him *sceleratus hypocrita*, *Arianorum clandestinus fautor*; and adds, ---*justo sane Dei judicio, ne latere diutius tantum, malum posset, delatus at magistratum*—*justus est e Tigurinorum agro facessere.* *Beza ad Dudith. Epist. 1.* dated 1570. inter opera Theolog. tom. 3. p. 190. And again, *Favit etiam illis, sed nimium sero detectus, Bernardinus ille Ochinus, impurissimus hypocrita.* Ep. 81. dated 1567. p. 295.

⁹ *Ochinus* callidior, dubitare de singulis, Academicorum more, videtur maluisse, quam quicquam definire. *Bez. Ep. 81.* p. 295.

of the *Trinity*, and *Satisfaction* of Christ^r.

They were agreed in opposing the receiv'd doctrine of the Church: But as to the scheme which should be substituted in its room, there was not one and the same opinion of them all. *Gribaldus* was for advancing the *Tritheistick* notion of three eternal Spirits, different in degree or dignity, as well as number^f. *Valentinus Gentilis*, *Paulus Alciatus*, and *Blandrata*, are sometimes represented as concurring in the same sentiments^r. But if we examine their positions with greater accuracy, they should rather seem to have been engaged in the *Arian* hypothesis, or at least to have fallen into it afterwards^u, asserting the Son to have been created in the *latitude* of *eternity*^w; *i. e.* before there was any distinct computation of time. And tho' *Valentinus Gentilis* pretended to dissent from *Arius*, in that he allow'd the Son to be *begotten* of the divine *Substance*, nay,

^r Sandius ut supr. p. 18. Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 4.

^f Beza Epist. 81. Sandius ut supr. Hist. du Socin. par. 2. c. 7.

^r See Benedictus Aretius's account of Val. Gen. c. 1. p. 18. of the English Edition, and c. 5. p. 41. Hist. du Socin. par. 2. cap. 8.

^u Account of Val. Gen. ch. 1. p. 23, 24. As their scheme was not yet fixed, 'tis likely their notions might be differently proposed at different times. Vid. Bayle in Val. Gen.

^w This was Valent. Gentilis's assertion in Poland, ann. 1562. apud Sandium in Biblioth. Antitr. p. 26.

to be eternal, and not *made out of nothing*^x, yet since he agreed with him in the point of separate substances, and understood his eternity with reference to his substance, rather than his person; this low and absurd notion of his consubstantiality, which multiplied or divided the most simple substance of God, if it might serve to vindicate him from the charge of *Arianism*, must at the same time load him with the guilt of a greater heresy^y. *Lælius Socinus*, the mean while, was rather in the *Ebionite* or *Samosatenian* scheme^z, which did afterwards generally take place of the rest, and gave such a figurative sense of some texts, which imply a pre-existent nature in Christ, as very artfully eluded the force of many of those arguments which either Catholics or *Arians* might urge against him. Tho' it seems he had such art to propose his no-

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^x Account of Val. Gen. ch. 8. p. 58. &c.

^y Vid. Beza in Epist. 81. p. 295. According to Beza (in vit. Calvin. an. 1558.) Valentinus Gentilis maintain'd the supreme Deity of the Father only, but asserted notwithstanding that the other two persons are eternal, immense, omnipotent, so making three Gods. He has these express words (apud Calvin. in explic. perfid. Val. Gen.) Pater fuit semper Pater. Yet he speaks mithal, as if there were a point or time of generation, that the substance were eternal in the Father. So perplex'd a thing is heresy!

^z Vid. Beza Epist. 81. p. 295. Zanchii Præfat. ad libr. de tribus Elohim in fin. vita Fausti Socini operibus præfix. Fol. Signat. ** 2 Sandii Biblioth. Antitr. p. 19. Histoire du Socinianisme, par. 2. c. 5.

tions,

SER. VIII.  tions, rather in the way of one that doubted than of one that affirm'd, that he was not till after his death publickly known to be infected with them^a.

But however the members of this society might differ from each other in their private sentiments, which were not yet digested into any uniform or compleat scheme of Divinity, yet since they were agreed in opposing the notion of a *consubstantial* and coequal *Trinity*, this made them look upon each other as common friends and brethren, whilst the Orthodox esteemed them all as persons in a manner of the same principles.

It was not to be imagined, that they should be long indulg'd in such licentious meetings. And when they were shortly
1547. after forced to fly from *Italy*, two of their number being apprehended first, and put to death^b, they met not with much kinder reception among Protestants. *Servetus* had been but lately burnt for heresy^c
1553. at *Geneva* itself, in imitation of the *Papish* severities, when these *Italian* gentlemen

^a Favit quoque Lcelius Sozinus Senensis, incredibiliter ad contra dicendum & varios necestodos nodos comparatus, nec nisi post mortem cognitus hujusmodi perniciosissimus hæresibus laborare. Beza Epist. 81. p. 295.

^b Sand. Biblioth. p. 19. & Andr. Wiffowat. in narrat. compend. ad calc. ejusd. Biblioth. p. 210.

^c Sandii Biblioth. p. 7, 8. Hist. of Servet. p. 194, &c.

had some of them the courage to plant themselves in that city, and renew their endeavours in behalf of heresy^d, after having made the experiment in other places, without any considerable progress. But when their designs were detected at *Geneva*, they at first fallaciously subscribed an orthodox confession^e, but quickly after found it for their interest to change their situation. *Blandrata* went immediately for *Poland*^f, the same year that *Lælius Socinus* arrived there from *Zurick*^g. And a few years after, when this *Socinus* was return'd and died at *Zurick*, *Valentinus Gentilis* and *Paulus Alciatus*, who had taken other places in their way, arrived likewise in *Poland*^h; the former of whom having retracted his opinions at *Geneva*, did after his escape effectually convict himself of gross prevarication and perjuryⁱ, by labouring to spread them with the same earnestness, for which at last he was beheaded at *Berne*^k, agreeably to that severity which

1558.

1562.

^d See Hist. of Valent. Gentil. ch. 1. Beza vit. Calvin. *ad an.* 1555, ——— 1558.

^e Histoire du Socin. par. 2. c. 6, 8. Bez. vit. Calv. *an.* 1558.

^f Sandii Biblioth. Antitr. p. 28.

^g Andr. Wiffowat. *in* narrat. compend. *ad calcem* Sandii p. 210.

^h Sandius, p. 26, 27.

ⁱ Vid. Bez. *in* vit. Calv. *an.* 1558.

^k Beza *in* vit. Calvin. *ad an.* 1558. Benedict. Aretius Account of Valent. Gentil. chap. 20. Sandius, p. 26. Histoire du Socinianisme, par. 2. c. 6.

SER. VIII. the temper of those times allowed to be inflicted upon hereticks.

1566.

This was not the first occasion, upon which such doctrines had been broach'd in

1546.

Poland. There had been several years before one *Spiritus a Dutchman*¹, who had started such difficulties upon this subject, as left much impressiion upon the mind of *Modrevius a Polish Knight*, in the reign of *Sigismond* the first, who being Secretary to *Sigismond Augustus*, the next King of *Poland*, was employ'd, by his command, to write

1565.

an account of this important controversy^m, and seems, in regard of his character and station, to have been the principal instrument of propagating heresy in those partsⁿ. Where being early embraced by many persons of quality and distinction, it had e're this obtained the favour, if not of publick toleration, yet of a general connivance^o. It was That had given encouragement to

1551.

Laelius Socinus to take a former journey into this country^p: where he had the op-

¹ Andr. Fric. Modrev. Sylvar. l. 1. tract. 2. c. 2. citat. apud. Willowat. ad calc. Sandii p. 210, 216. *This Spiritus is supposed by some to be the same with Adam Pastor. Vid. Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 5. par. 2. c. 20. & in annot. p. 3.*

^m Sand. Biblioth. Antitr. p. 36.

ⁿ Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 5.

^o Ibid.

^p Willowat. ut. supr. p. 211, 212. Przipcov. in yitâ Faust. Socin. in frat. Polon. vol. 1. Ashwell de Socino & Socinismo. §. 3. p. 4.


portunity of corrupting his countryman *Lismaninus*, who was at that time Confessor to the Queen Mother, and so much in favour at court, that he was soon after sent abroad by the King on purpose to observe the state of religion in other countries, in order to discern what alterations might be proper in his own⁹. This design was defeated by his ill management: but he return'd with his heretical notions, tho' for a while conceal'd. And about the same time *Petrus Gonesius*, who was a *Pole* by birth, had in his travels through *Germany* and *Switzerland* imbibed the principles of the *Arian* heresy, which he likewise brought back with him, and made open profession of in his own country, where he is reckon'd the first that ventured to espouse it openly^r.

But now, as they were fixed in greater numbers, and had gained over more profelytes, they grew considerable enough to be distinguish'd by a name, and accordingly began to be denominated *Pinczovians*, and after that *Racovians*, from those *Polish* cities in which they chiefly resided^t; as well as *Arians*, *Photinians*, and the like, from their imitation of those he-

⁹ Histoire du Socinian. par. 2. c. 12.

^r Sand. Bibl. Antitr. p. 41. Hist. du Socin. par. 2. c. 10. p. 278.

^t Wiffowat. compend. narrat. ad calc. Sand. p. 211. & Ep. de vitâ Wiffowat. ibid. p. 227.

SER. VIII.  reticks, in respect of the doctrine of the *Trinity*; and sometimes *Anabaptists*, from their disallowing the baptism administred to infants^t. Their principal or superintendent at that time was *Gregorius Pauli*, at 1562. the very time of whose preaching against the catholick doctrine, in the *Trinity Church* at *Cracow*, and upon the very festival of the ever-blessed *Trinity*, the sudden damage which was done by lightning^u, gave a providential rebuke to his impiety, however he and other adversaries of the truth would strain even this remarkable occurrence in favour of their heresy^w.

The reformed Orthodox, who were superior in number, were careful the mean while to oppose this growth of heresy; and after diverse synods held with various success^x, and concluded by the conference 1565. at *Petricow*, found it necessary to hold no more communion^y with the abettors of such open impiety: whose numbers grew considerable, even altho' such among them 1564. as were foreigners had already been required to depart the kingdom^z, in compliance with the repeated instances of such

^t Ibid. p. 225.

^u Histoire du Socin. par. 2. c. 10.

^w Ibid. & Sand. Bibl. Antitr. p. 43. Wiffowat. p. 212.

^x Vid. Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 7. ——— 10.

^y Wiffowat. p. 211, 212.

^z Hist. du Socin. par. 2. c. 4, 6.

as were orthodox; which sentence was afterwards extended to the natives themselves^a, tho' it seems they had such interest at court, as kept it from being strictly put in execution^b. Nay, the King indeed had so much regard to those of his Nobility, who were infected with this heresy, that tho' he did not countenance it by any express law of indulgence, yet he used the hereticks with so much complaisance and civility, as gave them opportunity to grow under his government, and make a formidable progress in that part of *Europe*^c.

SER. VIII:
1566.

This opportunity increased, when, upon the death of that King, the States came to an agreement called the *Pacta Conventa*, by which his successors in time to come were bound both to subscribe and make oath, that they would maintain an universal toleration in matters of religion^d. It was upon these terms that *Henry of Valois* Duke of *Anjou*, and after him *Stephen Bathori* Prince of *Transylvania*, accepted of the crown of *Poland*^e. This gave the easier occasion to *Faustus Socinus*, who

1573.

1573.

1576.

^a Ibid. par. 1. c. 12.

^b Ibid. par. 2. c. 14. Schoman. Testam. ad calcem Sandii,

p. 194.

^c Vid. Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 12, 21.

^d Ibid. c. 21. vid. & Vindic. Unitar. ad calc. Sandii Bibl. Antitr p. 269.

^e Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 21, 22.

SER. VIII. arrived there in the reign of King *Stephen*,
 1579. for propagating the heresy he had em-
 1587. braced: And that occasion grew more fa-
 vourable under his successor *Sigismond* the
 third, who not only made good the condi-
 tions of the *Pacta Conventa*, but even be-
 stowed upon these hereticks such favours
 and preferments as, in the course of his
 till 1633. long reign, could not but put them in a
 flourishing condition^f, by the foundation
 of many churches, besides colleges and
 schools for the education of their youth,
 and the freedom of the press for publish-
 ing their heresies.

But before I proceed in this account, it
 ought to be remember'd, how fortunately
 for *Blandrata* it had happen'd, that before
 the edict abovementioned against Foreign-
 ers, in the reign of *Sigismond Augustus*,
 and whilst he was hotly pursued by *Cal-*
vin's letters against him to the *Reformed*
 in *Poland*, he was called from thence into
 1563. *Transylvania*, and taken into the protecti-
 on of *John Sigismond*, Prince of that
 country, and King of *Hungary*, as his
 principal physician^g: which gave him op-
 portunity for poisoning the minds of the
 people, whilst he prescribed remedies for
 bodily diseases, by scattering the seeds of

^f Vid. Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 23, 24. par. 2. c. 21, &c.

^g Sandii Biblioth. Antitr. p. 28.



his pernicious heresy, and trying their prolific quality in a new plantation.

It has already been observ'd, that he and some others do seem at first to have fallen in pretty nearly with the *Arian* hypothesis; and tho' the fear of suffering had twice drawn him into orthodox subscriptions, both at *Geneva* and in *Poland*, yet still he continued to retain his heresy, till about this time he changed it for that *Samosatenian* scheme which had been proposed by *Lælius Socinus*: and both he and *Alciatus* used their endeavours with *Gregorius Pauli*, one of their *Polish* converts, to bring him back from *Tritheism* to the same scheme of *Socinus*^h. But however they might succeed with him and some others, 'tis certain they could not do so with all their proselytes in *Poland*. *Gonsius* and *Farnovius*, as to the second person in the *Trinity*, if not as to the third, were resolute in *Arian* principles, and carried their zeal for that heresy so high as even to separate from those who had been their instructors, and form a distinct communion by themselves, which lasted in those parts for some years after the beginning of the next centuryⁱ.

1558.

1561.

1564.

1565.

1566.

1567.

1614.

^h Vid. Calvin. Act. Valent. Gent. fol. 50.—56. cited by Sandius p. 28.

ⁱ Sandius Bibl. Antitr. p. 41, 52. Wiffowat. p. 213. & vita Wiffowat. p. 226. Histoire du Socinianisme par. 2. c. 11.

SER. VIII.



As the scheme that was proposed by these modern hereticks did, above all others, flatter the vanity of private judgment, and despise the arguments which were drawn from antiquity, and that too at a time when it was well known how the *Romanists* had abused the pretence of ancient authority, for the introducing of many novelties in doctrine and superstitious usages: All this taken together, help'd to make it appear popular and plausible in the eyes of superficial or vain-glorious observers. And therefore there can be little wonder if in the several conferences that were held between them and the Orthodox, in the presence of *John Sigismond* Prince of *Transylvania*^k, and many of his Nobles, those great men, who knew but little of the controversy, and were already prepossess'd in favour of the hereticks, should openly declare the advantage to lie on their side^l, or if that declaration should be followed by a great encrease of profelytes in that part of *Europe*.

Sigismond was succeeded in the Principality of *Transylvania*, by *Stephen*, and he (in two years after) by *Christopher Bathori*, who tho' both of 'em *Romanists* by principle, were yet so far influenced by *Blan-*

^k Wiffowat. p. 213.

^l Histoire du Socinianisme par. I. c. 14.

drata, and others of his party, as to continue the hereticks in possession of their former privileges^m. The troubles and revolutions which happen'd afterwards in that principality, gave them farther opportunity to confirm their interest, and make this country a desirable *Asylum*, for such as should be driven out of other placesⁿ.


But not to come too low with our history: whilst *Transylvania* was thus occupied by hereticks, who seem'd to have all things run smoothly on their side, under the protection of the civil powers; a providential check there was suddenly given to their proceedings by a grievous dissention that arose among themselves. From the doctrine they advanced of Christ having no other but the human nature, there were some, as particularly *Franciscus Davidis*^o, and *Jacobus Paleologus*^p, who readily concluded that he could not then be the object of religious worship, and that consequently all prayers to, and invocations of Christ, were altogether as unwarrantable as those of Saints and Angels. *Blandrata* opposed this conclu-

^m Histoire du Socinianisme, par. 1. c. 15.

ⁿ Ibid. c. 27.

^o Sand. in Biblioth. p. 56. Histoire du Socin. par. 1. c. 15. par. 2. c. 17. *vid. &* Socin. Præfat. ad disput. cum Francisc. David.

^p Sand. p. 5. Hist. du Socin. par. 2. c. 13.

SER. VIII.  fion with his utmost diligence; but not finding himself able to stem the torrent alone, he invited *Faustus Socinus*, the nephew of *Lælius* already mentioned, to come to him out of *Switzerland*^a, in order to suppress this dangerous opinion, which they seem to have dreaded even more than the catholick doctrine of a *consubstantial Trinity*^r.

1578. This *Faustus Socinus* had been so far influenc'd by his uncle *Lælius*, that in his life-time he perfectly embraced his sentiments^r, and in the very year that *Lælius* died, being now become the heir and possessor of his manuscripts, he publish'd that explication of the first chapter of *St. John*^r, which has been since the standard of the *Socinian* hypothesis, and was then judg'd so agreeable to the notions advanced by his deceased uncle, that it was imagined, not only by *Zanchius*^u, and other *Calvinists*, but by some even of the *Polish* hereticks themselves, to have been writ by

^a *Wissowat. p. 213.*

^r — Qui rejecto de filio Dei, Deo Patri consubstantiali, errore; in alium MAGIS perniciosum delapsus est, de Christo religiose non honorando nec invocando. *Wissowat. ibid.*

^r Vid. *Przypcov. in vitâ F. Socin. Fol. Signat. ** 2* item *Ashwel de Socino & Socinianismo, §. 3. p. 5.*

^r Vid. *Faust. Socin. Epist. ad Dudithium Script. an. 1580. vol. 1. p. 479.*

^u Vid. *Zanch. Præfat. ad lib. de tribus Elohim.*



Lælius ^w. *Faustus* however continued about twelve years in the Duke of *Tuscany's* court ^x; after which he retired to *Basil*, and there cultivated his heresy both by writing and print, till he was invited into *Transylvania* (as was just now mentioned) in order to oppose that improvement which some had made upon his heresy, by disclaiming all religious worship and invocation of Christ.

During his stay in that country, he endeavour'd, both by writing and by conference, to reclaim them from this error, and bring them to acknowledge the necessity of adoring, and the lawfulness of invoking Christ ^y. But in the management of this controversy, it is true, he did not escape the censures of that party, whose cause he undertook to espouse. For whilst he contended only for the *lawfulness*, and not for the strict obligation or *necessity* of that part of worship which is

^w Nescio an unquam oculis tuis oblata sit brevis quædam explicatio initii primi capituli Johannis, a Zanchio & Beza, & ex parte a Polonis istis, Lælio ascripta: ea verò jam ante annos octodecim ex officinâ nostrâ prodiit. F. Socin. ad Dudith. ut supra.

^x Vit. Socin. per Przypcov. ut supr. Sandii Biblioth. p. 64. Ashwel de Socino & Socinianismo, §. 4. p. 6.

^y Vid. Socin. Resp. ad Francisc. David. de invocatione Christi, in tom. 2. p. 713, &c. vid. & Epist. 3. ad Radec. in tom. 1. p. 387, &c. item p. 353. & disput. cum Christian. Franken de adoratione Christi, tom. 2. p. 767, &c.

SER. VIII.



call'd *invocation*, he was understood to give up the principal point in question, and leave his adversaries to the option of neglecting it². The plain truth is, *Socinus* was heartily afraid, lest by carrying the point too high against these deeper hereticks, he might give an unseasonable handle to the Orthodox, for maintaining their notion of an *essential* Divinity. And therefore whatever remonstrances the generality of his brethren might make against it, he resolutely stuck to his assertion of the *lawfulness* of such worship as is not strictly *necessary*.

Yet neither thus were his reasonings conclusive. His adversaries had clearly the advantage in the argument upon *his own principles*; and tho' he had plain passages of *Scripture* to produce against them, yet such was the loose method of interpreting Scripture made use of by himself, and such the unbridled licentiousness of private judgment, as gave them an easy handle to elude the clearest demonstrations of this kind, and wrest them so as to consist with their opinions². It was impossible therefore for *Socinus*, to overthrow their prin-

² Vid. F. Socin. Epist. Dedic. ad Ministr. Transylv. tom. 2. p. 710. vid. & p. 716.

² See *his controversies with Francisc. David. and Christian Franken, in the second volume of his works.*



ciples, and to defend his own. And accordingly he was so far from convincing *Davidis* of his error, that *Blandrata* himself, who had called him to that work, is said at last to have deserted him^b, and gone over to that party he had so zealously opposed. So that we may the less wonder if being thus unsettled in his principles, he was in the end induced either wholly to desert, or at least to neglect the *Socinian* interest, and attend entirely to the making of his fortune in the world^c. To all which difficulties arising from this controversy, it seems to have been owing, that *Socinus* himself, some years afterwards, in *Poland*, was in a manner forc'd to swerve from his own stated maxims, and appeal to the traditional sense and doctrine of the Church, for his own support in this particular^d. The next year after his coming

1586.

1579.

^b Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 15.

^c Vid. Socin. Responf. ad Vujek. cap. 2.

^d Nam unde factum esse existimas, ut ab ipso fermè nascentis Ecclesiæ Christi initio usque ad nostra tempora, tot viri, adè ut nullus sit numerus, non minùs pietate quam doctrinâ clarissimi, tot ipsius Christi Sanctissimi Martyres, eum alioquì gravissimum errorem secuti fuerint, quod Christus sit unus ille Deus qui omnia creavit, aut certè ex illius propriâ substantiâ genitus, nisi quia nimis apertè in sanctis literis ea illi tribui animadvertunt, quæ soli Deo tribui consueverunt, & inter cætera potissimum adorationem & invocationem, eave, a quibus adoratio & invocatio, illa ut prorsus debita, hæc ut plane conveniens, nullo pacto sejungi possunt? Socin. Ep. 3. ad Mat. Rader. inter opera tom. 1. p. 391. col. 3. vid. & Ashwel de Socino §. 39. p. 56, 57.

into

SER. VIII. into *Transylvania*, his part was so far taken by the civil powers, that his principal opposer *Franciscus Davidis* was imprison'd, and died soon afterwards under his confinement^e.

It was at this time that *Socinus* travell'd into *Poland*, and upon his arrival at *Cracow*, found the hereticks of those parts very much divided, and much averse to one another. *Simon Budnæus* had a number of followers, who disclaim'd the worship of Christ like those in *Transylvania*, and receiving from him some other judaizing notions, were known there under the name of *Budnæists*^f. These were most of all detested and excommunicated by the rest; but continued for some time to keep up a distinct communion, even after their chief leader had deserted them^g. On the other hand, *Farnovius* was a strenuous assertor of the *Arian* hypothesis of a pre-existent nature in Christ, and disdain'd to communicate with those who could think so meanly of him as of a mere man^h. Between both was the greater body of hereticks, who agreed with the *Budnæists* in

^e Sand. Biblioth. p. 56. Ashwel de Socino & Socinianismo, §. 38. p. 55.

^f Sand. p. 54. vita Wiffowat. ad calcem Sandii p. 226.

^g Histoire du Socinianisme, par. 2. c. 11. p. 286.

^h Sandius, p. 52. vita Wiffowat. p. 226.

acknowledging no other but the human nature in Christ, and with the *Farnovians* in asserting him, notwithstanding that, to be the object of religious worship. Yet even these had some difference with *Soci- mus*, and however they might concur with him in their notions of God, and of the person of Christ, yet they so far disagreed about the doctrine of satisfaction, and some other particulars, that they even refused to admit him into their communionⁱ, and continued for some time to reject him with warmth and vehemence.

1580.

1580.

1581.

1583.

1584.

It was during this repulse, that he fell under the displeasure of the King of *Poland*, by espousing some notions which were deem'd prejudicial to civil government^k: which obliged him to retire for some years from *Cracow* to the country-seat of a *Polish* Nobleman^l, in whose house he held a set disputation with *Christianus Franken*ⁿ the *Budnæist*, about the worship of Christ^m, and finished his controversy

ⁱ Przipcov. in vita Socini. Wiffowat. narrat. compend. p. 214. Ashwel §. 35. p. 49.

^k These were contain'd in his Apologia seu Responso pro Racoviensibus, written in opposition to Jacobus Palæologus's Book De Magistratu Politico, and published in 1581. Vid. Sandii Bibl. p. 70. item Ashwel §. 5. p. 6.

^l Przipcov. & Ashwel ut supr.

^m Sandius, p. 71. Ashwel, §. 38. p. 56. vid. Socini opera, vol. 2.

SER. VIII. with *Erasmus Johannis*, who had espoused the *Arian* or *Farnovian* hypothesisⁿ.

1586. After his return to *Cracow*, he labour'd to confirm his scheme, as well against the Champions of the orthodox side, as against those who differ'd from him in the stating of their heresy. And his endeavours of
1588. this kind met with such success, as well
1589. in publick disputations, as by private letters and conference, that not a few of the principal hereticks^o in those parts were reconciled to his sentiments, and came over entirely to his side: tho' still there was so much aversion to his heresy remain'd among the people of *Poland*, that a good
1598. while after this we find him in the hands of the mob, and treated with such indignity and violence as forced him again to retire from *Cracow*^p, whither he return'd
1604. no more to the time of his death, which happen'd about six years afterwards.

Some other misfortunes happen'd to his followers in different parts of *Poland*, as particularly in the city of *Lublin*, where after the *Socinians* had for diverse years found so much countenance from the *Re-*

ⁿ Socini opera, vol. 2. p. 528. Sandius in Biblioth. p. 72. & 87. Ashwel de Socino & Socianismo, §. 37. p. 54.

^o Vid. Przypcov. in vit. Socin. Hist. du Socin, par. 1. c. 24.

^p Hist. du Socin. par. 2. c. 22.

form'd as to be receiv'd to their religious assemblies, the *Trinity Church* was suddenly destroy'd by lightning, and several of the congregation perish'd^g, whilst one of the hereticks (as it is said) was preaching against the catholick doctrine of the *Trinity in Unity*^r. However the *Socinians* might interpret this, as they had formerly done a like instance at *Cracow*, to be a declaration from heaven on their side^f, yet the generality of the people rather look'd upon it, as a judgment sent upon them for having so long suffer'd their impieties, and therefore could not be satisfied till, besides many indignities offer'd in a tumultuous way, they in the end obtain'd a legal sentence (which yet seems not to have been strictly executed) for restraining them, and with them all the *Reformed*, from holding either annual synods or religious assemblies in that city^t.

SER. VIII.
1616.

1627.


But whatever be said of some particular places, yet generally it must be owned the cause of *Socinianism* flourish'd much in *Poland*, through the reign of *Sigismond*. Many indeed were the wild opinions which

^g Vid. Stoin. Epitom. Hist. Unitar. ad calc. Sardii Bibl. Antitrinit. p. 188.

^r Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 25.

^f Stoinius ut supr.

^t Hist. du Socin. ut supra.

SER. VIII.  had risen from the luxuriant liberty of private judgment, whilst every man was deemed capable of forming a scheme of religion to himself, by interpreting the Scriptures in his own sense, without the help of that light which is held out to them by the tradition and history of former times. But such had been the arts of *Socinus* to engage and persuade, such his command of temper, and appearance of modesty, and such withal his studious application to polish more and more the scheme he had advanced, and to oppose the several sorts of adversaries that appear'd against it, that in the end the various sects of *Antitrinitarians* had combined in one^u, which from him have been usually denominated the *Socinians*, tho' their own writers chose rather to distinguish themselves by the name of *Unitarians*^w, to import their assertion of the *numerical unity* in such a sense, as excludes all *plurality of persons* in the God-head as well as *essences*.

The doctrines of *Socinus* were by some of his followers methodized and digested into regular systems, and by others defended against the various objections whether of *Romanists* or *Protestants*^x. A scheme it

^u Histoire du Socinianisme par. 1. c. 24.

^w Vita Wislowat. *ad calcem* Sandii p. 225.

^x Vid. Ashwel de Socino & Socinianismo §. 8. p. 10.
Histoire du Socinianisme par. 2. c. 25, &c.

was, which did entirely change the whole nature and design of Christianity. It not only took in that grand point, in which the *Sabellians* and the *Arians* agreed, that the supreme Deity is *personally* but one, concurring also with the latter, that our blessed Saviour is not *God over all*; and with the former, that the Holy Spirit is only a divine influence, without any *personal subsistence*; but it went on with *Artemon* and others, to deny that Jesus Christ had any real existence before his birth of the Virgin; and its patrons having set up private judgment as their supreme rule, concluded from the whole, more impiously indeed, but still more consistently than former hereticks, that whatever is said of the *merit* and *satisfaction* of Christ, his *sacrifice* for sin, and his *redemption* of sinners, his unchangeable *priesthood*, and *intercession* for us at God's right hand, has altogether a metaphorical or figurative meaning, widely different from that in which the Church had always understood and made use of those expressions. To these if we add the many other errors of this newfangled scheme, concerning the constitution of the christian *Church*, and the appointment of its *Mini-*

^y Præter ipsos *Autores Socinianos*. Vid. Ashwel de Socino & Socinianismo. §. 67. p. 126, &c.

SER. VIII. *stry*, the efficacy of its *Sacraments*, and the secret *operations* of divine *Grace*, the *interpretation* of *Scripture*, and the *rules* of christian *Obedience*, the state of the *Soul* after death, the *resurrection* of the *Body*, and the future *judgment*; we shall have cause to say, that there was never any heresy, that did so artfully disguise so great a number of impieties as this *hydra* of *Socinianism*^z: which made so low an account of the unfathomable mystery of our *redemption*, that there can be little ground to wonder, if besides the *judaizing* errors already mention'd, there should be some who apostatized (as *Socinus*^a himself could not entirely disown) into *Mahometism*^b, or into downright *Atheism*^c; nay, even if some of those who did not openly aposta-

^z ——— Instar Hydræ Lernææ, quæ & capite multiplici horrorem incussit, & veneno mortem intulit. Ashwel §. 58. p. 101.

^a ---Eâ verò [*Christi adoratione & invocatione*] spretâ vel abjectâ, nullâ ratione fieri potest, ne ubique Judaismus vigeat, vel potius turpis Epicureismus atque Atheismus. Socin. ad syn. Wærgrov. tom. 1. p. 491. vid. & ejusd. respons. ad 30 scr. ab excellenti viro proposit. ad scrup. 18. tom. 1. p. 331.

^b *This is particularly charged upon Paulus Alciatus.* (See Benedictus Aretius's account of Valentinus Gentilis, chap. 1.) *Yet the fact is not well supported, but rather the contrary.* (See Bayle's Dictionary, in voce Alciatus.) *The same charge against Francisc. Lismaninus is not credited:* (Histoire du Socinianisme, par. 2. c. 12.) *But it is allow'd* (chap. 18.) *of Adam Neufnerus.* And John Sylvanus (ibid.) *sunk so far into Judaism as to practise Circumcision.*

^c Vid. Ashwel de Socino & Socinianismo, §. 29. p. 39. 40.

tize, should yet boast of their agreement with the followers of *Mahomet*^d in their notions of the divine Unity, and their little difference from them in respect of Christ^e.

Nor was the malignity of this pernicious heresy confined to *Poland* and the *Eastern* parts of *Europe*: it threatned the spreading of its baneful influence in our *Western* world. The fanatical madness of the *Anabaptists*, which appear'd so outrageous in *Germany* and the *Netherlands* for a considerable part of the sixteenth century^f, had no little mixture of this heresy with it. And even that party among them, which forbore the most frantick of their extravagances, and from one of their chief leaders are still known under the name of *Mennonites*, did however concur, though not perhaps in any uniform scheme (for they again were subdivided among themselves) yet in some method or other to oppose the doctrine of the *Trinity*^g. Besides which it ought not to be omitted, that in the last century, when the narrow

SER. VIII.


^d Vid. Lubieniec. de Serveto in the Hist. of Servet. p. 196.

^e See the Socinian Dedication to the Morocco Ambassador, inserted in Mr. Lesly's Preface to the sixth part of the Socinian Controversy discussed. See also p. 25. — 31.

^f Vid. Histoire du Socinianisme, par. 1. c. 18. & par. 2. c. 19.

^g Ibid. par. 1. c. 19, 20. par. 2. c. 20. See Collier's Dictionary in voce Mennonites.

SER. VIII. notions of the *Calvinists*, in respect of
 God's grace and decrees, had provoked the
 opposition of some persons of a clearer
 judgment, who from the *Remonstrance*
 presented, by them to the States of *Holland*, bore the name of *Remonstrants*^h:
 this opposition was managed in such man-
 ner, that, as it often happens in the warmth
 of dispute, they seem (some of them at
 least) not content with correcting the ex-
 cesses of *Calvin*, to have lean'd too much
 towards the other extreme, and given in
 with too little guard and caution to the
 reasonings of *Socinus*. And when they
 were thus far agreed with him, there were
 some who scrupled not to follow him in
 other instances. *Conradus Vorstius* in par-
 ticular, who had been formerly suspected,
 did now so fully betray his inclination to
 heresy, by publishing a noted piece of *Socinus*,
 as well as others of his own, that
 he is generally given up by the orthodox
 writersⁱ, and claim'd by the *Antitrinitarians*^k.

1599.

1610.

^h Curcellæus in præf. ad oper. Episcop. See Collier's Dictionary in voce Remonstrants. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, l. 11. Hist. Quinquart. par. 1. c. 5. Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 33, &c.

ⁱ Vid. Ashwel de Socino & Socinianismo, §. 62. p. 111: Hist. du Socin. par. 2. c. 37.

^k Vid. Sandii Biblioth. Antitr. p. 98. So likewise Stephan. Curcellæus, & Guil. Henr. Vorstius appear in the same Bibliothecque, p. 109, 143. as well as in the Histoire du Socinianisme.

The body of the *Remonstrants* however are not to be charged with this impiety; it must be owned that the generality of them have expressly declared against it. But yet as they were treated not long after by the synod of *Dort* with great rigour and severity, the ill usage they receiv'd had but too natural a tendency to take off their reverence for synods, and confirm them in the *Socinian* sentiments of the unrestrained authority of private judgment. This naturally disposed them to think amiss of articles of faith prescribed as terms of communion; and from hence it came to pass that they who were the most orthodox among them with respect to the doctrine of the *Trinity*, yet thought the errors in that point were such as ought to be indulg'd, and were willing therefore to maintain communion with *Socinians*, as with Christian brethren.

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1618.

1650.

As heresy was thus insensibly creeping to the *West* of *Europe*, so in process of time it was entirely extirpated in that kingdom, where it had hitherto found so much encouragement. After the long reign of *Sigismund* the third, *Uladislas* at last succeeded to the crown of *Poland*; in whose time the freedom of the press at

1633.

! Vid. Episcop. Infit. Theolog. lib. 4. sect. 2. c. 34, 35.

- SER. VIII. *Racovia*, the use of their Church, and the government of their School or University, were taken from them at once, upon occasion (as themselves give out) of their youth offering some affront to the *Popish* superstition^m. This was followed some time after with the like inhibitions in other parts of *Poland*ⁿ. But the succeeding reign of *Casimir* was more particularly unfortunate and fatal to them. The troubles which arose by the irruption of the *Cossacks*, fell with greatest violence upon the *Unitarians*, as being more particularly odious to them on account of their heresy^o. And therefore when the King of *Sweden* made such advantage to himself of these disorders, as to invade *Poland* with his army like a torrent, these *Unitarians*, not without the concurrence (I confess) of many others, thought it for their interest to submit to him for the benefit of his protection^p. This, aggravated by the zeal which they express'd in that interest, not only expos'd them to great ravages from the insurrection of the *Polish* peasants^q, but when *Casimir* recover'd his losses, it was

^m Vita Wiffowat. ad calcem Sandii, p. 233. Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 20.

ⁿ Vit. Wiffowat. p. 236, &c.

^o Vit. Wiffowat. p. 241. Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 25.

^p Vit. Wiffowat. p. 244.

^q Ibid.



farther remember'd to their disadvantage^r, when a royal Edict was published, with the concurrence of the Diet of *Warsaw*, to require all of this profession to depart that kingdom under pain of death, but with an indulgence of three years time to dispose of their effects, provided they forbore the exercise of their religion^f. This time of indulgence was afterwards made shorter^t by a year: And then tho' many were induced to renounce their former errors, either thro' real conviction, or thro' fear of banishment; yet there were others who persisted under all hazards to profess their sentiments, and were thereupon dispersed^u through *Transylvania, Hungary, Holland*, and such parts of the Empire where they could find any favourable reception. In which places they have been always active to propagate their notions, and pervert as many as was possible to concur with them.

They have not indeed been able from that time to form any very formidable party, or engage the secular powers to support and patronize them. The most that is any where allow'd 'em is a bare *to-*

^r Hist. du Socin. par. 1. c. 25.

^f Vita Wiffowat. *ad calcem* Sandii Biblioth. Antitr. p. 248.

^t Pag. 254.

^u Pag. 255.

SER. VIII. *eration*^w, and even that is generally denied
 'em, whilst they are consider'd as the open
 enemies of the christian name, and their
 blasphemies unfit to be endured by those
 who have any reverence for Christianity.
 I take this to be the ground, why the *im-*
pugners of the doctrine of the *Trinity* are
 expressly excluded from the benefit of our
 act of *Toleration*. And if the *Quakers*
 are included in it, notwithstanding that
 deep tincture of *Socinianism* which seems
 to run thro' their hypothesis (whom I chuse
 thus to mention by the way, that I may
 be excused the treating of them more at
 large) perhaps this might be partly owing
 to the intricacy and obscurity of their
 opinions, which are as little understood by
 other people, as generally by themselves.

But notwithstanding that exclusion from
 indulgence, it cannot be denied that some
 persons of such sentiments have from time
 to time crept in among us, sometimes more
 openly avowing, at other times more art-
 fully concealing them, or even daring to
 subscribe to articles directly repugnant to
 their principles. In the beginning of the
Reformation, among the great number of

^w As in a few cities of Transylvania, in some parts of the United
 Netherlands; and out of Christendom, in some parts of the Ma-
 hometan and Pagan Dominions. Hist. of the Unitar. let. 1:
 p. 29, 30.

foreigners who took sanctuary in these parts, there were some persons too certainly infected with *Anabaptistical* and *Antitrinitarian* tenets^x. *Bernardinus Ochinnus*, whom some have charged with promoting *Arianism* in *Italy*, or at least at *Geneva*^y, came over early in the reign of King *Edward*^z. But by the friendship he had contracted with *Peter Martyr*, and the favour he obtain'd with Archbishop *Cranmer* himself, he seems to have conceal'd his sentiments in these matters, and to have signalized himself only by his zeal against the *Papal* usurpation^a. Whether he might secretly promote those *Arian* notions^b, with which some have supposed him to be tinctured before his coming over, I pretend not to assert: But 'tis certain there were others who did it openly^c, and there is this use to be made of the fact, that the doctrine of the *Trinity* cannot be reckon'd a point that was overlook'd or unconsider'd in our *Reformation*, any more than abroad; there were persons that op-

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1547.

1548.

1547.

1549.

^x See *Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat.* par. 2. lib. 1. p. 110. an. 1549. *Strype's Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. 2. l. 1. c. 9.

^y See above, p. 388.

^z Vid. *Sandii Biblioth.* p. 3. *Strype* ut sup. c. 24.

^a *Strype* *ibid.* item c. 25.

^b Vid. *Histoire du Socinianisme*, par. 2. c. 4. p. 239.

^c *Bishop Burnet* ut sup. *Strype* c. 26. & l. 2. c. 15.

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posed it as one of the corruptions of Popery, and this made it necessary for our *Reformers* to examine the case, and see whether in reality it were one of those points which needed *reformation*.

And what was the result of such enquiry? We find by the rigorous discipline of those times, there were two persons burnt for heresy, one for denying the Divinity of Christ^d, another for denying that he took the flesh of the substance of the Virgin^e: The *English* Liturgy, which had
 1548. been lately drawn up^f, was after this care-
 1550. fully review'd and examin'd^g; and yet still its collects and doxologies were entirely repugnant to the *Arian* hypothesis: There
 1552. was a strict enquiry made after the *Arians*^h as a most pernicious sort of hereticks; and Mr. *Philpot* in particular express'd the utmost abhorrence of their blasphemies, and wrote against them with great zeal and vehemence, as persons unfit for the society of Christian peopleⁱ: And lastly; there were
 1552. *Articles* of Religion drawn up at first by

^d Bp. Burnet ut supr. p. 112.

^e Burnet, p. 111. Strype, vol. 2. l. 1. c. 26.

^f C. 11.

^g C. 26. & l. 2. c. 15.

^h L. 2. c. 15.

ⁱ Strype's Eccles. Memor. vol. 3. c. 33. p. 261. See also his Catalogue of Originals at the end of that Volume, N^o 48. p. 145, &c.



the Bishops^k, and afterwards published by the King's authority^l, and required to be subscribed by all the Clergy, as well at the time of ordination, as at their entrance upon preferment^m, which are said to have been so nearly the same with our present *Articles*ⁿ, that they must needs be admitted as good evidence of the doctrine of our Church at that time in these particulars.

The reign of Queen *Mary* followed quickly after, when many of our Divines, to avoid the violence of her persecution, were forced to seek for refuge in foreign countries^o. As this fell out just after the execution of *Servetus* at *Geneva*, and when the *Arian* controversy was warmly debated among the *Protestants* abroad, it could not but give our *Refugees* the easier opportunity to acquaint themselves with the true merits of the cause, and determine their own judgments with the more impartiality. And yet at their return, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, they were so far from opposing the doctrine which

^k Strype, vol. 2. l. 2. c. 12, 15.

^l C. 15.

^m C. 22. See *Bp. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat.* vol. 3. book 4. p. 212. and *Dr. Bennet's Essay on the thirty nine Articles*, chap. 28. p. 371.

ⁿ See Strype, vol. 2. l. 2. c. 12. p. 341.

^o Vol. 3. chap. 18.

- SER. VIII. had been settled in the time of King *Edward*, that in two different Convocations, that body of *Articles* which is still in use
1562. was approved and subscribed, in *Latin* first^p, and afterwards in *English*^q. Which
1571. being at last ratified by Parliament, was required to be subscribed by the inferior Clergy^r, and has been ever since esteem'd the standing confession of the *Church of England*. And though there might be at that time a pretty great mixture of *Socinianism*, among the many seditious and fanatical tenets of the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Family of Love*, and such like wild Enthusiasts; yet it is certain withal, that they were restrain'd and punish'd with great severity, both in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* the first. So far have we always been from having any heterodox schemes in this particular establish'd among us, or indeed exprelly tolerated! Nor do I find that they gain'd any considerable ground with private persons, till in or near the time of *Cromwel's* usurpation.
1644. It was about that time that *John Biddle*, a Schoolmaster in *Gloucester*, where the

^p See Dr. Bennet's Essay on the thirty nine Articles, chap. 2, ——— 11.

^q Ibid. ch. 19, ——— 22.

^r See Stat. of 13 Eliz. cap. 12. See also Dr. Bennet's Essay, ch. 32.

rebels had a strong garrison, began to publish and make open profession of his heresy^f. He was mainly in the *Socinian* scheme, except that with the *Pneumatomachi* of old, he admitted the *personality* of the Holy Ghost, and denying only his *Divinity*, asserted him to be no more than chief among the holy Angels^t. But bad as the times were, yet the impiety of his opinions was too gross and shocking to be silently endured. He was argued with in order to convince him of his error, he was examined as well by the Magistrates and Committee at *Gloucester*, as by the infamous Parliament then sitting at *Westminster*, he was in both places imprison'd for his obstinacy; and yet after all he was so far from retracting his opinions, that he avow'd them in print. His book hereupon was order'd to be burnt, and tho' the endeavours of the *Assembly of Divines* were not effectual for his execution, yet he continued in prison till an act of oblivion under *Cromwel* restored him to his liberty: which he abused by gathering a congregation here in *London*, in order to propagate his notions, and publishing his twofold

1647.

1648.

1651.

^f Sandii Biblioth. p. 159. Life of Mr. Tho. Firmin, p. 9, 10. Ant. a Wood Athenæ Oxon. vol. 2. col. 300, &c. Edit. 1721.

^t Ibid. and Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion, p. 4.

- SER. VIII. *Catechism* for the corruption of the com-
 mon people. This drew on him the ani-
 madversions of the new Parliament, who
 not only sentenced his *Catechism* to the
 flames, but the author likewise to a new
 imprisonment; who after this was removed
 by *Cromwel's* order to the Isle of *Scilly*,
 from whence being again released, he con-
 tinued to propagate his heresy, till after the
Restoration he was once more confined, and
 died under his imprisonment^u. But he had
 first formed a sect or party of followers, who
 took from him the name^w of *Bidellians*,
 till it was lost in the more common appel-
 lation of *Socinians*, or, which they rather
 chose for themselves, that of *Unitarians*^x.
 And there was one among his followers^y
 who tho' he lived not to reach the age of
 sixteen years, yet had zeal and forwardness
 enough to be esteem'd the patron of the
 party, and as well by his translation of
Bidel's Catechism into *Latin*, as by pub-
 lishing an *Oration* of his own, was active
 to promote its interest.
 It was not long after this that *Sandius*
 publish'd his *Ecclesiastical History*^z, mani-

^u Ant. a Wood ut supr. col. 305.

^w Sandius, ibid. & p. 172.

^x Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion, p. 4.

^y By name Nathanael Stuckey. vid. Sandii Biblioth. p. 159,
 172. Ant. a Wood Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. col. 306.

^z Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, first published in the year
 1669.

feftly calculated for the service of the *Arian* cause, and to persuade his readers, that till the time of the *Nicene* Council, the Catholics had those very sentiments which were then embraced by *Arius* and his associates, and all who differ'd from them in these points had been esteem'd as heretics. This groundless calumny (which had been but too much countenanced by the writings of *Petavius*^a, tho' with a different view) gave occasion to that admirable *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, which was drawn up by our incomparably learned Bishop *Bull*, in opposition at once to the *Arian* and the *Jesuit*; and which was afterwards followed by his other treatise of the *Judgment of the Catholick Church concerning the necessity of believing Christ's Divinity*, in opposition to *Episcopus* and his *Remonstrant* brethren. Mean while the controversy which prevail'd chiefly among us, was not upon the *Arian* but *Socinian* scheme; tho' as *Sandius* had plainly shewn his opinion, that there was nothing which should hinder those two parties from communicating with each other^b, so the *Socinians* were generally of the same mind^c, and

SER. VIII.


not published till 1685

1694.

^a In his *Dogmata Theolog. de Trin. lib. 1. first publish'd in the year 1644.*

^b *Nucl. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. p. 186. de Paulo Samosat. & p. 229. de Ario.*

^c Vid. vit. Wiffowat. *ad calcem Sand. Bibl. p. 226.*

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CON-

SER. VIII. content to join with such as advanced
 somewhat higher than themselves, provid-
 ed they denied the Son's proper and es-
 sential Divinity. Some of them adhered
 1687. to *Biddle's* scheme already mentioned^d,
 but the greater part seem to have embraced
 the grossest sort of *Socinianism*, as well by
 disowning the personality of the Holy
 Ghost, as disclaiming likewise all worship
 or invocation of Christ, for which the *Po-
 lish Socinians* would doubtless have rejected
 their communion^e.

The great increase and boldness of this
 heresy, gave occasion to a celebrated Di-
 vine of our Church, to write his *Vindica-
 tion of the doctrine of the holy and ever-
 blessed Trinity*^f; who, by some terms he
 made use of in the explication of that
 great mystery, gave but too plausible a co-
 lour (in the judgment of some persons) for
 the charge of *Tritheism*; which became
 the foundation of a most unhappy contro-
 versy, and provoked another great Divine
 of our Church to enter the lists with him,
 and propose a different scheme^g, which
 however it made use of the catholick ex-

^d See brief Hist. of the Unitarians. p. 33, 99.

^e Ibid. p. 109.

^f Dr. Sherlock's Book with that title was published in the year
 1690.

^g See Dr. South's Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock.

pressions, was nevertheless charged with *Sabellianism*. Great was the advantage which our *Socinian* adversaries made by this contention. They boasted that the Church was divided between *real*, and merely *nominal*, *Trinitarians*; that these last at the bottom differed nothing from themselves, for that under the veil of catholic expressions they asserted the divine *Unity* in such a sense, as admitted of no other *diversity*, but what lay in the *mode* of appearance or *manifestation* only; that therefore the *Unitarians* themselves were ready to conform, and subscribe to the doctrine of the *Church of England*, as they expounded it^h; and accordingly they pretended to draw up a *scheme of agreement*ⁱ, in which they profess'd to own as much as those they called the *Nominals*, by admitting a *Trinity of persons*, provided by the word *persons* they might be allow'd to understand no more than mere *modes* or *names* of relation^k.

Thus *Socinianism*, on a sudden, as far as it respects this doctrine of the *Trinity in Unity*, was transform'd into the ancient

1694.

^h See *Life of Mr. Tho. Firmin*, p. 17, 18, 24. and *Account of his Religion*, p. 6.

ⁱ See that *scheme* it self inserted in the *Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion*, p. 8, &c.

^k *Ibid.* p. 18, 19.

SER. VIII. *Sabellianism*. And upon that bottom it seems chiefly to have stood (altho' it made but little figure) 'till within a few years since, the *Arian* scheme has taken place
 1708. of it again, being advanced by one writer with great freedom and assurance^l, and
 1712. more artfully disguised and palliated by another^m. What topicks have been used to recommend and enforce it, as well among the members of the establish'd Church, as those who dissent from it; and what arguments have been employ'd to beat it down and destroy it, that it seems now again to lie as 'twere expiring, are matters of fact too fresh in memory to need any distinct recital.


We have now brought down the *Trinitarian Controversy* to our own times; and upon the most impartial review of the facts which have been stated, I conceive it must appear, that from the very beginning of Christianity, the Church has always acknowledg'd the real and distinct subsistence of three in number, eternally subsisting in the Godhead; that each of these by himself has always been acknowledg'd to be

^l See Mr. Whiston's *Letters in his Historical Preface*, dated 1708.

^m Dr. Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, first published in the year 1712.

truly divine, and possess'd of those perfections which are inseparable from the nature of God; that the Unity of the Godhead notwithstanding, has been constantly maintain'd, and when that has been urged as a difficulty in the catholick scheme, it has been usually accounted for by referring the second and third of these to the first, as their head and origine, from whom they are eternally derived, and with whom by a mutual inexistence and the closest union, they are essentially and indivisibly one; that tho' the terms of *generation* and *procession* were not used by all the *Antenicene* writers, in the same sense to which the *Postnicenes* have applied them, namely, to denote this eternal communication of the divine nature, yet they allowed the notion it self, which the other Fathers chose to set forth by those expressions; that finally, altho' there have been new terms occasionally introduced by the Catholics, yet these have made no alteration in the doctrine it self, but served only to guard against the perverse constructions and innovations of hereticks, who abused the simplicity of the catholick language, to conceal the deformity of their various and inconsistent sentiments.

But whilst we have this constant and uniform tradition to appeal to on the catholick side, what remains for our adver-

SER. VIII.  faries to plead out of antiquity, for the defence and support of their *hypothesis*? They who have observed their management of this controversy, will easily perceive, that they lay an unreasonable stress upon certain scatter'd passages of some ancient authors, who writing before the use of terms came to be accurately fixed and settled, did naturally fall into a more laxe kind of expression, and cannot be imagin'd to have guarded purposely against such heresies as arose not till after them; when yet those very heresies are clearly inconsistent with the main scope and design of those authors themselves, as well as with the whole stream of antiquity besides. As soon as any heresies arose in this particular, whether upon the *Sabellian*, the *Samosatenian*, or the *Arian* scheme, we have seen how the Church immediately received them with abhorrence, and held them in the utmost detestation.

And what has the spirit of error been doing all this while, but perpetually shifting its scenes, and (as if it had been driven from one fortress to another) taking up these different heresies by interchangeable succession, and obtruding one delusion upon the world, when another has been baffled and exploded?

The difficulty of forming to our selves any just idea of so sublime a mystery, is
 2 that



that fatal rock upon which those magnifiers of human reason have so unhappily split and made shipwreck of the faith. The followers of *Ebion* first, and afterwards of *Theodotus* and *Artemon*, would acknowledge no other nature in Christ besides the human, that they might assert the supreme Godhead of the Father only. But when this principle was found impossible to be maintain'd, and the testimonies of Christ's Divinity were too clear to be eluded, then came *Praxeas* and others that succeeded in the third century, asserting the Father himself to be incarnate, who under that manifestation obtain'd the name of the Son, that so they might acknowledge a divine nature in Christ, without giving up their darling *hypothesis* of no more than one person really subsisting in the Godhead. When this *hypothesis* was sufficiently run down, *Paulus Samosatenus* the Bishop of *Antioch*, seems inclined to have revived the heresy of *Artemon*; but after all came *Arius* and his partisans, who aim'd to split the difference between 'em, by supposing the Son indeed to be distinct from the Father, and (in his new sense of that expression) to have existed *before all ages*, yet still without partaking of the same Substance or Divinity, to be no other than an inferior constituted kind of Deity, altogether dependent on the

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will or appointment of the Father. So that whilst they agreed with the hereticks on both sides, in acknowledging the supreme Godhead of the Father only, they yet asserted the distinction against *Sabellius*, but such a distinction as has no mystery; namely, the same which occurs between creatures and Creator; and in like manner they asserted Christ's Divinity against *Artemon*, but such a Divinity as agrees much better with the Pagan, than the Christian Theology; namely, such as is derived from arbitrary constitution, and is not of its own nature the same from all eternity. Yet in this too they had different turns and alterations, sometimes more open in their blasphemies, at other times approaching nearer to the Catholics, dissembling, disguising and concealing their sentiments, and at length almost granting to the Catholics the article of the Son, that they might oppose the Divinity of the Holy Ghost with greater earnestness. When these points had been pushed every way, and then lain as it were buried for many centuries (not to mention now the heresies which arose upon the doctrine of the incarnation only) we have seen how the *Samosatenian* scheme revived about two hundred years ago, which after much fluttering and uncertainty, and splitting into various parties, was by some modern rea-
soners

soners exchanged for the *Sabellian*, and that (when it was found incapable of being longer defended) has very lately resign'd its place to the *Arian*; which being by this time pretty well beaten from its strong-holds, if it shall still stand out against the conviction of truth, it may be easy to foresee, that it must soon make way for the revival of the *Socinian* hypothesis, and the most extravagant licentiousness of private judgment, or else (which is no distant consequence) lead men into downright atheism and infidelity.

Such are the continued rounds and changes of the spirit of error. And such they must always be, so long as men presume to judge of these sublime mysteries by the narrow compass of their own abstracted reasonings. There can be no end of wrangling and contention, unless we resolve to submit our reason, in matters which we cannot fathom, to such direction and authority as is sufficient to conduct it, unless we humbly refer our selves to revelation, explained by that light which catholick tradition may furnish from the earliest ages. There must be difficulties in every other scheme that is advanced about the nature of God, not less we may be sure, and I might have ventured to say much greater, than any that can be charged

SER. VIII. upon the Catholick. So that they who are to be frightened with the bare naming of difficulties, will be only driven from one scheme to another, *tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrineⁿ, ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth^o.* They who are conversant in the questions which relate to the existence of God, or the government of his providence, the operations of his grace, or the execution of his decrees, cannot be insensible, that whatever scheme they take, there must something be admitted, which exceeds the comprehension of our narrow understandings, and swallows all our thoughts in an unfathomable obscurity.

It is time then, when we are treating of such stupendous mysteries, as the angels themselves can never penetrate; it is time to have done with all such vain confidences in our own reasonings, to *cast down imaginations, and every high thing, that exalteth it self against the knowledge of God, and bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ^p.* It is time that we look back to the rock whence we are hewn^q, and to the hole of

ⁿ Ephes. iv. 14.

^o 2 Tim. iii. 7.

^p 2 Cor. x. 5.

^q Isai. li. 1.

the pit whence we are digged; that we consider the foundation of that Church, into which we pretend to be incorporated, and be careful “⁹ to preserve that “ most valuable depositum, which has “ been delivered to us through the ages “ that are past; worshipping the Father and “ the Son and the Holy Ghost, acknow- “ ledging the Father in the Son, and the “ Son in the Spirit, in whose name we “ were baptized, in whom we have pro- “ fessed our belief, to whom we have de- “ dicated our selves; distinguishing thus “ in order to unite them, and uniting in “ order to distinguish them; esteeming not “ the three to be one only person (as if “ they were so merely nominal, as to “ have no real subsistence! or as if the “ riches of God’s grace extended to us in “ names or words rather than realities!) “ but still believing the same three to be “ one, though not in person, yet in sub- “ stance or Godhead, [that it may not be a Trinity of different natures, (for why should the word Trinity be understood to number together things different in kind, any more than a decad or a century^r?) but the natural and necessary conjunction

⁹ Greg. Naz. Orat. 12. in fine.

^r Τριὰς ὃν πραγμάτων ἄριστον ἀπαρίθμησις, ἢ πὶ καλύει καὶ δεκάδα, καὶ ἑκατογτάδα, καὶ μυριάδα ὀνομάζειν μετὰ τούτων σιντι-

SER. VIII. conjunction of three persons in the same essence] “ the Unity being to be wor-
 “ shipped in Trinity, and the Trinity col-
 “ lected into Unity, all royal, all adore-
 “ able, possess’d of the same throne and
 “ glory, above all worlds, and before
 “ all times, uncreated, invisible, inac-
 “ cessible, incomprehensible; which alone
 “ can understand its own order and œco-
 “ nomy, but is equally by us and with-
 “ out any difference to be worship’d
 “ and adored; which only dwells in the
 “ most holy place [prefigured by the in-
 “ most sanctuary in the *Jewish* temple]
 “ leaving all creatures without, some se-
 “ parated by the first, and others by the
 “ second veil; the first excluding the cœ-
 “ lestial and angelical spirits from the
 “ Deity it self, the other shutting out our
 “ human nature, as still inferior to the
 “ angelical. Let these, my brethren, be
 “ the sentiments of our minds, and the
 “ directions of our practice. And as for
 “ them who are of an opposite judgment,
 “ as though they labour’d under some ma-
 “ lignant disease, let us endeavour all that
 “ in us lies for their recovery. But when

συντιθεμένα; πολλὰ ὅθ' ἀριθμώμεθα, καὶ πλείω τέτων ἀλλ' ἴσον καὶ ὁμοτίμων σύλληψις, ἐνάσης τῆς προσηγορίας τὰ ἠναμένα ἐκ φύσεως, καὶ οὐκ ἐώσης σκεδασθῆναι ἀριθμῷ λυομένων τὰ μὴ λυόμενα. Greg. Naz. Orat. 13. p. 211.

“ the

“ the disease shall appear to be incurable, [i. e. when such hereticks shall continue obstinate and irreclaimable after all our admonitions] “ it may then concern us “ to avoid them as the plague, and shun “ them as the bane of Christianity, lest “ instead of imparting to them our own “ health and soundness of mind, we should “ our selves in the end be infected with “ their malignity”. God grant that none of us may thus be *led away with the error of the wicked to fall from our own steadfastness^t*, into that gulph of perdition, but may all continue in one spirit, “ *striving together for the faith of the gospel^u*, “ acted as it were by one soul, and *mind- ing the same thing^v*; that being thus “ arm’d with the impenetrable *shield of faith*, and strengthen’d with the *girdle of truth*, we may have but one war to “ manage, namely, that against the evil “ one, and such as shall presume to fight “ under his banner and direction”; that finally being thus combined *in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God*, its influence may reach our practice, and bind us up by just degrees *unto the perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ^v*, teach-

^t 2 Pet. iii. 17. ^u Phil. i. 27. ^v Chap. iii. 16. ^w Eph. iv. 13.

SER. VIII. *ing us to deny all ungoaliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world, as looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ^w, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three persons in the unity of the same eternal Godhead, Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, be render'd and ascribed, by us and all reasonable creatures, as is most due, all honour, glory, praise, might, majesty and dominion, now and henceforth for evermore. Amen.*

Tit. ii. 12, 13.

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ERRATA & ADDENDA.

PAge 74. line 5. *add* —withal it denoted at the same time their equality of nature, and like a *decad*, a *century*, a *myriad*, and other the like names of number, it could not be reasonably understood, to reckon together things different in kind, but such as are properly the same or *consubstantial*. See farther, p. 435. p. 107. l. 9. *dele* without any distinction. p. 119. l. *penult.* r. Basil Ep. 64. p. 850. & Ep. 391. p. 1172. p. 132. l. *ult.* r. *Insuper* in priore articulo orientales ecclesiæ non solum legunt in Deo Patre omnipotente, sed addunt invisibili & impassibili. Erasm. in resp. ad censur. Theol. Paris. Tit. 11. de symb. Apost. *But what authority Erasmus had for this assertion about the Eastern Churches, I know not.* p. 144. l. 3. r. *ναμάτων.* p. 148. l. 25. r. equivalent. p. 185. l. 22. r. *πρὸ χρόνων.* p. 188. l. 23. r. *referr'd to.* p. 192 is misnumber'd 122. p. 193. l. *antepenult.* r. *ἡμῶν.* p. 197. l. 2. for *by* r. *with.* *ibid.* l. 3. for *with* r. *by.* p. 201. l. *antepenult.* r. Paphnutius. p. 248. l. 29. r. *θεῖον τὸν πατέρα.* p. 253. l. *pro-antepenult.* r. *vid.* Athanas. de incarn. contr. Apol. p. 278. l. *antepenult.* r. *παθόντα.* p. 289 is misnumber'd 299; and in proportion all the following pages are misnumber'd. p. 321. l. *antepenult.* r. *care.* p. 330. l. 28. r. *abscissis.* p. 385. l. 27. r. *fecundum.* p. 389. l. 27. r. *ad magistratum* — *jussus.* p. 391. l. 28. for *that* r. *though.* p. 422 is misnumber'd 22.

